7-17-2015

# Rural Jail Reentry: Perceptions of Offender Needs and Challenges in Pennsylvania

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# RURAL JAIL REENTRY:

# PERCEPTIONS OF OFFENDER NEEDS AND CHALLENGES IN PENNSYLVANIA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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August 2015

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Research on prison and jail reentry related barriers typically addresses employment, housing, mental health, and substance abuse issues associated with returning prison inmates. Historically, these challenges are discussed from the perspective of offenders returning to urban areas. This dissertation explored challenges inmates experience leaving jail and returning to rural areas. Utilizing a mixed-method approach, this study examined the challenges associated with rural jail reentry perceived by probation/parole officers ($N = 411$), current inmates ($N = 200$), and treatment staff ($N = 21$). Survey methodology was employed for the probation/parole and inmate samples, and semi-structured interviews were utilized for treatment staff. Results showed that consistent with prior research, returning rural inmates face challenges related to employment, housing, transportation, substance abuse, and mental health treatment. There is some evidence that inmates and practitioners differ in their priorities of reentry. Inmates view structural barriers (e.g., ability to pay fines or court fees, low wages, limited employment opportunities, lack of transportation, and finding housing) to be the most challenging, while practitioners found the biggest challenges to be within the inmates themselves (e.g., poor work ethic, lack of motivation, return to substance abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, associating with the wrong people/peer pressure). Policy implications and recommendations for future research are also included.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several people I would like to thank for all their help and support on this project and during these last four years. First, I would like to thank all of my friends and family for their unconditional support. Principally, I want to thank Tara for her love and constant encouragement through this long distance ordeal we began four years ago. Thank you to my parents and siblings who I knew were always just a phone call away.

Thank you to my dissertation chair and mentor, Dr. Merlo. I could not have done this without her. Throughout my entire time at IUP she has gone above and beyond all expectations to push me to reach my potential and "being home the bacon!" Thank you to my committee members, Dr. Austin, Dr. Frenzel, and Dr. Cooper for their feedback and assistance throughout the dissertation process. Thank you to my fellow graduate students with whom I have formed professional and personal bonds that will last for years to come.

I would also like to acknowledge Deputy Warden Leslie Simmons, Ronald Seyko, Robert McCullough, and all of the practitioners from Pennsylvania who helped with this project. Through this process I learned so much more than I ever thought I would about jails and corrections in Pennsylvania. It was a great pleasure meeting all of the practitioners. I wish the public understood and appreciated all the great work that they do. I would also like to acknowledge Sue Kastenson for her great vision and work creating Fairshake.net, a wonderful resource for former offenders and stakeholders in the reentry process.

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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

## Problem Identification

The incarceration boom resulted in an unprecedented number of inmates both entering and leaving jails and prisons. There are currently over 1.5 million American citizens incarcerated in state and federal prisons in the United States (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014), a rate of one in every 110 United States citizens (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014). In Pennsylvania, 49,672 inmates are currently incarcerated in state institutions (Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, 2014, a rate of one in every 200 Pennsylvanians (Bell et al, 2013). At the county jail level, there had been a decrease in county jail admission from 2009-2011; however, 2012 showed a marked increase in the county jail population (Minton, 2013). County jail populations are unique as they include 12 million admissions and releases each year (Beck, 2006). In 2013, the U.S. county jail population was 731,200 (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014).

Jeremy Travis (2005) addressed the mass incarceration problem in his book *But They All Come Back*. He contends that unless an inmate dies while incarcerated, he or she will eventually be released back into society. A reported 95% of state prisoners will eventually be released; and nearly 700,000 individuals each year leave state and federal prisons (Carson & Sabol, 2012; Schlager, 2013). The entire jail population will eventually be released or transported to a state institution; however, nearly two-thirds of the individuals released will be re-arrested within three years (Bell et al, 2013; Stahler, Mennis, Belenko, Welsh, Hiller, & Zajac, 2013).

Reentry is a multifaceted subfield in criminal justice research that attempts to address the problems of those returning to communities. In *When Prisoners Come Home*, Joan Petersilia (2009) defines prisoner reentry as a process that includes “all activities and programming

conducted to prepare ex-convicts to return safely to their community and live as law abiding citizens" (p. 3). Jeremy Travis (2005) abbreviates this definition and describes it as the process of leaving prison and returning to society. In using a "reentry framework" as a new paradigm in corrections, Travis (2005) stresses that reentry is not a mode of supervision like parole or a goal like rehabilitation, but rather a truth that everyone needs to recognize.

The obstacles inmates face when released make their transition to being a productive member of society difficult. Inmates reentering society from both prison and jail confront multiple problems that include employment, housing, and mental health and substance abuse issues (Lattimore, Steffey, & Visher, 2010; Petersilia, 2009; Soloman, Osborne, LoBuglio, Mellow, & Mukamal, 2008). Realizing the major difficulties associated with reintegration to society, specific programs have been developed to aid inmates and assist ex-offenders to assimilate successfully into society (Lattimore et al, 2010).

Recently, the government has provided more opportunity to help improve outcomes for individuals returning to the community from jails and prisons. Congress enacted the Second Chance Act in 2008. The Second Chance Act authorizes federal grants to government and non-profit agencies to provide assistance and services to reduce recidivism rates of individuals released from prison or jail (Lattimore et al, 2010). These programs provide employment assistance as well as substance abuse treatment, housing, family programming, mentoring, victim support, and other related services and include programs like offender notification forums, comprehensive interagency initiatives, reentry courts, and community based interventions (Travis, Crayton, & Mukamal, 2009). Funding opportunities in the Second Chance Act are available to any government or non-profit organization that provides services to returning offenders, including jails or community-based reentry programs. Funding for the Second Chance

Act began with a $25 million allotment in 2009. Funding increased to $100 million in 2010, but decreased to $83 million 2011, $63 million in 2012, and then slightly increased to $64 million in 2013, and $67.7 million in 2014. The House and Senate's Omnibus Appropriations Bill allotted $68 million for the 2015 fiscal year to be used for the Second Chance Act (Justice Center, 2014).

## Jail Reentry

Over the past few decades, local jail population growth has mirrored that of the prison population (Soloman et al., 2008). This has changed recently as prison inmate populations began to decrease (Carson & Sabol, 2012), and local jail populations are increasing (Minton, 2013). Within county jails, a significant portion of the surge in jail populations is derived from recidivism, as nearly 50% of jail inmates are incarcerated for violating conditions of their probation or parole (Beck, 2006). Many jail offenders struggle with the same issues that prison inmates do when returning to society (White, Saunders, Fisher, Mellow, 2012). Like their prison counterparts, jail inmates suffer from substance abuse and mental illness, have low educational attainment, are unskilled, and have weak family supports (Soloman et al., 2008).

However, jail reentry has numerous characteristics that distinguish it from prisoner reentry. These unique challenges include jails' varied population, short lengths of stay, and high individualistic challenges coupled with low service capacity (Soloman et al., 2008). In addition, jails have a diverse population including those awaiting trial, conviction, or sentencing, those convicted of a crime, and those in violation of probation or parole. This population makes reentry planning a challenge.

Compared to prisons, jails are characterized by short-term incarcerations. Over 80% are incarcerated for less than one month (Beck, 2006). The significantly shorter length of incarceration greatly affects treatment time and effective program implementation. In a local or

county jail, inmates commonly report problems with substance abuse, mental and physical health, housing, and employment (Soloman et al., 2008). These challenges coupled with short incarceration result in a lack of time to effectively progress through a rehabilitation or reentry program. If inmates are incarcerated for six months, they may miss the start of a new program that could have benefited them. When the program is offered again, they may not have enough time left on their sentence to complete it.

A large problem with reentry from jails is the influx of offenders that institutions must handle. According to Beck (2006), jails process 12 million admissions and releases annually. Jail administrators process the number of inmates in one month that prison administrators see in one year (Beck, 2006), but these numbers give practitioners an opportunity for intervention and rehabilitation (Soloman et al., 2008).

The jail experience presents a unique opportunity in the reentry process. As jail sentences are much shorter than prison terms, these stays mean less time away from inmates' home communities. Short sentences are less likely to interrupt relationships with family, friends, employers, and other positive social networks that a longer prison sentence may impede. In addition to social benefits, federal benefits are less likely to be removed during short-term jail sentences than longer prison stays (Soloman et al., 2008).

The location of jails in the communities in which inmates return is advantageous to the reentry process and facilitates continued contact with family, treatment providers, employers, community and faith workers, and others. This contact allows for an in-reach approach that can help strengthen or establish social bonds in the community or lead to more effective continuity of treatment. Similarly, as jails are local institutions, they have a role in a community network of providers. A collaborative effort between the jail and community can facilitate interventions with

high-risk individuals who would likely be seeking aid from agencies such as the department of health and human services, workforce development, and family and child welfare services (Soloman et al., 2008).

## Reentry Programs

There are many reentry programs in the realm of community corrections. Typically, these programs are diverse and not widely evaluated. While there is substantial research demonstrating the effectiveness of rehabilitative programs in prison, (Reitzel & Carbonell, 2006; Tong & Farrington, 2006; Wilson, Mitchell, & MacKenzie, 2006; Mitchell, Wilson, & MacKenzie 2006), there is an implicit although untested assumption that the methods that have been shown to work in the realm of rehabilitation will translate to effective reentry services (Wilson, Saunders, Fisher, & Mellow, 2012). Research demonstrates that offenders fare better post-release when strong social support networks are present in their communities (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006). Reentry programs that start to build social support networks while individuals are incarcerated have been shown to be effective in aiding in the successful transition from incarceration to the community (Miller & Miller, 2010). These types of services are often called in-reach programs. In contrast, out-reach programs include services geared toward post-release offenders that focus on the prison to community transition. Programs often commence when the offender is released and include wrap around services such as vocational assistance, case management, and substance abuse counseling (Miller & Miller, 2010).

Although reentry programs are provided for many recently released offenders, experimental evaluations of these programs are scarce. In a review of 32 evaluated prison reentry programs prior to 2001, Seider & Kadela (2003) found 21 of the programs effective in reducing recidivism. These programs included vocational training and work release programs, drug

rehabilitation programs, education programs, and halfway house and prerelease programs. More recent evaluations of effective prison reentry programs find support for community mental health programs for mentally ill offenders (Lovell, Gagliardi, & Phipps, 2005; Farabee, 2006), and halfway houses (Ostermann, 2009).

Despite the size of the jail population, reentry programs and research on reentry programs are limited (Roman & Chalfin, 2006). Jail reentry programs have been evaluated in urban areas like New York (Wilson et al., 2012) and Boston (Braga, Piehl, & Hureau, 2009) with varied success. White, Saunders, Fisher, and Mellow (2012) evaluated the RIDE (Riker's Island Discharge Enhancement) program in New York City. Created in 2004, the volunteer-oriented program connects participants with a non-profit, community-based service provider while in jail and follows up with inmates up to 90 days after their release. The program also provides transportation, case management service, guidance, and support for program participants. In an evaluation of the program, White and colleagues (2012) found that rates of recidivism for program participants were not lower than non-participants in a one-year follow-up. However, those who continued to be engaged in the program up to 90-days after release had fewer rearrests than non-completers, indicating that dosage and motivation were important to reintegrative success.

Braga and colleagues (2009) conducted an evaluation of another urban jail reentry program, the Boston Reentry Initiative. The program, beginning in 2001, brought multiple faith-based and social service agencies together to provide pre- and post-release support for high-risk and violent male inmates from the Suffolk County Correctional Facility in Massachusetts. Program services included mental health and substance abuse treatment, career counseling, job placement, education, identification or driver's license assistance, housing, and transportation. In

their 3-year follow-up of 108 program participants matched with 309 controls, Braga et al. (2009) found that program participants were significantly less likely to be rearrested than members of the control group.

In an evaluation of the Auglaize County Transition (ACT) Program in Auglaize County, OH, Miller & Miller (2010) compared recidivism rates of 73 program participants to 72 non-program control group participants twelve months after release. The ACT program was developed as an in-reach program to begin while offenders are incarcerated and to follow them when released based on their needs. The program is multifaceted and includes services such as case management, employment placement, job readiness training, work release, substance abuse treatment, mental health counseling, and cognitive-behavioral therapy. Results showed a significant difference in recidivism; only 12.8% of the program group participants were re-arrested during the 1-year follow-up period, compared to 81.9% of the comparison group (Miller & Miller, 2010).

Although these reentry programs appear effective in reducing recidivism of offenders, they are located almost exclusively in urban areas. As a result, many questions relating to offenders in rural communities remain.

## Rural Reentry Issues

A problem not commonly addressed is the impact of prisoner reentry in rural communities. Weisheit, Falcone, & Wells (2006) contend that "rural does matter" (p. 17). A large proportion of Americans reside in rural areas and their voices fail to be heard. As most crime occurs in urban environments, most services are implemented in a utilitarian way. Consequently, the interventions may fail to address the unique needs of rural residents.

Wodahl (2006) proposes that a rural perspective in reentry research is necessary, and that the experiences individuals have when returning to rural areas differ from those in urban settings in important ways. Wodahl (2006) contends that rural communities have unique features that make urban-based policies and programs culturally, economically, and socially ineffective in rural settings. Garland, Wodahl, & Mayfield (2011) believe that rural residents are less likely to have access to private or public services, health care services, government programs, and other assistance programs that are much more readily available in urban areas. A recent report by Zajac, Hutchison, & Meyer (2014) explored rural reentry issues in Pennsylvania. By interviewing state-level correctional employees, Zajac and colleagues (2014) found the most important issues facing rural offenders to be stigma, transportation, housing, employment, and program availability.

This dissertation attempts to explore the issues surrounding rural reentry. As rural communities tend to be economically challenged when compared to urban locales (Weisheit et al., 2006), there are scarce employment opportunities and a small tax base that likely result in reduced funds for rehabilitation programing (Wodahl, 2006). Whereas Wodahl (2006) outlined some challenges to reentry in rural areas, the current study aims to explore the perceptions of these challenges through the perceptions of multiple actors in the criminal justice system.

## Perceptions of Reentry Needs

Probation officers and service providers are key participants in the reentry process. These practitioners provide the services or access to the programs and interventions that could best aid those who are reentering society. Parole officers are often excluded from the reentry discussion. They serve as liaisons for reentry and rehabilitative programing and are likely to witness the potential benefits or inadequacies. Some prior research has addressed parole officers' perceptions

on the process of reentry in relation to the needs of the offenders (Gunnison & Helfgott, 2007; Helfgott & Gunnison, 2011).

In addition to community corrections workers, inmates and reentry program practitioners often have differing views of the challenges of reentry. Helfgott (1997) found that ex-offenders indicated they faced little support from family and friends when released, and the challenges they identified as most pressing included attaining housing, employment, substance abuse counseling, education, clothing, food, transportation, medical care, and having a positive circle of friends. Practitioners from community transition agencies deemed that the allocation and decentralization of services and community prejudice were the greatest barriers for recently released offenders (Helfgott, 1997). While all three studies identify important issues in the reentry process, they focus on the metropolitan area of Seattle and do not address the potential needs of rural offenders. This dissertation explores the challenges faced by inmates reintegrating into rural areas.

## Current Study

This dissertation explores a number of issues associated with offender reentry in rural areas from three perspectives: offenders, treatment and program staff, and county probation and parole officers. The research examined their unique views of the challenges associated with returning offenders and their attitudes regarding programming for offenders in their area including the services that should be available.

The goal was to identify and further understand prisoner reentry issues in rural areas and examine differences and similarities rural offenders confront as well as the extent to which the various sample respondents' perceptions concur. For inmates and probation/parole officers, data were gathered regarding rural reentry programming, perceived challenges inmates face, and

successful strategies, through an anonymous survey. Items were adapted from Gunnison's and Helfgott's (2007) survey of practitioners' views of reentry issues and modified to fit each particular criminal justice actor's role. Semi-structured interviews were utilized with treatment staff due to the small population of rural treatment providers and the exploratory nature of rural reentry programing from the practitioner's perspective.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework used to explore the problems associated with rural reentry is derived from Sampson and Laub's (2003) age graded theory and Francis Cullen's (1994) social support framework. Whereas jail rehabilitation is difficult to administer, it may be theoretically more important than prison rehabilitation. As most offenders in jail are serving time for misdemeanors and less violent or serious crimes than those in prison, jail inmates may be more amenable to rehabilitation. Furthermore, the effects of incarceration may not have as significant an impact on the trajectory of their lives. County jails' close proximity to home, unlike incarceration in prison, may facilitate stronger pro-social bonds with family, friends, and the community than if they had been sentenced to a remote state prison. Inmates are closer to local services and could more easily develop a reintegration plan as jail and county parole officers are more likely to be aware of the services in their area. This was part of the impetus for the justice realignment strategies California and other states have adopted that move technical parole violators and low-level drug offenders back to county jails instead of sentencing them to prison or returning them to prison for violations (Petersilia & Snyder, 2013).

**Research Questions**

This dissertation attempts to empirically identify some of the major issues regarding jail reentry from a rural perspective. The literature on prison and jail reentry issues focuses primarily

on urban offenders. As many Americans reside in and return to rural areas after their incarceration, it is important address the unique problems of the rural jail offender. To identify and explore some of these potential issues, the current study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What do offenders, treatment staff, and probation/parole officers view as the most prominent challenges jail offenders face when returning to rural areas?
2. In what ways do practitioners' and inmates' perceptions of challenges differ?
3. In what ways do rural and urban probation/parole officers' perceptions of challenges differ?

Geographic location is typically missing in any discussion of reentry. Because most offenders reside in urban areas, reentry research and programing may be designed to fit the utilitarian mold of doing the most good for the greatest number of people. Because fewer people dwell in rural areas, their voices are not often heard. The current study attempts to uncover and confirm the reentry issues articulated by Wodahl (2006). There are potential issues rural offenders face when reentering society that may have gone undetected. Examples include differing needs, services, and the amount of stigma in their community.

To address the research questions above, a mixed-method approach was employed. A survey adapted from Gunnison and Helfgott (2007) was disseminated to all county-level parole and probation officers in the state of Pennsylvania. The survey addressed practitioners' perceptions of challenges faced by reentering offenders in the first 90 days of release. Analysis investigated differences between challenges identified by rural officers and their urban counterparts.

In addition to surveying county-level parole/probation officers statewide, a more focused approach was used to explore specific challenges in rural reentry in western Pennsylvania. Surveys similar to those given to probation/parole officers were provided to a convenience sample of 200 rural inmates serving time in four jails in western Pennsylvania. These paper and pencil surveys were distributed by the researcher and included questions regarding past criminal behavior, previous jail sentences, previous rehabilitation program enrollment, and perceived effectiveness of local programs utilized in the past.

In order to understand the extent of the services provided to offenders returning to rural areas, semi-structured interviews with treatment practitioners serving in a reentry role were utilized. Snowball sampling was employed to gain knowledge of the different "reentry-type" programing options and challenges in rural areas. Although rural western Pennsylvania counties do not have all-inclusive programs that specialize in reentry services for jail inmates, certain programs in the community work with former inmates in acquiring housing and substance abuse treatment, and offer other support important in the reentry process. Another goal of this study was to explore these programs and gather information from service providers regarding the challenges they see returning offenders confront in rural areas.

By identifying reentering jail offenders' needs and perceptions of services, this study aimed to help inform rural practitioners of rural specific challenges inmates face and if current procedures utilized in the reentry process in these areas should be modified. Due to the lack of research on rural prisoner reentry, this study augmented the existing data and informs future research. Almost every offender is eventually released from jail; therefore, it is important from both a societal and economic standpoint to investigate strategies that might prevent recidivism.

# CHAPTER II

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## Mass Incarceration

Mass incarceration in the United States has been a concern since the 1970s. The United States has the largest incarceration rate compared to any other industrialized country (Wamsley, 2013), holding nearly 5% of the world's population but nearly 25% of the world's prison population (Warren, Gelb, Horowitz, & Riordan, 2008). Although the crime rate has decreased considerably since the early 1990s, the incarceration rate had been consistently rising from 1970 to 2008 (Glaze & Herberman, 2013). Promisingly, 2013 marked the fifth consecutive year of decline in US incarceration (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014) but the first year since 2006 in which there had not been a decline in the rate of prison admissions (Carson, 2014). However, in 2012, there were still over 1.5 million inmates held in federal and state corrections facilities, a rate of one in every 200 United States citizens (Glaze & Herberman, 2013).

The U.S. was not always the frontrunner in incarceration that it is today. The incarceration rate remained stable at 110 per 100,000 residents from 1920 to 1970 (Blumstein & Beck, 1999). During that time the country overcame tremendous hardships including the Great Depression, several wars, Prohibition, and the rise of organized crime. The crime rate remained relatively constant. Travis (2005) identifies social changes in the late 1960s that lead to a drastic shift in the criminal justice system. He contends that changes in sentencing policy, riots and unrest in urban neighborhoods, and the law and order political campaigns in the second half of the 20$^{th}$ century brought crime policy into national politics.

Beginning in 1973, the incarceration rate began to increase at six percent per year and has continued to grow nearly every year since, with a sharp surge beginning in the 1980s (Travis,

2005). The emergence of "tough on crime" policies and the misinterpretation of Martinson's (1974) "nothing works" conclusion of rehabilitation strategies created a shift in the goal of the criminal justice system toward stricter sentencing, tougher sanctions for recidivists, and more punitive drug legislation. This included new crime categories that turned non-violent criminals into felons, who had to serve multiple years in prison for drug crimes (Travis, 2005). These new policies contributed to correctional institutions' populations reaching unprecedented numbers. In the years since the Martinson report, the number of incarcerated individuals has quadrupled (Travis et al., 2009). When jails are included in the incarceration rate, 910 in 100,000 U.S. residents were in custody in 2013 (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014), making America the global leader in incarceration, ahead of Russia (475), Rwanda (492), and Belarus (335); and far surpassing comparable counties such as England and Wales (148), France (98), Canada (118), and Japan (51) (Wamsley, 2013).

In his book, *But They All Come Back*, Jeremy Travis (2005) contended that unless an inmate dies behind bars, he or she will eventually be released. Over 95% of all incarcerated individuals will eventually be released (Schlager, 2013). Nonetheless, the reentry paradigm is complex and often misunderstood. Over 600,000 prison inmates are released back to society each year (Carson & Sabol, 2012; Schlager, 2013). In 2012, at total of 637,400 inmates were released from state and federal incarceration, marking the fourth consecutive year where prison releases exceeded admissions (Carson & Galinelli, 2013). While that number is large and shows promise toward a reduction in correctional populations, it raises questions about what happens to these individuals after they are released.

## Recidivism

The most common construct used to in determine success upon release from prison or jail is recidivism. To date, there have been only four major national-level recidivism studies. The studies range from 1989 to 2010, but they all reported similar results. The studies suggest that most inmates will recidivate within three years of release (Beck & Shipley, 1989; Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014; Langan & Levin, 2002; Sabol, Adams, Parthasarthy, and Yuan, 2000). The first large-scale study of recidivism was conducted by Beck and Shipley (1989). The authors followed 16,000 inmates who were released from prisons in eleven different states in 1983. Measuring recidivism as rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration, Beck and Shipley (1989) discovered that inmates are most susceptible to return to the criminal justice system during their first three years of release. Rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration rates were 62.5 percent, 46.8 percent, and 41.4 percent, respectively, within three years of release.

In a national study of recidivism rates of federal inmates, Sabol and colleagues (2000) followed 215,263 federal inmates released between 1986 and 1994. Their operationalization of recidivism was merely returning to federal prison within three years of release, not accounting for general rearrest, reconviction, or reincarceration in the state system. Sabol and colleagues (2000) found only sixteen percent of offenders returned to federal prison within three years, but there was a marked increase in the recidivism rate from 1986 (11%) to 1994 (18.6%). Of those returning to prison, 60 percent of offenders were reincarcerated due to technical violations, 30 percent for new offenses, and 10 percent for other offenses. Technical violations were defined as infractions against a particular condition of release. These conditions can vary between offenders and may include failing a drug test or missing a parole appointment.

In another national study, Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) statisticians Langan and Levin (2002) found that within 3 years of release 67.5 percent of offenders were rearrested, 46.9 percent were reconvicted, and 25.4 percent were sentenced to prison for a new offense. These data were derived from a comprehensive study of 272,111 former inmates from 15 states who were tracked three years after their release in 1994. They replicated Back and Shipley's (1989) methodology and found strikingly similar results. Of the 25.5 percent of offenders who returned to prison, 26.4 percent were due to technical violations of parole. These violations varied but included failure to pass a drug test and missing parole or program appointments.

The most recent national prison recidivism rates indicate that 67.8 percent of offenders were rearrested within 3 years of release, and 76.6 percent were rearrested within five years (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder 2014). This study tracked 404,638 state inmates released in 2005. Thirty states took part in this study, allowing for follow-up periods at three and five years. Reincarceration rates could be calculated within twenty-three of the thirty participating states. Of the inmates released in 2000, 49.7 percent were reincarcerated for a technical parole violation or new offense within three years, and 55.1 percent were reincarcerated within 5 years. Similar to previous studies, most offenders were rearrested within the first year of release (43%).

While the BJS has only published four national level recidivism studies, numerous states have produced reports based on separate evaluations. The Sentencing Project (2010) has compiled a database of 99 of these state recidivism studies. Although the studies vary in their target population, methodology, and definition of recidivism, they show a range in recidivism rates from 12 percent to 78 percent (The Sentencing Project, 2010). A recent recidivism report in Pennsylvania (Bell et al., 2013) followed state offenders released during the previous ten years. Defining recidivism as rearrest, reincarceration, or overall recidivism (the first instance of any

type of rearrest or reincarceration) the Pennsylvania report found that approximately 60 percent of prison inmates recidivate within three years of release and that recidivism rates have been slowly increasing since 2000 (Bell et al., 2013). Furthermore, in a study of parolees, Hughes, James-Wilson, and Beck (2001) found that individuals released from prison and on parole constitute 33.1 percent of new prison admissions. Twenty-four percent of these admissions were the result of parole violations, while nine percent were convicted of new offenses (Hughes et al., 2001).

Overall, national and state studies demonstrate high rates of recidivism. While the federal study found a low level of recidivism, it is important to note that their measure only included reincarceration to a federal institution and no measures of rearrest or reincarceration in jail or state prisons (Sabol et al., 2000). The majority of the studies in Table 1 show rearrest rates at over sixty percent within three years of release (Beck & Shipley, 1989: Langan & Levin, 2002: Bell et al., 2013). Reincarceration rates, while lower than rearrest rates, range from twenty-five to forty-one percent in the studies of state inmates (Beck & Shipley, 1989: Langan & Levin, 2002). These reports demonstrate the magnitude of the reentry problem; Many individuals who are released from prison will cycle back through the criminal justice system within three years of release.

Table 1

*Summary Table of Recidivism Research*

| Year | Author(s) | Sample | Follow-up Period | Results |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1989 | Beck & Shipley | 16,000 state inmates from 11 states released in 1983 | 3 Years | Rearrest: 62.5%<br>Reconviction: 46.8%<br>Reincarceration: 41.4% |
| 2000 | Sabol, Adams, Parthasathy, & Yuan | 215,263 Federal inmates released between 1986 and 1994 | 3 Years | 16% return to federal prison (no general measure of rearrest or reconviction used)<br>Increase of recidivism from 1985 (11%) to 1994 (18.6%) |
| 2002 | Langan & Levin | 272,111 state inmates released from 15 states since 1994 | 3 Years | Rearrest: 67.5%<br>Reconviction: 46.9%<br>Reincarceration: 25.4% |
| 2010 | The Sentencing Project | A collection of 99 state recidivism studies. Vary in their methodology and outcome measures | Varied per study | Recidivism rates range from 12% to 78% |
| 2013 | Bell, Buclen, Naamura, Tomkeil, Satore, Russel, & Orth | All PA DOC inmates released between 2000 and 2010 (N not given in report) | 6 months, 1 year, 3 Years | Overall Recidivism:<br>6 Months: 20%<br>1-Year: 35%<br>3-Years: 62% |
| 2014 | Durose, Cooper, & Snyder | 404,648 state inmates released from 30 states since 2000 | 3 years, 5 years | Rearrest:<br>3 years: 67.8%<br>5 years: 76.6%<br>Reincarceration:<br>3 years: 49.7%<br>5 years: 55.1% |

Mass incarceration and high recidivism rates have been identified as major societal problems. While numbers are available for state and federal corrections institutions, jail recidivism rates are significantly more difficult to measure than prison rates. This is due to the constant admission and release of inmates and the inclusion of pre-sentenced and sentenced offenders (Lyman & LoBuglio, 2006). As previously noted, jails have a transient population that

includes 12 million admissions and releases each year (Beck, 2006). Simultaneously, a gradual shift is occurring in incarceration rates, as jail populations are increasing, state correctional populations are decreasing (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014).

## Reentry Issues

Reentry research attempts to identify and understand the challenges and needs individuals confront when released from incarceration. Problems identified for offenders often include employment, housing, collateral consequences, rekindling family and social support, and dealing with mental health and substance abuse issues. Overall, their problems are related to the negative impact incarceration has on their lives.

### Employment

For the returning offender, Pager (2003) categorizes employment as the "centerpiece of the reentry process" (p. 505). Research indicates that offenders who are able to find and retain employment are less likely to recidivate (Andrews, 1995; Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998; Makarios, Steiner & Travis, 2010; Visher & Travis, 2003). Hirsh and Wasik (1997) propose that the more former offenders are restricted by law from pursuing legitimate employment, the fewer opportunities they will have to remain law abiding citizens. Lack of employment opportunities may serve as a key determinant of recidivism (Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes, & Muir, 2004). Sung and Richter (2006) identified a relationship between higher levels of unemployment in a community and a higher likelihood of recidivism for reintegrating offenders in their study.

Historically, work has served as a fundamental part of incarceration, and prison work was a major component of the prison experience. Early prisons enforced a workday as part of an inmate's punishment (Garvey, 1998). In the 19th century, prison labor increased, and institutions allowed access to a large quantity of cheap laborers. Prisons outsourced inmate laborers to

private businesses that could benefit from low overhead and increased profits on goods that were sold in the free market. By the end of the nineteenth century, labor unions and prisoners' rights advocates pushed to end these unfair labor practices, and to keep private industry out of prisons (Garvey, 1998). Subsequently, convict labor fell under the control of the state, with bans on interstate commerce related to Congress enacting the Hawes-Cooper Act of 1929, and the Ashurst-Sumners Act of 1935 (Welsh, 2011). Prisoners were only allowed to create products used for government entities (e.g., license plates, furniture) (Travis 2005). Other jobs that offenders have while incarcerated are typically maintenance, janitorial, or food service work that are low-skill and do not necessarily build or maintain skill sets that will transfer to the outside world (Schlager, 2013).

In 1979, Congress enacted the Justice System Improvement Act in an attempt to encourage private businesses to employ inmates, which included the Prison Industry Enhancement (PIE) Certification program that exempted prisons from the ban on interstate commerce. The goal of PIE was to bring more employment opportunities into prisons and develop linkages between private business and public prisons (Schlager, 2013). The program was unsuccessful as free market wages would have to be paid to inmates and private businesses did not support this proposal (Misrahi, 1995). Another government program to promote hiring former offenders is the Work Opportunity Tax Credit. The tax credit allows up to a 40% tax deduction for employers who hire convicted felons. In addition to the tax credit, the U.S. Department of Labor offers insurance bonds for employee theft during the first six months of employment of ex-offenders (Swanson, Schnippert, Tryling, 2014). The goal of these programs aims to ease the initial concerns of hiring a former offender, providing benefits to the employer and job applicant.

Upon release, having a job helps individuals establish pro-social roles in the community (Travis, 2005). This adds to their status within the community, establishing an identity other than that of a criminal. Furthermore, employment allows them to assimilate back into society and the economy in a positive way, by paying taxes and contributing to the economy. Employment occupies offenders' time and allows them to escape from potential negative influences by removing them from the situations that may have been related to their prior offending. Employment also enables them to focus their time and efforts on more positive aspects of life (Travis, 2005).

In a report by the Urban Institute titled *Returning Home,* Visher (2007) examined the impact of incarceration on released offenders. Of a sample of 740 recently released male prisoners, 65% were found to be employed in labor-related jobs eight months after their release. These jobs included general manual labor jobs (24%), food service positions (12%), and maintenance jobs (10%). Many of the respondents were unable to live without the support of friends or family, and those with weak employment history or educational deficits needed additional assistance obtaining employment (Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2008). To find jobs, former offenders relied heavily on connections from former employers and friends or family, demonstrating the importance of informal networks in the reentry processes (Visher et al., 2008).

Research found that taking part in employment programs, as opposed to merely working while incarcerated, may lead to employment when released (Gerber & Fritsch, 1995). Only one-third of inmates participate in prison-based employment and vocational programs (Schlager, 2013). In some cases, employment, or the actively seeking of employment, may be conditions for offenders' release. Similarly, failing to have a job or failure to actively seek one could directly result in violation of their community supervision, returning them to prison or jail (Travis, 2005).

While employment is an important component of the reentry process, many obstacles throughout reentry make it difficult for individuals leaving prison or jail to find a job.

Time spent incarcerated greatly inhibits access to social networks and information that may help offenders find employment, lowering their social capital (Travis, 2005). The jobs that offenders can obtain tend to be low income, and studies have shown that incarceration in prison substantially lowers their earning capability (Bushway & Reuter, 2002; Cnaan, Drainse, Frazier, & Sinha, 2008). In addition to lack of available jobs, formerly incarcerated individuals face barriers in employment at individual and societal levels.

On the individual level, researchers have found formerly incarcerated offenders are a disadvantaged subset of the low-wage workforce (Bernstein & Houston, 2000). Not only do these offenders carry the negative label of a criminal, but this marginalized group is less educated than the general population (Harlow, 2003). They are more likely to be high school dropouts with only a small portion of them having participated in college or vocational training.

In addition to the individual barriers that may hinder offenders from gaining employment, society has instituted numerous obstacles that further prevent them from securing jobs. These barriers include legal restrictions and employer practices. Bushway and Sweeten (2007) found over 800 different occupations in the US that have bans for ex-felons. These occupations include fields such as law, education, real estate, nursing, and medicine.

A criminal record can serve as a deciding factor between an ex-offender and someone with no record being selected for a job. In a study of large-scale survey of potential employers, employment service workers, corrections workers, and inmates in Australia, Graffam, Shinkfield, and Hardcastle (2008) found that ex-prisoners were rated among the least likely job candidates to obtain employment. Holzer (1996) conducted a telephone survey of 3,000

employers throughout Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and Los Angeles and found that two-thirds of respondents would not hire a former offender. In a follow-up in Los Angeles, Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll (2007) found that forty percent of surveyed employers would not consider hiring an applicant with a criminal history, citing the fear of liability for employing a former offender as their primary concern.

**Housing**

Housing is another important obstacle for formerly incarcerated individuals. Travis (2005) states that, "of the many challenges facing returning prisons, none is as immediate as the challenge of finding shelter" (p. 219). As inmates are paroled, one of their first questions is likely, "where am I going to sleep tonight?" A common requirement for parole is to secure housing (Cnaan, Draine, Fraizer, & Sinha, 2008). Many live with family, friends, or in halfway houses, while others are forced to find housing elsewhere (Travis, 2005). These offenders often return to the community where they initially were arrested, one of the contributing factors in high rates of recidivism (Hipp & Yates, 2009). Returning to the community from which they were arrested may facilitate offenders associating with the same social groups that led to their legal difficulties. The composition of these neighborhoods may not be conducive to a law-abiding lifestyle. Crime-prone or economically impoverished areas may lack legitimate job opportunities, leaving only employment in illegitimate occupations that make an ex offender vulnerable to recidivism (Travis, 2005)

Kirk (2009) studied the reentry processes of offenders released in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Many offenders were unable to return to the neighborhoods where they lived before they were incarcerated because these areas had not recovered after the hurricane. Consequently, many former offenders were forced to relocate to other neighborhoods.

This situation created an opportunity for a natural experiment. Kirk (2009) compared recidivism data for former offenders who were released to either their original parish or a new parish. Results indicated that offenders had more success when they moved to new neighborhoods compared to those who returned to their original neighborhoods (Kirk, 2009).

Although Kirk (2009) has shown that inmates leaving incarceration fare better when they do not return to their home neighborhoods, the research also demonstrated that they often confront restrictions and discrimination when applying for housing (Helfgott, 1997). Sard and Waller, (2002) found that while the number leaving incarceration is increasing, the number of available housing units for rent in the private market has decreased. While private housing makes up ninety-seven percent of the housing market in the US, available private housing for the poor has been continually declining (Travis, 2005).

Former inmates face substantial barriers trying to obtain housing in the private market. In addition to lack of availability of affordable housing, most inmates leave incarceration with little to no money to secure housing. Some landlords require criminal background checks and may refuse to rent to ex-convicts, further hindering their reentry process (Travis, 2005). In a 1997 study, Helfgott surveyed 196 property managers in the Seattle area and found that sixty-seven percent of them inquired about criminal history on apartment rental applications, with forty-three percent indicating that they could likely reject an applicant with a criminal record. This leads to what Travis (2005) calls "the former prisoner's dilemma" (p. 223): If an ex-offender tells the truth, he/she likely will not be offered the rental. If an ex-offender lies, he/she will likely not be able to rent the apartment. Barriers also entail the lack of employment history, previous rental history, and references that are likely spotty for ex-offenders, leading landlords to choose other prospective tenants, and further marginalizing former offenders (Travis, 2005).

Outside the private sector, public housing serves as another option for offenders. In 2002, nearly 1.2 million families lived in public housing throughout the United States (Travis, 2005). A substantial number of ex-offenders lived in public housing before they were incarcerated. A 2001 study by Steurer, Smith and Tracy found that nearly twenty-five percent of offenders were living in either public or Section 8 housing prior to incarceration. Upon release, these individuals face substantial barriers as access to public housing for former offenders has been greatly restricted (Travis, 2005). Admission to public housing currently entails a long waiting list, making it difficult for former offenders to gain access upon release from incarceration. In addition to the waiting lists, there are specific admissions criteria, including federal regulations, in which eligibility can be denied based on criminal activity (Schlager, 2013).

**Collateral Consequences**

Kept from the offender throughout the criminal justice system are what Travis (2005) calls "invisible punishments" (p. 71). These invisible punishments, or collateral consequences of incarceration, are pervasive in society and stem from civil death laws that America imported from England (Schlager, 2013). Legislators who ascribe to "tough on crime" ideologies may adopt these invisible punishments without much forethought to their impact and the unintended consequences for those involved. These civil penalties are not described in the criminal justice process, but merely have evolved as penalties offenders must address upon their release (LaFollette, 2005). Examples of collateral consequences include voter disenfranchisement in some states, termination of parental rights, the use of felony convictions as legal grounds in divorce proceedings, prevention from holding public office or government/public jobs, permanent bans on firearm ownership, mandated registration with law enforcement, and denial of federal assistance including food stamps, housing, and student loans (Schlager, 2013).

**Family and Social Support Issues**

The family is one of the most critical aspects of the reentry process (La Vigne, Visher, & Castro, 2004; Schlager, 2013). Families are often punished along with offenders as incarceration disrupts a family (Travis, 2005). Research on the role of family support in the reentry process is relatively new (Foster & Hagan, 2009). When offenders are sent to prison or jail, it is difficult to maintain bonds with their families. In a study of family members of returning offenders in Houston, Schollenberger (2009) found that families identified the geographical distance from prison to be a greater concern than maintaining constant contact. Transportation difficulties, restrictive telephone policies, visitation policies, and cost of visiting were also identified as major barriers for families (Schollenberger, 2009).

Visitation with an incarcerated family member is often difficult. As most prisons are built in remote, rural areas, state inmates tend to be housed over 100 miles away from home (Mumola, 2000). Hairston (2003) found that complex rules and regulations often discourage family visitation, and time restrictions and large surcharges applied to phone calls for inmates further hinder their ability to maintain contact with family members.

Families of incarcerated individuals often face financial hardships as the major financial providers of the household are removed along with their income (Hairston, 2003). Families may acquire additional debt while trying to support a family member while incarcerated as visitation, long distance phone calls, books, clothes and money for commissary are all new expenses that further strain an already tight budget (Christian, 2005).

Incarceration can be detrimental to a familial relationship. As Lanier (1993) shows, having a family member imprisoned can lead to feelings of loneliness, separation, anger, and guilt, but sometimes even relief. For incarcerated parents, it is not uncommon to experience

feelings of loss or depression (Lanier, 1993). While La Vigne and colleagues (2004) found that strong family relationships were the most important component for successful reintegration, these relationships will likely be tested while a family member is incarcerated. Upon release, family members are most often needed for housing, employment, and encouragement (Travis, 2005; Schlager, 2013). Studies have demonstrated that familial support, both physically and psychologically, has led to positive reentry outcomes in employment and decreased substance abuse (Visher, Kachnowski, La Vinge, & Travis, 2004) as well as lower levels of recidivism (La Vigne et al, 2004).

In addition to the stress on the familial relationship, offenders' social relationships with the community will likely be affected adversely as well. Travis (2005) explains that time does not stop when one is incarcerated. One's family and friends on the outside move on with their lives. There is also a degree of social stigma or increased hostility that family and friends are likely to face from the community (Codd, 2007). This stigma is applied to offenders upon release; and they may face a backlash from the community and the collateral consequences of incarceration described previously.

**Mental Health Issues**

The mental health system in the US has experienced substantial changes within the last fifty years. The advent of psychotropic drugs, a push for community-based treatment centers, and the legislation enacted restricting involuntary commitment to acute mental health care institutions, resulted in a mass exodus of the mentally ill from in-patient mental health facilities beginning in the last 1960s (Schlager, 2013). The deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill occurred as U.S. criminal justice policy shifted from rehabilitation to a more punitive approach that emphasized accountability for one's actions. Although the goal of deinstitutionalization was

to allow those with mental illness to live normal lives and seek treatment in their communities, many of the community-based centers lacked the capacity to effectively serve the needs of the mentally ill (Lamb & Bachrach, 2001). Communities became overwhelmed and unable to support the large amount of recently deinstitutionalized mentally ill individuals. These individuals often ended up homeless, poor, and without medication or treatment (Schlager, 2013). An unforeseen consequence of deinstitutionalization was the criminalization of mental illness, and an alarming number of mentally ill individuals began serving time in jails and prisons (Slate & Jonson, 2008), leading to rates of serious mental illness two to four times higher in prisoners than the general population (Hammett, Roberts, & Kennedy, 2001).

When compared to all agencies that serve the mentally ill, these individuals are the most likely to have encounters with the police and correctional agencies (Slate & Johnson, 2008). Once in the criminal justice system, the mentally ill tend to serve more time than those who do not suffer from mental illness (McNiel & Binder, 2007; Torrey, Kennard, Eslinger, Lamb, & Pavle, 2010) and they are more likely to be arrested for minor infractions (Cuellar, Snowden, & Ewing, 2007). While incarcerated, mentally ill offenders are more susceptible to victimization (Blitz, Wolff, & Shi, 2008). In addition, only sixty percent of individuals with mental illness receive treatment (Mallik-Kane & Visher, 2008; Petersilia, 2009).

In a report on mental illness among jail and prison inmates, James and Glaze (2006) found that over fifty-six percent of incarcerated individuals were classified as having a mental health problem. This was defined as either meeting the diagnostic criteria for a psychological disorders outlined in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th edition* (DSM-IV) or receiving some form of mental health treatment one year prior to their incarceration (James & Glaze, 2006). Other reports indicate that nearly one in six incarcerated

individuals suffer from serious mental illness (Petersilia, 2009; Steadman, Osher, Robbins, Case, & Samuels, 2009; Travis & Waul, 2003). In general, research suggests that incarcerated females have higher rates of mental illness than men (James & Glaze, 2006; Mallik-Kane & Visher, 2008; Pinta, 2001).

Research comparing recidivism between former offenders with and without mental illness is scarce. A study by Feder (1991) found similar rearrest rates between the two groups eighteen months after release. Mentally ill offenders were rearrested at a rate of sixty percent and those without mental illness recidivated at a rate of sixty-four percent (Feder, 1991). Using data collected in Washington State from 1996 and 1997, Lovell, Gagliardi, & Peterson (2002) compared a group of 237 mentally ill offenders to the statewide recidivism data published during the same period. Results showed that those with a diagnosis of mental illness were significantly less likely to commit a new crime than the general population (Lovell, et al., 2002).

Mentally ill individuals face unique barriers upon reentry. Some offenders do not qualify for parole because of the risks associated with their mental illness (Healy, 1999). Upon release from jail or prison, mentally ill offenders also are more likely to violate community supervision (Eno Louden & Skeem, 2011; Lovell, et al., 2002). These violations are typically due to technical parole violations rather than the commission of a new crime (Eno Louden & Skeem, 2011).

Technical parole violations of offenders may be related to their mental illness. Whereas only sixty percent of mentally ill inmates receive treatment while incarcerated, less than fifty percent receive treatment upon release and in the year following (Mallik-Kane & Visher, 2008). These individuals are often under-identified and at high risk for recidivism (Lurigio, 2001). In addition, mentally ill ex-offenders are more likely than those without mental illness to experience

homelessness and unemployment (Metraux & Culhane, 2004), which contributes to an increased risk of recidivism (Baillargeon, Brinswanger, Penn, Williams, & Murray, 2009).

**Substance Abuse**

Substance abuse is a significant problem among inmates and recently released offenders. Approximately three quarters of prisoners returning to prison have a history of substance abuse (Hammett et al, 2001; James & Glaze, 2006). In 2002, sixty-eight percent of jail inmates met the diagnosis criteria for drug abuse or drug dependence (Karberg & James, 2005). Half of all inmates were under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of their offense (Karberg & James, 2005; Mumola & Karberg, 2006). Research indicates that individuals who participate in substance abuse classes in prison are more likely to successfully reintegrate into society (Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Harker-Armstrong, 2010); however, only seven to seventeen percent of prisoners who meet the criteria for substance abuse or dependence receive treatment while incarcerated (National Institute of Drug Abuse, 2012). Although some aftercare services show evidence of reentry success (Messina, Burdon, Hagonpian, & Prendergast, 2006), individuals released to the community often face limited access to resources to obtain treatment or appropriate care (Burdon, Messina, & Prendergast, 2004).

Drug offenses contributed to nearly a quarter of the prison admissions in 2012 (Carson & Golinelli, 2013). Since the 1970s, these non-violent offenses have been subjected to drastically increased criminalization due to the "war on drugs." Although the rehabilitation model had been marginalized since the "nothing works" conclusion of Martinson's (1974) study, the burgeoning inmate population and attendant costs to society have resulted in programs that rely on the rehabilitation model. Programs for drug treatment and rehabilitation have become more popular inside and outside of prison (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2009). Although a small step in

the right direction, criminologists and criminal justice practitioners have employed evidence-based practices as a way to make the criminal justice system more efficient and cost effective (Zedleweski, 2009).

## Theoretical Framework

The reentry process can be described through the framework of Sampson & Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control. Age-graded theory provides a viable context to reentry services as it focuses on the various life events that promote desistence in crime. Integrating Elder's (1985) life-course framework with Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory, Sampson & Laub (1993) and later Laub and Sampson (2003) hypothesized that the development of pro-social bonds in adulthood could lead to a desistence in crime. Sampson and Laub (1993) conceptualized their research in an attempt to answer the question "why do most delinquents stop offending while others continue to offend?" In opposition of Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) position that offenders have a stable propensity for offending, Sampson and Laub (1993) developed an integrative theory that combined Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, human ecology, and a fresh perspective on a seminal dataset. Utilizing data collected by Glueck and Glueck (1950) on a thousand juveniles followed until age seventy, Laub and Sampson (2003) found that traditional delinquent experiences predicted criminality in adulthood and concluded that the criminal experience is dynamic in nature.

Sampson & Laub (1997) identify two main ways in which one's life changes with age: trajectories and transitions. Trajectories refer to the different roles one assumes with aging. Examples include a son to a colleague, a boyfriend to a husband, and a father to a grandfather. Coinciding with these trajectories are transitions. Transitions represent significant life events that can be empirically measured and precipitate role changes. Examples of transitions include job

attainment, graduation, and marriage. Several studies confirm life events have a significant impact on an individual's offending trajectory (Farrington and West, 1995; Horney, Osgood, and Marshal, 1995; War, 1998; Uggen, 2000).

Sampson & Laub (1993; 1997) found that informal social control affects the likelihood of delinquent experiences. Informal social control manifests itself differently in juveniles than it does for adults. In juveniles, parenting styles, school attachment, and attachment to peers are the strongest factors preventing delinquency (Sampson & Laub, 1993; 2005). Events that occur after becoming an adult (e.g., military service, employment, marriage) are significant informal social controls in decreasing criminality later in life (Sampson & Laub, 1993; 2005). The various social bonds are paramount to the trajectory of crime. These bonds can be severed at different points throughout one's life, leading to a destabilizing force over that particular effected part of the life course. These "turning points" vary across age groups throughout one's life (Sampson & Laub, 1993).

Sampson and Laub (1997) expand Hirschi's (1969) concept of the bond into what they call social capital. Social capital is the notion that the quality of interpersonal relationships among people produces resources for individuals to draw upon when they are in need. Significant individual resources lead to a greater emphasis on conformity as individuals realize all they have at stake. Therefore, the more social capital they have, the less likely they will be to commit crime.

Three propositions comprise the tenets of Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory. These three propositions have been empirically supported (Laub, Sampson, & Sweeten, 2006). First, informal control explains adolescent and childhood adolescence. This informal control is explained by Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory. Sampson and Laub (1993) point to three

components of social control within the family structure: consistent discipline, monitoring, and attachment to family. Within a school context, attachment to school and strong school performance are inversely related to deviant behavior. A review of seventy-one studies of control theory by Kempf (1993) supported social bond theory and found attachment to parents was the strongest and most supported component of the theory. Additionally, strong attachment to school was associated with lower levels of delinquency.

The second tenet of age-graded theory claims that weak bonds lead to a continuation of deviant behavior from adolescence to adulthood. This has been supported as many adult criminals have engaged in delinquency (Robins, 1978) and aggressive behaviors (Olveus, 1979) as juveniles. Furthermore, research indicates that continuity of criminal behavior is not an American phenomena but international in scope (Caspi & Moffitt, 1995).

The third proposition is that informal controls in adulthood explain changes in deviant behavior. Research has shown that most antisocial children eventually age out of criminality (Laub et al., 2006). Informal controls that have been empirically linked to lower levels of criminality as adults include employment and marriage/significant relationships (Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St. Ledger, & West, 1986; Irwin, 1970; Piquero, MacDonald & Parker, 2002; Shover, 1996) Overall, the three propositions have been empirically supported (Laub et al., 2006).

In applying age-graded theory directly to reentry, it is suggested that reentering individuals have to develop a stake in conformity. The risk of losing this stake prevents individuals from recidivating or returning to criminal behavior. Age-graded theory has led several researchers to conclude that marriage, military service, and employment can have a preventative effect on crime (Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson

& Laub, 1993; 2005). Other social relationships play a significant role in desistence from crime as well. Bahr and colleagues (2010) found that those who self-reported more pro-social activities with friends were more likely to succeed on parole. In addition to friends, strong bonds with family, in terms of family supports, were shown to be the most critical factor in predicting recidivism in a longitudinal study by La Vigne and colleagues (2004).

Age-graded theory postulates that a desirable job can help foster conformity and can provide new avenues for pro-social network formation (Laub & Sampson, 2003). It should be mentioned that the quality of work might be just as or more important than simply being employed, for low-paying or demeaning work may have few positive effects on individuals. Well-paying jobs that individuals enjoy are more likely to positively affect those returning to society from prison (Agnew, 2005). Bahr and colleagues (2010) examined the reentry of 51 parolees during the three years following their release from prison in order to differentiate successful parolees from those who failed. They substantiated what Travis (2005) contended as they assessed the usual components of what researchers think help parolees to succeed: drug treatment, friendships, work, family bonds, and age (Bahr et al., 2010).

In addition to age-graded theory, Cullen's (1994) social support framework can be applied to the discussion of reentry. In his 1994 presidential address at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Frances Cullen outlined the importance of social support criminology. He contended that social support permeates throughout many criminological theories (e.g., social disorganization, control, and strain) and that organized social networks that meet individuals' expressive and instrumental needs can prevent crime. There are two types of social support: expressive and instrumental. Expressive social support includes emotional confidence and affirmations of one's own self-worth. Instrumental social support is more tangible, referring to

material and financial assistance but also guidance and connections to socially appropriate modes of advancement in society. Social support groups are found in various levels of society. On a micro level, family and friends fill one's social network and provide social support while neighborhoods, communities, and nations fit a macro level of social support. These social supports can provide resources to diminish criminal behavior while also creating an environment conducive to the forming strong social bonds (Cullen, 1994).

The goals of reentry are found within the tenets of Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control and Cullen's (1994) social support framework. Reentry services aim to serve as turning points that alter the trajectory of offenders' lives. By providing rehabilitative services and aid during the transitional process from a correctional institution to home, successful reentry has the potential to break the cycle of incarceration. Rather than focusing mostly on returning prison offenders, attention now shifts toward jail reentry, an infrequently researched but significant area in corrections.

## Jail Reentry

Since offender reentry issues gained prominence through the work of Joan Petersilia (2009) and Jeremy Travis (2005), much of the research and policy discussion regarding the release of offenders has primarily focused on federal and state prisoners. Jail reentry has been largely ignored. According to the most recent BJS jail census, in 2006 there were a total of 3,860 jail facilities in the US (Stephan & Walsh, 2011). There was a 3% drop in facilities from 1999 to 2006 (Stephan & Walsh, 2011). This decrease in jail facilities occurred mostly in small rural areas where the local economy and governments could not afford their upkeep (Soloman et al., 2008). However, the number of inmates confined in jail increased 23% during that seven year period (Stephan & Walsh, 2011). Nonetheless, since 2006, the county jail population has

decreased from an average of 762,007 to a daily average of 731,200 in 2013 (Glaze & Kaebel, 2014).

Jails can be significantly more difficult to define than prisons. While prisons are generally run by state or local governments, jails can administered by an array of entities including sheriffs' departments, county governments, municipal departments, Native American tribes, state governments, penal commissions, or even the federal government (LoBuglio, 2007). For example, in six states, Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Rhode Island, and Vermont, jails are operated by the state, while in Native American tribal areas, the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs has jurisdiction over jail operations (Stephan & Walsh, 2011). Jail facilities range in size from small, rural lock-up facilities to large-scale city jails that compete in size with state and federal correctional facilities. Over 40% of the nation's jails housed less than 50 inmates in 2006. In contrast, New York and California each had one facility that held over 10,000 jail inmates (Stephan & Walsh, 2011).

Jail reentry research is missing from the reentry literature for a number of reasons. Compared to prisons, little data are collected on jails and jail inmates (LoBuglio, 2007). Prison inmates are easier to track and study because their populations are less varied and complex. Jail populations are highly fluid. Beck (2006) estimated a total of 12 million jail admissions and releases each year with eighty-one percent of jail inmates staying for less than one month. By comparison, state and federal prisons release about 600,000 per year (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014; Schlager, 2013). In addition, length of stay differs. Only four percent of jail inmates are expected to stay longer than one-month (Beck, 2006). Jail inmates are incarcerated for various reasons. Some inmates are in pre-trial holding, some are held temporarily for safety, some are serving their sentence in jail, and others are awaiting sentencing or transfer to federal or state facilities

(Salomon et al., 2008). Finally, jail offenders are perceived to be minor offenders in comparison to state or federal inmates, suggesting that they are less in need of rehabilitation services.

While the majority of cases that are processed through the jails each year are misdemeanor offenses, it is important to note that jails often serve as the point of entry for the correctional system (LoBuglio, 2007). Furthermore, the time offenders spend in a jail is contingent upon the state where they are incarcerated. While many states use a 12-month period to differentiate between a state and local sentence (LoBuglio, 2007), other states, such as Pennsylvania or Massachusetts, allow sentences up to 23 to 30 months to be served in county jails.

**Realignment strategies**

Within the last few years, states have explored innovative ways to reduce their prison populations. The forerunner for this movement was California. On April 2, 2011, California Governor Jerry Brown signed the Criminal Justice Realignment Act of 2011 into law. The law diverts non-felony parole violators out of the state system and into the county jails (Petersilia & Snyder, 2013). The law was a result of the U. S. Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Plata (2011) that forced California to develop strategies to reduce its prison population, which at the time was operating at 137.5% of its capacity (Minton, 2013).

The Public Safety Realignment Policy (PSR) was designed to divert new, non-violent, non-serious, and non-sex offenders from prison and into the county jail jurisdiction. In addition, post-release jurisdiction for these individuals is through the county-directed community supervision instead of the state's parole system. Under PSR, current prison inmates finish their terms and are released as they were previously (Minton, 2013). In what Petersilia and Snyder (2013) have called "the biggest penal experiment in recent history" (p. 266), California's

realignment policy has resulted in a decrease in the prison population in 2011 (Carson & Sabol, 2012) but greatly contributed to an increase of 12,000 in their 2012 and 2013 jail population (Minton & Golinelli 2014).

Following California's lead, other states enacted similar legislation or policies. In Pennsylvania for example, Act 122 of 2012 became effective on January 1, 2013. Under Act 122, state parole violators may be placed in a contracted county jail instead of a state correctional institution upon revocation of their parole. Like California's PSR, the goal is to reduce the state prison population. Many parole violators under Act 122 are diverted into Community Corrections Centers (CCC) where offenders have access to treatment and programming geared toward their individual needs with the goal to address promptly the circumstances, which led them to violate parole. Other technical or convicted parole violators can be sentenced to either a state correctional facility or a contracted county jail based on their violation or if they are an identifiable threat to public safety. These individuals receive a sentence of six months for their first violation, nine months for their second, and one year for their third or any subsequent violations (Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 2013b).

These realignment strategies add another layer of complexity to the composition of jail inmates. Where the county jail population had previously been comprised of short-term, pre-trial, and pre-sentenced offenders, county jails now have an influx of state parole violators who have been previously released and violated their parole. In California, the realignment strategy immediately led to overcrowded jails and the need for additional funds for jail expansion, shifting the burden from the state to the county level (Petersilia & Snyder, 2013; Petersilia & Cullen, 2015).

**Jail Reentry Challenges**

Although limited, many jails provide programs for offenders to aid in their reintegration. Services include drug and alcohol awareness education, employment training, education, parenting classes, life skills training, and psychiatric services (Stephan, 2001). Larger jails are more likely than smaller jails to offer more diverse programming (Solomon et al., 2008).

Jail reentry issues do not garner the attention of policymakers and researchers due to the factors previously stated. Although services are limited, jail offenders face the same individual level challenges that returning prison inmates confront. Jail inmates, like prisoners, tend to lack marketable work experience, have low levels of education or vocational training, face similar family and social strain, and suffer from mental illness and substance abuse issues (Parsons, 2014; Solomon et al., 2008).

In a 2002 report of the jail population, James (2004) found that nearly thirty percent of offenders were employed prior to incarceration. In addition, Harlow (2003) found that sixty-percent of jail inmates had neither a high school diploma nor GED. When services were offered in jail, very few inmates took advantage of the opportunity. Harlow (2003) reported a mere fourteen percent of inmates participated in educational programs while less than five percent participated in vocational training. When compared to prisoners, fifty-two percent of prison inmates participated in educational programs and one-third took advantage of vocational training classes (Harlow, 2003). These discrepancies can partially be explained by the short sentences of jail offenders. As most jail offenders leave within a month, they may not have the opportunity to take part in these services.

Similar to prisoners, jail offenders experience high levels of substance abuse and mental health issues when compared to the general public (James & Glaze, 2006). Karberg and James

(2005) found that over sixty-eight percent of jail inmates meet the diagnosis criteria for substance abuse or dependence, over 7.5 times the prevalence in the general population. Like education and vocational training, few jail offenders participate in formal treatment (Karberg & James, 2005). Research indicates sixteen percent of jail offenders suffer from mental illness (Ditton, 1999). Mental health issues in jails are so rampant that some large jail systems are their state's largest mental health service provider (Lurigio, Fallon, and Dincin, 2000).

Jail offenders face unique challenges in the reentry process. As explained, jail offenders do not receive the same attention as their prison counterparts. This is the result of the varied population housed in jails, short lengths of stay, heightened individual challenges with limited service capacity, the small jurisdiction and tax base from which jails operate, and the lack of a community-based system to facilitate the jail reentry process (Parsons, 2014; Solomon et al., 2008).

Although there are a number of challenges associated with jail reentry, Solomon and colleagues (2008) explain that the jail experience includes certain unique opportunities that may benefit the reentry process. The shorter incarceration in jails equates to less time away from home. When compared to prisoners, jail inmates are able to return to their communities, their jobs, and families after a relatively short absence (Solomon et al., 2008). Instead of years away from society, offenders are less likely to lose their job or federal benefits while incarcerated.

Another unique characteristic of jail inmates is that county jails are typically located in or near the community where offenders live (Solomon, et al. 2008). This may result in increased visits from family and friends who have been shown to be an important factor in desisting from crime (La Vigne et al., 2004). In addition, county jails have the opportunity to start in-reach

programs with the community that allow treatment providers, employers, and mentors the opportunity to come to jails and help offenders.

A final unique characteristic is the opportunity to be part of a community of network providers (Solomon, et al., 2008). As jails are in or close to the community where the offenders live, their staff can work with other organizations in the area to advocate for integrated services in the community. Pairing with other community-based service agencies can help individuals form a reentry plan, know where to go for help, and potentially aid former offenders in a successful reintegration process (Solomon, et al., 2008).

## Reentry Programs

### Definition of Reentry Programs

Realizing the major problems associated with the reintegration from incarceration to society, specific programs have been developed to aid inmates through this transition and assist them to successfully assimilate into society. One problem in evaluating reentry programs is defining the term "reentry program." A reentry program does not typically refer to a particular treatment program, but a broad range of programs designed to reduce recidivism. A specific definition of a reentry program is important as most prison and community corrections programs could arguably be considered a "reentry program" and the process of reentry could start at admission to prison (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Petersilia (2009) defines prisoner reentry as a process that includes "all activities and programming conducted to prepare ex-convicts to return safely to their community and live as law abiding citizens" (p. 3). Travis (2005) more broadly defines reentry as the process of leaving prison and returning to society. These definitions of reentry are too broad to be applied to an evidence-based program and omit discussion of jail reentry. Seiter & Kadela (2003) use a two-tiered definition to describe reentry programs:

1. Correctional programs that focus on the transition from prison to community (prerelease, work release, halfway houses, or specific reentry programs); and

2. Programs that have initiated treatment (substance abuse, life skills, education, cognitive/behavioral, sex/violent offender) in a prison setting and have linked with a community program to provide continuity of care. (p. 368)

This definition is more concise than Travis' (2005) and Petersilia's (2009), but still excludes potential jail reentry programs. As many of the problems faced by reintegrating offenders are not specific to prison inmates and are faced by jail offenders (Soloman et al, 2007), this definition, if expanded to jail inmates, is effective in evaluating reentry programs.

**Meta Analytic Studies and Evaluation**

A comprehensive meta-analysis of "what works" in evidence-based prison or jail reentry programs has yet to be conducted in the field. Most evaluation research on rehabilitation programs has focused on prison inmates. Meta-analyses on prison rehabilitation programs have shown promise in reducing recidivism (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007). Research on programs that start in prison and continue through the transition into the community as well as community-based programs has demonstrated success in reducing recidivism (Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk, & Steward, 1999, Zhang, Roberts, & Callanan, 2006). Other meta-analyses have found significant reductions in recidivism for residential treatment programs for juveniles (Garrett, 1985; Latimer, Dowden, Edgar, Morton-Bourgon, & Bania, 2003; Lipsey, 2009; Lipsey & Wilson, 1998; Whitehead & Lab, 1989) and adult correctional treatment (Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, & Cullen, 1990; Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Jonson, 2010; Lansberger & Lipsey, 2005; Mitchell, Wilson, & MacKenzie, 2006; Nagin, Cullen, & Jonson, 2009; Petrosino, 1997; Tong & Ferrington, 2006).

Two systematic reviews have been conducted that evaluate published reentry programs for overall effectiveness. The first, a report by Seiter and Kadela (2003) evaluated all available prison reentry program evaluations from 1975 to 2001. More recently, Wright, Zhang, Farabee, and Braatz (2014) conducted a narrative review of jail and prison programs published from 2000 to 2010.

Formatting their review in a way that emulates Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter, & Bushway's (1998) evaluation of what works in evidence-based crime prevention, Seiter and Kadela (2003) used the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS) to determine what works, what does not work, and what is promising for prisoner reentry programs.

Seiter and Kadela (2003) identified 32 studies in a thorough review that met their definition of a prisoner reentry program. These studies were assigned a Maryland Scientific Methodology Scale (SMS) score of one to five and placed into one of six categories: vocational training and work, drug rehabilitation, educational programs, sex/violent offender programs, halfway house programs, and prison prerelease programs. Seiter and Kadela's (2003) review found various positive results for reentry programs. Of the 32 interventions they reviewed, 21 were effective in reducing recidivism. Vocational training and work release programs were effective in reducing recidivism and they also improved inmates' job readiness skills. Drug rehabilitation programs were also effective in reducing recidivism and the most methodologically sound. Education programs were not effective in reducing recidivism, but they did lead to an increase in educational achievement. Halfway house and prerelease programs were found to be effective in reducing future criminality. Seiter and Kadela (2003) found sex and violent offender programs promising, with methodologically weak evaluations published.

While Seiter and Kadela's (2003) review provided insight into "what works" in reentry, more experimental or quasi-experimental evaluations are needed to enhance their conclusions. Wright and colleagues (2014) followed up on Seiter and Kadela's (2003) review, searching for evaluations from 2000 to 2010. Although they adapted different methodology in reviewing each evaluation, Wright and his colleagues (2014) identify additional components of reentry programs that seem to be working in reducing recidivism and stopping the "revolving door" in the criminal justice system.

Wright and colleagues (2014) attempted to complete a meta-analysis of community-based reentry programs. Due to the small number of peer-reviewed, quantitative program evaluations they were able to locate, they redesigned their study to include residential programs with an aftercare component. They also expanded their scope to include unpublished empirical studies to reduce publication bias.

Utilizing a search of evaluated reentry programs from 2000 to 2010 that either appeared in peer-reviewed journals or in government reports, Wright and colleagues (2014) found 35 studies that evaluated 29 reentry programs. Of the 29 programs, 21 consisted of multiple services, while the remaining eight included single, cognitive behavioral interventions. The 21 multi-modal programs included a combination of substance abuse counseling, employment or job training, educational training, and group or individual counseling. These programs, unlike Seiter's and Kadela's (2003) review, included jail reentry programs. Even though there was a two-year overlap in the span of their data collection, no evaluation from the Seiter and Kadela (2003) review was included in the Wright et al. (2014) study.

Results from Wright and colleagues (2014) revealed that programs that provided housing assistance and the inclusion of an aftercare component (in six of seven evaluations) were the

most effective in reducing recidivism. Other program components that yielded positive outcomes for offenders, measured in recidivism reduction, revocation reduction, or reduced drug use, included education, residential treatment, and substance abuse prevention. Counter to previous research showing cognitive-behavior therapy (CBT) to be effective in reducing recidivism (Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lipsey, 2009), Wright and colleagues (2014) found CBT to be the least likely program component to result in a statistically significant treatment outcome.

Table 2

*Summary table of systematic review studies*

| Year | Authors | Span of Review | Number of Studies | Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2003 | Seiter & Kadela | Prior to 2002 | 32 | 21 of 32 interventions showed reduction in recidivism: vocational training, work release programs, drug rehabilitation programs, halfway house, and prerelease programs. Not effective: Educational Programs |
| 2014 | Wright et al. | 2000-2010 | 35 | Most effective programs: Housing assistance and aftercare components<br>Effective programs: Education, residential treatment, and substance abuse prevention<br>Least effective: Cognitive behavioral treatment |

In addition to the 32 evaluations by Seiter & Kadela (2003) from 1975 to 2001, and the 35 evaluations by Wright and colleagues (2014) from 2000 to 2010, five additional reentry program evaluations, spanning from 2001 to 2011, were located that addressed issues associated specifically with jail reentry (see Table 3). Included in the literature were programs containing Day Reporting Centers (DRCs) which are non-residential locations where an ex-offender attends mandatory programming daily. Services at DRCs typically include educational services, vocational skills training, and job placement assistance, substance abuse education and services, family counseling, and life skills training (Osterman, 2009).

Craddock & Graham (2001) evaluated two DRCs in a midwestern state. One DRC was located in an urban area and the other in a rural community. The researchers compared program completers and non-completers at each center to a high-risk group of substance abusers. Craddock & Graham (2001) found that in 12 months after completion, rural program completers were significantly less likely to reoffend when compared to the high-risk control group. In the urban group, program completers were less likely to recidivate when compared to the control group, but the difference was not statistically significant. However, these conclusions must be interpreted with caution as each group ranged in sample size from 14 to 23 participants.

Similarly, Champion, Harvey, & Schanz (2011) evaluated a Western, Pennsylvania DRC with a three-year follow-up period. Using a quasi-experimental design with 63 participants in each of their control and experimental groups, Champion and colleagues (2011) found a significant reduction in recidivism in DRC program completers when compared to the control group. This result also should be interpreted with caution as a high attrition rate (17.5% of treatment participants' data were missing) may have skewed this result.

Like the Wright et al. (2014) review of reentry programs, several programs offered multiple services. These multimodal programs attempted to combine the successful components of other reentry initiatives in order to capture an all-inclusive reentry program. The Serious Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI) was a pilot reentry program that coordinated the interagency activities of the Departments of Education, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Labor (Muhlhausen, 2010). Initiated by the Department of Justice in 2003, SVORI's goals included improving employment, housing, and family and community involvement as well as reducing future criminality of serious violent offenders (Lattimore & Visher, 2009).

An evaluation by Lattimore & Visher (2009) assessed the impact of SVORI participation at 12 adult and 4 juvenile sites using official measures of recidivism. These SVORI programs were primarily comprised of prison populations. The evaluation used a propensity score technique to estimate the impact of SVORI participants from non-SVORI participants for three groups: males (treatment group = 863 vs. comparison = 834) and females (153 treatment group vs. 204 comparison). Using a follow up period of 24 months after release, they found that adult male participants (treatment and comparison groups) did not differ in rearrests, reconvictions, or reincarcerations. Female participants did not differ in rearrest rates, but the treatment group had significantly lower reconviction and reincarceration rates than the comparison group (Latimore & Visher, 2009).

Moreover, two programs that fit the category of multi-service jail reentry programs were evaluated. One of the most recognized reentry programs in the field is the Boston Reentry Initiative (Muhlhausen, 2010). Implemented in 2001, the Boston Reentry Initiative was designed to ease the transition process for high-risk and violent male jail inmates released to Boston neighborhoods. Services include mental health and substance abuse treatment, career counseling, job placement, education, identification/driver's license assistance, housing, and transportation (Braga, Piehl, & Hureau, 2009). An evaluation by Braga and colleagues (2009) compared 108 Boston Reentry Initiative participants with 309 matched controls who were released two years prior to the implementation of the program. Results after a three-year follow-up demonstrated that program participants were significantly less likely to be rearrested when compared to the control group.

Another multifaceted jail program was evaluated in Auglaize County, OH by Miller & Miller (2010). The Auglaize County Transition (ACT) program involved case management,

employment placement, job readiness training, work release, substance abuse treatment, mental health counseling, and cognitive-behavioral therapy services. A quasi-experimental design was implemented using a treatment group of 73 program participants and a control group of 72 ex-offenders who could not get into the program due to lack of space. The control group was matched to the participants. Results indicated that participation in the ACT program resulted in a significant decrease in rearrest after the twelve-month follow-up period.

Table 3

*Summary Table of Evaluated Reentry Programs*

| Study Author, Date, Location | Name of Program | Type | Services | Outcome | Follow-up period |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Miller & Miller (2010) Auglaize County, OH | Auglaize County Transition Program | Multimodal: Jail | Case management, employment placement, job readiness training, work release, substance abuse treatment, mental health counseling, cognitive –behavioral therapy | Rearrest: 12.8% treatment group (N = 73) vs 81.9% Control group (N = 72) | 1 year |
| Braga, Piehl, Hureau (2009) Boston, MA | Boston Reentry Initiative | Multimodal: Jail | Mental health and substance abuse treatment, career counseling, job placement, education, identification/driver's license assistance, housing, and transportation. | Rearrest: Treatment group (N = 107) 30% less likely to be rearrested than control (N = 309) | 3 years |
| Champion et al (2011) Western PA | Day Reporting Center | Day Reporting Center | Drug and alcohol treatment and intensive supervision | Rearrest: Treatment group (N = 63) 5% vs. Control group (N = 63) 29% (statistically significant) | 3 Years |
| Craddock & Graham (2001) Midwestern State | Day Reporting Center | Day Reporting Center | Drug and alcohol treatment and intensive supervision | Rural: Completers (N = 14) significantly lower recidivism than high risk control (N = 23) No other statistical significance | 1 Year |
| Lattimore & Visher (2009) Nationwide | SVORI | Multimodal: SVORI | Improve employment, housing, and family and community involvement as well as reducing future criminality | Adult male participants did not differ in measures of rearrest, reconviction, or reincarceration. Female participants did not differ in rearrest rates, but had significantly lower reconviction and reincarceration rates | 2 Years |

This research demonstrates that reentry programs in both prison and jail can be effective in reducing recidivism. Programs with strong fidelity and wrap-around in-reach service can

result in a positive reintegration process for offenders. When housing, employment, substance abuse, education, and other needs are addressed for jail and prison inmates, recidivism rates generally decrease. Unfortunately, many of these programs exclusively utilized urban inmates. Programs addressing rural offenders are rare in the reentry literature.

## Rural Framework

As previously discussed, returning offenders face critical issues in reintegrating from prison and jail. Rural offenders' needs and challenges are not widely known. This section will explore the literature on rural crime and reentry, beginning with the challenge of defining the concept of rural.

### Defining Rural

Various definitions of rural have been adapted by practitioners and researchers alike, both quantitative and qualitative. Weisheit, Falcone, and Wells (2006) contend that one major challenge of conducting research on rural crime is capturing the essence of rural life. Rural areas are difficult to empirically identify and vary greatly from place to place. A rural area in Maine differs greatly from a rural area in Louisiana in geography, demographics, economics, and culture. In many instances, specified criteria are used in rendering a definition of urban and metropolitan areas. As result, rural areas are generally defined by their absence of meeting these criteria. For example, the U.S. Census Bureau classifies urbanized areas as geographical locations with a population of 50,000 or more. The Census Bureau also defines urban clusters as areas of at least 2,500 and less than 50,000. Rural areas encompass areas that are not classified as either urbanized areas or urban clusters (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.) Generally, population density or geographical isolation is used as a measure of rural. While small populations typically

characterize rural areas, researchers must decide the point where a rural area becomes urban (Cromartie & Parker, 2013).

The United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service uses a broader definition of rural that places rural and urban counties on a 9-point continuum. Researchers from the Economic Research Service (ERS) developed this scale and corresponding points on the scale in a 1975 report (Heins, Brown & Zimmer, 1975). These "Beale codes" classify counties along a well-defined continuum that reflect the location of the county in relation to a metropolitan area and the size of the urban center in each county (Parker, 2013). With a range of 1-9 where one represents the largest metropolitan area and nine represents the most rural, Parker (2013) explains each characterization:

Metro counties:

1 Counties in metro areas of 1 million population or more

2 Counties in metro areas of 250,000 to 1 million population

3 Counties in metro areas of fewer than 250,000 population

Non-metro counties:

4 Urban population of 20,000 or more, adjacent to a metro area

5 Urban population of 20,000 or more, not adjacent to a metro area

6 Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, adjacent to a metro area

7 Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, not adjacent to a metro area

8 Completely rural or less than 2,500 urban population, adjacent to a metro area

9 Completely rural or less than 2,500 urban population, not adjacent to a metro area

According to a 2013 report by The Department of Agriculture ERS, there are currently 1,976 non-metro counties and 1,167 metro counties in the US (Parker, 2013). Table 4, adapted from Parker (2013), shows the breakdown of population by county Beale code. Of the 308,745,538 U.S. citizens from the 2010 census, 46,293,406 lived in non-metro counties (Parker, 2013), indicating that 15% of American's live in non-metro areas.

Table 4

*2013 U.S. Population Based on ERS Rural-Urban County Continuum Codes*

| Code | Number of Counties | 2010 Population |
|---|---|---|
| **Metro** | **1,167** | **262,452,132** |
| 1 | 432 | 168,523,961 |
| 2 | 379 | 65,609,956 |
| 3 | 356 | 28,318,215 |
| **Non-Metro** | **1,976** | **46,295,406** |
| 4 | 214 | 13,538,322 |
| 5 | 92 | 4,953,810 |
| 6 | 593 | 14,784,976 |
| 7 | 433 | 8,248,674 |
| 8 | 220 | 2,157,448 |
| 9 | 424 | 2,610,176 |
| **U.S. Total** | **3,143** | **308,745,538** |

*Note.* Adapted from Parker, 2013.

The Center for Rural Pennsylvania further differentiates rural areas on the county level, using the population density of the entire state as the benchmark to differentiate urban from rural counties. The population density of Pennsylvania from the 2010 census was 284 persons per square mile (Center for Rural PA, 2014). According to the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's definition of rural, any county with a population density under 284 persons per square mile is considered a rural county. By this definition, 48 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties are considered rural (Center for Rural Pennsylvania, 2014). Table 2 and Figure 1 show the breakdown of urban and rural PA counties.

The Center for Rural Pennsylvania definition has several advantages and disadvantages. While population density measures are convenient in the breakdown of urban and rural locales, a

broad measure fails to capture some of the major features associated with rural life. Some Pennsylvania counties that are classified as rural include small cities (i.e., Altoona). Individuals living in these small cities may vary from those residing in more isolated parts of the county in their lifestyles, but a population density definition clumps these individuals together under one label. However, this clustering is true within urban areas as well, as variation exists when trying to define any group of individuals. Two individuals living in cities may differ greatly in their lifestyles, but they share the same categorization as urban residents. These distinctions are difficult to control for in any categorization. While a population density measure based on county-level populations can be problematic, it can be an appropriate measure for the current study.

The current study utilized the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's definition of rural based on county levels. Pennsylvania functions as a Commonwealth with each county establishing its own laws and services. Nearly every county in Pennsylvania has its own jail and probation/parole office. As data was gathered from county level inmates and practitioners, a county level breakdown of rural and urban fit the scope of the study. A recent report by Zajac and colleagues (2014) explored similar issues in the rural reentry process using the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's county level breakdown to define rural. As this study shares similarities in scope and goals, the same definition of rural/urban was used. The next section explores the research on rural crime to exemplify the need for rural research and to help identify the challenges rural inmates face in the reentry process.

Table 5

*Population Densities of all 67 Pennsylvania Counties*

| County | Population Density | County | Population Density |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allegheny | 1,676 | Lackawanna | 467 |
| Armstrong | 106 | Lancaster | 550 |
| Beaver | 392 | Lawrence | 254 |
| Bedford | 49 | Lebanon | 369 |
| Berks | 480 | Lehigh | 1,013 |
| Blair | 242 | Luzerne | 360 |
| Bradford | 55 | Lycoming | 95 |
| Bucks | 1,035 | McKean | 44 |
| Butler | 233 | Mercer | 173 |
| Cambria | 209 | Mifflin | 114 |
| Cameron | 13 | Monroe | 279 |
| Carbon | 171 | Montgomery | 1,656 |
| Centre | 139 | Montour | 140 |
| Chester | 655 | Northampton | 805 |
| Clarion | 67 | Northumberland | 206 |
| Clearfield | 71 | Perry | 83 |
| Clinton | 44 | Philadelphia | 11,379 |
| Columbia | 139 | Pike | 105 |
| Crawford | 88 | Potter | 16 |
| Cumberland | 432 | Schuylkill | 190 |
| Dauphin | 511 | Snyder | 121 |
| Delaware | 3,041 | Somerset | 72 |
| Elk | 39 | Sullivan | 14 |
| Erie | 351 | Susquehanna | 53 |
| Fayette | 173 | Tioga | 37 |
| Forest | 18 | Union | 142 |
| Franklin | 194 | Venango | 82 |
| Fulton | 34 | Warren | 47 |
| Greene | 67 | Washington | 243 |
| Huntingdon | 52 | Wayne | 73 |
| Indiana | 107 | Westmoreland | 355 |
| Jefferson | 69 | Wyoming | 71 |
| Juniata | 63 | York | 481 |

*Note*. Underlined counties are considered rural by the Center for Rural Pennsylvania. Adapted from the Center for Rural Pennsylvania.

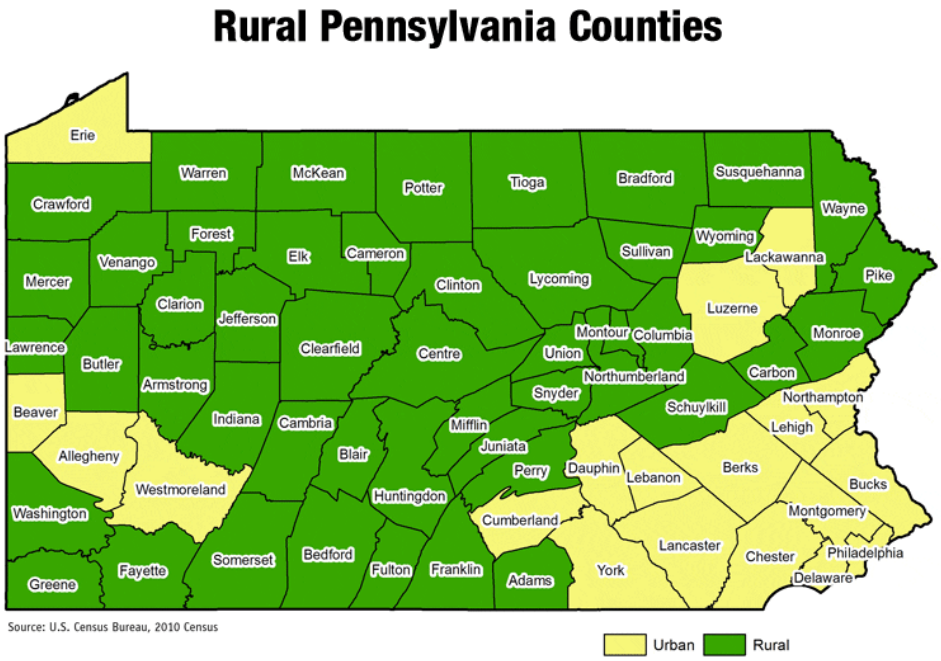


*Figure 1*. Rural Pennsylvania Counties.

**Rural Crime**

According to Weisheit and Donnemeyer (2000), there were over 65 million rural citizens in the United States in 2000. Researchers have explored rural crime issues for over 90 years. A report by Hubbard and Horton (1980) consisted of an annotated bibliography of rural crime articles for the National Institute of Justice. They located 140 articles from 1921 to 1979 on topics including incident rates, crime prevention and law enforcement strategies, criminal justice, the court system, and the juvenile justice system (Hubbard & Horton, 1980). More recently, two researchers have devoted much of their careers to the study of rural crime: Joseph Donnemeyer and Ralph Weisheit. Donnemeyer began studying rural crime and victimization in a 1982 study in rural Indiana (Donnemeyer, 1982) and is one of the few experts on rural crime. Weisheit began exploring rural issues in marijuana cultivation in the late 1980s (Weisheit, 1993). In 1994, Weisheit, along with David Falcone and L. Edward Wells, co-authored *Crime and Policing in*

*Small Town America*. In its 3rd edition, Weisheit, Falcone, & Wells (2006) continue to argue for the inclusion of rural issues in criminal justice research. As many Americans reside in rural areas, it is important in our understanding of crime and criminality to explore both rural and urban areas.

The dearth of research of rural crime issues has been noted by researchers. Weisheit and his colleagues (2006) outlined five reasons why rural crime has been understudied. First, urban areas receive more attention by researchers due to their crime rates. Second, due to the higher crime rates, studying city crime is simpler and more convenient for researchers. Third, media outlets are generally centered in large cities. This leads to more coverage of urban crime and further perpetuates the notion that crime is an urban problem. Fourth, most researchers and research institutions are in urban areas. This leads to convenience for researchers who are more familiar with urban life and unfamiliar with rural culture. Finally, Weisheit and colleagues (2006) contend that Americans do not distinguish between urban and rural culture. The authors base their position on the massification and globalization across rural and urban America. While there may be cultural differences between the groups, technology, mass marketing, and "McDonaldization" have allowed rural communities to access many of the same luxuries/goods that previously had only been available in urban areas. As globalization has occurred in recent years, society may perceive that urban models of crime can easily be applied to rural areas.

While crime appears less frequent in rural areas, Donnermeyer (2007) found that crime rates in rural areas were consistently increasing. In a study of homicide rates by county, Weisheit & Wells (2005) found that 17 of the top 30 counties with the highest homicide rates were non-metro counties. Additionally, drug use rates among urban and rural communities are virtually identical (Weisheit et al., 2006). The rural landscape offers more locations to commit crimes than

urban areas. Although crime occurs in rural areas, the public does not view rural crime as large a problem as crime in urban communities (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). This may result from a lack of reporting. Acceptance of outsiders and lack of trust in government in rural communities may affect underreporting of crime (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). Furthermore, the rural structure is more interpersonal than urban areas. In rural communities, residents know their neighbors and may be more willing to work outside of the law than in urban communities. In areas with a smaller population, there are fewer people to commit crimes, but that does not mean that crime does not occur (Wodahl, 2006).

Research suggests that types of crime differ between rural and urban areas (Deller & Deller, 2011). Rural communities are more prone to thefts than violent crimes (Carter, 1982). Fundamental differences may exist between rural and urban communities that may contribute to their crime rates. Weisheit and Donnermeyer (2000) compared urban and rural crime statistics and found that rural places are more abundant than urban places and that rural places display an incredible variety of conditions. These conditions include geography, culture, and economic factors.

Geographically, rural areas differ from urban locales in various ways. For example, rural areas are spread out in terms of physical distance. Public transportation is rarely available in rural areas, making personal transportation important for individuals. Isolation is problematic for medical or police emergencies because it takes longer for responders to reach rural houses. In terms of crime, distance from neighbors inhibits their ability to monitor the immediate area or to report any suspicious activity to authorities (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000).

Rural culture is a difficult construct to measure. Weisheit and Donnermeyer (2000) outline three components that make up the rural culture: informal social control, mistrust of the

government, and reluctance to seek outside assistance. Informal social control appears more prominent in rural areas than urban areas (Smith, 1980). The increased level of informal social control is related to a higher density of acquaintanceship (Freudenburg, 1986). Rural residents tend to know their neighbors and community members better than their urban counterparts. This is because rural areas have more stability in their population; families often stay in the same areas (or in the same house) for generations. This higher level of acquaintance density results in lower levels of victimization (Freudenberg, 1986), and more residents believing they can handle criminal activity informally (Smith, 1980).

Rural residents exhibit a higher level of mistrust in government. They may perceive the government as not serving the best interests of local needs (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). Similarly, rural residents are more reluctant to seek outside assistance, often failing to report community problems and assuming that they can address them with their own resources. When residents in urban and rural communities were questioned as to why they failed to report a crime, respondents in urban areas believed nothing could be done. By contrast, rural respondents believed crime was a private matter (Laub, 1981).

Economic factors in rural areas contribute to the differences between urban and rural areas. Weisheit and colleagues (2006) point out three distinct rural economic patterns: chronic poverty, economic extremes, and "thin economies". Chronic poverty is prevalent in many rural areas. According to Brown and Hirschi, (1995) the highest levels of poverty are not in central cities, but rural areas. Many rural areas are marked by high unemployment and low wages, making an underclass of marginalized workers and driving the young, educated, and skilled workers elsewhere to find employment (Weisheit et al., 2006). While poverty is high in some rural areas, economic growth and development lead to wide income disparities among rural

communities. Rural communities adjacent to metropolitan areas have the lowest poverty levels (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). Factories and prisons are often built in rural areas and benefit the local economies they serve (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). Gas and oil drilling companies in the rural northeast have recently provided employment in areas that were previously facing economic hardship. While these economic developments benefit some rural areas, they lead to a "thin economy" where one single agency or occupational activity dominates and many remain economically disadvantaged (Weisheit et al., 2006).

Weisheit and Donnermeyer (2000) contend that urban crime theories do not account for the diverse structural conditions of rural crime, making it difficult to generalize some criminological theories to rural areas. As an example, urban explanations of gun availability fueling high crime rates do not apply for rural areas where gun ownership is common and more often used for hunting than crime. Furthermore, while similar crimes occur in urban and rural areas, Weisheit & Donnermeyer (2000) found that police dealt with them differently. Rural police were able to clear a substantially higher percentage of offenses than their urban counterparts. Rural residents placed more legitimacy in police and few considered police brutality to be a problem. The lack of rural crime research extends to the realm of rural reentry issues, a topic that has yet to be empirically explored.

**Rural Reentry**

While rural crime is scarcely researched, research on rural reentry issues is almost non-existent. Wodahl (2006) called for a rural perspective in reentry research. He contended that rural residents have different experiences when returning home, and that these rural communities have unique features that make urban-based policies and programs ineffective in rural settings. Access is limited in rural areas. Rural residents may be restricted from private or public services, health

care services, government programs, and other assistance programs (Garland, Wodahl, & Mayfield, 2011). As services are sparse, individuals in rural counties may simply go without them.

Although the composition of rural offenders differs slightly from their urban counterparts (Weisheit et al., 2006), many rural jails face similar problems in their population. Rural jail administrators also confront problems of overcrowding, substance abuse and mental health issues of their inmates, and high turnover of their staff (Ruddell & Mays, 2006). Housing in rural areas is another significant obstacle. As rural areas have limited housing opportunities, most former offenders must live with a friend or relative upon release. The homeless in rural areas often find themselves in abandoned farmhouses (Aron & Fitchen, 1996; Wodahl, 2006).

Weisheit and colleagues (2006) found that rural communities are more economically challenged then their urban counterparts. Funding for rehabilitation services is scarce due to limited employment opportunities and a small tax base (Wodahl, 2006). Some rural jails house federal and immigration offenders to generate supplemental revenue (Hecht, 2006). Hecht (2006) explains that resources are limited in rural jails. These jails typically utilize old buildings refurbished to temporarily warehouse inmates. Due to the low population density in rural areas, rural jails recruit from a smaller potential employment pool than their urban counterparts, and they must contend with a criminal justice system that lacks resources to place inmates in needed services (Hecht, 2006).

In addition to lack of services, those in rural areas face higher rates of acquaintance density than urban areas (Wodahl, 2006; Garland et al, 2011). The condensed level of acquaintances in rural areas leads to more community members knowing the past behavior and criminal histories of others. This can be associated with higher levels of stigmatization that may

prevent ex-offenders from attending services or gaining employment and housing once released. Conversely, the close-knit groups in the returning community provide a unique opportunity for the community to ban together and address the problems of offenders (Solomon et al., 2008).

In a recent report by the Center for Rural Pennsylvania, Zajac et al. (2014) explored the issues associated with rural reentry from state and county facilities in Pennsylvania. Using official data of prison and rural inmates released to the 45 rural counties in Pennsylvania, Zajac et al. (2014) not only found that prison and jail releases have been steadily increasing in recent years, but also projected that the number of returning offenders will increase at a rate of 380 per year for state inmates and 220 per year for jail inmates until 2017. As more inmates will be released to rural areas, researchers and practitioners have to address the needs and challenges ex-offenders face. The research described in the next section summarizes practitioners' perceptions of reentry issues.

## Perceptions of Offender Reentry Challenges: Prior Research

To further understand rural jail offenders, correctional practitioners have been surveyed to examine their perceptions of the needs and challenges offenders face. Previously, several researchers have explored the needs and difficulties of former offenders (Brown, 2004; Graffam, Shinkfield, & McPherson, 2004; Gunnison & Helfgott, 2007; 2011; Helfgott, 1997). Findings from these studies are outlined in Table 6 and are discussed.

Helfgott (1997) explored the relationship between former offenders' needs and the opportunities they had in the community. She surveyed 20 ex-offenders, 56 community transition agencies, 156 potential employers, 196 property managers, admissions administrators at 22 colleges, and 306 members of the general public in Seattle to determine their perspectives on whether the needs of ex-offenders were being met by reentry services and what challenges

offenders faced upon reintegrating to society. In addition to telephone surveys, twenty former inmates volunteered to participate in an interview about their personal needs and whether these needs were being met.

From interviews with former offenders, Helfgott (1997) found that interviewees had little family and friend support upon reintegration. The most important needs identified by the inmates included housing, employment, and substance abuse counseling. Other needs included education, medical care, health and auto insurance, clothing, food, and transportation. Their primary need was housing. Due to lack of funds, poor credit, and discrimination based on incarceration history, all of the offenders found housing to be the single biggest obstacle in their reentry process (Helfgott, 1997).

Surveys of transitional resources identified many services for former offenders upon release from incarceration. These programs were widely available to all disadvantaged individuals in the area and did not necessarily cater to ex-offenders. Services included temporary housing, food, clothing, mental health and substance abuse counseling, job placement, parenting classes, career development programs, and medical care (Helfgott, 1997). A large problem noted by the agencies' respondents was that these services were decentralized. This made it difficult for offenders to utilize multiple programs simultaneously.

The surveys of the public, potential employers, property managers, and universities indicated fear and hostility toward former-offenders. Most employers and property managers inquire about criminal history and reject applicants with a record. While results of the public survey denoted a propensity toward rehabilitation and reintegrative shaming over stigmatization, they still indicated numerous reservations about housing near or working with former offenders (Helfgott, 1997).

Focusing on women's reentry issues, Bergseth, Jens, Bergeron-Vigesaa, & McDonald (2011) surveyed twenty-four community service providers in a Midwestern state. The researchers inquired about community service providers' perceptions of female offenders' needs upon reentry. Asking respondents to consider women released within the past year, the results yielded seven domains the service providers deemed important. Employment ranked among the most commonly recognized offender need. Ninety percent of the respondents indicated employment as important, followed by housing (70%), family-related needs (60%), mental health (45%), interpersonal functioning (45%), substance abuse (40%), and acceptance/support (35%). In terms of most urgent need, mental health issues were the most immediate, followed by housing (Bergseth et al., 2011).

In a study by Brown (2004), Canadian federal parole supervisors were asked what they believed were the biggest challenges faced by returning offenders. Utilizing a telephone survey, participants responded to open-ended question: "What challenges do parolees face in the first 90 days after release?" A total of 74 parole supervisors participated in the study. Brown (2004) found that the biggest challenges concerned returning to previous behaviors, establishing family support, using old coping strategies, finding community support, low income, lack of work experience and skills, stigma, problems with community supervision, meeting spiritual needs, and getting corrections programing. His findings were similar to the challenges identified in the literature; and this study was one of the first to examine both internal and external challenges simultaneously.

Another study, conducted by Graffam and colleagues (2004), examined the variables affecting successful reentry or failure from the perceptions of offenders from the criminal justice and rehabilitation service sector. Utilizing semi-structured interviews of a limited sample of

twelve offenders and twenty-two professionals, Graffam and colleagues (2004) identified variables related to successful reentry similar to those of Helfgott (1997) and Brown (2004). These included difficulty achieving stable housing, employment, avoiding illegal activities, and addressing basic educational needs. Three additional variables not identified by Helfgott (1997) or Brown (2004) included readiness for change by the individual, remaining free from dependency, and complying with mandatory reporting.

Gunnison & Helfgott (2007) examined community correctional officers' perceptions of the needs of and services for former offenders. Community corrections officers are synonymous with parole officers in most states as their duties consist of providing guidance, support, and program opportunities for recently released offenders, while supervising and holding offenders accountable for their imposed conditions while in the community. Their study was conducted in Seattle, WA. The researchers mailed surveys to 112 state and 20 federal community corrections officers. The researchers used a top-down sampling approach; the supervisors were mailed an anonymous survey and asked to distribute them to their staff.

Results from Gunnison's & Helfgott's (2007) study indicated that community corrections officers found acquiring housing, job placement service, knowledge of their clients' crime cycle, having a realistic community plan, and an understanding of risk factors were the top 5 needs for offenders. The five least important needs included computer access, auto insurance, bank accounts, renter insurance, and interpretive services. The top five challenges community corrections officers perceived inmates face upon return included finding shelter, substance abuse problems, being used to obtaining money through illegal means, returning to dysfunctional families, and developing positive associations on the outside. Overall, officers were able to

identify the needs and challenges faced by returning offenders, and their responses were consistent with previous research (Brown, 2004; Graffam, et al., 2004; Helfgott, 1997).

Expanding upon their 2007 study, Helfgott & Gunnison (2008) explored the role of social distance of community corrections officers and former offenders in the reentry process. In Helfgott's (1997) study, formers offenders felt community corrections officers were too far removed from their situations because they had different social backgrounds. The offenders believed this was a significant obstacle in their reentry process. As Helfgott's (1997) study yielded a low sample size of 20 former inmates in a correctional program, Gunnison and Helfgott (2007) wanted to further explore the role social distance played 11 years later. Using the same data from their 2007 and 2008 studies, Gunnison and Helfgott (2011) found evidence that social distance affects an officers' ability to identify the risks and needs of the offenders. To qualitatively explore this relationship further, Gunnison and Helfgott (2011) examined open-ended responses on their survey to determine the role social distance plays in the officers' identification of needs and challenges. Results indicate that officer training does not focus on issues of social distance and the ability to relate to offenders. Community corrections officers attribute offenders' views of social distance to offenders' deflection of responsibility. Although offenders may view social distance as an important variable, officers did not view it as a major challenge facing former offenders in their reentry process.

In a recent report for the Center for Rural Pennsylvania, Zajac and colleagues (2014) interviewed key correctional officials throughout the PADOC and PBPP to identify the major challenges faced by rural offenders upon release from prison and jail. The researchers targeted twenty-one subjects including the Secretary of Corrections, Deputy Secretary for Specialized Facilities and Programs, nine parole board members, the director of the Bureau of Offender

Reentry Coordination, and the Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing. Of the twenty-one targeted officials, only thirteen agreed to an interview.

Through their interviews, Zajac et al. (2014) identified stigma, housing and job attainment, transportation, and programs addressing criminogenic needs as rural offenders' major challenges. The stigma associated with offenders' criminal history influenced their ability to secure employment and housing. As acquaintance density is higher in rural areas, many potential landlords or employers are aware of applicants' backgrounds and may refuse to rent apartments to or hire them based on their reputation. While often negative, this acquaintance density may benefit former offenders in terms of housing and employment if they are regarded highly in their community prior to incarceration. The need for housing and employment is exacerbated for "hard to place" offenders such as the mentally ill, violent, or sex offenders returning to rural areas as they face higher levels of stigma and fewer resources or programs that address their individual needs. In addition, Zajac and colleagues (2014) found that practitioners identified transportation as another major challenge to rural reentry. Transportation is vital to get to jobs, programs, and meetings with parole officers.

In a gap analysis comparing overall reentry programming in rural and urban areas, Zajac and colleagues (2014) found the rate of programs per capita in rural Pennsylvania areas is actually higher than urban areas. Using information on programs provided by the PBPP, the researchers compared the number of programs listed in rural Pennsylvania counties to those in urban counties. While the rate of programs per 10,000 was higher in rural areas, the researchers stress that their analysis does not describe or assess the quality of the programs. Furthermore, they note that these programs were unevenly distributed throughout the state, with some rural counties having many more than others. A type of program missing in many rural areas is one

that addresses the criminogenic needs of offenders (i.e. anti-social attitudes, poor decision making skills).

Table 6

*Summary Table of Research on Perceptions of Reentry*

| Year | Author(s) | Sample | Location | Methods | Results |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1997 | Helfgott | 20 ex-offenders<br>56 community transition agencies<br>156 potential employers<br>196 property managers<br>22 college admission counselors<br>306 members of the general public | City limits of Seattle, WA | Six different telephone surveys for all groups. | **Ex-offenders:** Little support from family and friends. Most important needs: Housing, Family, and Substance abuse counseling<br>**Community Transition Agencies:** Greatest Barriers = decentralization of services and community prejudice toward ex-offenders<br>**Potential Employers:** 63.5% inquire about criminal history. 23.5% have knowingly hired ex-offender.<br>**Property Managers:** 67% inquire about criminal history. 43% would reject<br>**Colleges Admissions:** Only 4 inquire about criminal convictions<br>**General Public:** Reject ex-offenders as neighbors regardless of offense |
| 2004 | Brown | 74 federal parole supervisors | Canada | Telephone surveys inquired about the biggest challenges ex-offenders face | **Biggest reentry challenges identified:** returning to previous behaviors, establishing family support, using old coping strategies, finding community support, low income, lack of work experience and skills, stigma, problems with community supervision, meeting spiritual needs, and getting corrections programing |
| 2004 | Graffam et al. | 12 offenders<br>22 practitioners involved in rehabilitative services | Melbourne, Australia | Semi-Structured interviews | **Grouped Challenges into six major themes:** Achieving housing and employment, avoiding illegal activities, addressing basic educational needs, readiness for change, remaining free from drug and alcohol dependency, and complying with mandatory reporting |
| 2007 | Gunnison & Helfgott | Community Corrections officers: 112 state and 20 federal officers | Seattle, WA | Paper and Pencil surveys mailed to participants | Top five important factors for successful reentry:<br>acquiring housing, job placement service, knowledge of their clients' crime cycle, having a realistic community plan, and an understanding of risk factors |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2011 | Bergenseth et al. | 24 community service providers | Midwestern State | Paper and Pencil surveys measuring perceptions of women reentry needs mailed to 50 individuals working in public and private service programs in the state | **Needs identified most often:** Employment (90%), housing (70%), family-related need (60%), mental health (45%), interpersonal functioning (40%), substance abuse (40%), and acceptance/support (35%). **Most Urgent Needs:** Mental health and housing |
| 2011 | Gunnison & Helfgott | Community Corrections officers: 112 state and 20 federal officers | Seattle, WA | Examined Qualitative responses of paper and pencil surveys mailed to participants in previous study | Explored the role social distance plays in identifying the risks and needs of former offenders. Results: Officer training does not focus on social distance issues or the ability to relate to offenders. Social distance was not a primary concern for officers |
| 2014 | Zajac et al. | 21 key correctional officials throughout PA | Pennsylvania | Semi-structured, in person interviews with PA corrections officials | **Major needs rural offenders face:** Stigma, housing and job attainment, transportation, and programs geared toward addressing criminogenic needs |

Through a review of the literature, it is clear that inmates face various obstacles in the reentry process. Although resources have being directed toward reentry programs and research in recent years, one aspect that has not been addressed sufficiently concerns the challenges of reentry from rural county jails. This dissertation explored the concept of rural jail reentry from the perspective of rural inmates and criminal justice practitioners. While the majority of crimes and inmates cluster around urban areas, rural offenders may confront different obstacles that marginalize them and further hinder their successful reintegration from jail to home.

# CHAPTER III

# METHODOLOGY

This dissertation examined issues associated with offender reentry in rural areas from the perspectives of three different sample groups in the criminal justice system: County parole/probation officers, offenders incarcerated in county institutions, and treatment staff. This study explored the perceptions of challenges associated with returning offenders and the sample respondents' attitudes regarding programming for offenders including the services that should be available. This chapter begins by defining the multiple terms associated in the current study, and then describes the study's four research questions, samples, design, measures, procedures, and analysis plan.

## Research Definitions

**Rural**: Rurality was measured using the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's classification of rural and urban counties. This classification was derived from the population density of each county in relation to the population density of the entire state of Pennsylvania. Counties with a population density less than that of the state are considered a rural county. See Table 2 for a breakdown of population densities by county, and see Figure 1 for the rural/urban classification for each county.

**Reentry:** The definition of reentry used in the current study is from Joan Petersilia (2009). She defines reentry as a process of "all activities and programming conducted to prepare ex-convicts to return safely to their community and live as law abiding citizens" (p. 3).

**Reentry Program:** In this dissertation, the term reentry program included the following two-tiered definition adapted from Seiter & Kadela (2003), and it was applied to jail programming:

1. Correctional programs that focus on the transition from [jail] to community (prerelease, work release, halfway houses, or specific reentry programs); and

2. Programs that have initiated treatment (substance abuse, life skills, education, cognitive/behavioral, sex/violent offender) in a [jail] setting and have linked with a community program to provide continuity of care. (p. 368)

## Research Questions

This dissertation attempted to empirically identify some of the major issues regarding jail reentry from a rural perspective. The goal was to identify and further understand prisoner reentry issues in rural areas and examine differences and similarities rural offenders confront and the extent to which the various sample respondents' perceptions concur. For inmates, and probation/parole officers, information was gathered regarding rural reentry programming, offender needs, perceived challenges inmates face, and successful strategies, through anonymous surveys. These surveys were slightly modified to fit the particular criminal justice actor's role. Each survey was divided into six subscales using principle component analysis. Due to the small number of rural treatment providers and the exploratory nature of rural reentry programing from the practitioner's perspective, semi-structured interviews were utilized with treatment staff in rural areas. To identify and explore some of these potential issues, this dissertation research sought to answer the following questions:

1. What do offenders, treatment staff, and probation/parole officers view as the most prominent challenges jail offenders face when returning to rural areas?
2. In what ways do practitioners' and inmates' perceptions of challenges differ?
3. In what ways do rural and urban probation/parole officers' perceptions of challenges differ?

## Sample Selection

As the issues of rural jail reentry have not been empirically investigated in the academic literature, this study explored these issues from the perspectives of different criminal justice actors. Three separate samples were used in the current study. When these units were combined, they helped demonstrate how rural criminal justice practitioners and inmates perceived the needs and the challenges of jail reentry.

All data were collected from criminal justice practitioners and inmates in Pennsylvania from July to October in 2014. According to the 2010 Census, there are 12,702,379 residents in the Commonwealth's 67 counties (Center for Rural Pennsylvania, 2013). As rural areas are the primary concern in this study, rural must be quantified. This study utilized county level data as Pennsylvania jails and probation/parole offices are separated at the county level. For this study, the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's classification of rural counties was used. The Center for Rural Pennsylvania categorizes 48 of 67 Pennsylvania counties as rural (Center for Rural Pennsylvania, 2013). This classification is derived from the population density of each county compared to the population density of the entire state. There are 44,743 square miles in Pennsylvania resulting in a population density of 284 persons per square mile. According to the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's (2013) definition, a county is considered rural if its population density is less than 284 persons per square mile.

### Sample One

The first sample consisted of county level probation/parole officer respondents. In 2013, there were a total of 2,061 adult county probation/parole officers in the state of Pennsylvania (Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 2013a). These officers differ from state probation and parole officers as they deal primarily with local inmates who are on probation or parole in

the county where they reside. In Pennsylvania, offenders who have sentences of less than twenty-four months serve their sentences in county jails. Any sentence of two years or more results in a transfer to the state Department of Corrections. While state parole officers only serve clients who have been released from prison before their maximum sentence, county probation/parole officers can serve clients either on probation or parole. Generally, county inmates are paroled upon completion of their minimum sentence and serve the remainder of their sentence on parole under the supervision of these officers.

First, a list of all probation/parole officers was obtained from the director of County Chief Adult Probation and Parole Officer Association of Pennsylvania (CCAPPOAP). There are 65 county probation/parole offices in the state of Pennsylvania and 2,061 probation/parole officers (Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 2013a). Surveys were distributed to probation/parole officers using a top-down approach similar to Gunnison & Helfgott (2007). However, this study utilized an electronic survey method. Emails containing a link to the survey were sent to the supervisors of all 65 probation and parole offices in PA.

The distribution of the surveys yielded a total of 493 respondents. During the data cleaning process, 82 surveys were incomplete. These surveys were dropped from the final sample and a total of 411 were retained for analysis. In 2013, there were 2061 county level probation and parole officers (Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 2013a), yielding a response rate of 20%. However, it should be noted that only 49 out of the possible 65 county probation and parole departments participated in the current study.

This section of the study collected data from both rural and urban officers. For the question pertaining to “county currently employed”, responses were cross-referenced with the Center for Rural PA’s (CRPA) differentiation of rural and urban counties to explore differences

in responses between urban and rural parole officers (research question 3). In addition, responses to the question, "how would you characterize the area you currently work in" were cross-referenced with the Center for Rural Pennsylvania categorization of rural and urban counties to determine if the CRPA definition is congruent with the officers' perceptions of their geographic region. This demographic indicator was found to be incongruent with the CRPA definition as many officers indicated their county was "suburban" or "included both rural and urban parts." This will be discussed further in the discussion section.

Of the sample of probation/parole officers (N = 411), 166 indicated that they worked in a rural county and 201 reported that they were working in an urban county. A total of 44 officers either failed to disclose the county where they worked or indicated that their county had both rural and urban areas. The CRPA definition of rural and urban counties was unable to be applied to these respondents, resulting in a sample of 367 officers who could be compared by geographical area.

**Sample Two**

A total of 200 inmates were surveyed in the jails for which they are serving time. There are currently 63 county jails in Pennsylvania, with 44 of them located in rural counties (Zajac & Kowalski, 2012). A total of four contiguous rural, western Pennsylvania county jails (Indiana, Jefferson, Armstrong, and Cambria) were invited to participate in the current study. The researcher personally contacted the warden or deputy warden of each jail for permission to collect data. With the warden's permission, the researcher traveled to each research site to collect data. As there are fewer inmates in rural jails than larger urban jails, this study relied on a convenience sample of available participants. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, a

convenience sample served as an adequate sampling method to begin to uncover the issues of rural jail reentry.

**Sample Three**

The third sample used in this project consisted of treatment staff within the four rural Western Pennsylvania counties. Treatment staff included counselors in the jail as well individuals who work for reentry and rehabilitative services in the counties. A snowball sampling technique was used in which contacts made in the local jails will refer treatment staff from the community who work with returning offenders. Due to the small number of "reentry" programs and services available within the four rural Pennsylvania counties, semi-structured interviews were utilized. A total of twenty-one service providers were interviewed to explore the issues of rural jail reentry from practitioners' perspectives.

## Research Design

This dissertation utilized a cross-sectional design. Cross sectional studies offer advantages over other designs in terms of cost and time (Menard, 2002). The goal of the research was to take a snapshot of the current reentry issues faced by rural jail inmates. Therefore, longitudinal and quasi-experimental designs were not employed. Survey methodology was utilized for two of the samples in this study. An adapted version of the Gunnison & Helfgott (2008) survey was utilized to measure practitioners' perceptions of the needs and challenges of returning offenders. In an attempt to increase the response rate in this study, the survey was abbreviated and required less time for probation/parole officers to complete it. Gunnison & Helfgott's (2008) original survey was not developed as a scale and therefore did not produce an overall score of needs or challenges. This allowed their instrument to be more adaptable to fulfill the exploratory nature of the current study. Various items from their abbreviated survey were

clustered in order to develop six subscales addressing potential challenges faced by returning offenders.

In addition to survey methodology, semi-structured interviews were conducted with treatment staff to explore their perceptions of the rural reentry process. As the rural counties in this study offer limited treatment services, the researcher was unable to capture a large enough sample size to employ statistical analysis. A large sample size is needed to ensure there is adequate statistical power to conduct analyses. If statistical power is too low, the researcher risks making a type II error (i.e., failing to find statistical significance when a relationship or difference occurs). Moreover, as a number of subscales were being created within the current survey, a large sample size would be required to run a principle component analysis. Clark & Watson (1995) recommend a minimum of 200 participants for principle component analysis to work. Only a small sample of rural treatment staff works in the area of reentry services and was available to participate; therefore, interviews were utilized in lieu of surveys. Qualitative interviews were conducted to examine the perceptions of treatment and program staff in the jail and in the community.

## Measures

### Demographics

**Sample one.** Demographic data on race/ethnicity, age, educational status, and gender were collected for multiple reasons. First, as the sample of probation/parole officers covers the entire state of Pennsylvania, this information was used to determine if the study's sample is representative of all probation/parole officers in Pennsylvania in terms of race, age, education, and gender. These data are compared to a recent report of all probation/parole officers throughout Pennsylvania in 2011 (Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 2013). In

addition, questions relating to level of education, age, and years of employment were included to compare differences during the analysis of correctional orientation to determine if each component affects whether officers favored deterrent-based or rehabilitative strategies.

Differences in each demographic identifier (race/ethnicity, educational status, age, gender, marital status, county employed, years working in field, and years working as probation/parole officer) were used to explore similarities or inconsistencies within the sample and between inmate and treatment staff groups regarding the outcomes of the "Perceptions of Reentry Challenges" instrument. The number of years working in the criminal justice field was included in addition to the number of years working as a probation/parole officer to explore differences in reentry perceptions between those professionals who are newer to the field of criminal justice and those who have more experience working in the field outside of probation and parole. The demographic indicators for race/ethnicity, level of education, gender, age, and marital status were incorporated across all three samples and were used as predictor variables in the regression analysis for inmate and probation/parole officer samples.

Table 7 displays demographic data of rural and urban probation and parole officers. There were a total of 367 probation and parole officers who completed the survey with enough demographic variables to conduct the analysis. Of the 367 participants who remained in the study, a few did not indicate their gender ($N$ = 9), Marital Status ($N$ = 11), Race ($N$ = 5), and Education ($N$ = 2). These data points were coded as missing variables and participants were left in the analysis.

A total of 204 participants probation and parole officers were male (57%) and 154 were female (43%). When categorized by rural or urban areas, 107 (28.8%) male officers worked in rural and 97 (27.1%) worked in urban areas. Fifty-seven (15.9%) of the female officers worked

in rural counties compared to 97 (27.1%) of the female officers who indicated that they worked in urban counties. The majority of officers indicated they were married (*N* =251, 70.5%; rural: *n* =119, 33.4%; urban: *n* = 132, 37.1%), seventy-seven officers were single (rural: *n* = 38, 10.7%; urban: *n = 39*, 11%), and twenty-eight (8.2%) probation and parole officers were either single or divorced (rural: *n* = 8, 2.5%; urban: *n* = 20, 5.7%). Most officers in the sample were White (*N* = 335, 92.5%; rural: *n* = 161, 44.5%; and urban: *n* = 174, 48%). Eleven officers were Black (rural: *n* = 0, 0%; urban: *N* = 11, 3%), and sixteen indicated "Other" (rural: *n* = 3, 0.9%; urban: *n* = 13, 2.6%) which represented either Hispanic or the respondent giving no further categorization of his/her race. Of the sample, 287 (78.2%) officers had a bachelor's degree, 134 (36.7%) rural and 153 (41.9%) urban. Sixty-nine (18.9%) officers had a master's degree (rural: *n* = 27, 7.4%; urban: *n* = 42, 11.5%) and nine (2.4%) officers indicated they obtained another type of degree (rural: *n* = 5, 1.4%; urban: *n* = 4, 1%). In the state of Pennsylvania, all county-level probation and parole officers must have at least a bachelor's degree to qualify for employment. Those who indicated "other" had either an associate's degree and were likely grandfathered into their departments or indicated that they were working toward either a master's or doctorate degree.

The average age of the sample of officers was 39 years old, ranging from 22-62. This average was similar between rural officers (*M* = 38.5, *SD* = 10.8) and urban officers (*M* = 39.4 *SD* = 8.9). The average length of time respondents worked as a probation or parole officer was 12.6 years (*SD* = 9.1) (rural: *M* = 13.1 *SD* = 9.9; urban: *M* = 12.1, *SD* = 8.4). In addition, 153 officers indicated they had worked in the field of corrections prior to their current position as a probation/parole officer for an average of 7 years (*SD* = 7.3).

Table 7

*Demographic Data for Urban and Rural Probation and Parole Officers*

| Variable | Rural: n (%) | Urban: n (%) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gender: | | | |
| Male | 107 (28.8%) | 97 (27.1%) | 204 (57%) |
| Female | 57 (15.9%) | 97 (27.1%) | 154 (43%) |
| Marital Status: | | | |
| Single | 38 (10.7%) | 39 (11%) | 77 (21.6%) |
| Married | 119 (33.4%) | 132 (37.1%) | 251 (70.5%) |
| Divorced/Separated | 8 (2.5%) | 20 (5.7%) | 28 (8.2%) |
| Race: | | | |
| Black: | 0 (0%) | 11 (3%) | 11 (3%) |
| White: | 161 (44.5%) | 174 (48%) | 335 (92.5%) |
| Other: | 3 (0.9%) | 13 (3.6%) | 16 (4.5%) |
| Education: | | | |
| Bachelors: | 134 (36.7%) | 153 (41.9%) | 287 (78.6%) |
| Masters: | 27 (7.4%) | 42 (11.5%) | 69 (18.9%) |
| Other: | 5 (1.4%) | 4 (1%) | 9 (2.4%) |
| Variable | Rural: *M*(*SD*) | Urban: *M*(*SD*) | Total: *M*(*SD*) |
| Average Age | 38.5 (10.8) | 29.4 (8.9) | 39.0 (9.9) |
| Average Years Officer | 13.1 (9.9) | 12.1 (8.4) | 12.6 (9.1) |
| *Average Years Prior Corrections | 5.5 (5.8) | 8.3 (8.2) | 7.0 (7.3) |
| Total: | 166 (45.5%) | 201 (54.5%) | 367 (100%) |

*Note.* $*p < .05$

To determine if differences existed between the urban and rural probation and parole officers, multiple statistical tests were conducted. Chi Square analysis was calculated across gender, race, education, and marital status variables to determine differences in representation between groups. Race was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3) = 14.59$, $p = .002$, as there were statistically significantly more While probation officers (92.5 percent) than any other group. To compare the groups based on age, years working as a probation/parole officer, and years working in corrections prior to current job, independent sample t-tests were run. Results yielded a statistical significant difference between the average years working in corrections prior to their current job. Of the 153 officers who indicated that they worked in corrections previously, urban

probation and parole officers ($N$ = 97, $M$ = 8.3, $SD$ = 8.2) reported that they had worked more years than their rural counterparts ($N$ = 56, $M$ = 5.5, $SD$ = 5.8), $t$(11.82) = -2.23, $p$ = .028.

**Sample two.** In the inmate sample, questions regarding race/ethnicity, gender, education, age, and marital status were included to explore differences within the sample of inmates and between the three samples in terms of the perceived challenges inmates face upon jail reentry. Questions relating to education, vocational training, age, and marital status are consistent with Sampson and Laub's (1993, 1997) Age Graded Theory of Informal Social Control to be explored during the analysis of this project.

Table 8 displays demographic data for the inmate sample. Of the 200 inmates surveyed, 142 (71%) were male and 58 (29%) were female. The majority of respondents ($N$ = 130, 65%) were single, while 25 (12.5%) were married and 45 (22.5%) were either divorced or separated. In regard to race, 83.5 percent ($N$ = 167*)* were White, 9.5% ($N$ = 19) were Black, and 7% ($N$ = 14) indicated "Other." The "Other" category included Hispanic, Indian, Asian, and mixed races. Regarding education, most respondents indicated they had a high school diploma or GED ($N$ = 82, 41%). While many had enrolled in college ($N$ = 41, 20.5%), only six percent earned an associate's degree ($N$ = 12), three percent a bachelor's degree ($N$ = 6), and one percent a master's degree ($N$ = 2). Thirty-two respondents were high school dropouts (16%) and seven indicated they graduated from a technical school (3.5%). The average age of the sample was 38.5 ($SD$ = 10.8) and ranged from 19 to 59 years old.

Table 8

*Demographic Data for Inmates*

| Variable | N (%) |
|---|---|
| Gender: | |
| Male | 142 (71%) |
| Female | 58 (29%) |
| Marital Status: | |
| Single | 130 (65%) |
| Married | 25 (12.5%) |
| Divorced/Separated | 45 (22.5%) |
| Race: | |
| Black: | 19 (9.5%) |
| White: | 167 (83.5%) |
| Other: | 14 (7%) |
| Education: | |
| Some High School | 32 (16%) |
| High School Diploma | 82 (41%) |
| Tech School | 7 (3.5) |
| Some College | 41 (20.5) |
| Associate's | 12 (6) |
| Bachelor's: | 6 (3%) |
| Master's: | 2 (1%) |
| Total: | 200 (100%) |

The survey included questions relating to the inmate's current offense and incarceration. These questions were intended to gauge seriousness of the offense and the time of incarceration in relation to perceptions of reentry. The question "what is the current charge that led to your incarceration" was asked to determine the type and seriousness of the crime an inmate committed. This question was phrased in an open-ended format and later categorized into a type of crime by the researcher (See table 9). The crimes were categorized by the researcher into six areas or groups: technical violations (*N* = 89, 44.5%), drugs (*N* = 30, 15%), DUI (*N* = 15, 7.5%), personal crime (*N* = 9, 4.5%), property crime (*N* = 39, 19.5%), and "other" (*N* = 14, 7%). If the offender was incarcerated due to a violation of probation/parole, information pertaining to his/her original offense and how he/she violated the conditions was asked to establish his/her original crime and if the violation was due to technical circumstances or the commission of a

new crime. Of the 140 participants who indicated a technical parole violation, 36.4 percent had an original charge of a property crime, 25 percent had a drug crime, 17.1 percent had a personal crime, 15.7 percent reported DUI, and 5.7 percent reported another type of crime. The reasons for their violations included a new charge (40%), drug or alcohol violation (17.9%), failure to report (17.1%), failure to adhere to guidelines of release (13.6%), failure to pay fines, fees, or child support (3.6%), or multiple violations (7.9%).

Questions pertaining to inmates' past criminal history (i.e., if this is their first incarceration/how many previous times have they been incarcerated) were intended to gauge the level of reentry experience in jails in rural western Pennsylvania. Of the 200 inmates in the current sample, 183 (91.5%) had been incarcerated previously. The number of incarcerations of the sample respondents ranged from zero to forty with an average of 5.9 ($SD$ = 5.5).

A question relating to the length of time the inmate had left to serve in his or her current sentence was included to ascertain if inmates close to release differed in their perceptions of reentry challenges compared to those who are more removed from the actual reentry date. As illustrated in Table 9, most inmates (46.5%) were expected to leave jail within three months of the time they completed the survey, 20 percent within four to seven months, and 14% between eight to eighteen months. There were sixteen inmates (8%) who planned to spend more than eighteen months incarcerated, and twenty-three inmates (11.5%) were not sure how long they would be serving their current sentence. As jails detain inmates who are yet to be sentenced, some of the participants were not sure if they were going to be released within days, months, or years. While the survey was only intended to be administered to current inmates serving a county sentence, it is possible that some state inmates participated in the study. This will be discussed further in the discussion section.

Similar to the previous question, inmates were asked about the length of time they have been serving the current sentence. This question was intended to determine if inmates who had been incarcerated for longer periods of time differed in their perceived challenges of reentry. Of the 200 inmates surveyed, 38 percent have been incarcerated for less than three months, 34.5 percent between four to seven months, 18.5 percent between eight and eighteen months, and 6.5 percent for longer than eighteen months. A total of four inmates (2%) indicated that they were not certain how many months they had been incarcerated currently. It is unclear if the respondents were confused by the question or actually had forgotten how long they have been serving in jail.

Questions relating to vocational certifications, participation in programming inside or outside of jail, and treatment for substance abuse and mental health were included to assess how well equipped each inmate is to handle the reentry process as research indicates that participation in correctional programs can positively affect the recidivism outcome for inmates (Wilson & Petersilia, 2012). Inmates who have certifications, higher education attainment, have participated in correctional programming, and received treatment for substance and mental health abuse may have a different outlook on the reentry challenges inmates face. As displayed in Table 9, of the 200 inmates who participated in this survey, 86.5% had taken part in programming while in jail and 65 percent attended programming outside of jail. Within the sample, 73 percent disclosed that they had received treatment for substance abuse, and 43 percent reported that they received treatment for mental health issues. Information pertaining to the programs, treatments, and certifications are further intended to indicate the type of programs, and if offenders found the program helpful. These differences were explored in the data analysis.

Table 9

*Current Offense Data for Inmates*

| Variable | N (%) |
|---|---|
| Current Charge | |
| Violation | 89 (44.5%) |
| Drugs | 30 (15%) |
| DUI | 15 (7.5%) |
| Personal Crime | 9 (4.5%) |
| Property Crime | 39 (19.5%) |
| Other | 14 (7%) |
| If Violation, Original Charge | |
| Drugs | 35 (17%) |
| DUI | 22 (11%) |
| Personal Crime | 24 (12%) |
| Property Crime | 51 (25.5%) |
| Other | 8 (4%) |
| No Violation | 60 (30%) |
| Violation Type | |
| Failure to Report | 24 (12%) |
| Drugs | 25 (12.5%) |
| New Charge | 56 (28%) |
| Failure to Pay | 5 (2.5%) |
| Failure to Adhere to Rules | 19 (9.5%) |
| Multiple Violations | 11 (5.5%) |
| No Violation | 60 (30%) |
| Serving Current Sentence | |
| 0-3 Months | 77 (38.5%) |
| 4-7 Months | 69 (34.5%) |
| 8-10 Months | 17 (8.5%) |
| 11-14 Months | 15 (7.5%) |
| 15-18 Months | 5 (2.5%) |
| More than 18 Months | 13 (6.5%) |
| Don't Know | 4 (2%) |
| Months Until Release | |
| 0-3 Months | 93 (46.5%) |
| 4-7 Months | 40 (20%) |
| 8-10 Months | 16 (8%) |
| 11-14 Months | 7 (3.5%) |
| 15-18 Months | 5 (2.5%) |
| More than 18 Months | 6 (8%) |
| Don't Know | 23 (11.5%) |
| Vocational Certification | |
| Yes | 74 (37%) |
| No | 126 (63%) |
| Participated in Jail Programing | |
| Yes | 173 (86.5%) |
| No | 28 (13.5%) |
| Programming outside of Jail | |
| Yes | 130 (65%) |
| No | 70 (35%) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Treatment for Substance Abuse | |
| Yes | 148 (73%) |
| No | 52 (27%) |
| Treatment for Mental Health | |
| Yes | 85 (43%) |
| No | 113 (57%) |
| Total: | 200 (100%) |

**Sample three.** For the sample of treatment staff, demographic information was collected for description purposes and to compare the perceived reentry challenges within the treatment personnel sample and across the inmate and probation and parole samples. The three samples were compared based on the shared demographic variables. For treatment staff, this included race/ethnicity, gender, age, marital status, and education. These variables were also compared within the sample to explore notable differences in their perceptions of reentry issues based on these components. In addition, questions relating to the number of years working with offenders and the type of previous experience he or she had working with offenders were asked to explore potential differences in perceived reentry challenges based on the treatment staff's level of experience with inmates and corrections.

Table 10 contains demographic information from the sample of treatment staff participants. Of the 21 staff interviewed, eight were male (38.1%) and thirteen were female (61.9%). Most participants were married (81%); four were single; and one was divorced. Twenty of the twenty-one treatment staff were White, with an average age of 41.2 (*SD* = 11.8) years and their ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty-nine years old. For education, most had completed a bachelor's degree (47.6%), eight attained a master's degree (38.1%), two had a high school diploma (9.5%), and one participant had a doctorate degree. The sample included eight substance abuse counselors, five jail counselors, two mental health counselors, three reentry service providers, one case manager, one state parole supervisor, and one faith-based minister.

Table 10

*Demographic Data for Treatment Staff*

| Variable | N (%) |
|---|---|
| Gender: | |
| Male | 8 (38.1%) |
| Female | 13 (61.9%) |
| Marital Status: | |
| Single | 4 (19%) |
| Married | 17 (81%) |
| Divorced/Separated | 1 (4.7%) |
| Race: | |
| Black: | 1 (4.7%) |
| White: | 20 (95.2%) |
| Education: | |
| High School Diploma | 2 (9.5%) |
| Bachelors: | 10 (47.6%) |
| Masters: | 8 (38.1%) |
| Doctorate: | 1 (4.7%) |
| Variable | *M*(*SD*) |
| Average Age | 41.2 (11.8) |
| Total: | 21 (100%) |

## Correctional Orientation

In addition to demographic information, a measure of the correction goals was used in the current study to explore differences in correctional orientation among the three groups. The measure was adapted from Cullen, Latessa, Burton, & Lombardo (1993) and asked participants to rank the importance of each correctional goal: retribution, rehabilitation, punishment, and deterrence. Cullen and colleagues (1993) established the measure to address predictors of job stress in prison wardens. Previous research using the scale revealed that criminal justice practitioners tended to rank incapacitation over rehabilitation (Collins, Iannacchione, Hudson, Stohr, Hemmens, 2013; Cullen et al., 1993; Kifer, Hemmens, & Stohr, 2003), and inmates

ranked rehabilitation as the primary goal of corrections. The measure was included in the current study to explore relationships that might exist among the criminal justice sample respondents involved in the rehabilitation process of jail reentry. Rehabilitation is a goal of the reentry process; and practitioners and inmates who are directly involved with reentry would be expected to demonstrate an orientation toward rehabilitation.

**Perceived Challenges Scales**

The survey was distributed to probation/parole officers and inmates to determine the challenges they perceive jail inmates face in the first 90 days after release. The survey items were adapted from Gunnison & Helfgott's (2007) evaluation of community corrections officers' perceptions instrument. Permission to adapt items from the survey was authorized by Elaine Gunnison, and it is documented in Appendix D. Originally a twelve-page survey, the instrument was reduced to 43 items to bolster response rate and address the key reentry issues outlined in the literature review.

The survey asks "What challenges do offenders face in the first 90 days of release?" Respondents indicated to which degree these challenges were perceived on a scale from one to four. A response of one equated to "not very challenging", two is "somewhat challenging", three is "moderately challenging", and four was "extremely challenging."

The 43 survey items were categorized into six subscales that addressed wider reentry issues. These subscales were determined using a principle component analysis. Principle component analysis (PCA) is a variable reduction technique used to identify latent constructs and underlying factors associated with highly correlated items (Field, 2013). The resulting components are believed to be a byproduct of latent variables in factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). In this dissertation, responses to the 43 survey items are dependent variables. As

many of the items were related (e.g., lack of motivation, poor work ethic, lack of medication), PCA reduced these items into six broader categories where standardized component scores could be used for further analysis.

There are two types of PCA: exploratory and confirmatory. Exploratory PCA attempts to describe and summarize the data grouping highly correlated variables together. Confirmatory PCA is a more sophisticated technique, and it is used in advanced stages of research when known variables have been empirically tested and identified (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Confirmatory PCA is typically used in theory testing, and it is usually a step in structural equation modeling. In this study, exploratory PCA is preferred over confirmatory factor analysis because the instrument is in its early stages of use, and the goal was to consolidate similar variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

The 43 items of the Perceptions of Reentry Scale were subjected to principal components analysis (PCA) using SPSS. Prior to performing PCA, the data were analyzed to assess suitability for PCA. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .888, exceeding the recommended value of .6 (Kaiser 1970). The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (Bartlett, 1954), a test of the factorability of the correlation matrix, yielded statistical significance, $\chi^2$ (946) = 12712.325, $p < .001$. Results of both tests showed that the data were appropriate for factor analysis.

Principle component analysis revealed the presence of eleven factors with eigenvalues exceeding one. Upon inspection of the screeplot (see Figure 2), it was revealed that reducing the factors from eleven to six would be appropriate using Catell's (1966) scree test. This was further supported by the results of parallel analysis (see Table 11). Parallel analysis compares the size of the eigenvalues generated from a random dataset of the same size to those yielded from the

current dataset. The program MonteCarlo PA was used to generate the eigenvalues for parallel analysis. Components should remain if the eigenvalues in the current dataset exceed the corresponding randomly generated eigenvalues (Field, 2013).

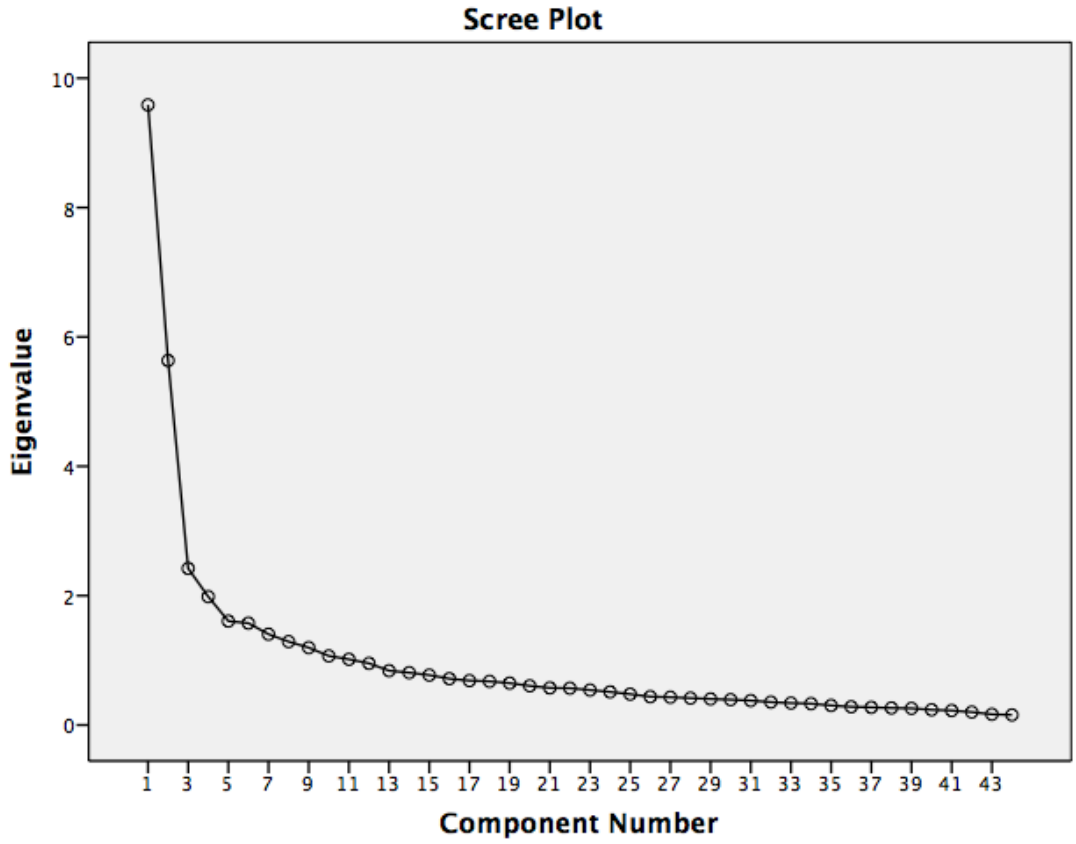


*Figure 2.* Scree Plot from PCA.

Table 11

*Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and Criterion Values from Parallel Analysis.*

| Component Number | Actual Eigenvalue from PCA | Criterion Value from parallel analysis | Decision |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 9.587 | 1.5256 | Accept |
| 2 | 5.635 | 1.5011 | Accept |
| 3 | 2.421 | 1.4586 | Accept |
| 4 | 1.985 | 1.4153 | Accept |
| 5 | 1.607 | 1.3817 | Accept |
| 6 | 1.575 | 1.3500 | Accept |

The six-component solution explained a total of 51.8% of the variance, with component one contributing 21.8%, component two contributing 12.8%, component three contributing 5.5%, component four contributing 4.5%, component five contributing 3.7%, and component six contributing 3.6%. To aid in the interpretation of the six components, Oblimin rotation was performed. Oblimin rotation was utilized as the components are conceptually related to each other. The Oblimin rotated solution revealed the presence of a simple structure with six distinct component loadings. Table 12 displays results of PCA both without (Pattern) and with (Structure) Oblimin rotation.

Table 12

*Pattern and Structure Matrix for PCA with Oblimin Rotation of Six-Factor Solution of Perceptions of Challenges Scale*

| Item | Pattern Coefficients | | | | | | Communalities |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| Ability to pay fines or fees | **.662** | .027 | -.059 | .119 | -.083 | -.024 | .506 |
| Low Wages | **.636** | -.009 | .019 | .090 | .033 | -.108 | .487 |
| Limited employment | **.552** | .032 | -.139 | .120 | -.040 | -.082 | .454 |
| Custody of children | **.508** | .004 | .007 | -.061 | .173 | -.143 | .347 |
| Lack of transportation | **.459** | .071 | -.045 | .051 | .080 | -.100 | .322 |
| Finding childcare | **.413** | .016 | .038 | .183 | .269 | -.009 | .371 |
| Cannot return to job | **.384** | -.141 | .016 | -.045 | .249 | .079 | .350 |
| Finding housing | **.381** | .049 | -.144 | -.016 | .027 | -.126 | .264 |
| Poor credit rating | **.376** | .049 | -.205 | -.086 | .153 | -.137 | .249 |
| Poor work ethic | -.213 | **.825** | .109 | .018 | .122 | -.010 | .700 |
| Lack of motivation | -.217 | **.819** | .045 | .007 | .144 | -.003 | .684 |
| Return to substance abuse | .167 | **.800** | -.030 | -.070 | -.135 | .082 | .693 |
| Drug and alcohol abuse | .196 | **.793** | -.038 | -.101 | -.180 | .062 | .669 |
| Associating with wrong peers | .153 | **.787** | -.056 | -.052 | -.101 | .106 | .631 |
| Blaming others | -.206 | **.717** | .063 | .107 | .079 | -.033 | .559 |
| Temptation to reoffend | .125 | **.675** | -.106 | -.139 | -.126 | .004 | .517 |
| Lack of patience | -.101 | **.602** | .020 | -.054 | .124 | -.136 | .425 |
| Developing positive associations | .108 | **.558** | -.023 | .076 | .180 | -.095 | .516 |
| Lack of employable skills | .120 | **.500** | .061 | .122 | .253 | -.161 | .454 |
| Mental illness | .056 | **.490** | -.057 | .102 | -.148 | -.323 | .458 |
| Lack of education | .005 | **.475** | -.103 | .320 | -.191 | -.100 | .473 |
| Information on programming | .021 | -.097 | **-.794** | .011 | -.034 | .030 | .615 |
| Lack of programs | .068 | .012 | **-.771** | -.003 | -.054 | .060 | .590 |
| Services not specific for needs | -.028 | -.002 | **-.756** | .055 | -.063 | -.050 | .586 |
| Waitlists | .067 | .023 | **-.742** | .057 | -.067 | .022 | .584 |
| No central resource | .004 | -.113 | **-.727** | -.024 | -.019 | -.103 | .564 |
| Waiting too long to get programs | -.101 | .040 | **-.708** | .010 | .066 | -.024 | .512 |
| Rejections from programs | -.016 | .083 | **-.625** | -.060 | .231 | -.005 | .499 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Access to prescription medication | .012 | .054 | -.**465** | .423 | .071 | .099 | .511 |
| Too proud to ask for assistance | .162 | .115 | -.**289** | .060 | .073 | -.038 | .218 |
| Mental health care | -.060 | -.015 | -.053 | .**892** | -.082 | -.073 | .800 |
| Getting medication | .028 | -.019 | -.059 | .**839** | .045 | .000 | .763 |
| Health insurance | .172 | -.134 | .053 | .**643** | .195 | .056 | .561 |
| Lack of phone access | .150 | .010 | -.036 | .086 | .**705** | .062 | .612 |
| Internet access | .104 | .010 | -.123 | .044 | .**697** | .006 | .606 |
| Phone access | .127 | .001 | -.069 | .188 | .**682** | .117 | .625 |
| Lack of familiarity with computers | .157 | .053 | -.015 | .026 | .**534** | -.104 | .412 |
| Absence of family structure | .109 | -.033 | .054 | .011 | -.100 | -.**813** | .647 |
| Lack of family | .174 | -.067 | -.063 | .017 | -.030 | -.**693** | .573 |
| Difficulty reintegrating with family | .102 | .105 | -.059 | -.062 | -.020 | -.**678** | .574 |
| Return to dysfunctional families | .094 | .224 | .123 | .139 | -.176 | -.**629** | .561 |
| Community stigma | -.247 | .016 | -.113 | -.015 | .379 | -.**455** | .377 |
| No community support | -.092 | -.118 | -.255 | .059 | .243 | -.**445** | .434 |
| No church or religious support | .108 | .036 | -.235 | -.029 | .113 | -.**401** | .431 |

| Item | Structure Coefficients | | | | | | Communalities |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| Ability to pay fines or fees | **.694** | .112 | -.285 | .265 | .117 | -.209 | .506 |
| Low Wages | **.682** | .084 | -.244 | .245 | .221 | -.268 | .487 |
| Limited employment | **.633** | .131 | -.361 | .283 | .165 | -.278 | .454 |
| Custody of children | **.568** | .076 | -.222 | .107 | .306 | -.283 | .347 |
| Lack of transportation | **.532** | .146 | -.259 | .203 | .227 | -.267 | .322 |
| Finding childcare | **.508** | .057 | -.206 | .322 | .399 | -.179 | .371 |
| Cannot return to job | **.493** | .125 | -.384 | .110 | .297 | -.322 | .350 |
| Finding housing | **.462** | .130 | -.309 | .135 | .170 | -.279 | .264 |
| Poor credit rating | **.399** | -.152 | -.111 | .058 | .318 | -.002 | .249 |
| Poor work ethic | -.142 | **.797** | .064 | .060 | .013 | -.210 | .700 |
| Lack of motivation | -.126 | **.792** | .002 | .068 | .045 | -.223 | .684 |
| Return to substance abuse | .194 | **.791** | -.079 | -.013 | -.195 | -.193 | .693 |
| Drug and alcohol abuse | .177 | **.790** | -.075 | .017 | -.157 | -.179 | .669 |
| Associating with wrong peers | .175 | **.771** | -.101 | .040 | -.120 | -.166 | .631 |
| Blaming others | -.117 | **.712** | .006 | .145 | .011 | -.221 | .559 |
| Temptation to reoffend | .153 | **.684** | -.137 | -.040 | -.133 | -.223 | .517 |
| Lack of patience | -.008 | **.623** | -.061 | .033 | .082 | -.309 | .425 |
| Developing positive associations | .176 | **.619** | -.216 | .203 | -.060 | -.497 | .516 |
| Lack of employable skills | .243 | **.598** | -.200 | .219 | .220 | -.349 | .454 |
| Mental illness | .122 | **.560** | -.219 | .374 | -.100 | -.300 | .458 |
| Lack of education | .266 | **.556** | -.166 | .266 | .301 | -.395 | .473 |
| Information on programming | .245 | -.031 | **-.777** | .202 | .159 | -.199 | .615 |
| Lack of programs | .214 | .088 | **-.763** | .244 | .130 | -.287 | .590 |
| Services not specific for needs | .280 | .070 | **-.760** | .196 | .131 | -.201 | .586 |
| Waitlists | .289 | .097 | **-.757** | .252 | .131 | -.240 | .584 |
| No central resource | .233 | -.017 | **-.740** | .170 | .173 | -.299 | .564 |
| Waiting too long to get programs | .145 | .100 | **-.707** | .199 | .213 | -.259 | .512 |
| Rejections from programs | .228 | .122 | **-.668** | .161 | .359 | -.267 | .499 |
| Access to prescription medication | .245 | .107 | **-.570** | .554 | .254 | -.156 | .511 |
| Too proud to ask for assistance | .300 | .169 | **-.395** | .206 | .195 | -.231 | .218 |
| Mental health care | .144 | .107 | -.274 | **.886** | .124 | -.204 | .800 |
| Getting medication | .235 | .076 | -.299 | **.869** | .247 | -.167 | .763 |
| Health insurance | .316 | -.082 | -.186 | **.684** | .358 | -.069 | .561 |
| Lack of phone access | .316 | .000 | -.330 | .249 | **.758** | -.203 | .612 |
| Internet access | .334 | -.017 | -.252 | .270 | **.755** | -.138 | .606 |
| Phone access | .324 | -.031 | -.280 | .361 | **.746** | -.097 | .625 |
| Lack of familiarity with computers | .323 | .078 | -.236 | .201 | **.599** | -.269 | .412 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Absence of family structure | .257 | .231 | -.222 | .129 | .073 | **-.793** | .647 |
| Lack of family | .269 | .325 | -.301 | .094 | .131 | **-.740** | .573 |
| Difficulty reintegrating with family | .346 | .173 | -.336 | .172 | .167 | **-.730** | .574 |
| Return to dysfunctional families | .209 | .440 | -.127 | .217 | -.042 | **-.670** | .561 |
| Community stigma | .297 | .184 | -.422 | .151 | .263 | **-.532** | .377 |
| No community support | .151 | .032 | -.435 | .220 | .385 | **-.527** | .434 |
| No church or religious support | -.018 | .129 | -.272 | .120 | .430 | **-.510** | .431 |

*Note.* Major loadings for each item are **bolded**.

Results of the principle component analysis yielded six different components that can be classified as subscales and used for further analysis. The scales conceptually fit categories that are considered major challenges for returning offenders. The six subscales included Income-Structural Challenges, Personal Challenges, Programming Related Challenges, Health Care Challenges, Technological Challenges, and Family and Community Support Challenges. The Income-Structural Challenges subscale consists of nine items: ability to pay fines or court fees, low wages, limited employment opportunities, obtaining custody of children, lack of transportation, finding affordable and accessible childcare, cannot return to former job because of offense, finding housing, and poor credit rating. The Personal Challenges subscale is comprised of twelve items: poor work ethic, lack of motivation, return to substance abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, associating with the wrong people/peer pressure, blaming others/failure to take responsibility, temptation/opportunities to reoffend, lack of patience, developing positive associations, lack of employable skills, mental illness, and lack of education. The Programming Related Challenges scale includes nine items: not enough information about available programs, lack of programs, community services not specific to offender needs, waitlists for community services, no central resource/referral center for ex-offenders, waiting too long to get into correctional programs, rejection from correctional programming, access to prescription medication, and too proud to ask for assistance/support. The Health Care Challenges subscale consists of three items: mental health care, getting medication, and health insurance. The

Technology-related subscale is made up of four items: lack of phone access, internet access, lack of familiarity with computers, and phone access. Finally, the Family and Community Support subscale consists of 6 items: absence of family structure, lack of family, difficulty reintegrating with family, returning to dysfunctional families, community stigma/deviant label, no community support, and no church or religious organization support.

Principle component analysis yielded six components whose scores served as dependent variables in further analytic techniques. This dissertation used regression component scores generated in SPSS. The component scores for the six subscales are normalized, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, and allowed for the measurement of correlations between the six scores.

**Qualitative Items**

In addition to the items identified above, probation/parole officers and inmates were asked open-ended questions designed to explore the rural-specific issues in the reentry process. Participants were asked about the particular resources their agency provides to assist in inmates' reintegration. In addition, area specific questions inquired about the challenges associated with reentry and what contributes to successful reentry. For example, probation/parole officers were questioned about the resources their agency provides to assist offenders, what they believe should be done in their area to deal with those returning from jail to the community, and what contributes to successful reentry in their area. Inmates were asked what they recommend could be done in their area to help individuals coming out of jail.

The semi-structured interviews with treatment staff were comprised of the items in appendix C. For example, "How frequently do you interact with offenders?" "Based on your experience with jail inmates, what do you believe are the main challenges that former offenders

face when released from jail? “Why do you believe that some jail inmates are able to be released from jail and not return?” The interview covered many of the topics in the survey for inmates and probation/parole officers, but also addressed the specific services each program offers former inmates.

## Procedures

This dissertation contains three samples that, when combined, aimed to identify rural-specific problems faced by returning offenders. The first sample involved the administration of an online survey to all 65 county-level probation/parole departments and their officers within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The survey was constructed using Qualtrics, an online survey tool, and sent to all of the chief probation officers in Pennsylvania. The chiefs were asked to disseminate the survey to all available parole/probation officers. The director of the CCAPPOAP provided the list of chief probation officers and as well as an email endorsing the project. All survey data were completely anonymous. As the county level parole/probation chief disseminated an anonymous survey link, there is no way to identify the respondents of the survey.

Prior to dissemination, the Indiana University of Pennsylvania’s Institutional Review Board approved the survey and consent form. The online survey began with an informed consent page. The consent page outlined the parameters of the study and assured that no risk beyond minimal harm was involved. At the bottom of the first page, a box was made available indicating that the respondent had read the informed consent and wished to participate in the study. Respondents were required to agree to participate in order to take the survey. The survey took each participant an estimated 10-20 minutes to complete. The survey remained open from July 10th until October 15th.

The distribution of the survey occurred through six contacts. The first email contact occurred in July of 2014. In the initial email sent to the chief probation/parole officers, a request was made by the executive director of CCAPPOAP to forward the survey to all of the officers under their direct supervision. The executive director of CCAPPOAP sent a recruitment email encouraging officers to take part in the study (see Appendix E for letter).

An additional five contacts occurred in the following three months. The second contact was made the following week by the researcher and consisted of a reminder email about the nature of the study sent to the chief parole/probation officers at each site asking them to forward the email to all of their officers. Shortly after the online distribution, the researcher began receiving emails from chief probation/parole officers reporting that officers were unable to access the survey website with the link provided. Through troubleshooting, it was determined that some agency computer networks restricted access to outside websites. Due to these technical difficulties involved with the online distribution of the surveys, an invitation to receive hard copies of the survey was extended to each probation and parole department at the end of the first month of data collection. The researcher then emailed all chief probation/parole officers: A copy of that e-mail is in Appendix F. As result of the follow-up email, three departments requested hard copies of the survey, and a total of 121 surveys were mailed. Of the 121 hard copies mailed, 61 were returned.

The fourth contact occurred in late August and consisted of a personalized email addressed to each probation/parole chief. In late September, physical postcards were sent to the Chief of each probation/parole office via postal mail. Post cards contained the same text as the reminder email. The sixth and final contact took place in early October 2014, the final week before the survey closed, and consisted of an email to each of the chief probation/parole officers

containing the same text as the previous contacts. Upon completion of data collection, electronic data were exported from NVivo into SPSS to be cleaned for data analysis. Hard copies of surveys received from probation and parole offices were subsequently entered into SPSS and cleaned for data analysis.

The second part of the study involved the administration of a paper and pencil survey to inmates currently serving time in four rural jails. Inmates were surveyed in the jails where they were incarcerated. There are currently 63 county jails in Pennsylvania, with 44 of them located in rural counties (Zajac & Kowalski, 2012). A total of four contiguous rural, western Pennsylvania county jails (Indiana, Butler, Armstrong, and Cambria) were invited to participate in the current study.

The researcher traveled to each of the research sites to collect data. Inmates were invited to participate using a recruitment flyer. For Indiana, Armstrong, and Butler County Jails, these flyers were displayed in each cellblock announcing the date and time the researcher would be on site to distribute surveys. The researcher was escorted to multiple cellblocks throughout each institution to administer the surveys in a group format.

For Cambria County Prison, the deputy warden and counselors collected a sign-up list of inmates who expressed interest an in participating in the study. The researcher met with each inmate individually in a semi-private room to administer the survey. Multiple visits were made to collect data from each study site.

Data collection began in July 2014 and concluded in October 2014 when a total of 200 inmate surveys were complete. Upon the completion of data collection, data were imputed into SPSS and cleaned for further analysis.

The third part of the study consisted of semi-structured interviews with treatment and reentry staff in the jails and in the community. Individuals were recruited through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling for this study involved a three-tiered approach. First, treatment counselors at each jail in the study were contacted and asked if they would be willing to participate in an interview. Second, upon completion of the interview, the researcher inquired about other known service providers and programs in the area that assist returning offenders. The researcher then contacted these individuals to set up subsequent interviews. Third, the treatment programs and providers referred by the counselors were asked to recommend any additional local programs or treatment personnel who work with former offenders. Of all the treatment staff that were referred and contacted, none refused to be interviewed.

Once each practitioner was identified, the researcher contacted him/her via email or phone. The researcher met each person individually for an interview. The treatment staff's office was given preference as an interview location. When that location was not possible, a quiet proximate setting was selected. For each practitioner interviewed, the researcher inquired about other known reentry service providers until the interviews were completed.

The researcher assured respondents that no identifying information would be used in the final research report. The questions are in Appendix C. The open-ended question format allowed the interviewer to probe the participant and ask follow-up questions. With the participants' authorization, the interviews were recorded using an audio device. Upon completion, the interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word documents and analyzed for themes using the computer program Nvivo. Nvivo is a qualitative data analysis program used to identify and organize themes from large text databases.

## Validity and Reliability

Valid and reliable measurements are essential for conducting quality research. The current study involved an adaptation of a previous survey instrument (Gunnison & Helfgott, 2007) and the construction of multiple scales related to prominent reentry issues. Validity refers to how well a study accurately represents a construct (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). In this project, face and content validity were used to ensure that the items are measuring what they are intended to measure.

Face validity, or logical validity, describes the extent to which a measure seems valid using common sense (Vogt, 1999). Supervisors in the field of parole/probation evaluated the face validity of the survey instrument in the current study. These supervisors included the Director of CCAPPOAP and the Director of Allegheny County Adult Probation. In addition to practitioners, a researcher familiar with reentry literature and survey construction, Dr. Elaine Gunnison, evaluated the survey instrument to assess whether it was logically valid. The survey instrument exploring perceptions of reentry used in this study was adapted from her previous survey (Gunnison & Helfgott, 2007).

Content validity refers to the extent that a measure includes the entire domain of a concept (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). As reentry issues span a wide range of topics, six subscales were created to address the most common problems identified in Chapter II. The six subscales are comprised of multiple items pertaining to issues of income-structural challenges, personal challenges, family support and community support, health care, technology, and available programing.

In addition to validity, scales must be reliable. Reliability refers to a consistency, or the ability to produce consistent results over repeated uses (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). To assess

reliability, internal consistency was calculated before final data analysis to make sure the individual items adequately correlate with the outcome score of the measure. In the study, the reliability of the six subscales was examined using Cronbach's alpha. DeVellis' (2003) recommendation of .70 was utilized as the standard for a respectable alpha level. As Table 13 shows, all six scales meet the standard for respectable alpha level.

Table 13

*Alpha Scores for Each Reentry Subscale.*

| Scale | Items | Alpha |
|---|---|---|
| Income-Structural Challenges Scale | 9 | .765 |
| Personal Challenges Scale | 12 | .903 |
| Programming Related Challenges Scale | 9 | .866 |
| Health Care Challenges Scale | 3 | .807 |
| Technology Challenges Scale | 4 | .801 |
| Family and Community Support Scale | 6 | .753 |
| Total Scale | 43 | .93 |

This dissertation examined rural reentry challenges from the perspectives of current inmates, probation/parole officers, and treatment staff. Chapter three described the methodology and samples utilized. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twenty-one treatment staff throughout four rural Western Pennsylvania counties. Survey methodology was employed for the inmate and officer samples. The perception of reentry challenges survey consisted of 43 barriers to reentry that participants rated from "not very challenging" to "extremely challenging". Principle component analysis condensed these items into six subscales. In Chapter Four, the researcher reports the results of the qualitative and quantitative analysis.

# CHAPTER IV

## RESULTS

This dissertation attempted to determine the major challenges former inmates face when leaving rural jails in Pennsylvania. In order to answer each of the research questions, multiple analytical techniques were employed. Qualitative and statistical analyses were conducted to explore the research questions outlined below.

### Research Question One:

What do offenders', treatment staff, and probation/parole officers' view as the most prominent challenges jail offenders face when returning to rural areas?

In identifying the most prominent challenges perceived by probation/parole officers and inmates, the top and bottom ranked challenges are identified in Tables 14 and 15. Substance abuse was (or substance abuse issues were) the top concern among probation and parole officers. Other top ranked challenges included personal factors such as associating with the wrong people, lack of motivation, developing positive associations, poor work ethic, and blaming others. Returning to dysfunctional families and limited employment opportunities were also identified as top ranked challenges.

Table 14

*Top and Bottom Ten Ranked Challenges Identified by Probation/Parole Officers*

| Rank | Challenge | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Drug or alcohol abuse | 3.70 | .545 |
| 2 | Return to substance abuse | 3.68 | .588 |
| 3 | Associating with the wrong people | 3.67 | .590 |
| 4 | Temptation/opportunities to reoffend | 3.50 | .671 |
| 5 | Lack of motivation | 3.42 | .717 |
| 6 | Developing positive associations | 3.40 | .721 |
| 7 | Poor work ethic | 3.35 | .733 |
| 8 | Limited employment opportunities | 3.25 | .807 |
| 9 | Blaming others/Failure to take responsibility | 3.24 | .828 |
| 10 | Returning to dysfunctional families | 3.21 | .883 |
| 34 | Community services not specific to offender needs | 2.27 | .956 |
| 35 | No community support | 2.22 | .864 |
| 36 | Access to prescription medication | 2.18 | .965 |
| 37 | Not enough information about available programs | 2.14 | .989 |
| 38 | Rejection from corrections programming | 1.96 | .808 |
| 39 | Lack of familiarity with computers | 1.91 | .803 |
| 40 | No church or religious organization support | 1.84 | .892 |
| 41 | Internet access | 1.57 | .773 |
| 42 | Lack of phone access | 1.53 | .720 |
| 43 | Phone access | 1.44 | .690 |

The top ranked challenges among inmates included financially-based issues and limited employment opportunities. Similarly, ability to pay court fines or fees, low wages, inability to return to former employment, and poor credit rating were also among the top ten challenges. Substance abuse (i.e., drug or alcohol abuse) was also rated as a primary concern.

Table 15

*Top and Bottom Ten Ranked Challenges Identified by Current Inmates*

| Rank | Challenge | Mean | SD |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Limited employment opportunities | 3.41 | .840 |
| 2 | Ability to pay fines or court fees | 3.34 | .836 |
| 3 | Low Wages | 3.19 | .949 |
| 4 | Return to substance abuse | 3.01 | 1.163 |
| 5 | Associating with the wrong people/peer pressure | 2.99 | 1.051 |
| 6 | Drug or Alcohol Abuse | 2.98 | 1.156 |
| 7 | Poor credit rating | 2.95 | 1.053 |
| 8 | Lack of transportation | 2.94 | 1.013 |
| 9 | Cannot return to former job because of offense | 2.90 | 1.107 |
| 10 | Temptation/opportunities to reoffend | 2.84 | 1.086 |
| 34 | Lack of motivation | 2.17 | 1.065 |
| 35 | Rejection from corrections programming | 2.13 | .944 |
| 36 | Lack of employable skills | 2.12 | 1.013 |
| 37 | Blaming others/Failure to take responsibility | 2.05 | 1.038 |
| 38 | Lack of familiarity with computers | 2.01 | 1.027 |
| 39 | Poor work ethic | 1.89 | .986 |
| 40 | Internet access | 1.74 | .978 |
| 41 | No church or religious organization support | 1.73 | .882 |
| 42 | Lack of phone access | 1.69 | .860 |
| 43 | Phone access | 1.68 | .867 |

For both groups, some of the perceived challenges were identical, particularly those that were viewed as less serious. For example, officers and inmates did not find challenges relating to technology (e.g., phone, computer, and internet access) and religious support to be a major challenge. Interestingly, officers in this sample rated lack of motivation, poor work ethic, and failure to take responsibility as three of the greatest challenges, and inmates rated them among the least challenging. These differences will be explored in the next section.

At the end of each survey, the question "what factors do you think lead former offenders to end up back in jail?" Respondents were given seven choices and asked to check all that apply. The first six included: Neighborhood in which offender resides has high crime rate, lack of immediate family support, friends of offenders are criminal, lack of offender mental health services, offenders are unemployed, and offenders are underemployed. Table 16 displays the

percentage breakdown between probation/parole officers and inmates. Chi square tests for independence were run between groups to explore differences in the obstacles. Of the six obstacles, three showed statistically significant differences. More inmates found lack of family support, $\chi^2$ (1, $N$ = 611) = 5.14, $p$ = .029, *phi* = .09, unemployment, $\chi^2$ (1, $N$ = 611) = 5.43, $p$ = .037, *phi* = .09, and underemployment, $\chi^2$ (1, $N$ = 611) = 8.42, $p < .001$, *phi* = .31, to be significant obstacles compared to probation and parole officers.

Participants were able to identify other obstacles returning individuals may face. Both groups overwhelmingly identified drug and alcohol issues to be a major obstacle. Multiple inmates noted issues with parole departments. More specifically, the broad powers probation and parole officers have to revoke parole for incidental technical violations were a concern for many inmates. Other issues inmates described included obtaining drivers' licenses or transportation, stigma associated with their criminal history, and income related challenges. Probation and parole officers noted that the extra, unstructured time released inmates faced after incarceration posed a problem. In addition, multiple officers noted lack of motivation and general laziness as a major obstacle to overcome. Some structural factors, such as transportation and a general lack of programs were also included.

Table 16

*Percentages of Participants who Identified the Following Obstacles which Lead to Recidivism.*

| Obstacle | Probation/Parole | Inmates |
|---|---|---|
| Neighborhood has high crime rate | 57.5% | 61.8% |
| *Lack of immediate family support | 55.4% | 65% |
| Friends of offenders are criminal | 82.5% | 83.5% |
| Lack of offender mental health services | 50.5% | 43% |
| *Offenders are unemployed | 81.3% | 88% |
| *Offenders are underemployed | 29.7% | 62% |

*Note.* *chi square test: $p < .05$

## Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis, utilizing NVivo, was used to review the qualitative responses within the surveys of probation/parole officers and inmates and the interviews with treatments staff. A number of themes emerged that identify rural specific challenges in the reentry process. This section explores the general themes of mental health treatment, substance abuse, transportation, acquaintance density, employment, and housing.

**Mental Health Treatment.** Multiple jail counselors, two mental health counselors, and two substance abuse counselors identified a lack of medication as a major challenge in the reentry process. When offenders are released from the county jail in Pennsylvania, inmates with mental illness are given medication for three days. In rural areas, individuals seeking mental health care are limited in their options and the availability of mental health clinicians. Some counselors identified up to a two-week waiting period for an appointment for a recently released offender to obtain prescription medication. During this time, any medication he/she was on would have run its course, leaving the individual susceptible to decompensation and at high risk of recidivism. This interruption in service occurs through lack of oversight in the reentry process. Jail inmates are often released without any type of reentry plan, sometimes suddenly. Some treatment staff disclosed stories of inmates being released in the middle of the night with no ride into town and no place to stay.

Treatment staff in two counties discussed a program, titled HOPE, which would help offenders not only schedule appointments for substance abuse and mental health treatment while the individual was incarcerated, but would also provide transportation to the appointments once the offender is released. While jail and substance abuse counselors in two of the four counties were familiar with the program, the mental health counselors were unaware of it. Although

promising, during the period of data collection, it appears that the program ran out of funding and is currently suspended.

**Substance Abuse Treatment.** A challenge that arose often among all three samples was difficulty with substance abuse. As one practitioner states:

> 70-80% have addiction problems so of course they are going to have cravings when they get out. They are going to want to use. So that's a huge challenge. And then if they don't have medical assistance or any type of coverage they are not likely to seek or stay in treatment. (Treatment Staff (TS) 012: Substance Abuse Treatment Staff)

Within the past eight years, opiates have presented themselves as a major problem within rural Western Pennsylvania. As many of the blue-collar jobs, once abundant in the area, have since diminished, illegal drug markets arose as a form of income in areas with high unemployment. Along with the emergence of new drugs, specifically opiates and heroin, there was an increase in the need for substance abuse services.

Multiple practitioners contended that drugs use, sale, or abuse was a primary reason for the incarceration of many of the inmates. If inmates were not arrested directly for drug possession or sale, the crime they committed was likely associated with drugs (e. g., theft of goods to obtain drug money). As one practitioner states, "I could probably say that at least over half of the people in Butler County prison are in for opiates or addiction. Most the people in this town on probation… They may have a retail theft but it's because of their addiction" (TS018: Reentry Services).

One innovative reentry initiative utilized in two counties, called the MA County Jail Pilot, matches certain offenders with case managers who are identified by the probation department. The offenders are identified via risk management assessments and screened based

on their offense and the number of previous incarcerations. If the offender is determined to have a substance abuse problem, the case manager offers him/her multiple modes of help, both in and out of jail. Here is one practitioner's explanation of the program and tasks involved for case managers:

> A case manager will go in and do a [drug and alcohol] assessment. If they need a residential level of care, then one of our certified recovery specialists goes in and fills out the COMPASS application for them to get medical assistance. So that on the day they leave jail, if they are eligible, their medical assistance will turn on, and our case manager arranges them to go directly from jail to an inpatient treatment facility. So they're not home, they're not out getting into their old habits or using. In our old system we used to just give them an appointment to have them come to have an assessment maybe a week to two later. If even that soon if we could get them in. A lot of them within that time would fail or relapse then reoffend. (TS009: Substance Abuse Treatment Staff)

The program, which began in September 2012, was in its early phases of implementation but may soon expand throughout the state of Pennsylvania. Anecdotally, practitioners have found the program to be successful in helping addicts recover and refrain from crime.

Another substance abuse-related challenge identified by many practitioners included access to different types of treatment. Rural areas were limited in the types of substance abuse treatments available to offenders. While attending substance abuse counseling may be a condition of probation or parole for offenders, they are likely to be enrolled into the only treatment program in the rural town. If they are repeat offenders, this may be the same program and the same therapist they encountered upon previous releases. With repeat offenders, they may just be "going through the motions" to get through the program, without it actually benefitting

them. For some, they may legitimately want to be drug free, but the type of treatment (e.g., group, individual cognitive-behavioral sessions) may not resonate with the client. Where in urban settings clients may have options in the mode of treatment, rural areas may only offer one type of program.

**Transportation.** All three groups identified issues with transportation in rural areas. Three major issues were identified regarding rural transportation: lack of public transportation, loss of licenses due to offense, and need to get to their job or programming. In rural areas, public transportation was limited. While some counties had a bus system in place, service was not regularly available to areas around the county center. Most towns within each county did not have bus routes, and those that did had service once or twice a day. As one practitioner explained, "If a client had to make a meeting with probation in the afternoon, they would have to get on the morning bus, wait around all day for a half-hour meeting, then wait for the only bus home at night" (TS001).

In some cases, offenders lose their license due to their offense. A DUI or drug offender may have his/her license suspended for an extended period of time after he/she is released. Typically, as part of parole conditions, the offender is required to participate in drug or alcohol treatment. If the offender lives outside of town, it becomes difficult for him/her to obtain transportation. Many recidivate because they resort to driving with a suspended license in order to get to their jobs or appointments.

In rural areas, employment and programming are often dispersed to areas that would be unreasonable to consider walking distance. As public transportation is typically not an option, a former offender must rely on private or personal transportation. If he/she does not have a license or access to a car, it is difficult to get to appointments or a job. As programming or employment

may be conditions of parole, lack of transportation options can result in a technical violation. As one case manager explains:

> Transportation to employment is by far the biggest issue, besides housing, that I found. I've had people that can get jobs and only be able to go to work for two days. They're so excited because that they got a job that they didn't think about getting to and from there everyday. (TS020)

**Acquaintance Density.** "Everybody knows everybody and everybody's business" (TS013). Acquaintance density in rural areas can have a major impact on the reentry process. Some participants identified the degree to which communities are aware of the histories of each of their members as positive. If an individual is otherwise an upstanding citizen who made a mistake, the community may help him/her in their reentry process. The community may be more forgiving and willing to give him/her a job.

On the other hand, acquaintance density could be a disadvantage if the offender had a negative community image or has associated with poor influences prior to incarceration. As a substance abuse counselor explains:

> Let's face it, if you grew up in a town with only 30 people and if you're going back to the town the same 30 people, and their lifestyles are all about drinking and partying and dope… you can't escape that. (TS011)

When asked what leads to successful reentry, multiple inmates and practitioners responded, "staying away from old people, places, or things." This is more difficult to accomplish in a rural area where smaller populations result in individuals interacting with the same people everyday. Where a lifestyle change in a city may allow individuals to avoid negative influences, these people are more difficult to avoid in rural towns. Similarly, if an

offender has a negative reputation when sentenced to jail, higher levels of acquaintance density in rural areas make it more difficult to redefine his/her image.

**Employment.** Inmates, probation/parole officers, and treatment staff recognize that employment is difficult to secure for former inmates. In rural Western Pennsylvania, many of the industrial jobs that were once prevalent have since disappeared. Coupled with the fact that returning inmates have low levels of education and vocational skills, job prospects for former offenders are bleak. Employment opportunities in restaurants or convenient stores are some of the most viable options for former offenders. However, if an offender is on parole he or she may be restricted from working at a bar or store where alcohol is sold.

In addition, while the oil and gas industry resulted in an influx in employment in Western Pennsylvania, multiple practitioners reported that the nature of the work makes it difficult for former offenders to gain employment. If a former offender is on parole, he or she may be restricted from leaving the county where he/she lives. This limits the available options for employment and may exclude them from industry work, as these jobs require employees to travel throughout the state. In addition, multiple treatment staff practitioners reported that oil and gas recruiters often inform the state that they have plenty of jobs for former offenders, but a problem is that they need to pass a drug test as part of the hiring process. This is difficult for former offenders as many suffer from substance abuse issues.

**Housing.** Housing in rural areas was identified as a major challenge, and housing is an immediate need for inmates once released. While some inmates may return to live with their families, others do not have that option. Some face strained relationships with family or friends, others need to avoid old "people, places, and things" as they helped lead the offender to incarceration in the first place. One practitioner explains, "In some cases, while I don't want to

keep people away from their families, maybe there is a good thing there" (TS013). While these issues may not be specific to rural areas, the availability of housing is. There were limited areas of Section 8 housing and only three homeless shelters available nearby. Private housing is limited and prices are continuing to rise due to the Marcellus Shale industry that has recently impacted local communities. As one substance abuse counselor explains:

> We're starting to see in some areas the housing is being taken over by the Marcellus shale people that are here working on the wells. So that drives up the cost of housing to where it makes in unaffordable to low income people. The counties where there are a lot of wells, such as Bradford, you can't find housing for low income people at all because everything has been taken by the well workers. And then I hear that from my peers all the time. We have money to help people with rent but they can't find anywhere that the person would be able to afford. (TS012)

**Correctional Orientation**

In addition, correctional orientations of the respondents, measured by Cullen and colleagues (1993), were explored to determine if their ranking of correctional system goals are congruent with their role in the criminal justice system. All sample participants in the current study either work in a reentry-related field or are currently incarcerated in a county jail. Therefore, it was hypothesized that rehabilitation would be the highest ranked goal of the correctional system.

Each participant was asked to rank the goals of the adult county jails: retribution, incapacitation, rehabilitation, and deterrence. Each goal was ranked from one to four, with one bring the most important goal. Table 17 displays mean results among the three groups in this dissertation. Results found that while officers and treatment staff ranked rehabilitation as the

most important goal ($M$ = 1.51 and $M$ = 2.02, respectively), current inmates ranked incapacitation as the most important goal ($M$ = 1.8). Participants in each group were compared based on their correctional orientation rankings using a one-way between groups analysis of variance. Four different one-way ANOVAs were run, one for each orientation goal. Using a Bonferoni test, results indicated statistically significant differences within the incapacitation and rehabilitation goals. Inmates ($M$ = 1.8, $SD$ = .97) ranked incapacitation as more important than probation/parole officers ($M$ = 2.88, $SD$ = .95) and treatment staff ($M$ = 2.19, $SD$ = .93): $F$ (2, 608) = 68.2, $p < .001$. By contrast, rehabilitation was ranked higher by probation/parole officers ($M$ = 1.51, $SD$ = .88) than inmates ($M$ = 2.26, $SD$ = 1.1): $F$ (2, 608) = 33.1, $p < .001$.

Table 17

*Mean Ranks and ANOVA Results for Correctional Orientation Between Groups*

| Group | Retribution | Incapacitation | Rehabilitation | Deterrence |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Inmates | 3.20 (.93) | *1.88 (.97) | *2.26 (1.1) | 2.60 (1.0) |
| Probation/Parole | 3.20 (.92) | *2.88 (.95) | *1.51 (.88) | 2.42 (.93) |
| Treatment Staff | 3.50 (.83) | *2.15 (.93) | 1.75 (1.1) | 2.60 (.82) |
| Total | 3.21 (.93) | 2.19 (1.1) | 2.01 (1.1) | 2.55 (.99) |

*Note*. Ranked scores ranged from 1-4 with 1 being the most important goal of adult jails.
*$p < .05$

## Research Question Two

In what ways do practitioners' and inmates' perceived challenges differ?

### OLS Regression

The second research question utilized multiple OLS regression. To answer this research question, multiple regression models were run to determine the extent each independent variable had on each component score. PCA yielded six components. These components included income-structure challenges, personal challenges, programming related challenges, health care challenges, technology challenges, and family and community support. The standardized

regression component scores from each factor served as a dependent variable in each model. In order to determine the predictive value each component contributed to the other, the remaining component scores served as independent variables. These independent variables were imputed one at a time and run in separate models resulting in six models per dependent variable. Below, the six models are outlined for the dependent variable income-structure challenges. This statistical analysis was repeated for the remaining five components as dependent variables for a total of 36 regression models.

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{personal}\ \text{challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4\, x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{programming}\text{-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4\, x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (2)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{health}\ \text{care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4\, x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (3)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4\, x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (4)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{family}\ \text{and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4\, x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (5)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{personal}\ \text{challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\textit{programming}\text{-related challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\textit{health}\ \text{care-related}} + ß_4 x_{\textit{technology}\text{-related}} + ß_5 x_{\textit{family}\ \text{and community support}} + ß_6 x_{\textit{Gender}(\text{Male})} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9\, x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{\textit{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (6)$$

Where:
y = dependent variable
$x_p$ = independent variable
$ß_p$ = slope

In addition to the component scores, six independent variables were included in each model. These variables included race, gender, marital status, and age. As race, education, marital status, and gender are categorical variables, they were dummy coded before the analyses were computed. Gender was coded as male = 1 female = 0. Due to the lack of diversity in the sample,

Race was combined into White and non-White. White was coded as a 1, while non-white was coded a 0. Marital status was coded as a dummy variable into Married, with single and divorced/separated left out of the equation as a reference variable. Criminal justice role was recoded with Parole/Probation Officer = 1 and inmate = 0. Unfortunately, due to the lack of diversity in education among probation and parole officer and the extreme diversity within the inmate sample, there was no way to meaningfully recode the variables to fit into the equation. Almost all of the probation and parole officers held at least a bachelor's degree, while almost all inmates had less formal education, resulting in two distinct groups that could not be delineated. Based on the inability to create a comprehensive education measure for the two groups, the variable was not included in the analysis.

Analysis tested for the assumptions of regression. A zero order correlation matrix (See Table 18) among all relevant independent variables was run to determine problems with multicollinearity within the variables. In addition, variance inflation factors (VIF) were examined among all models to measure for multicollinearity. All thirty-six models produced VIF scores less than 10, meaning there were no problems with multicollinearity (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1995). A Normal Probablilty Plot (P-P Plot) of the standardized residuals found no major deviation from normality for the thirty-six models. In addition, a scatterplot of the standardized residuals revealed no problems with heteroscedasticity for each of the models. Overall, preliminary analysis of all 36 models concluded that there were no violations in the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity.

Table 18

*Correlation Table for all Variables*

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Married | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.Race: White | -.157* | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Male | .012* | .019 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 4. Age | -.433* | .057 | .058* | 1 | | | | | | |
| 5. CJ Role (Parole) | -.421* | .141* | -.137* | .305* | 1 | | | | | |
| 6. Income-Structural | .186* | -.071* | -.197* | -.061* | -.216* | 1 | | | | |
| 7. Personal Challenges | -.232* | .096* | -.157* | .159* | .614* | -.085* | 1 | | | |
| 8. Program Related | -.082* | .002 | .129* | .045 | .189* | -.313* | -.089* | 1 | | |
| 9. Healthcare Related | -.032 | -.038 | -.171* | .090 | .069* | .207* | .110* | -.253* | 1 | |
| 10. Technology Related | .024 | -.081* | .028 | .048* | -.110* | .236* | -.052 | -.229* | .209* | 1 |
| 11. Family and Community Support | .072* | -.006 | .077* | -.064 | -.100* | 0.223* | -.316* | .326* | -.156* | -.188* |

*Note.* * $p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

In model 1, the overall model was significant with an $R^2$ value of .167, explaining 16.7% of the variance in the income-structural challenges, $F$ (6, 511) = 18.285, $p < .001$. Of the six independent variables, four were statistically significant (See Table 19): personal challenges, parole, married, and male. Of the four variables, being an inmate was most strongly associated with changes in the income-structural score (*beta* = -.419, $p < .001$), followed by higher scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = .324, $p < .001$), being female (Male: *beta* = -.208, $p < .001$), and being married (*beta* = .114, p = .017).

Table 19

*Model 1: Income-Structural DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | .323 | .051 | .324 |
| *Parole | -.888 | .119 | -.419 |
| *Married | .238 | .099 | .114 |
| White | -.086 | .133 | NS |
| *Male | -.380 | .085 | -.208 |
| Age | .008 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .575 | .228 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .167$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (2)$$

In model 2, the overall model was significant with an $R^2$ value of .171, explaining 17.1% of the variance in the income-structural challenges, $F$ (6, 511) = 17.569, $p < .001$. Similar to model 1, of the six independent variables, four were statistically significant (See Table 20): program-related challenges subscale, parole/probation, married, and male. Of the four variables, lower scores on the program-related challenges subscale were most strongly related to changes in the income-structural score (*beta* = -.251, $p < .001$), followed by being female (Male: *beta* = -.191, $p < .001$), being a current inmate (Parole: *beta* = -157, p = .001) and being married (*beta* = .123 , $p = .010$).

Table 20

*Model 2: Income-Structural DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program-Related | -.252 | .042 | -.251 |
| *Parole | -.337 | .100 | -.157 |
| *Married | .257 | .100 | .123 |
| White | -.094 | .134 | NS |
| *Male | -.395 | .086 | -.191 |
| Age | .007 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .227 | .235 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .172$
*$p < .05$

(3)

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon$$

In model 3, the overall model was significant with an $R^2$ value of .135, explaining 13.5% of the variance in the income-structural challenges, $F$ (6, 511) = 14.471, $p < .001$. Four variables were statistically significant (See Table 21): personal challenges scale, probation/parole, married, and male. Similar to model 1, inmate-parole officer status was most strongly related to changes in the income-structural score (*beta* = -.219, $p < .001$), followed by being female (Male Beta = -.199, $p < .001$), higher scores on the health care challenges subscale (*beta* = .186, $p < .001$), and being married (*beta* = 121, $p = .013$).

Table 21

*Model 3: Income-Structural DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Challenges | .187 | .042 | .186 |
| *Parole | .469 | .100 | -.219 |
| Married | .252 | .101 | .121 |
| White | -.043 | .136 | NS |
| *Male | -.413 | .087 | -.199 |
| Age | .005 | .005 | NS |

*Note.* $R^2 = .135$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (4)$$

In model 4, the overall model was significant with an $R^2$ value of .157, explaining 15.7% of the variance in the income-structural challenges, $F$ (6, 511) = 15.914, $p < .001$. Four variables were statistically significant (See Table 22). Of the four variables, higher scores on the technology challenges subscale predicted the income-structural score (*beta* = .216, $p < .001$), followed by being and inmate (Parole: *beta* = -.186, $p < .001$), being female (Male: *beta* = -.233, $p < .001$), and being married (*beta* = .126, $p < .010$).

Table 22

*Model 4: Income-Structural DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology challenges | .217 | .041 | .216 |
| *Parole | -.398 | .100 | -.186 |
| *Married | .262 | .100 | .126 |
| White | -.020 | .136 | NS |
| Male | -.482 | .085 | -.233 |
| *Age | .005 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .216 | .041 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .157$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (5)$$

In model 5, the overall model was significant with an $R^2$ value of .166, explaining 16.6% of the variance in the income-structural challenges, $F$ (6, 511) = 17.005, $p < .001$. Four variables were statistically significant (See Table 23). Of the three variables, lower scores on the family and community challenges subscale were most strongly related to changes in the income-structural score (*beta* = -.236, $p < .001$), followed by being an inmate (Parole/Probation: *beta* = -.230, $p < .001$), being female (Male: *beta* = -.215, $p < .001$), and being married (*beta* = .131, $p = .006$).

Table 23

*Model 5: Income-Structural DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.236 | .041 | -.235 |
| *Parole | -.492 | .099 | -.230 |
| *Married | .273 | .100 | .131 |
| White | -.062 | .134 | NS |
| *Male | -.445 | .085 | -.215 |
| Age | .007 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .327 | .236 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .166$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{personal\ \text{challenges}} + ß_2 x_{programming\text{-related challenges}} + ß_3 x_{health\ \text{care-related}} + ß_4 x_{technology\text{-related}} + ß_5 x_{family\ \text{and community support}} + ß_6 x_{Gender(\text{Male})} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9\, x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{ParoleOfficer} + \varepsilon \quad (6)$$

Model six combined all subscales as predictors of income-structural challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .241, explaining 24.1% of the variance in the income-structural challenges, $F$ (10, 507) = 17.435, $p < .001$. Eight individual variables were statistically significant (See Table 24). Of the eight variables, being an inmate was most strongly related to higher income-structural scores (Parole/Probation: *beta* = -.327, $p < .001$), followed by scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = .237, $p < .001$), being female (Male: *beta* = -.174, $p < .001$), scores on the technology component scale (*beta* = .147, $p < .001$) being married (Beta = .117, $p = .010$), lower scores on the program related component subscale (*beta* = -.106, $p = .013$), scores on the health care component score (*beta* = .099, $p = .016$), and lower scores on the family and community issues subscale (*beta* = -.094, $p = .029$).

Table 24

*Model 6: Income-Structural DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | .236 | .052 | .237 |
| *Program Related Challenges | -.110 | .044 | -.110 |
| *Health Care Challenges | .100 | .041 | .099 |
| *Technology Challenges | .148 | .041 | .147 |
| *Family and Community | -.095 | .043 | -.094 |
| *Parole | -.700 | .120 | -.327 |
| Married | .224 | .095 | .117 |
| White | -.043 | .127 | NS |
| *Male | -.360 | .083 | -.174 |
| Age | .005 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | .481 | .229 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $R^2 = .241$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (7)$$

Models seven through twelve utilized personal challenges as the dependent variable for all models. Like the models above, each component score was added individually. Model seven was significant with an $R^2$ value of .429, explaining 42.9% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 64.00, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 25). Being a probation or parole officer had the strongest relationship to higher personal challenges scores (*beta* = .669, $p < .001$), meaning officers viewed personal factors as more of a challenge than inmates. This was followed by scores on the income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = .225, $p < .001$).

Table 25

*Model 7: Personal Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | .226 | .036 | .225 |
| *Parole | 1.439 | .084 | .669 |
| Married | .010 | .084 | NS |
| White | .069 | .111 | NS |
| Male | -.040 | .073 | NS |
| Age | -.003 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.912 | .196 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .429$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (8)$$

Model eight was significant with an $R^2$ value of .424, explaining 42.4% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 62.705, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 26). Probation or parole officers had the strongest relationship to higher personal challenges scores (*beta* = .667, $p < .001$), followed by lower scores on the income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = -.206, $p < .001$).

Table 26

*Model 8: Personal Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program-Related | -.208 | .035 | -.206 |
| *Parole | 1.434 | .084 | .667 |
| Married | .066 | .083 | NS |
| White | .032 | .112 | NS |
| Male | -.079 | .072 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.208 | .197 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .424$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (9)$$

Model nine was significant with an $R^2$ value of .388, explaining 38.8% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 53.902, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, only the status of being a probation/parole officer was statistically significant (*beta* = .619, $p < .001$): see Table 27.

Table 27

*Model 9: Personal Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Health Challenges | .061 | .036 | NS |
| *Parole | 1.332 | .085 | .619 |
| Married | .067 | .086 | NS |
| White | .062 | .115 | NS |
| Male | -.127 | .074 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.839 | .203 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .388$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (10)$$

Model ten was significant with an $R^2$ value of .385, explaining 38.5% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 53.838, $p < .001$. Of the two variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 28). Being a Probation/Parole officer (*beta* = .623, $p < .001$) and being female (Male: *beta* = -.149, $p = .043$) had a relationship to higher personal challenges scores.

Table 28

*Model 10: Personal Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technology Challenges | .021 | .036 | NS |
| *Parole | 1.341 | .086 | .623 |
| Married | .069 | .086 | NS |
| White | .058 | .116 | NS |
| *Male | -.149 | .073 | -.159 |
| Age | -.002 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.845 | .203 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .385$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (11)$$

Model eleven was significant with an $R^2$ value of .448, explaining 44.8% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 69.157, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 29). Probation/parole officer status strongest relationship to higher personal challenges scores (*beta* = 603, $p < .001$), followed by the family and community subscale (*beta* = -.225, $p < .001$), which yielded a negative relationship.

Table 29

*Model 11: Personal Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.257 | .033 | -.255 |
| *Parole | .1.297 | .081 | .603 |
| Married | .084 | .082 | NS |
| White | .061 | .109 | NS |
| Male | -.112 | .070 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.817 | .193 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .448$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_4 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{\textit{Gender}(\text{Male})} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{\textit{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (12)$$

Model twelve combined all subscales as predictors of personal challenges. The overall model was significant with an Adjusted $R^2$ value of .476, explaining 47.6% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (10, 507) = 47.903, $p < .001$. Five individual variables were statistically significant (See Table 30). Of the five variables, Probation/parole officer status was the strongest predictor of personal challenges (*beta* = .658, $p < .001$), followed by lower scores on the family and community challenges subscale were the strongest (*beta* = -.194, $p < .001$), income-structural component scores (*beta* = .174, $p < .001$), lower program related subscale scores (*beta* = -.116, $p = .002$), and lower scores on the technology component scale (*beta* = -.077, $p = .025$).

Table 30

*Model 12: Personal Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income Structural | .165 | .036 | .164 |
| *Program Related | -.117 | .037 | -.117 |
| Health Care Challenges | -.010 | .035 | NS |
| *Technology Challenges | -.077 | .035 | -.077 |
| *Family and Community | -.195 | .035 | -.194 |
| *Parole | 1.417 | .082 | .658 |
| Married | .036 | .080 | NS |
| White | .039 | .106 | NS |
| Male | -.005 | .070 | NS |
| Age | -.003 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.906 | .187 | |

*Note.*: Adjusted $R^2 = .476$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (13)$$

Models thirteen through eighteen utilized programming related challenges as the dependent variable for all models, with each component score added individually. Model thirteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .124, explaining 12.4% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 12.105, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically

significant (See Table 31). Lower scores on the income-structural challenges subscale were the best predictor of scores on the program-related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.265, $p < .001$), followed by being a parole/probation officer (*beta* = .167, $p = .001$), and being male (*beta* = .101, $p = .020$).

Table 31

*Model 13: Programming Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | -.264 | .044 | -.265 |
| *Parole | .356 | .103 | .167 |
| Married | .054 | .103 | NS |
| White | -.121 | .137 | NS |
| *Male | .208 | .089 | .101 |
| Age | .001 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.039 | .238 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .124$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (14)$$

Model fourteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .123, explaining 12.3% of the variance in the program-related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 11.933, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically significant (See Table 32). Being a probation/parole officer had the strongest relationship to higher program-related challenges scores (*beta* = .418, $p < .001$). Marriage had a negative relationship to personal challenges (*beta* = -.102, $p = .040$) and lower scores on the program related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.095, $p = .037$). Lower scores on the income-structural challenges subscale also predicted scores on the program-related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.314, $p < .001$), followed by being male (*beta* = .140, $p = .001$).

Table 32

*Model 14: Program Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | -.312 | .052 | -.314 |
| *Parole | .894 | .123 | .418 |
| Married | .007 | .102 | NS |
| White | -.086 | .137 | NS |
| *Male | .289 | .087 | .140 |
| Age | .004 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.312 | .245 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .123$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{health}\text{ care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (15)$$

Model fifteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .122, explaining 12.2% of the variance in the program-related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 11.826, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically significant (See Table 33). Lower scores on the health care challenges subscale were the best predictor of scores on the program-related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.250, $p < .001$), followed by being a parole/probation officer (*beta* = .230, $p < .001$), and being male (*beta* = .119, $p = .006$).

Table 33
*Model 15: Program Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Challenges | -.251 | .042 | -.250 |
| *Parole | .492 | .101 | .230 |
| Married | -.004 | .102 | NS |
| White | -.136 | .137 | NS |
| *Male | .246 | .088 | .087 |
| Age | -.001 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.322 | .241 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .122$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{technology}\text{-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (16)$$

Model sixteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .107, explaining 10.7% of the variance in the program-related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 10.205, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically significant (See Table 34). Similar to model 15, lower scores on the technology challenges subscale were the best predictor of scores on the program-related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.215, $p < .001$), followed by being a parole/probation officer (*beta* = .196, $p < .001$), and being male (*beta* = .164, $p < .001$), see Table 34.

Table 34

*Model 16: Program Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology Challenges | -.215 | .042 | -.215 |
| *Parole | .418 | .102 | .196 |
| Married | -.016 | .103 | NS |
| White | -.151 | .138 | NS |
| *Male | .338 | .088 | .164 |
| Age | -.001 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.290 | .243 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .107$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (17)$$

Model seventeen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .176, explaining 17.6% of the variance in the program-related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 18.128, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically significant (See Table 35). The family and community subscale was significantly related to scores on the program related component subscale (*beta* = .340, $p < .001$). Two variables: being a probation/parole officer (*beta* = .247, $p < .001$) and being male (*beta* = .139, $p = .001$) also had a relationship to higher program-related challenges scores.

Table 35

*Model 17: Program Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | .339 | .040 | .340 |
| *Parole | .527 | .098 | .247 |
| Married | -.033 | .099 | NS |
| White | -.112 | .133 | NS |
| *Male | .287 | .085 | .139 |
| Age | -.002 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.335 | .234 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .176$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_4 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{Gender(\text{Male})} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{ParoleOfficer} + \varepsilon \quad (18)$$

Model eighteen combines all subscales as predictors of program-related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .243, explaining 24.3% of the variance in the personal challenges subscale, $F$ (10, 507) = 17.618, $p < .001$. Seven of the ten individual variables were statistically significant (See Table 36). Of the seven variables, Being a probation/parole officer was the best predictor of scores on the program related challenges subscale (*beta* = .310, $p < .001$), followed by family and community component scores (*beta* = .227, $p < .001$), lower scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = -.167, $p = .002$), lower scores on the health care challenges subscale (*beta* = -.164, $p = .002$), lower scores on the income-structural component challenges subscale (*beta* = -.110, $p = .013$), lower scores on the technology component scale (*beta* = -.107, $p = .009$), and being male (*beta* = .092, $p = .044$).

Table 36

*Model 18: Program Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income Structure | -.110 | .044 | -.110 |
| *Personal Challenges | -.166 | .052 | -.167 |
| *Health Care Challenges | -.165 | .041 | -.164 |
| *Technology Challenges | -.107 | .041 | -.107 |
| *Family and Community | .227 | .042 | .227 |
| *Parole | .663 | .120 | .310 |
| Married | .019 | .095 | NS |
| White | -.154 | .127 | NS |
| *Male | .169 | .084 | .082 |
| Age | .001 | .004 | NS |
| Constant | -.441 | .228 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $R^2 = .243$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (19)$$

Models nineteen through twenty-four utilized health care related challenges as the dependent variable for all models. Model nineteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .077, explaining 7.7% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 7.147, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 37). Higher scores on the income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = .201, $p < .001$) and being older (*beta* = .100, $p = .035$) were related to scores on the health-related challenges subscale. The male variable was negatively associated with the healthcare related subscale (*beta* = -.125, $p = .005$), suggesting that women find items in the healthcare related subscale to be more challenging.

Table 37

*Model 19: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | .200 | .045 | .201 |
| Parole | .153 | .105 | NS |
| Married | -.009 | .105 | NS |
| White | -.121 | .140 | NS |
| *Male | -259 | .092 | -.125 |
| Age | .009 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.152 | .247 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .077$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (20)$$

Model twenty was significant with an $R^2$ value of .047, explaining 4.7% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 4.192, $p < .001$. Of the five variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 38). Age was positively associated with scores on the healthcare related subscale (*beta* = .103, $p = .037$). Older participants were more likely to find healthcare related items more challenging. Similar to the previous model, the male variable was negatively associated with the healthcare related subscale (*beta* = -.165, $p < .001$), meaning that women find items in the healthcare related subscale to be more challenging.

Table 38

*Model 20: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Personal Challenges | .093 | .055 | NS |
| Parole | -.063 | .128 | NS |
| Married | .036 | .106 | NS |
| White | -.140 | .142 | NS |
| *Male | -341 | .091 | -.163 |
| *Age | .011 | .005 | .100 |
| Constant | -.013 | .255 | |

*Note.*: $R^2 = .047$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (21)$$

Model twenty-one was significant with an $R^2$ value of .103, explaining 10.3% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 9.743, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically significant (See Table 39). Like previous models, age was positively associated (*beta* = .094, $p = .047$) and gender was negatively associated (*beta* = -.131, $p = .003$) with scores on the healthcare related subscale. The program-related challenges subscale was also negatively associated with the healthcare scale (*beta* = -.255, $p < .001$).

Table 39

*Model 21: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related | -.255 | .043 | -.255 |
| Parole | .183 | .104 | NS |
| Married | .039 | .103 | NS |
| White | -.161 | .138 | NS |
| *Male | -269 | .089 | -.131 |
| *Age | .010 | .005 | .094 |
| Constant | -.168 | .244 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .103$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (22)$$

Model twenty-two was significant with an $R^2$ value of .086, explaining 8.6% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 8.008, $p < .001$. Two variables were statistically significant (See Table 40). Technology challenges (*beta* = .213, $p < .001$) were positively associated with scores on the healthcare related subscale. Gender was negatively associated (*beta* = -.173, $p < .001$) with healthcare scale as women were more likely to rate healthcare items as more challenging.

Table 40

*Model 22: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology Challenges | .214 | .043 | .213 |
| Parole | .119 | .103 | NS |
| Married | .055 | .103 | NS |
| White | -.087 | .140 | NS |
| *Male | -358 | .089 | -.145 |
| *Age | .008 | .005 | .093 |
| Constant | -.101 | .246 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .086$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (23)$$

Model twenty-three was significant with an $R^2$ value of .060, explaining 6% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 5.443, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, three were statistically significant (See Table 41). Age was positively associated (*beta* = .098, $p = .044$), and gender was negatively associated (*beta* = -.162, $p < .001$) with scores on the healthcare related subscale. The program-related challenges subscale was also negatively associated with the healthcare scale (*beta* = -.137, $p = .002$).

Table 41

*Model 23: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.137 | .043 | -.137 |
| Parole | .041 | .104 | NS |
| Married | .050 | .106 | NS |
| White | -.131 | .141 | NS |
| *Male | -335 | .090 | -.165 |
| Age | .010 | .005 | .101 |
| Constant | -.077 | .249 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .060$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\textit{programming}\text{-related challenges}} + ß_4 x_{\textit{technology}\text{-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{\textit{Gender}\text{(Male)}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{\textit{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (24)$$

Model twenty-four combined all subscales as predictors of health care-related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .122, explaining 12.2% of the variance in the mental care-related subscale, $F$ (10, 507) = 8.216, $p < .001$. Five individual variables were statistically significant (See Table 42). Of the five variables, programming related challenges were most strongly associated with healthcare challenges (*beta* = -.190, $p < .001$), followed by technology challenges (*beta* = .144, $p = .001$), being a probation/parole officer (*beta* = .123, $p = .048$), gender (Male: *beta* = -.115, $p = .008$), and the income-structural challenges subscale (Beta = -.115, $p = .016$).

Table 42

*Model 24: Healthcare Related Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income Structure | .114 | .047 | .115 |
| Personal Challenges | -.016 | .057 | NS |
| *Program Related Challenges | -.190 | .047 | -.190 |
| *Technology Challenges | .144 | .044 | .144 |
| Family and Community | -.021 | .046 | NS |
| *Parole | .262 | .132 | .123 |
| Married | -.013 | .102 | NS |
| White | -.113 | .136 | NS |
| *Male | -.238 | .090 | -.115 |
| Age | .008 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.201 | .246 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $R^2 = .122$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (25)$$

Models twenty-five through thirty utilized technology related challenges as the dependent variable for all models. Model twenty-five was significant with an $R^2$ value of .074, explaining 7.4% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 6.816, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 43). Higher scores on the

income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = .236, $p < .001$) were related to scores on the technology related challenges subscale.

Table 43

*Model 25: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | .236 | .045 | .237 |
| Parole | .165 | .105 | NS |
| Married | -.068 | .105 | NS |
| White | -.208 | .140 | NS |
| Male | .128 | .092 | NS |
| Age | .007 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.026 | .247 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .074$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (26)$$

Model twenty-six was significant with an $R^2$ value of .025, explaining 2.5% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 2.161, $p = .045$. Of the six variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 44). The variable, being an inmate was related to scores on the technology related challenges subscale (Parole/probation: *beta* = -.148, $p = .015$).

Table 44

*Model 26: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Personal Challenges | .236 | .055 | NS |
| *Parole | -.315 | .129 | -.148 |
| Married | -.009 | .108 | NS |
| White | -.226 | .144 | NS |
| Male | .019 | .092 | NS |
| Age | .009 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .072 | .258 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .025$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (27)$$

Model twenty-seven was significant with an $R^2$ value of .071, explaining 7.1% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 6.496, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 45). Lower scores on the program related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.223, $p < .001$) were related to scores on the technology related challenges subscale.

Table 45

*Model 27: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related | -.222 | .044 | -.223 |
| Parole | -.166 | .105 | NS |
| Married | -.010 | .105 | NS |
| White | -.247 | .140 | NS |
| Male | .089 | .090 | NS |
| Age | .008 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.021 | .248 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .071$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \quad (28)$$

Model twenty-eight was significant with an $R^2$ value of .069, explaining 6.9% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 6.349, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 46). Higher scores on the health care challenges subscale (*beta* = .217, $p < .001$) were related to scores on the technology related challenges subscale. Being an inmate also predicted scores on the technology related challenges scale (*beta* = -.134, $p = .006$).

Table 46

*Model 28: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Related | .217 | .044 | .217 |
| *Parole | -286 | .104 | -.138 |
| Married | -.016 | .105 | NS |
| White | -.195 | .141 | NS |
| Male | .092 | .091 | NS |
| Age | .007 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .065 | .248 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .069$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (29)$$

Model twenty-nine was significant with an $R^2$ value of .063, explaining 6.3% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 5.747, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 47). Lower scores on the health care challenges subscale (*beta* = -.199, $p < .001$) were related to scores on the technology related challenges subscale. Additionally, being an inmate was also related to higher scores on the technology related challenges scale (*beta* = -.142, $p = .004$).

Table 47

*Model 29: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.198 | .043 | -199 |
| *Parole | .302 | .104 | -.142 |
| Married | -.005 | .105 | NS |
| White | -.218 | .141 | NS |
| Male | .043 | .090 | NS |
| Age | .007 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .066 | .248 | |

*Note.*: $R^2 = .063$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{personal challenges}}\ ß_3 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_4 x_{\text{health care-related}} + + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{Gender(\text{Male})} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9\, x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{ParoleOfficer} + \varepsilon \quad (30)$$

Model thirty combined all subscales as predictors of technology-related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .122, explaining 12.2% of the variance in the mental care-related subscale, $F$ (10, 507) = 7.180, $p < .001$. Six individual variables were statistically significant (See table 48). Of the six variables, income-structural challenges were most strongly associated with technological challenges (*beta* = .170, $p < .001$), followed by health care related challenges (*beta* = .144, $p = .001$), lower scores on family and community challenges (*beta* = .123, $p = .048$), personal challenges (*beta* = -.128, $p = .025$), and related scale (*beta* = -.124, $p = .009$), and being male (*beta* = .091, $p = .037$).

Table 48

*Model 30: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income Structure | .169 | .047 | .170 |
| *Personal Challenges | -.127 | .057 | -128 |
| *Program Related Challenges | -.123 | .047 | -.124 |
| *Health Care Challenges | .144 | .044 | .144 |
| *Family and Community | -.130 | .046 | -.130 |
| Parole | .005 | .132 | NS |
| Married | -.042 | .102 | NS |
| White | -.195 | .136 | NS |
| *Male | .188 | .090 | .091 |
| Age | .005 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.123 | .245 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $R^2 = .122$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{income\text{-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (31)$$

Models thirty-one through thirty-six utilized family and community related challenges as the dependent variable for all models. Model thirty-one was significant with an $R^2$ value of .077, explaining 7.7% of the variance in the family and community related challenges subscale, $F$ (6,

511) = 7.088, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 49). Lower scores on the income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = -.261, $p < .001$) and being an inmate (Parole/probation: *beta* = -.125, $p = .011$) were related to scores on the family and community related challenges subscale.

Table 49

*Model 31: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | -.260 | .045 | -.261 |
| *Parole | -.185 | .106 | -.125 |
| Married | .123 | .106 | NS |
| White | .011 | .141 | NS |
| Male | .018 | .092 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .185 | .248 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .077$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{personal}\ \text{challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (32)$$

Model thirty-two was significant with an $R^2$ value of .119, explaining 11.9% of the variance in the family and community related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 11.474, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 50). Lower scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = -.407, $p < .001$) and being a parole or probation officer (*beta* = .183, $p = .002$) were related to scores on the family and community related challenges subscale.

Table 50

*Model 32: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | -.405 | .045 | -.407 |
| *Parole | .392 | .123 | .183 |
| Married | .084 | .103 | NS |
| White | .050 | .137 | NS |
| Male | .082 | .088 | NS |
| Age | -.004 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.236 | .246 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .119$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (33)$$

Model thirty-three was significant with an $R^2$ value of .135, explaining 13.5% of the variance in the family and community related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 13.342, $p < .001$. Of the six variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 51). Higher scores on the program related challenges subscale (*beta* = .356, $p < .001$) and being an inmate (Parole/probation: *beta* = -.149, $p = .002$) were related to scores on the family and community related challenges subscale.

Table 51

*Model 33: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related | .356 | .045 | .356 |
| *Parole | -.319 | .102 | -.149 |
| Married | .061 | .102 | NS |
| White | .065 | .136 | NS |
| Male | .023 | .088 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .213 | .240 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .135$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (34)$$

Model thirty-four was significant with an $R^2$ value of .035, explaining 3.5% of the variance in the family and community related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 3.131, $p$ = .005. Of the six variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 52). Lower scores on the health care related challenges subscale (*beta* = -141, $p$ = .002) were related to scores on the family and community related challenges subscale.

Table 52

*Model 34: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Challenges | -.141 | .045 | -141 |
| Parole | -.141 | .106 | NS |
| Married | .062 | .107 | NS |
| White | .009 | .144 | NS |
| Male | .092 | .093 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .093 | .253 | |

*Note.* $R^2$ = .035
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{family and community support personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_3 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_4 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_5 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{ParoleOfficer}} + \varepsilon \quad (35)$$

Model thirty-five was significant with an $R^2$ value of .056, explaining 5.6% of the variance in the family and community related challenges subscale, $F$ (6, 511) = 5.042, $p$ < .001. Of the six variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 53). Lower scores on the technology challenges subscale (*beta* = -201, $p$ < .001) were related to scores on the family and community related challenges subscale.

Table 53

*Model 35: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology Challenges | -.260 | .044 | -.201 |
| Parole | -.204 | .105 | NS |
| Married | .054 | .106 | NS |
| White | -.017 | .143 | NS |
| Male | .145 | .090 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | .115 | .251 | |

*Note*. $R^2 = .056$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{personal challenges}}\ ß_3 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_4 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_6 x_{Gender(\text{Male})} + ß_7 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_9\, x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + ß_{10} x_{ParoleOfficer} + \varepsilon \quad (36)$$

Model thirty-six combined all subscales as predictors of family and community challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .204, explaining 20.4% of the variance in the mental care-related subscale, $F$ (10, 507) = 14.215, $p < .001$. Four individual variables were statistically significant (See Table 54). Of the four variables, lower scores on the personal challenges subscale were the strongest predictor of family and community challenges (*beta* = -.294, $p < .001$), followed by higher scores on program related challenges (*beta* = .239, $p = .001$), and negative scores on the technology (*beta* = -.118, $p = .005$) and the income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = -.099, $p = .029$).

Table 54

*Model 36: Family and Community Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income Structure | -.099 | .045 | -.099 |
| *Personal Challenges | -.293 | .053 | -.294 |
| *Program Related | .239 | .044 | .239 |
| *Technology Challenges | -.199 | .042 | -.118 |
| Health Care Challenges | -.019 | .042 | NS |
| Parole | .051 | .127 | NS |
| Married | .105 | .098 | NS |
| White | .033 | .130 | NS |
| Male | -.034 | .086 | NS |
| Age | .001 | .005 | NS |
| Constant | -.036 | .235 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $r^2 = .204$
*$p < .05$

## Thematic Analysis

In addition to the OLS regression models, thematic analysis explored the qualitative data from inmate and probation/parole surveys and the interviews with treatment staff. Themes relating to the perceived challenges of each of the three groups were identified and compared using the qualitative data analysis tool NVivo. Specifically, the researcher attempted to identify ways in which the perceptions of reentry challenges differed between the three samples by coding common themes noted throughout participants' responses.

Overall, the three groups identified many of the same challenges relating to reentry. These challenges were consistent to those that Wodahl (2006) theorized and Zajac et al. (2014) found relating to rural reentry. The need for employment help, work programs, housing assistance, transportation, drug and alcohol help, and additional reentry programming were identified among all three groups. As one inmate wrote, "there should be programs that help people even in the smallest towns." All three groups identified similar major challenges inmates face when leaving rural jails.

Treatment staff and probation/parole officers disclosed personal factors as challenges more than inmates. Treatment staff and officers often listed personal factors relating to an internal motivation to change their lifestyles and desist from criminal activity as a major barrier to reentry. According to some treatment staff, if an inmate wants to change, there are plenty of resources out there to help them with the process. As some practitioners stated, a problem arises when these programs are forced unwilling participants. These programs, that may be greatly beneficial to some, do not work if the former offender does not have the internal motivation to change.

Conversely, inmates were more likely to list structural and situational factors that contribute to recidivism. Lack of available housing, jobs, and programs were commonly identified as major challenges by inmates. However, both probation/parole officers and treatment staff described many different available programs within the four rural counties. This disconnection in the understanding of available programming may be due to idealism on the part of the treatment staff or unfamiliarity by inmates. Inmates may be aware that programs exist in their area, but may not believe these particular programs would benefit them. Even though treatment staff and officers know the types of programs that exist, they may not be able to speak to the fidelity of these programs.

## Research Question Three:

In what ways do rural and urban probation/parole officers' perceived challenges differ?

### OLS Regression

Similar to the research question above, OLS regression was used to explore differences between outcome scores on the six reentry subscales for rural and urban parole/probation officers. The independent variables in the analysis included the location where parole/probation

officers work: rural or urban, years of experience as an officer, and total years of experience working in the criminal justice field. In addition, the same demographic variables used in research question two (race, education, age, marital status, and gender) were also used as predictors in the models for question three. The categorization of rural and urban was derived from the Center of Rural Pennsylvania's definition of rural and urban counties and based upon the county where the officers are currently employed. The dependent variables in each of the regression models consist of the components derived from the principle component analysis. Like the models above, each factor was independently imputed into separate regression models to explore the relationships between each factor with each independent variable held constant. Six models were run for each of the dependent variables for a total of 36 OLS regression models. Examples of models run for the income-structure challenges subscale are outlined below.

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 \text{ Sub}_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{9\ \text{X9}}\ _{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (2)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (3)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (4)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\textit{family}\text{ and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (5)$$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_4 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10} x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11} x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12} x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13} x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (6)$$

Where
$y$ = dependent variable
$x_p$ = independent variable
$ß_p$ = slope

In addition to the factor scores, eight independent variables were included in each model. These variables included location of work, years as an officer, years of prior work in the criminal justice system, race, gender, education, marital status, and age. As race, education, education, marital status, and gender are categorical variables, they were dummy coded before the analyses were computed. Gender was coded as male = 1 female = 0. Due to the lack of diversity in the sample, the variable race was combined into White and non-White. White was coded as a 1, and non-white was coded a 0. Marital status was coded as a dummy variable into married, with single and divorced/separated left out of the equation as a reference variable. Education was coded as follows: Bachelor's degree = 1, and all others were coded as 0. As a bachelor's degree is required to work as a parole/probation officer in the state of Pennsylvania, all other participants would have a master's degree or higher. Location of work was defined by the county for which each officer works and was coded with the Center for Rural Pennsylvania's categorization of a rural or urban county.

Preliminary analysis tested for the assumptions of regression. A zero order correlation matrix (See Table 55) among all relevant independent variables was used to determine problems with multicollinearity within the variables. VIF scores for all 36 models were less than 10, supporting the assumption of no problems with multicollinearity (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1995). In addition, Normal P-P Plots of the standardized residuals indicated no major deviation from normality for the thirty-six models and a scatterplot of the standardized residuals revealed no problems with heteroscedasticity for each of the models. Similar to the models above, preliminary analysis of all 36 probation/parole officer models found no violations in the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity.

Table 55

*Correlation Table for All Variables for Rural and Urban Probation and Parole Models*

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Married | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2.Race: White | -.088* | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Male | -.088* | .083 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Age | -.350* | -.016 | .159* | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Rural | -.032 | .195* | .153* | -.048 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Bachelor's Degree | -.005 | .109* | .122* | -.052 | .047 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 7. Years as Parole Officer | -.285* | .057 | .185* | .881* | .055 | -.019 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 8. Prior Years in Corrections | -.147 | -.066* | .079 | .448* | -.192* | -.159* | .221* | 1 | | | | | |
| 9. Income-Structural | .186* | -.047 | -.222* | -.042 | -.110* | -.042* | -.008 | .088 | 1 | | | | |
| 10. Personal Challenges | -.012 | .012 | -.052* | .056 | -.106* | -.075 | .040 | -.003 | .237* | 1 | | | |
| 11. Program Related | -.027 | .015 | .172* | .025 | .007 | .182* | .017 | .013 | -.266* | -.205* | 1 | | |
| 12. Healthcare Related | .014 | -.025 | -.236* | .066 | -.207* | -.136* | .044 | .049 | -.279* | .124* | -.339* | 1 | |
| 13. Technology Related | -.030 | -.086* | -.055 | .060 | -.113* | -.096* | .082 | -.023 | .304* | .021 | -.254* | .197* | 1 |
| 14. Family and Community Support | -.022 | .028 | .068 | -.001 | .006 | .150* | -.022* | -.275* | -.206* | -.250* | .329* | -.199* | -.217* |

*Note.* * $p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

Models one through six utilized income-structural related challenges as the dependent variable for all models. Model one was significant with an $R^2$ value of .162, explaining 16.2% of the variance in the income-structure related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.326, $p$ = .020. Of

the nine variables, two were statistically significant (See Table 56). They were: Scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = .225, *p* = .013) and being female (Male: *beta* = -.199, *p* = .032).

Table 56

*Probation/Parole Model 1: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | .332 | .132 | .225 |
| Married | .412 | .323 | NS |
| White | -.026 | .172 | NS |
| *Male | -.374 | .092 | -.199 |
| Age | -.019 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.094 | .206 | NS |
| Rural | -.089 | .174 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .021 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .021 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .303 | .607 | |

*Note:* $R^2 = .162$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{program-related challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (2)$$

Model two was significant with an $R^2$ value of .162, explaining 16.2% of the variance in the income-structural related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.323, $p$ = .020. Of the nine variables, only one yielded statistical significance (See Table 57). Lower scores on the program related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.228, *p* = .013) predicted higher scores on the income-structural related challenges subscale.

Table 57

*Probation/Parole Model 2: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related Challenges | -215 | .086 | -.228 |
| Married | .413 | .213 | NS |
| White | .000 | .323 | NS |
| Male | -.322 | .174 | NS |
| Age | -.016 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.046 | .208 | NS |
| Rural | -.144 | .173 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .019 | .013 | NS |
| Years as PO | .020 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .330 | .607 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .162$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (3)$$

Model three was significant with an $R^2$ value of .158, explaining 15.8% of the variance in the income-structural related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.252, $p$ = .024. Similar to model three, only one of the nine variables was statistically significant (See Table 58). Higher scores on the health care challenges subscale (*beta* = .224, $p$ = .018) predicted scores on the income-structural related challenges subscale.

Table 58

*Probation/Parole Model 3: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Challenges | .218 | .091 | .224 |
| Married | .399 | .214 | NS |
| White | -.024 | .324 | NS |
| Male | -.198 | .177 | NS |
| Age | -.018 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.080 | .207 | NS |
| Rural | -.061 | .177 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .019 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .019 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .371 | .608 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .158$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (4)$$

Model four was significant with an $R^2$ value of .196, explaining 19.6% of the variance in the income-structural related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.932, $p$ = .004. Of the nine variables, three reached statistical significance (See Table 59). Higher scores on the technology challenges subscale (*beta* = .294, $p$ = .001) predicted scores on the income-structural challenges subscale. In addition, marriage (*beta* = .191, $p$ = .042) and being female (*beta* = -.196, $p$ = .031) were also predictors of the income-structural challenges subscale.

Table 59

*Probation/Parole Model 4: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology Challenges | .298 | .089 | .294 |
| *Married | .431 | .209 | .191 |
| White | .077 | .317 | NS |
| *Male | -.368 | .169 | -.196 |
| Age | -.017 | .016 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.073 | .202 | NS |
| Rural | -.075 | .171 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .022 | .013 | NS |
| Years as PO | .017 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .291 | .595 | |

*Note.* $R^2 = .196$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (5)$$

Model five failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.855, $p$ = .067. While one variable out of the nine yielded statistical significance (Male: *beta* = -.196, $p$ = .040), the model failed to show that being female was a significant predictor of income-structural challenges when controlling for the other variables.

Table 60

*Probation/Parole Model 5: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technology Challenges | -.158 | .089 | NS |
| Married | .414 | .217 | NS |
| White | .017 | .328 | NS |
| *Male | -.365 | .176 | -.196 |
| Age | -.012 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.101 | .210 | NS |
| Rural | -.153 | .177 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .011 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .017 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .259 | .623 | |

*Note.* *$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{income-structure challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_3x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_4x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5x_{\textit{family}\text{ and community support}} + ß_6x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10}x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11}x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12}x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13}x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (6)$$

Model six combined all subscales as predictors of income-structural challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .184 explaining 18.4% of the variance in the income-structural related challenges subscale, $F$ (13, 104) = 3.025, $p$ = .001. Of the nine variables in the model, three were statistically significant (See Table 61). Higher scores on the technology challenges subscale (*beta* = .258, $p$ = .005) were the strongest predictors of scores on the income-structural challenges subscale, followed by personal challenges (*beta* = .204, $p$ = .024), and marriage (*beta* = .181, $p$ = .046).

Table 61

*Probation/Parole Model 6: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | .302 | .132 | .204 |
| Program Related Challenges | -.087 | .091 | NS |
| *Technology Challenges | .261 | .091 | .258 |
| Health Care Challenges | .135 | .091 | NS |
| Family and Community | .031 | .102 | NS |
| *Married | .409 | .214 | .181 |
| White | -.011 | .324 | NS |
| Male | -.279 | .177 | NS |
| Age | -.020 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .017 | .207 | NS |
| Rural | .008 | .177 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .025 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .017 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .187 | .581 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $R^2$ = .184
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (7)$$

Model seven failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.035, $p$ = .417. While one variable out of the nine yielded statistical significance (Income Structural: *beta* = .247, $p$ =

.013), the model failed to show that income structural challenges were a significant predictor of personal challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 62.

Table 62

*Probation/Parole Model 7: Personal Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income Structural | .167 | .066 | .247 |
| Married | -.049 | .154 | NS |
| White | .105 | .229 | NS |
| Male | .020 | .125 | NS |
| Age | .009 | .012 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.095 | .146 | NS |
| Rural | -.121 | .123 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.009 | .010 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.005 | .012 | NS |
| Constant | .244 | .431 | |

*Note.* $*p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (8)$$

Model eight failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 0.792, $p$ = .624. While one variable out of the nine yielded statistical significance (Program related challenges: *beta* = -.196, $p$ = .043), the model failed to show that program related challenges were a significant predictor of personal challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 63.

Table 63

*Probation/Parole Model 8: Personal Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Programming Related | -.126 | .061 | -.197 |
| Married | .017 | .154 | NS |
| White | .102 | .229 | NS |
| Male | -.006 | .125 | NS |
| Age | .007 | .012 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.066 | .146 | NS |
| Rural | -.147 | .123 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.006 | .010 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.147 | .012 | NS |
| Constant | .267 | .435 | |

*Note.* $*p < .05$

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (9)$$

Model nine failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 0.404, $p$ = .931. As demonstrated in Table 64, none of the nine variables yielded statistical significance.

Table 64

*Probation/Parole Model 9: Personal Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Health Care Related | .069 | .061 | NS |
| Married | .015 | .155 | NS |
| White | .098 | .235 | NS |
| Male | -.020 | .128 | NS |
| Age | .006 | .012 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.103 | .150 | NS |
| Rural | -.123 | .128 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.006 | .010 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.001 | .012 | NS |
| Constant | .302 | .441 | |

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (10)$$

In addition, model ten failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 0.316, $p$ = .959. Table 65 illustrates the results.

Table 65

*Probation/Parole Model 10: Personal Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technology Related | -.003 | .056 | NS |
| Married | .020 | .155 | NS |
| White | .106 | .236 | NS |
| Male | -.045 | .126 | NS |
| Age | .007 | .012 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.118 | .151 | NS |
| Rural | -.144 | .127 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.006 | .010 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.001 | .012 | NS |
| Constant | .312 | .443 | |

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (11)$$

Model eleven failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.348, $p$ = .221. While one variable out of the nine yielded statistical significance (family and community challenges: *beta* = -.295, $p$ = .003), the model failed to show that program related challenges were a significant predictor of personal challenges when controlling for the other variables.

Table 66

*Probation/Parole Model 11: Income-Structural Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.204 | .068 | -.197 |
| Married | .015 | .150 | NS |
| White | .117 | .226 | NS |
| Male | -.014 | .121 | NS |
| Age | .013 | .012 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.075 | .145 | NS |
| Rural | -.165 | .122 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.016 | .010 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.006 | .012 | NS |
| Constant | .120 | .430 | |

*Note.* *$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_3x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_4x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10}x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11}x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12}x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13}x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (12)$$

Model twelve combined all subscales as predictors of personal challenges. The model failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (13, 104) = 1.562, $p$ = .108. Although two of the nine variables yielded statistical significance (income-structural related challenges: *beta* = .236, $p$ = .024, and family and community challenges: *beta* = -.266, $p$ = .012), the model failed to show that income-structural related challenges or family or community challenges were a significant predictor of personal challenges when controlling for the other variables.

Table 67

*Probation/Parole Model 12: Personal Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural Challenges | .160 | .070 | .236 |
| Program Related Challenges | -.066 | .066 | NS |
| Technology Challenges | -.106 | .068 | NS |
| Health Care Challenges | -.014 | .067 | NS |
| *Family and Community | -.185 | .072 | -.266 |
| Married | -.057 | .150 | NS |
| White | .090 | .223 | NS |
| Male | .053 | .124 | NS |
| Age | .015 | .012 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.056 | .144 | NS |
| Rural | -.170 | .123 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.019 | .010 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.008 | .011 | NS |
| Constant | .094 | .423 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $r^2$ = .059
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (13)$$

Model thirteen failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.035, $p$ = .417. While one variable yielded statistical significance (Income Structural: *beta* = -.242, $p$ = .013), the

model failed to show that income structural challenges were a significant predictor of program challenges when controlling for the other variables.

Table 68

*Probation/Parole Model 13: Program Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | -.257 | .102 | -.242 |
| Married | .080 | .237 | NS |
| White | -.038 | .352 | NS |
| Male | .210 | .192 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .372 | .225 | NS |
| Rural | -.066 | .190 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .007 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .002 | .018 | NS |
| Constant | -.251 | .663 | |

*Note.* $*p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (14)$$

Model fourteen failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.37, $p$ = .280. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (personal challenges: *beta* = -.190, $p$ = .043), the model failed to show that personal challenges were a significant predictor of program challenges when controlling for the other variables.

Table 69

*Probation/Parole Model 14: Program Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | -.298 | .145 | -.190 |
| Married | -.022 | .235 | NS |
| White | -.008 | .356 | NS |
| Male | .297 | .190 | NS |
| Age | .004 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .371 | .227 | NS |
| Rural | -.073 | .192 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .001 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.004 | .018 | NS |
| Constant | -.261 | .670 | |

*Note.* $*p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (15)$$

Model fifteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .148, explaining 14.8% of the variance in the program related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.087, $p$ = .037. Of the nine variables, one reached statistical significance (See Table 70). Lower scores on the health care challenges subscale (*beta* = -.318, $p$ = .001) predicted scores on the program related challenges subscale.

Table 70

*Probation/Parole Model 15: Program Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Challenges | -.328 | .097 | -.318 |
| Married | .002 | .228 | NS |
| White | .009 | .345 | NS |
| Male | .175 | .188 | NS |
| Age | .004 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .327 | .221 | NS |
| Rural | -.145 | .188 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .002 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.002 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | -.302 | .638 | |

*Note.* $r^2$ = .148
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (16)$$

Model sixteen failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.535, $p$ = .145. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (technology challenges: *beta* = -.257, $p$ = .011), the model failed to show technology related challenges as a significant predictor of program challenges when controlling for other variables.

Table 71

*Probation/Parole Model 16: Program Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology Challenges | -.257 | .099 | -.240 |
| Married | -.038 | .233 | NS |
| White | -.099 | .353 | NS |
| Male | .292 | .188 | NS |
| Age | .002 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .354 | .225 | NS |
| Rural | -.084 | .190 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .000 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .000 | .018 | NS |
| Constant | -.256 | .662 | |

*Note.* *$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (17)$$

Model seventeen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .160, explaining 16% of the variance in the program related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.286, $p$ = .022. Of the nine variables, one reached statistical significance (See Table 72). Higher scores on the family and community challenges subscale (*beta* = .342, $p < .001$) predicted scores on the program related challenges subscale.

Table 72

*Probation/Parole Model 17: Program Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | .372 | .103 | .342 |
| Married | -.017 | .226 | NS |
| White | -.059 | .342 | NS |
| Male | .254 | .183 | NS |
| Age | -.101 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .330 | .219 | NS |
| Rural | .008 | .184 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .021 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .005 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | -.009 | .650 | |

*Note.* $r^2 = .160$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{programming-related challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_4 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10} x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11} x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12} x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13} x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (18)$$

Model eighteen combined all subscales as predictors of program related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .162 explaining 16.2% of the variance in the program related challenges subscale, $F$ (13, 104) = 2.735, $p$ = .002. Of the nine variables in the model, two were statistically significant (See Table 73). Higher scores on the family and community challenges subscale (*beta* = .225, $p$ = .025) were the strongest predictor of scores on the program related challenges subscale, followed by lower scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = -.223, $p$ = .015).

Table 73

*Probation/Parole Model 18: Program Related Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income-Structural | -.101 | .105 | NS |
| Personal Challenges | -.144 | .144 | NS |
| Technology Challenges | -.135 | .101 | NS |
| *Health Care Challenges | -.230 | .096 | -.223 |
| *Family and Community | .244 | .107 | .225 |
| Married | .040 | .222 | NS |
| White | -.032 | .330 | NS |
| Male | .123 | .182 | NS |
| Age | -.005 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .243 | .212 | NS |
| Rural | -148 | .183 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | .013 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .007 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .048 | .625 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $r^2$ = .162
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (19)$$

Model nineteen was significant with an $R^2$ value of .153, explaining 15.3% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.168, $p$ = .030. Of the nine variables, one was statistically significant (See Table 74). Higher scores on the income-structural challenges subscale (*beta* = .226, $p$ = .018) predicted scores on the health care related challenges subscale.

Table 74

*Probation/Parole Model 19: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | .232 | .097 | .226 |
| Married | -.005 | .224 | NS |
| White | .149 | .333 | NS |
| Male | -.323 | .182 | NS |
| Age | .011 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.211 | .213 | NS |
| Rural | -.317 | .180 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.007 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .000 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .071 | .627 | |

*Note.* $r^2$ = .153
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (20)$$

Model twenty failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.552, $p$ = .139. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (Male: *beta* = -.221, $p$ = .027), the model failed to show gender was a significant predictor of health related challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 75.

Table 75

*Probation/Parole Model 20: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Personal Challenges | .125 | .139 | NS |
| Married | .090 | .225 | NS |
| White | .138 | .341 | NS |
| *Male | -.407 | .182 | -.221 |
| Age | .006 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.228 | .217 | NS |
| Rural | -.330 | .184 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.002 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .005 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .126 | .641 | |

*Note.* *$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{programming-related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (21)$$

Model twenty-one was significant with an $R^2$ value of .193, explaining 19.3% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.873, $p$ = .004. Of the nine variables, two reached statistical significance (See Table 76). Lower scores on the Program related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.301, $p$ = .001) and working in an urban area (Rural: *beta* = -.186, $p$ = .043) predicted scores on the health care related challenges subscale.

Table 76

*Probation/Parole Model 21: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related Challenges | -.292 | .086 | -301 |
| Married | .084 | .215 | NS |
| White | .140 | .325 | NS |
| Male | -.323 | .176 | NS |
| Age | .008 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.124 | .210 | NS |
| *Rural | -.357 | .175 | -.186 |
| Prior Years CJS | -.002 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .004 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .061 | .612 | |

*Note.* $r^2$ = .193
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (22)$$

Model twenty-two failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.822, $p$ = .072. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (Male: *beta* = -.209, $p$ = .028), the model failed to show gender as a significant predictor of health related challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 77.

Table 77

*Probation/Parole Model 22: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technology Challenges | .164 | .095 | NS |
| Married | .099 | .223 | NS |
| White | .189 | .338 | NS |
| *Male | -.402 | .180 | -.209 |
| Age | .007 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.209 | .216 | NS |
| Rural | -.314 | .182 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.001 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .003 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .101 | .635 | |

*Note.* *$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (23)$$

Model twenty-three was significant with an $R^2$ value of .142, explaining 14.2% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.986, $p$ = .048. Of the nine variables, three reached statistical significance (See Table 78). Lower scores on the family and community challenges subscale (*beta* = -.198, $p$ = .041), being female (Male: *beta* = -.198, $p$ = .036), and working in an urban area (Rural: *beta* = -.193, $p$ = .043) predicted scores on the health care related challenges subscale.

Table 78

*Probation/Parole Model 23: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.208 | .101 | -.198 |
| Married | .086 | .222 | NS |
| White | .162 | .335 | NS |
| *Male | -.382 | .180 | -.198 |
| Age | .014 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.199 | .214 | NS |
| *Rural | -.370 | .181 | -.193 |
| Prior Years CJS | -.012 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .000 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | -.030 | .637 | |

*Note.* $r^2 = .142$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{health care-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_3 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_4 x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_5 x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10} x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11} x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12} x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13} x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (24)$$

Model twenty-four combined all subscales as predictors of health care related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .126 explaining 12.6% of the variance in the health care related challenges subscale, $F$ (13, 104) = 2.301, $p$ = .010. Of the nine variables in the model, one was statistically significant (See Table 79). Lower scores on the program related challenges subscale (*beta* = -.233, $p$ = .019) predicted scores on the health care related challenges subscale.

Table 79

*Probation/Parole Model 24: Health Care Related Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income-Structural | .152 | .103 | NS |
| Personal Challenges | -.029 | .143 | NS |
| *Program Challenges | -.135 | .101 | -.233 |
| Technology Challenges | .039 | .100 | NS |
| Family and Community | -.097 | .108 | NS |
| Married | .022 | .219 | NS |
| White | .158 | .326 | NS |
| Male | -.268 | .179 | NS |
| Age | .013 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.106 | .210 | NS |
| Rural | -341 | .178 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.009 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | -.002 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | -.073 | .618 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $r^2 = .126$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (25)$$

Model twenty-five failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.798, $p$ = .077. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (income-structural: *beta* = .319, $p$ = .001), the model failed to show income structural challenges as a significant predictor of technology related challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 80.

Table 80

*Probation/Parole Model 25: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | .315 | .094 | .319 |
| Married | -.172 | .219 | NS |
| White | -.230 | .325 | NS |
| Male | .054 | .177 | NS |
| Age | .005 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.161 | .207 | NS |
| Rural | -.164 | .175 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.016 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .005 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .260 | .612 | |

*Note.* *$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (26)$$

Model twenty-six failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = .505, $p$ = .968. As Table 81 displays, none of the nine variables in the model reached statistical significance.

Table 81

*Probation/Parole Model 26: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Personal Challenges | -.006 | .094 | NS |
| Married | -.040 | .226 | NS |
| White | -.226 | .342 | NS |
| Male | -.069 | .182 | NS |
| Age | -.001 | .018 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.204 | .218 | NS |
| Rural | -.208 | .185 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.011 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .012 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .390 | .643 | |

*Note.* *$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (27)$$

Model twenty-seven failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.284, $p$ = .254. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (program related: *beta* = -.245, $p$ = .011), the model failed to show program related challenges as a significant predictor of technology related challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 82.

Table 82

*Probation/Parole Model 27: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* | *p* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related Challenges | -.228 | .088 | -.245 | .011 |
| Married | -.047 | .219 | NS | .831 |
| White | -.236 | .331 | NS | .478 |
| Male | .002 | .179 | NS | .990 |
| Age | .000 | .017 | NS | .989 |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.110 | .214 | NS | .607 |
| Rural | -.214 | .178 | NS | .232 |
| Prior Years CJS | -.010 | .014 | NS | .474 |
| Years as PO | .011 | .017 | NS | .517 |
| Constant | .307 | .623 | | |

*Note.* $*p < .05$

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (28)$$

Model twenty-eight failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = .849, $p$ = .573. As Table 83 displays, none of the nine variables in the model reached statistical significance.

Table 83

*Probation/Parole Model 28: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Health Care Challenges | .163 | .095 | NS |
| Married | -.058 | .223 | NS |
| White | -.252 | .337 | NS |
| Male | -.001 | .184 | NS |
| Age | -.002 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.163 | .218 | NS |
| Rural | -.150 | .184 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.010 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .011 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .361 | .633 | |

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (29)$$

Model twenty-nine failed to reach statistical significance, $F$ (9, 108) = 1.267, $p$ = .263. Although one variable yielded statistical significance (family and community: *beta* = -.252, $p$ = .012), the model failed to show family and community challenges as a significant predictor of technology related challenges when controlling for the other variables. See Table 84.

Table 84

*Probation/Parole Model 29: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Family and Community | -.255 | .099 | -.252 |
| Married | -.048 | .219 | NS |
| White | -.214 | .332 | NS |
| Male | .030 | .178 | NS |
| Age | .007 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.150 | .212 | NS |
| Rural | -.234 | .178 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.023 | .015 | NS |
| Years as PO | .006 | .017 | NS |
| Constant | .150 | .629 | |

*Note.* *$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{technology-related}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{personal challenges}}\ ß_3x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_4x_{\text{health care-related}} + + ß_5x_{\text{family and community support}} + ß_6x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10}x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11}x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12}x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13}x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (30)$$

Model thirty combined all subscales as predictors of technology related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .102 explaining 10.2% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (13, 104) = 2.017, $p$ = .026. Of the nine variables in the model, one was statistically significant (See Table 85). Higher scores on the income-structural related challenges subscale (*beta* = .284, $p$ = .005) predicted scores on the health care related challenges subscale.

Table 85

*Probation/Parole Model 30: Technology Related Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Income-Structural | .281 | .098 | .284 |
| Personal Challenges | -.217 | .138 | NS |
| Program Challenges | -.126 | .094 | NS |
| Health Care Challenges | .037 | .096 | NS |
| Family and Community | -.201 | .104 | NS |
| Married | -.166 | .214 | NS |
| White | -.207 | .318 | NS |
| Male | .115 | .176 | NS |
| Age | .012 | .017 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | -.090 | .208 | NS |
| Rural | -212 | .176 | NS |
| Prior Years CJS | -.026 | .014 | NS |
| Years as PO | .000 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | .103 | .603 | |

Note: Adjusted $r^2$ = 102.
*$p$ < .05

$$y_{\text{family and community support personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structural}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (31)$$

Model thirty-one was significant with an $R^2$ value of .151 explaining 15.1% of the variance in the family and community related challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.131, $p$ = .033. Of the nine variables in the model, one was statistically significant (See Table 86). The number

of years an officer worked prior to his/her current position was the strongest predictor of family and community challenges. Those who had worked fewer years in corrections prior to their current position, viewed family and community challenges as more serious (*beta* = -.363, *p* = .001).

Table 86

*Probation/Parole Model 31: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 1*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income-structural | -.148 | .092 | NS |
| Married | .033 | .213 | NS |
| White | .052 | .317 | NS |
| Male | .094 | .173 | NS |
| Age | .030 | .016 | NS |
| Bachelor's Degree | .187 | .202 | NS |
| Rural | -.125 | .171 | NS |
| *Prior Years CJS | -.045 | .013 | -.363 |
| Years as PO | -.021 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | -.874 | .597 | |

*Note.* $r^2 = .152$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{personal challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (32)$$

Model thirty-two was significant with an $R^2$ value of .198 explaining 19.8% of the variance in the family and community challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.962, $p$ = .003. Of the nine variables in the model, three were statistically significant (See Table 87). The strongest predictor was the number of years an officer worked prior to his/her current position (*beta* = -.404, $p$ = .031), followed by current age (*beta* = .378, $p < .001$), and lower scores on the personal challenges scale (*beta* = -.263, $p$ = .003).

Table 87

*Probation/Parole Model 32: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 2*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Personal Challenges | -.379 | .126 | -.263 |
| Married | -021 | .204 | NS |
| White | .091 | .308 | NS |
| Male | .134 | .165 | NS |
| *Age | .035 | .016 | .378 |
| Bachelor's Degree | .162 | .197 | NS |
| Rural | -.159 | .167 | NS |
| *Prior Years CJS | -.050 | .013 | -.404 |
| Years as PO | -.024 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | -.816 | .580 | |

*Note.*: $r^2 = .198$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{program related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (33)$$

Model thirty-three was significant with an $R^2$ value of .225 explaining 22.5% of the variance in the family and community challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 3.475, $p$ = .001. Of the nine variables in the model, three were statistically significant (See Table 88). Similar to model thirty-two, the strongest predictor of family and community challenges was the number of years an officer worked prior to his/her current position (*beta* = -.391, $p < .001$), followed by current age (*beta* = -.344, $p < .045$). Higher scores on the program related challenges scale (*beta* = .316, $p < .001$) were also associated with family and community challenges.

Table 88

*Probation/Parole Model 33: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 3*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Program Related Challenges | .291 | .080 | .316 |
| Married | -.021 | .200 | NS |
| White | .062 | .303 | NS |
| Male | .061 | .164 | NS |
| *Age | .032 | .016 | -.344 |
| Bachelor's Degree | .088 | .196 | NS |
| Rural | -.096 | .163 | NS |
| *Prior Years CJS | -.049 | .013 | -.391 |
| Years as PO | -.023 | .015 | NS |
| Constant | -.830 | .570 | |

*Note.* $r^2 = .225$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1 x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_2 x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3 x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4 x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5 x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6 x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7 x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8 x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9 x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (34)$$

Model thirty-four was significant with an $R^2$ value of .164 explaining 16.4% of the variance in the family and community challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.350, $p$ = .018. Of the nine variables in the model, three were statistically significant (See Table 89). Years an officer worked prior to his/her current position (*beta* = -.388, $p < .001$) was the strongest predictor, followed by current age (*beta* = .365, $p$ = .041), and lower scores on the health care related challenges scale (*beta* = -.193, $p$ = .041).

Table 89

*Probation/Parole Model 34: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 4*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Health Care Related | -.183 | .089 | -.193 |
| Married | -.012 | .208 | NS |
| White | .078 | .315 | NS |
| Male | .076 | .172 | NS |
| *Age | .034 | .016 | .365 |
| Bachelor's Degree | .162 | .201 | NS |
| Rural | -.169 | .172 | NS |
| *Prior Years CJS | -.048 | .013 | -.388 |
| Years as PO | -.023 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | -.904 | .591 | |

Note: $r^2 = .164$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support personal challenges}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{technology related}} + ß_2x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_3x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_4x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_5x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_6x_{\text{Age}} + ß_7x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_8x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_9x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (35)$$

Model thirty-five was significant with an $R^2$ value of .180 explaining 18.0% of the variance in the family and community challenges subscale, $F$ (9, 108) = 2.643, $p$ = .008. Of the nine variables in the model, three were statistically significant (See Table 90). The strongest predictor was the number of years an officer worked prior to their current position (*beta* = -.404, $p < .001$), followed by current age (*beta* = .349, $p$ = .048), and lower scores on the technology related challenges scale (*beta* = -.228, $p$ = .012).

Table 90

*Probation/Parole Model 35: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 5*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technology Related | -.225 | .088 | -.228 |
| Married | -.038 | .206 | NS |
| White | -.001 | .312 | NS |
| Male | .135 | .166 | NS |
| *Age | .032 | .016 | .349 |
| Bachelor's Degree | .162 | .199 | NS |
| Rural | -.151 | .168 | NS |
| *Prior Years CJS | -.050 | .013 | -.404 |
| Years as PO | -.021 | .016 | NS |
| Constant | -.847 | .586 | |

*Note.* $r^2 = .180$
*$p < .05$

$$y_{\text{family and community support}} = ß_0 + ß_1x_{\text{income-structure challenges}} + ß_2x_{\text{personal challenges}} ß_3x_{\text{programming-related challenges}} + ß_4x_{\text{health care-related}} + ß_5x_{\text{technology-related}} + ß_6x_{\text{Rural}} + ß_7x_{\text{YearsOfficer}} + ß_8x_{\text{YearsCJS}} + ß_9x_{\text{Gender(Male)}} + ß_{10}x_{\text{Age}} + ß_{11}x_{\text{Race(White)}} + ß_{12}x_{\text{Education(Bachelors)}} + ß_{13}x_{\text{MaritalStatus(Married)}} + \varepsilon \quad (36)$$

Model thirty-six combined all subscales as predictors of family and community related challenges. The overall model was significant with an adjusted $R^2$ value of .221 explaining 22.1% of the variance in the technology related challenges subscale, $F$ (13, 104) = 2.217, $p <$ .001. Of the nine variables in the model, four were statistically significant (See Table 91). As with previous models, the number of years a probation/parole officer worked prior to his/her current position was the strongest predictor of family and community challenges. Those who worked fewer years in corrections prior to their current position, viewed family and community challenges as more serious (*beta* = -.426, $p < .001$). Age predicted family and community challenges. The older probation and parole officers were, the more challenging they found family and community issues (*beta* = .379, $p = .025$). Lower scores on the personal challenges subscale (*beta* = -.223, $p = .012$) and higher scores on the program related subscale (*beta* = .211, $p = .025$) predicted scores on the family and community challenges subscale.

Table 91

*Probation/Parole Model 36: Family and Community Related Challenges DV Model 6*

| Variable | *b* | *SE* | *Beta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income-Structural | .028 | .094 | NS |
| *Personal Challenges | -.322 | .125 | -.223 |
| *Program Challenges | .194 | .085 | .211 |
| Health Care Challenges | -.079 | .088 | NS |
| Technology Related | -.172 | .089 | NS |
| Married | -.028 | .198 | NS |
| White | .065 | .295 | NS |
| Male | .043 | .163 | NS |
| *Age | .035 | .015 | .379 |
| Bachelor's Degree | .040 | .190 | NS |
| Rural | -204 | .163 | NS |
| *Prior Years CJS | -.053 | .013 | -.426 |
| Years as PO | -.022 | .015 | NS |
| Constant | -.696 | .554 | |

*Note.* Adjusted $r^2 = .221$
*$p < .05$

**Qualitative Analysis**

Thematic analysis using NVivo explored the qualitative data from the surveys of rural and urban probation/parole officers. When asked about specific resources their agency provides to assist reintegration, both identified similar drug and alcohol-related services, day reporting centers, and GED classes. In many instances, both rural and urban officers identified wrap-around reentry programs available from their local jails and in the community. In rural areas, mental health services were identified by officers more often. Although a few rural officers mentioned the employment program Careerlink, rural officers rarely identified available employment-based programs. In addition, compared to urban areas, rural officers were far less likely to identify housing and CBT programs, with only a few referring to them.

When asked "what should be done in your community to help former offenders?" common responses from urban officers included work programs, a central resource or referral center, a list of employers that will hire, step down housing and supervision, transportation, and

life skills classes. Rural officers indicated a need for employment and housing help, housing availability, more services, transportation, more drug and alcohol help for offenders, and a need for more reentry services that begin during incarceration. Interestingly, a small number of the probation/parole officers in each group responded to this open-ended question by writing "nothing" (should be done to help former offenders).

## Summary of Major Findings

Results from the multiple analyses conducted demonstrated challenges with employment, housing, transportation, mental health care, substance abuse, and social stigma. Quantitatively assessing differences between inmates and probation/parole officers yielded thirty-six statistically significant regression models. Within those models, the six perceptions of reentry subscales (income-structural challenges, personal challenges, programming-related challenges, health-care related challenges, and family and community challenges) were often significant predictors of each other. This was expected, as reentry is a multifaceted process that involves many interrelated challenges. In comparing inmates and probation/parole officers, a major finding was that inmates identified income-structural and technological items to be more challenging than probation/parole officers. Probation/parole officers identified personal, program-related, and health-care related items as more important than inmates did.

In addition, other demographic variables yielded statistically significant predictors of the six subscales. While controlling for the other independent variables, Women overwhelmingly rated the items in the scales as more challenging than men for the income-structural, personal, and health-care related models. Being male was a greater predictor of programming-related challenges. Married participants were more likely to rate income-structural items as more

challenging than single or divorced participants. Finally, age was a statistically significant predictor of four of the six health care-related models.

No significant differences were found between urban and rural probation/parole officers. In all thirty-six models, the geographical variable distinguishing rural and urban officers failed to reach statistical significance. Thematic analysis of the questions "what resources does your agency provide?" and "What should be done in your community to deal with returning offenders?" revealed some differences in the qualitative responses given by rural and urban the probation/parole officers. For example, mental health services were identified more often in rural areas, and employment-type programming availability was more often identified in urban areas. It may have been the case that these programs were offered in both areas, but the probation/parole officers failed to identify them at the time of the survey, did not see them as relevant, or were unaware of their existence.

In the rural and urban probation/parole officer models, other variables reached statistical significance. Similar to the inmate and probation/parole models, in many cases the scales were related to each other. In the income-structural models, higher scores on personal and technological challenges predicted higher scores on the income-structural scale. Marriage was also a predictor for probation and parole officers. Perhaps being married highlighted for officers the importance of the income-structural factors, which they, in turn, rated as more challenging than their single or divorced counterparts. In addition, older officers and those with fewer years working in corrections prior to their current position were more likely to rate family and community support challenges as more challenging.

# CHAPTER V

# DISCUSSION

This dissertation attempted to explore the perceived challenges rural jail offenders confront upon returning to their communities. These challenges were based on the perceptions of three different stakeholders in the reentry process: the inmates, parole/probation officers, and local treatment staff. All three groups view the reentry process through a unique lens. Inmates experience the process personally; parole/probation officers view it through a criminal justice system professional representative lens, and treatment staff through a more therapeutic viewpoint. One goal was to identify similarities and differences in the perceived challenges among the three groups and inform rural criminal justice professionals of the findings. Rural practitioners could benefit from knowing some of the specific needs and challenges rural jail inmates perceive. If these challenges do not align with the officers' own perceptions, there might be a less than perfect fit with the service goals they advocate and provide. Similarly, it was anticipated that inmates might also be unaware of the unique challenges they perceived compared to the perceptions of criminal justice professionals. In addition, the researcher intended to gain a better understanding of obstacles that may impede the reentry process from participants themselves. In this way, a more inclusive and comprehensive perspective might be developed.

Results from this dissertation support many of the proposed challenges of rural reentry that Wodahl (2006) proposed. Inmates, treatment staff, and probation/parole officers identified challenges associated with employment, housing, transportation, acquaintance density, substance abuse, and mental health care. These were consistent among the three groups. Similar to Zajac et al. (2014), stigma, housing and job attainment, and transportation were identified as challenges to the rural reentry process. Furthermore, while there were programs within the four counties that

offered substance abuse and mental health treatment, there were few programs in the county jails or the community that addressed criminogenic needs. During the data collection period, Pennsylvania sentenced state parole violators to serve their sentences in county jails. In some institutions, only these state inmates had access to programs that address criminogenic needs, including "Thinking for a Change." Previous research exploring reentry challenges with urban samples yielded similar results. Housing, employment, family and social support, and substance abuse counseling were among the major challenges identified by community corrections officers (Brown, 2004; Gunnison & Helfgott, 2007), inmates (Helfgott, 1997; La Vigne et al., 2004), and community service providers (Bergseth, 2011).

Quantitative analysis of this dissertation relied on scores derived from principle component analysis of the perceptions of reentry challenges scale. Of the forty-three items that made up the scale, six subscales were selected: income-structural challenges, personal challenges, programming-related challenges, health-care related challenges, technology-related challenges, and family and community challenges.

In order to determine which challenges inmates and probation/parole officers believed are more important, thirty-six regression models were run. The models included the six subscales of the perceptions of reentry challenges scale as dependent variables. Along with demographic predictor variables, each subscale was rotated into the different models. Overall, there were differences between inmates and officers on a number of variables. Inmates rated income-structural items (e.g., ability to pay fines or court fees, low wages, limited employment opportunities, lack of transportation, and finding housing) as more challenging than probation/parole officers did. This finding recurred throughout this dissertation. Inmates consistently identified challenges relating to job attainment, housing, and other structural factors

at a higher rate than probation/parole officers. Other predictors included marriage, being female, higher scores on personal, health care, and technology-related challenges, and lower scores on program and family and community-related challenges. Married inmates may find structural and income issues more important because they have to support their family and themselves. This is not surprising especially when considering that some items within the income-structural scale relate to childcare and custody of children. These issues may be more complex and perceived as being greater obstacles in rural areas because there are fewer job opportunities, making it more difficult for inmates to secure adequate financial support.

Personal issues were identified as more of a challenge by probation and parole officers than inmates. The personal challenges subscale includes twelve items internal to the offender. Consistent with the qualitative analysis, probation and parole officers and treatment staff tended to identify personal issues as a major reentry challenge. For example, some items included were poor work ethic, lack of motivation, return to substance abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, associating with the wrong people/peer pressure, blaming others/failure to take responsibility, temptation/opportunities to reoffend, lack of patience, developing positive associations, lack of employable skills, mental illness, and lack of education were rated as more challenging by officers. Probation/parole officers were also more likely to view programming (e.g., lack of programs, community services not specific to offender needs, waitlists for community services, no central resource/referral center for ex-offenders, waiting too long to get into correctional programs, rejection from correctional programming) and health-care related (e.g., mental health care, getting medication, and health insurance) challenges as more of an obstacle than inmates. These challenges may not be as high a priority to inmates when compared to structural needs (e.g., employment and housing), but they may be more prominent for officers as officers

typically deal with programming and health care issues on a larger scale and possibly in more of an organizational orientation than an individual inmate would.

A prominent theme that emerged in this dissertation is that inmates are more likely to view structural factors as serious challenges to reentry, whereas practitioners view inmates' personal characteristics as more of a challenge. This can be explained by the participant's role in the criminal justice system and the lens by which he/she views the challenges. Probation/parole and treatment staff views are at least one level removed from the reentry process. While they understand and conceptualize the challenges that exist, they do not experience these challenges personally. These practitioners are aware of the resources available to help inmates reenter society, and often simultaneously have to manage large caseloads. With large caseloads, practitioners may see similar cases and treat them alike. They might perceive patterns in the various inmate biographies or criminal histories. To the practitioners, the inmates' challenges may seem like individual shortfalls that the offenders need to overcome. Consistent with the Graffam et al. (2004) study, a number of probation/parole officers and treatment staff in this study indicated that an inmate has to want to change in order for a lifestyle change to occur. This reasoning may have developed gradually through years of experience by eliminating individualism or specific offenders' needs from their perceptions of the offender and streamlining or clumping cases into similar categorizations in caseloads. Alternatively, this could be a manifestation of social distance that Gunnison and Helfgott (2011) referenced. If officers have never experienced the same economic and social problems offenders face and believe offenders have free will, it may be more difficult for them to relate to the offenders' problems.

Conversely, inmates view the reentry process through a personal lens. While practitioners inform them of treatment options, programs, and other opportunities available, the inmates

perceive obstacles every step of the way. Community, family, and legal pressures to obtain a job, housing, and stay away from drugs and alcohol are easier said than done. Although aid may be available for inmates, each situation is different. Certain programs work better for some offenders than others. Recall that in this particular study, 46.5% of the sample participants indicated that they had 0-3 months left to serve before release (p.83). The proximity of their release date may have affected their perceptions of the obstacles and the reality that they would be confronting them shortly.

Clearly, reentry is not a "one size fits all" process. The complexity of the reentry process has led Jonson & Cullen (2015) to make four recommendations to help reentry. First, create a "criminology of reentry". Jonson & Cullen (2015) believe that current programming falls short by not having a theoretical background. Most programs rely on common sense claims that employment and housing are large obstacles that need to be overcome. Jonson & Cullen (2015) recommend a risk-needs response model based on individual risk factors. Second, as many offenders recidivate within the first year of release (Durose et al, 2014; Langan & Levin, 2002), this early period in reentry needs to be seriously considered. More research and consolidated programming efforts should focus on offenders within the first year of release. Third, researchers also must find ways to prevent late onset recidivism. Not much is known about what causes late onset recidivism in offenders. Lastly, Jonson and Cullen (2015) claim that we need to confront collateral consequences. More legislatures are enacting legislation that further excludes former offenders. These include voter disenfranchisement, employment restrictions, education, and housing restrictions. Future research should examine the effects of these laws and their relationship with recidivism.

Furthermore, Heimer's (2001) framework of cases vs. biographies may help to explain the disconnection found between inmate and treatment staffs' views relating to reentry challenges. Complex phenomena can be explained differently from the lens by which they are viewed. From a procedural standpoint, institutions fall into what Heimer (2001) calls "routinization" (p. 49), where they encounter similar people and situations. It is common for these institutions to develop a heuristic to deal with comparable situations. These are referred to as cases. Practitioners may find it more efficient to deal with a former inmate the same way they have addressed and responded to similar situations previously. This does not suggest that there is a conscious effort to take shortcuts, but rather a belief that what they are doing works. It may be a form of personal shorthand when professionals see similarities in cases based on prior work experience. Thus, professionals develop their own view of offenders who are perceived as conforming to the perceptions that they have about their caseloads. Gunnison and Helfgott (2011) found similar results investigating the role social distance plays in identifying reentry challenges. Officers did not have any prior training in social distance related issues, and the researchers believed it hindered their ability to relate to offenders.

By contrast, inmates may perceive themselves and their situation from the viewpoint of biography. Inmates consider their entire personal history in their reentry process and want probation/parole officers or treatment staff to do this as well. For example, a number of inmates indicated that probation and parole officers have too much power when it comes to revoking parole. As previously noted approximately 44.5% of inmate participants reported that they were in jail because of technical violations (e.g., failure to follow rules, failure to report, or a failed drug test). This is consistent with a recent report by the Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing (2013) that found that 40% of all jail sentences were due to a violation. Inmates would like

officers to understand the reason why they may have missed a mandated meeting, could not secure employment, stopped taking medication, or did not pass a drug test. Inmates want the officer to view them as a biography and not a case. Conversely, parole/probation officers are subjected frequently to offenders' stories and excuses and may deal with the interaction as they have many times in the past. The classification of cases vs. biographies can facilitate officers' views of personal problems as major barriers to reentry, while inmates may attribute their challenges to structural barriers.

This dissertation found no significant differences between the rural and urban probation/parole officers in any of the statistical analyses. Of the thirty-six models, twelve failed to reach statistical significance. The geographical location of the probation/parole officer (rural vs. urban) did not reach statistical significance in any of the models. For most models, the only statistically significant predictors were the other challenges' subscale scores.

Another unexpected finding from this dissertation was the ranking of correctional orientations among inmates, officers, and treatment staff. While probation/parole officers and treatment staff indicated that the main goal of corrections should be rehabilitation, inmates ranked incapacitation as the most important goal. This distinction may have resulted from the inmate's position in the criminal justice system. While a criminal justice professional or treatment person may assume that inmates would have perceived incarceration as an opportunity to take part in programs, inmates were less idealistic about the opportunities for rehabilitation. Although programs exist in the county jails, they were limited compared to programs available in state correctional institutions. Interestingly, the question was phrased "What do you think should be the goal of adult jails?" allowing each group to rank its most important goal. The individuals offenders interact with every day in the jails may influence their choice of incapacitation as the

most important goal. Treatment staff and officers deal with offenders on an appointment basis while inmates have to live with each other, accommodating themselves to their "neighbors'" personalities and criminality, the behaviors and practices of correctional officers, the jail schedule, and rules which inmates not only have little input but also are subject to control at all times. Their interactions may lead them to believe that incapacitation should be the goal of adult jails because that is the reality of incarceration. In brief, they might view it as the "real situation" versus some idealized concept of what adult jails should be doing.

## Theory Implications

This study was guided by the framework of Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social control and Cullen's (1994) explanation of social support. In exploring the issues of reentry through the perspectives of parole/probation officers, inmates, and treatment staff, challenges regarding turning points such as employment and interpersonal relationships were recognized as potentially impeding rural jail offenders' ability to successfully reintegrate into the community. All three groups identified employment as a major challenge. In rural areas, jobs are difficult to obtain regardless of criminal background. As one drug and alcohol counselor stated:

> I would say employment would have to be the top need. It is one of those situations where you get out of prison and you invariably have court responsibilities, probation responsibilities, fines, fees, court costs, all kinds of things like that which you cannot pay unless you have a job. And you cannot get a job because of your criminal offense. And because you cannot pay your fees you end up going back to jail. So there a lot of folks in jail who understandably say things like, "I rather stay right here and max out my time,

then be paroled at my 80% or my minimum and have to stay on probation in the community." Because you can't get a job. (TS016)

However, research documents that employment is a struggle for all inmates, regardless of location (Visher, 2007; Visher et al., 2008). As one jail counselor states, "I think jobs and housing are a problem everywhere. I don't care whether it's in Butler or Detroit. There's no jobs" (TS005).

While job attainment was identified as one of the most prominent issues, practitioners referred to an internal turning point that inmates need to address. As one treatment staff stated, "You can hand them a car and keys but if they're not motivated to go to their appointment…. people are going to do what they do. People have free will. But it stinks when we see the guys who are internally motivated here. Or we believe they are. And then they fail. It's frustrating" (TS001). Over 91% of the inmate sample had been previously incarcerated. Practitioners, who are aware of the services available to help inmates through the reentry process contend that the help is available if the inmates need it. To many practitioners, the ways or means to prevent recidivism are an internal turning point within the offender. To offenders, this internal turning point may stem having a sense of social capital. If an offender has or perceives that he/she has a "stake in conformity" and strong bonds with society, he or she may desist from committing crime partly due to fear of losing this social capital.

In addition, the role of social support was evaluated as a framework for successful reentry. Social support systems play a major role in the reentry process. Prior research by Petersilia (2009), Travis, (2005) and Visher et al. (2008) have documented the important role that family, friends, and community support have in the offenders' lives. Former offenders tend to rely on friends, family members, or former employers as informal networks in the reentry

process (Visher et al., 2008). However, as Foster & Hagan (2009) have stated, research on the role of family support in the reentry process is relatively new. The value of social support was evidenced throughout this dissertation, and strong family and community support were identified by both inmates and practitioners as important to the reentry process. For example, when asked why some offenders are able to successfully reintegrate, one substance abuse counselor states, "It's a combination of support, resources, and genetics" (TS016).

Quite often, the negative aspects of social groups were identified as barriers to reentry. In small, rural areas, friends, family, and community members are aware of an inmate's previous transgressions that may have been related to him/her getting involved in deviant or criminal behavior earlier. Small rural areas may be characterized by a lack of anonymity for offenders unlike the urban environment of a city or larger metropolitan area. Research by Maruna (2011), suggests that the offender's prior deviant behavior might preclude community members from embracing reentry initiatives or the offender. Individuals inclined to exclude offenders could be more difficult to avoid in rural areas, hindering offenders' ability to reenter society successfully. On the other hand, with a higher level of what Wodahl (2006) calls "acquaintance density", family and community members may be more willing to forgive previous transgression and assist the returning offender through the reentry process.

## Policy Implications

This dissertation identified some of the major challenges jail inmates face when returning to rural areas. All three samples in the study identified employment, housing, transportation, and substance abuse issues as significant hurdles. There is evidence of a difference in perceptions between inmates and practitioners. Inmates found structural problems to be more challenging, while practitioners attributed personal characteristics within the inmates to be a major challenge.

While this finding should be further addressed, all three groups can benefit by being informed of the challenges offenders perceive.

Reentry is heavily influenced by probation and parole, and Petersilia (2011) proposed several strategies for an effective community corrections system. Principally, the use of a validated risk assessment is needed to assess the level of risk offenders pose to recidivism. For moderate risk offenders, intermediate sanctions that incorporate treatment and surveillance should be implemented. The knowledge on evidence-based treatment approaches is increasing, and they should be implemented among all groups. For instance, cognitive behavioral treatment that addresses criminal thinking have been shown to be effective in reducing recidivism (Petersilia, 2011). By contrast merely increasing the level of supervision and reducing caseloads does not (Petersilia & Turner, 1993). As Petersilia (2011) states, "interventions that focus on diminishing behaviors associated with criminality are more important in reducing recidivism than simply increasing contacts between officer and offender." (p. 517). Currently, more research is needed on the effects of treatment and intensive supervision on high-risk offenders, but innovative strategies are currently utilized in some jurisdictions that may empower offenders to take part in programs and lower their risk of recidivism. For example, an "earned discharge" program may enhance offenders' success. These programs provide opportunities for probationers and those on parole to reduce their supervision length by participating in programming. This incentivizes the individual to take part in evidence-based programming in exchange for a reduction in time on probation or parole (Petersilia, 2007).

One particular issue that was cited throughout this dissertation research was the lapse in mental health medication from the time inmates are released until they can schedule a visit with a psychiatrist. In this study, the four county jails provide three days of medication to inmates when

they are released. In some instances, their releases can occur suddenly, without a reentry plan or even on a weekend. As mental health agencies are scarcer in some of the counties in the Commonwealth, it may take an inmate two weeks to see a physician to have more medication prescribed. During that period, the medication is likely to have worked its way out of the inmate's system, leaving him/her susceptible to the mental illnesses or difficulties that may have contributed to the prior criminality. Research indicates that individuals with mental illness are more likely to be involved in the criminal justice system now than ever before (James & Glaze, 2006); and this lapse of medication and/or mental health services might interfere with an offender's successful reentry. Interestingly, for probation and parole officers, access to prescription medication ranked in the bottom ten of the challenges. This suggests that they may not be aware of the problem or the seriousness of the effects when offenders are unable to gain access to prescription medication. However, this low ranking may have resulted from the broad terminology used for prescription medication. If the question related to mental health medication, perhaps it would have ranked higher, as mental illness and mental health care were rated twelfth and twenty-five, respectively, on the items in the survey.

This issue of mental health treatment could be solved through state policy. At the minimum, a policy extending mental health care to returning inmates beyond three days would allow them more time to see a psychiatrist. Alternatively, a policy requiring an established release plan for mentally ill offenders could require them to make a doctor's appointment in the presence of the reentry coordinator prior to their release. While this problem with mental health prescription medication has been identified in rural areas, future research is necessary to determine if this is a significant problem in urban areas as well. In addition, it suggests the need

for a social support system to help offenders with transportation to appointments, to ascertain that prescriptions are filled and properly ingested, and to monitor their effects.

## Limitations

This dissertation has limitations. The focus of this dissertation study was probation/parole officers in Pennsylvania and offenders and treatment staff from four rural Western Pennsylvania counties. Ideally, all rural counties in Pennsylvania would have been included. In addition, an attempt to compare rural inmates with urban inmates regarding their perceptions of the challenges might have been useful. Future research might explore urban and rural samples to determine the extent of their similarities and differences. In addition, the rural challenges identified in this dissertation may be completely different than those of rural Arizona or Vermont. As the goal of this dissertation was to explore and identify the potential challenges of rural jail reentry, external validity is limited. Future research should explore these issues in various geographical rural locations.

In addition, this dissertation focused specifically on rural jail reentry. As noted earlier, jails have several differences that distinguish them from prisons. Prison inmates returning to rural areas may confront other difficulties associated with successful reentry. Zajac et al. (2014) contend that there is no projected increase in release rates from rural county jails. However, inmates being released from state prisons into rural areas are projected to increase at a slow, but steady rate over the next five years. As Zajac et al. (2014) conclude, "the projected increase in the release of state prison inmates to rural areas signals that rural reentry will remain a significant issue in Pennsylvania" (p. 7). Future research should further explore the challenges of rural prison reentry and assess how rural Pennsylvania is addressing the obstacles that returning inmates encounter.

A low response rate from probation and parole officers also limits the generalizability of the results for officers throughout the state. There were several issues in the dissemination of the survey that resulted in some officers having difficulty completing the survey. Technological barriers prevented some officers from accessing the Qualtrics survey who may have been interested. Although hard copies of the survey were offered, the invitation was only extended to department chiefs who may have found the technological issues overwhelming and did not have time to deal with disseminating hard copies. In addition, the top-down method of administration apparently precluded some officers from participating in the study. For example, not a single parole/probation officer from Philadelphia County participated in this study. Numerous contacts were made to all chief officers. Nonetheless, if they failed to forward the emails to their officers, these officers did not have the opportunity to take part in the study. Again, it is not possible to know why the chiefs did not forward the surveys or encourage participation.

Another limitation concerns the inmate sample, which relied on volunteer participation. Due to the inmates' status, access to this sample was limited. Ultimately, the researcher had the opportunity to distribute the surveys to a convenience sample of inmates based on the will of jail administrators. In addition, those who volunteered to be part of the study did not represent the entire population of county jail inmates. Typically, jail counselors distributed or posted sign-up sheets for inmates in their cellblocks and during group programming. This may have resulted in an over representation of jail inmates who are currently taking part in correctional programming. Inmates engaged in jail programming may have different attitudes or perceptions relating to reentry that those who are not. In addition, most inmates (91.5%) who participated in the study had been incarcerated previously. While their input was important to the identification of major reentry challenges, the percent of respondents who had not been previously incarcerated was

relatively small in comparison. It might be interesting to separate these two groups on future research to determine if prior incarceration is related to perceptions.

Future research might explore differences between male and female inmates in reentry. Although men comprise the vast majority of jail inmates, it is important to highlight differences and similarities between the two groups. Such information could facilitate the development of gender specific treatment programs and reentry initiatives that are inclusive. Due to the small number of female participants in this study, such comparisons were difficult to make.

The treatment staff sample data were collected using snowball sampling. The researcher began with jail counselors and ultimately interviewed twenty-one treatment staff throughout the four Western Pennsylvania counties. This strategy resulted in jail and drug and alcohol counselors being over-represented in the treatment staff sample. Only one religious-based treatment person was identified and interviewed. Future research should expand this approach to include other counties and attempt to survey treatment staff in more rural counties and urban counties and compare the two groups.

## Significance

This dissertation explored and identified a number of potential issues relating to rural jail reentry. As noted previously, this topic is rarely discussed in the reentry literature. By combining the various perceptions, professionals can explore and gain new knowledge about the challenges from a broader sense, and reevaluate any rural-specific issues that are not addressed. For offenders, this study allowed inmates to have their voices heard. The rural-specific challenges regarding employment, housing, transportation, and mental health care need to be highlighted for the remaining stakeholders throughout the criminal justice system. Such an approach is intended

to align services and treatment so that offenders are better equipped to succeed in the reentry process.

This study found evidence that inmates and treatment staff differ in their priorities of reentry. Whereas inmates view structural barriers to be the most challenging, practitioners found the biggest challenges are within the inmates themselves. Hopefully, this dissertation will help to facilitate a dialog between the groups to address differences between their perceived challenges. In addition, future research could investigate where and how these differences originate and explore how best to resolve them.

This dissertation can inform future research by demonstrating that geographical location is relevant when discussing issues relating to reentry. Reentry is a complex problem without any immediate solutions. Further research should expand the methodology utilized in this dissertation to more rural and urban areas. Transportation, mental health care, and substance abuse treatment have been identified as problems in rural Western Pennsylvania, but more comparative studies can identify if these challenges are rural specific and if there are different challenges in other locations. It would also be interesting to see if other industrialized countries have offenders and professionals with similar perceptions.

While this study focused specifically on challenges to rural reentry, future research might identify some of the more immediate needs for rural inmates. In addition, this study addressed the challenges of jail inmates. The challenges prison inmates face when returning to rural areas may be exacerbated due to the increased length of time that they have been incarcerated. The reentry of prison offenders to rural areas is another topic that merits further study.

This dissertation is a first step in identifying some of the geographical-related issues surrounding jail reentry, but more work needs to be done. One important part is implementing

strategies designed to successfully reintegrate offenders into the community. With more research and a greater understanding of the needs of offenders, improvements to reentry tailored to rural and urban inmates can occur.

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Appendix A

Perceptions of Reentry Challenges (Probation/Parole)

## 1. Correctional Orientation:

**Directions:** What do you think should be the goal of adult jails?
Please rank each of the following statements in order of importance.
Rank the most important goal as 1, the next most important goal as 2, the third most important as 3, and least important as 4.

___ **Retribution**: "to pay offenders back for the harm they have caused society." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Incapacitation**: "to protect society by putting offenders in jail so they cannot victimize anyone else in society." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Rehabilitation**: "to reform offenders so that they will return to society in a constructive rather than a destructive way." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Deterrence**: "to teach offenders as well as other people contemplating the commission of a crime that in America crime does not pay." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)

## 2. Challenges Faced by Reentering Offenders (Items Adapted from Gunnison & Helfgott 2007)

**Directions:** What **CHALLENGES** do offenders face in the **FIRST 90 DAYS (3 Months) OF RELEASE?**
Please indicate how challenging the following obstacles are to ex-offenders by indicating:
1= Not very challenging, 2= Somewhat challenging, 3= Challenging, and 4= Extremely challenging.

## Low Income

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Finding housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Poor credit rating | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of transportation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Obtaining custody of children | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Finding affordable and accessible childcare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Health insurance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mental health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Getting Medication | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Phone access | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Internet access | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Limited employment opportunities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Low Wages | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Lack of Work Experience and Skills

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lack of employable skills | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of phone access | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of familiarity with computers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Cannot return to former job because of offense | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Establishing Family Support

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Absence of family structure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Difficulty reintegrating with family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Returning to dysfunctional families | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Developing positive associations | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Finding Community Support

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No church or religious organization support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| No community support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Community stigma/Deviant label | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Poor Coping Strategies

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Temptation/opportunities to reoffend | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Poor work ethic | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of patience | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of motivation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Return to substance abuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Associating with the wrong people/peer pressure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Too proud to ask for assistance/support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Blaming others/Failure to take responsibility | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Drug or Alcohol Abuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mental illness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Corrections Programming

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rejection from corrections programming | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Waiting too long to get into programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Not enough information about available programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Waitlists for community services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Community services not specific to offender needs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| No central resource/referral center for ex-offenders | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of medication | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

3) What situational or contextual factors contribute to the failure of offenders in the transition process?
(Check all that apply.)
_____ Neighborhood in which offender resides has high crime rates
_____ Lack of immediate family support
_____ Friends of offenders are criminal
_____ Offenders need of mental health services
_____ Offenders are unemployed
_____ Offenders are under-employed (i.e., working below their skill set)
_____ Other – Please list:

_____

_____

4) What resources does your agency provide to assist offenders in their transition back to the community?
Please be as specific and thorough as possible in your answer.

_____

_____

5) What do you think should be done in your area to deal with offenders who re-enter the community from jail?

_____

_____

6) From your experience, what contributes to successful reentry of offenders in your area?

_____

_____

7) If you were to ask for one program, policy, condition, or experience that would improve offender success upon release, what would it be?

_____

_____

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your race/ethnicity?
_____ 1) Black, Non-Hispanic
_____ 2) White, Non-Hispanic
_____ 3) Asian
_____ 4) Native American
_____ 5) Hispanic
_____ 6) Bi-Racial (_____)
_____ 7) Other (_____)

2. Which item best describes your current educational status?
_____ 1) Some High School
_____2) High school diploma/ GED
_____ 3) Some technical school
_____ 4) Technical school diploma
_____ 5) Some college
_____ 6) Associate's Degree
_____ 7) Bachelor's Degree
_____ 8) Master's Degree
_____ 9) Other _____

4. What is your current age? _____

5. What is your gender?
_____ 1) Male
_____ 2) Female

6. What is your Marital Status?
_____1) Single
_____2) Married
_____3) Divorced
_____4) Other _____

7. In which county are you currently employed? _____

8. Have you **ever** worked in the corrections field prior to your current position?
_____ 1) No ((If NO, skip to question #10)
_____ 2) Yes

9. How many **years** have you worked in the criminal justice field prior to your current position?
_____ 1) less than 12 months
_____ 2) 1-5
_____ 3) 6-10
_____ 4) 11-15
_____ 5) 16-20
_____ 6) 21 years or more

10. How would you characterize the area you worked in prior to your current position?
_____ 1) Rural
_____ 2) Urban

_____ 3) Other (Explain)

11. How many years have you served as a probation/parole officer?
_____ 1) 0
_____ 2) 1-5
_____ 3) 6-10
_____ 4) 11-15
_____ 5) 16-20
_____ 6) 21-24
_____ 7) 25-30
_____ 8) 31 years or more

12. How would you characterize the area you currently work in?
_____ 1) Rural
_____ 2) Urban
_____ 3) Other (Explain)

Appendix B

Perceptions of Reentry Challenges (Inmate)

## 1. Correctional Orientation:

**Directions:** What do you think should be the goal of adult jails?
Please rank each of the following statements in order of importance.
Rank the most important goal as 1, the next most important goal as 2, the third most important as 3, and least important as 4.

___ **Retribution**: "to pay offenders back for the harm they have caused society." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Incapacitation**: "to protect society by putting offenders in jail so they cannot victimize anyone else in society." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Rehabilitation**: "to reform offenders so that they will return to society in a constructive rather than a destructive way." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Deterrence**: "to teach offenders as well as other people contemplating the commission of a crime that in America crime does not pay." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)

## 2. Challenges Faced by Reentering Offenders (Items Adapted from Gunnison & Helfgott, 2007)

**Directions:** What **CHALLENGES** do offenders face in the **FIRST 90 DAYS (3 Months) OF RELEASE?**
Please indicate how challenging the following obstacles are to ex-offenders by indicating:
1= Not very challenging, 2= Somewhat challenging, 3= Challenging, and 4= Extremely challenging.

## Low Income

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Finding housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Poor credit rating | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of transportation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Obtaining custody of children | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Finding affordable and accessible childcare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Health insurance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mental health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Getting Medication | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Phone access | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Internet access | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Limited employment opportunities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Low Wages | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Lack of Work Experience and Skills

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lack of employable skills | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of phone access | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of familiarity with computers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Cannot return to former job because of offense | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Establishing Family Support

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Absence of family structure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Difficulty reintegrating with family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Returning to dysfunctional families | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Developing positive associations | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Finding Community Support

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No church or religious organization support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| No community support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Community stigma/Deviant label | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Poor Coping Strategies

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Temptation/opportunities to reoffend | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Poor work ethic | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of patience | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of motivation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Return to substance abuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Associating with the wrong people/peer pressure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Too proud to ask for assistance/support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Blaming others/Failure to take responsibility | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Drug or Alcohol Abuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mental illness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## Corrections Programming

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rejection from corrections programming | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Waiting too long to get into programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Not enough information about available programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Waitlists for community services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Community services not specific to offender needs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| No central resource/referral center for ex-offenders | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of medication | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

3) What factors do you think lead former inmates to end up back in jail? (Check all that apply.)
_____ Neighborhood in which offender resides has high crime rates
_____ Lack of immediate family support
_____ Friends of offenders are criminal
_____ Lack of offender mental health services
_____ Offenders are unemployed
_____ Offenders are under-employed (i.e., working below their skill set)
_____ Other – Please list:
_____
_____

4) What would you recommend should be done in your community to help individuals coming out of jail?
_____
_____

5) What factors do you believe would lead former offenders in your community to stay out of jail?
_____
_____

6) If you were to ask for one program, policy, condition, or experience that would improve offender success upon release, what would it be?
_____
_____

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your race/ethnicity?
_____ 1) Black, Non-Hispanic
_____ 2) White, Non-Hispanic
_____ 3) Asian
_____ 4) Native American
_____ 5) Hispanic
_____ 6) Bi-Racial (_____)
_____ 7) Other (_____)

2. Which item best describes your current educational status?
_____ 1) Some High School
_____2) High school diploma/ GED
_____ 3) Some technical school
_____ 4) Technical school diploma
_____ 5) Some college
_____ 6) Associate's Degree
_____ 7) Bachelor's Degree
_____ 8) Master's Degree
_____ 9) Other _____

3. Do you have any vocational certifications?
_____ Yes
_____ No

4. If yes, what certifications do you have?
_____

5. What is your current age today?
_____

6. What is your gender?
_____ 1) Male
_____ 2) Female

7. What is your Marital Status?
_____1) Single
_____2) Married
_____3) Divorced
_____4) Other _____

8. What is your current charge that led to your incarceration?
_____

9. If you are incarcerated because you violated probation or parole, what was your original charge?
_____

9a. How was your parole violated?
_____

10. How long will you be incarcerated?
_____

11. Is this your first time incarcerated?
_____ Yes
_____ No

12. If this is not your first time incarcerated, how many times have you been incarcerated before?
_____

13. Have you spent time in a State Correctional Institution?
_____ Yes
_____ No

14. Have you taken part in any programs while in Jail or prison?
_____ Yes
_____ No

14a. If yes, which programs?
_____
_____

15b. Did you find these programs helpful?
_____ Yes
_____ No
17. Have you ever participated in any programs outside of the jail?
_____ Yes
_____ No

17a. If yes, what type of programs?

_____

17b. Did you find these programs helpful?
_____ Yes
_____ No

18. Have you ever received treatment for substance abuse?
_____ Yes
_____ No

18a. If yes, specify the treatment:

19. Have you ever received treatment for mental health-related issues?
_____ Yes
_____ No

20. What are your immediate plans when you are released from jail?

_____

21. Where will you live when you are released?

_____

Appendix C

Treatment Staff Interview Questions

1. How frequently do you interact with offenders?
2. What type of interaction do you have with former jail inmates?

3. Can you describe the programs that exist currently at your institution?

4. From your experience, what are the major needs that former offenders have upon release from jail?

5. Based on your experience with former (current) jail inmates, what do you believe are the main challenges that former offender face when released from jail?

    - Can you rank them?

6. Do you feel that there are specific challenges rural inmates face compared to urban inmates?

7. Why do you believe that most of the offenders who come back to jail after release fail to stay out of jail?

8. Why do you believe that some jail inmates are able to be released from jail and not return?

9. What changes or recommendations (if any) would you make in the reentry process of jail inmates to deal with the high rearrest rates of jail offenders?

10. What do you think should be the goal of adult jails and detention facilities?

Rank each of the following statements in order of importance. Rank the most important goal as 1, the next most important goal as 2, the next one as 3, and the least important as 4.

___ **Retribution**: "to pay offenders back for the harm they have caused society." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Incapacitation**: "to protect society by putting offenders in jail so they cannot victimize anyone else in society." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Rehabilitation**: "to reform offenders so that they will return to society in a constructive rather than a destructive way." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)
___ **Deterrence**: "to teach offenders as well as other people contemplating the commission of a crime that in America crime does not pay." (Kfifer et al, 2003, p 54)

Demographic Questions

Race, Gender, Age

Highest Education?

How many years have you worked with offenders in this capacity? Can you explain about previous professional experience with offenders?

Are you currently employed at the county, state, or federal level?

Have you ever worked in the corrections field *prior* to your current position? If so, what position(s) did you hold? How long in these positions?

How many years (total) have you worked in the criminal justice field *prior* to your current position?

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# Appendix D

## Approval Email to Adapt Survey Instrument

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Subject: RE: Practitioners Perceptions of Reentry Issues Survey
From: "Gunnison, Elaine <gunnisone@seattleu.edu<
Date: 04/13/14 11:52 AM
To: Kyle C Ward <k.c.ward@iup.edu<
Hi Kyle,

Sure, feel free to use/adapt what you would like to. We would always appreciate a citation in your manuscript that questions were used/adapted from our instrument. Yes, when you complete your survey, feel free to send my way as I would very much like to see how your instrument asks about reentry.

Best of luck to you on your dissertation.

Dr. Gunnison

Elaine Gunnison, Ph.D.
Associate Professor/Graduate Director
Criminal Justice Department
Seattle University
901 12th Ave.
P.O. Box 222000
Seattle, WA 98122-1090
Office: (206) 296-2430
Fax: (206) 296-5997
E-mail: gunnisone@seattleu.edu

-----Original Message-----
From: Kyle C Ward [mailto:k.c.ward@iup.edu]
Sent: Wednesday, April 09, 2014 10:11 PM
To: Gunnison, Elaine
Subject: Re: Practitioners Perceptions of Reentry Issues Survey

Dr. Gunnison,

We met at ACJS in Atlanta in 2013 after your presentation on Warden's perspectives on successful offender reentry. I am a doctoral student working on my dissertation on reentry from a rural perspective. As part of my research, I plan to study rural and urban parole officer's perceptions of the needs and services of former offenders. Last year you shared the survey you used in your 2011 study of community corrections officers perceptions of factors that hinder reentry success. I was wondering if I could have your permission to adapt items from your survey for my dissertation instrument? I would be happy to send you a copy of my survey if you would like to look it over.

Thanks,

Kyle Ward
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Criminology
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Wilson Hall G-22
Indiana, PA 15705

267-231-6564
K.C.Ward@IUP.edu
On Wed, 27 Mar 2013 14:21:11 -0700
"Gunnison, Elaine" <gunnisone@seattleu.edu< wrote:
< Hi Kyle,
<
< I hope you enjoyed the conference. I have attached the survey to this
<e-mail. Some of the questions were adapted from research by Brown
<2004. He conducted research on Canadian federal parole officers.
<
< Best of luck to you in your research!
<
< Elaine
<
< Elaine Gunnison, Ph.D.
< Associate Professor/Graduate Director
< Criminal Justice Department
< Seattle University
< 901 12th Ave.
< P.O. Box 222000
< Seattle, WA 98122-1090
< Office: (206) 296-2430
<Fax: (206) 296-5997
< E-mail: gunnisone@seattleu.edu
<
<From: Kyle C Ward [mailto:k.c.ward@iup.edu]
< Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 2013 9:14 PM
< To: Gunnison, Elaine
< Subject: Practitioners Perceptions of Reentry Issues Survey
<
< Dr. Gunnison,
<
< I met you last Thursday at ACJS after your presentation on Warden's
<perspectives on successful offender reentry. I am a doctoral student at
<the Indiana University of Pennsylvania writing my dissertation on the
<topic of prisoner reentry from a rural perspective. As part of my
<research, I plan to study rural parole officer's perceptions of the
<needs and services of former offenders. I was wondering if it is at all
<possible for me to take a look at the survey you used in your
<2011 study of community corrections officers perceptions of factors
<that hinder reentry success? I am interested, if possible, in adapting
<some of the items to a rural population.
<
< Thanks,
<
< Kyle Ward
< Doctoral Candidate
< Indiana University of Pennsylvania
< k.c.ward@iup.edu<mailto:k.c.ward@iup.edu<
< 267-231-6564

Appendix E

Initial Email to Chief Probation/Parole Officers

---

Dear Chiefs,

Can you please forward the link for the survey and the text of the message to all the probation/parole officers under your supervision?

The link below contains a survey being conducted by Kyle Ward, a doctoral student in Criminology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. The survey asks about the perceived challenges jail inmates face when released. Specifically, it concerns reentry and the perceptions of probation/parole officers and offenders. Your participation is completely voluntary, but it would be greatly appreciated. All survey responses are anonymous, and there will be no attempt to identify those who participate. This is the first time that all Pennsylvania probation and parole officers are being surveyed about their perceptions of the challenges that offenders confront during reentry. It would be great if you would participate.

---

Appendix F

Follow-Up Email to Chief Probation/Parole Officers

---

Dear Chief Probation and Parole Officers,
I have received feedback from a number of departments regarding technical difficulties in forwarding the Qualtrics survey or problems with the survey link. If you have had any problems with the survey link and/or prefer hard copies, please respond to this email with the number of officers in your department. I will mail you hard copies of surveys for all of your staff including self-addressed stamped envelopes for the staff to return the surveys to me once completed. I apologize for any inconvenience and thank you for your interest in this study.
I am also including a link to the survey. If the link worked the first time you distributed it, can you please forward the link for the survey a second time and the text of the message below to all the probation/parole officers under your supervision**?** The survey will remain open until September 1st.

The link below contains a survey being conducted by Kyle Ward, a doctoral student in Criminology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. The survey asks about the perceived challenges jail inmates face when released. Specifically, it concerns reentry and the perceptions of probation/parole officers and offenders. Your participation is completely voluntary, but it would be greatly appreciated. All survey responses are anonymous, and there will be no attempt to identify those who participate. This is the first time that all Pennsylvania probation and parole officers are being surveyed about their perceptions of the challenges that offenders confront during reentry. It would be great if you would participate.

---