

Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community:

A report prepared by the Australian Institute
of Criminology for the Community Safety and
Justice Branch of the Australian Government
Attorney-General's Department



An Australian Government Initiative

OVERVIEW

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Community safety is improved if offenders do not go on to commit new crimes after they have served a term of imprisonment. If those same prisoners then also go on to productively contribute to their communities, those communities benefit doubly, through decreased rates of crime and through increased social and economic capacity. Current correctional thinking emphasises the benefits of enhancing an offender's chances of rehabilitation and community reintegration.

The Australian Government Attorney-General's Community Safety and Justice Branch therefore tasked the Australian Institute of Criminology to assess the current state of interventions for prisoners returning to the community. The project researched international trends in the delivery of interventions for offenders, as well as providing an overview of services available to Australian prisoners.

This two-part volume details the outcomes of that research project. The report in Part A – Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community: A Literature Review – summarises recent theory and research related to the delivery of programs and supports to prisoners. It also broadly characterises Australian prisoners, to establish if they face the same post-release challenges that research has identified as confronting prisoners in overseas jurisdictions.

The report in Part B – Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community: A Survey of Australian Services – gives a broad-brush description of post-release and other services designed to assist Australian prisoners in community reintegration. The survey informing this report was conducted between March and September 2003, and involved State-based juvenile and adult correctional authorities, as well as non-government organisations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology
AOD	Alcohol and Other Drug
CACH	Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Homelessness
DUCO	Drug Use Careers of Offenders
DUMA	Drug Use Monitoring in Australia
IDRS	Illicit Drug Reporting System
NCP	National Crime Prevention
NDARC	National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
SCRCSSP	Steering Committee for the Review of Commonwealth/State Service Provision
SCRGSP	Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision

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Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community:

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Part A: A Literature Review

SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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Correctional authorities are tasked with protecting the community, humanely managing prisoners, facilitating prisoner reparation, assisting in offender reintegration, and providing advice on sentencing and release. These responsibilities must be fulfilled with an increasing prisoner population, in a community environment that can be seen as ever more punitive. The community is also more demanding in terms of financial accountability. In response, local and overseas correctional practitioners are increasingly embracing innovative approaches to improve the chances of prisoner rehabilitation, thus reducing the likelihood of ex-prisoners re-offending and so improving community safety. The provision of supports and services to prisoners *after* they leave custody is one such approach. This report summarises literature surrounding *post-release interventions*, discussing related concepts and theory, models of service delivery, and issues associated with the implementation of post-release services.

Often the aim of post-release services is offender reintegration: that is, not simply reduced recidivism, but active and productive community participation by ex-offenders. Correctional authorities are therefore not the only stakeholders in this correctional approach. Ongoing criminal careers and crime are costly to the whole community, so the provision of post-release services should be the concern of government agencies responsible for housing, health, and education; faith-based and voluntary organisations which provide social services; local businesses and industry; and the communities to which offenders return. The participation of these various sectors is also relevant because post-release adjustment is best addressed well *before* a prisoner is released, in what is more correctly called *throughcare*. Effective throughcare requires coordinated actions by government agencies, non-government service providers, and the community to ensure that returning prisoners do not fall through the service gaps between the agencies.

There are three levels at which innovative approaches to corrections can be viewed. The first is the philosophy that informs corrections, which is linked to the aims and methods that are used to achieve those aims. For example, the traditional approach is offender-oriented, aiming to alter offender behaviour through an adversarial justice system that generally ignores an individual's broader social context. In contrast, the newly evolving *corrections of place* is community-oriented. This ethos sees the focus shift to the community to which offenders return, building capacity and enlisting community resources to assist in reintegration. Any shift in correctional ethos will be accompanied by changes to the way a correctional system operates. System-wide service delivery is the second level at which correctional approaches can be considered. Operational changes discussed in the throughcare literature include the provision of a continuum of care, case management, balancing surveillance with support, and importantly, formal partnerships between all stakeholders. A good example of the new correctional approach in operation is the *re-entry court*, currently being piloted in various US jurisdictions.

The last level at which to consider innovative correctional approaches is that of the specific programs that are delivered within new operational frameworks. Many jurisdictions have realised the benefits of providing an evidence-base for their actions. This has given rise to a set of principles

that research shows will bring about positive changes to offenders' behaviours, specifically to those aspects of an offender's life linked to crime, their *criminogenic needs*. These *principles of effective correctional programming* form the underpinnings of a number of programs and interventions used today. An evidence-based approach is not without its critics though, and some have argued that in its strongest form, it can be too narrow and like traditional corrections, too focused on changing the offender and ignoring his or her wider social context.

The shift in focus to the offenders' broader social context is in recognition of the social and economic disadvantages that research has shown characterise prison populations in Western jurisdictions. These same characteristics have also been linked to offending and re-offending. Some of the disadvantages associated with prisoners include poor educational attainment and employment histories, social isolation and exclusion, poor physical and mental health, and alcohol and other drug misuse. These disadvantages are often further compounded by experience of prison itself. In addition to the above, following release prisoners may experience stigmatisation and discrimination, lessened employment prospects, reduced access to housing, loss of family and social ties, negative mental health effects such as institutionalisation, increased risk of suicide and early death, and difficulties in accessing needed supports, such as drug treatment.

Prisoners are not an homogeneous group however, and some individuals will enter and exit the prison system with a disproportionate share of disadvantages. Prisoner subgroups that face particular challenges on release because of their social and economic positions—those with special needs—include those with mental illness or intellectual disability, women prisoners (especially those with dependent children), Indigenous prisoners, young offenders, and those who have been incarcerated on remand or for very short periods of time.

Research in the USA has shown that the *collateral consequences* of imprisonment (or those in addition to any crime prevention effects) can extend beyond the individual though, to that individual's whole community. The cycling of offenders in and out of prison over time can result in those communities' (typically) meagre social and economic assets being further diminished. Community collateral consequences can include stigmatisation of the whole community, where the area is labelled as 'bad', and which can lead to the businesses exiting the area, thus minimising employment prospects, and so on.

The complexity of the disadvantages confronting prisoners pre- and post-release means that individual offenders' issues cannot be addressed with a single generic program or intervention. Correctional systems that aim to provide throughcare ensure interventions match prisoners' unique situations through careful assessment of client needs early in the custodial term. Relevant authorities have developed a range of programs and interventions that can then be drawn upon as needed by individual clients, with the types of services delivered dictated by an often-reviewed case plan. In instances where in-house programs do not cater to needs, correctional authorities can tap into collaborations with external service providers to facilitate access to necessary supports. These

collaborations also allow the establishment of post-release connections to the community for ex-prisoners.

Researchers and practitioners have implemented innovative programs that variously address post-release unemployment, post-release accommodation, alcohol and other drug misuse, and the psychological and social effects of prison, such as institutionalisation. Whilst the methods employed vary (eg counselling, developing literacy, facilitating access to social housing), these programs share common features, such as an acknowledgment that the focus of the intervention is probably only part of a wider network of challenges; or recognising the need to establish strong formalised partnerships between all agencies involved in addressing those challenges. Because of the highly intertwined and complex challenges confronted by special needs prisoners, special ways of delivering tailored services for these prisoner subgroups are also being developed.

Post-release and throughcare initiatives are at various stages of implementation in Australian and international jurisdictions. A key feature of new correctional approaches and the principles of effective correctional programming is the careful evaluation of the way in which programs are implemented. *Process evaluation* ensures consistency in implementation and allows program delivery to be refined. This is providing a body of knowledge regarding the obstacles to, and facilitators of, good practice. Features identified that make for smoother implementation include:

- the allocation of a lead agency to collaborative service partnerships
- active support for these collaborations—for this ‘joined-up’ working—at all levels of an organisation
- adequate resources and training for all staff, and
- new ways of ensuring offenders are aware of their rights and obligations, such as post-release contracts between offender and case manager.

Knowledge about good practice implementation must be complemented by knowledge about the most effective techniques for promoting reintegration. *Outcome evaluations* allow an assessment of how successfully programs achieve what they aim to achieve: whether or not they effect changes in clients. *Process evaluation* allows for program delivery to be monitored and refined. Evaluation and research provides evidence for funding bodies and the general public supporting the value of interventions, as well as highlighting ineffective programs. This information also adds to the knowledge base about *what works* in correctional practice. Unfortunately, research and evaluation of Australian correctional programming is scarce. Whilst knowledge gained overseas can be extrapolated to the Australian situation, there are unique features of our cultural mix, our history, our geography and our multi-jurisdictional justice and welfare systems that make local research essential.

INTRODUCTION

1 INTRODUCTION

1

Correctional authorities throughout the Western world are examining a variety of means to reduce the rate of re-offending among ex-prisoners. One crime reduction strategy is the provision of services and supports to assist in offenders' post-release adjustment. This review summarises literature relating to post-release issues and services. The introductory chapter provides a background to the remainder of the document, with a broad overview of the current state of Australian corrections, and an examination of the purposes and outcomes of imprisonment.

Researchers and practitioners are increasingly interested in the experiences of prisoners as they re-enter the community, as well as the means of promoting post-release adjustment for those prisoners. This interest is borne of a recognition that community safety can be enhanced by minimising the risk that returning prisoners will re-offend. However, little is known about the post-release experiences of ex-inmates of Australian prisons and remand centres beyond findings (detailed later) that suggest a large proportion of Australian prisoners will re-offend in the period following release. A widely held belief in many English-speaking jurisdictions that 'nothing works' in offender rehabilitation¹, also meant that until recently, the delivery of services to prisoners after their release was at worst non-existent, and at best inconsistent and under-funded.

This review is one component of research investigating post-release interventions for returning prisoners. This report addresses various aspects of post-release experiences and services, drawing on international and Australian literature (refer Box 1.1). Areas of theory and practice examined include:

- describing prisons, prisoners and the purposes and success of imprisonment (this Chapter)
- examining what is meant by post-release services (Chapter 2)
- describing models of post-release service delivery (Chapter 3)
- identifying the challenges confronted by ex-prisoners as they re-enter the community, (Chapter 4), and
- describing specific programs to assist in post-release adjustment, outlining challenges to the implementation and delivery of services, and detailing research needs (Chapter 5).

The tendency to re-offend is in part linked to how effectively an offender has been rehabilitated whilst in custody and how easily he or she has made the transition back into the community following release. This review therefore necessarily addresses issues of in-prison rehabilitation, transition from custody, and integration with the broader community. Aspects of custodial and community corrections are also addressed because the process of integration into mainstream community life should not occur only after exit from custody or release from supervision. In this

¹ After Martinson's (1974) sometimes over-interpreted conclusion following an examination of custodial rehabilitative programming (see Cullen & Gendreau 2000).

sense, this is a review of interventions aimed at providing *ongoing* supports and rehabilitation for prisoners, rather than interventions delivered only after imprisoned offenders² have been released.

Box 1.1 Information sources employed in this review

This review draws on information from a range of sources that were identified between October 2002 and October 2003.*

Primary sources were publications produced by relevant agencies, namely:

- The Home Office (United Kingdom);
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (United Kingdom);
- The United States Department of Justice;
- Correctional Service of Canada;
- The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO, United Kingdom); and
- The Urban Institute (United States).

Searches were also conducted on relevant databases (CINCH, ProQuest) and on the internet, using the following key words alone and/or in combination:

- prison
- prisoner
- release
- post-release
- intervention
- recidivism
- recidivist
- re-entry/reentry
- aftercare
- transitional
- throughcare
- reintegration
- resettlement
- community

Important published works that were themselves referred to in the items sourced above were also accessed.

² Some sources use the term "offender" exclusively, to describe inmates held under remand, or those serving community sentences. In this review, the terms prisoner, inmate and offender are used interchangeably, and any references to community correctional clients or remandees is made explicit.

Box 1.1 continued

These searches resulted in articles from academic journals and from publications produced primarily for practitioners. Academic texts, public domain documents produced by or for government, web sites, and newspaper articles containing relevant information were also consulted.

This review is comprehensive, but it is not exhaustive. For example, only English language materials have been included, and as a general rule, only works appearing in the last ten years (that is, 1993 to 2003) have been incorporated. However, certain seminal pieces have been referred to in order to provide context for more recent thinking and practice. The majority of the publications reviewed originated in North America and the United Kingdom, with very few Australian works: this review therefore necessarily has an international focus.

* A substantial and important report on the practical, theoretical and policy aspects of prisoner re-entry has been produced since the compilation of this literature review. The report has been published by the (USA) Re-Entry Policy Council, a partnership of (US) government agencies, relevant professional associations, and concerned non-government support and/or research organisations. This report can be found at the website for the Council, <http://www.reentrypolicy.org/> (accessed February 2005).

Certain trends, innovations and phenomena in the administration of the justice system and in social welfare are also related to issues of post-release adjustment. For example, alternative sentencing options to custody, such as drug court or home detention, provide means of diverting a prisoner before he or she experiences the challenges of re-entry. Early crime prevention programs that aim to build protective factors within young people can act to divert at an even earlier point in potential criminal careers. Unfortunately, these associated conceptual issues are beyond the scope of the current work and while aspects of these issues are raised, they are not addressed in any great detail.

Importantly, jurisdictional differences in the philosophy and policy guiding imprisonment practice, and in the characteristics of the prison population, mean that many of the international findings discussed may not be directly transferable to the Australian context. When relevant, the jurisdiction(s) in which research was conducted will be specified. It is critical that an equivalent body of Australian research is developed, and knowledge gaps in the Australian post-release experience and management of offenders are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Prisoners and Imprisonment

The Purpose of Imprisonment

Criminal sanctions fulfil various functions (McGuire 2003; Tonry and Petersilia 1999):

- condemnation and retribution, where sentencing allows society to symbolically show its disapproval

- restraint and incapacitation, which aims to reduce or eliminate the opportunity for further crime, by removing criminals from the mainstream, or at least limiting their activities to reduce crime opportunities
- deterrence, or preventing future crime by increasing the negative outcomes for criminals when offences are detected, and
- rehabilitation, or assisting offenders to change their behaviours and so preventing further offending.

Beliefs about the functions that the criminal justice system *should serve* can be grouped into three broad categories (see Hollin 2002):

- a *retributionist* stance, which aims only for just desserts—for criminal justice dispensing punishment commensurate with crimes
- the *utilitarian* position, that seeks primarily to reduce offending in a cost-effective way, regardless of whether this outcome is brought about by punishment or by rehabilitation, and
- an *humanitarian* orientation, which strives for offender rehabilitation as an end in and of itself, to address the many disadvantages that confront prisoners.

Australian corrections are charged with protecting the community and providing rehabilitative opportunities for prisoners to both reduce offending and enhance quality of life (see Box 1.2). The sizeable investment of public monies in the correctional enterprise (see below) means that correctional authorities must ensure that public safety is a visible product of this investment.

Corrections must also balance public demands for criminal justice responses to real (and perceived) crime, and the complex relationship between media responses to crime, public opinion, and policy direction. Overseas practitioners have noted that the general public can tend to demonise *all* offenders, and ignore the long-term crime consequences of not actively intervening to address the issues confronted by these prisoners (Maddess and Hooper 2002). Further, some in the USA have advocated for the ‘principle of least eligibility’, which denies prisoners any free services for which citizens in broader the community would have to pay (see Petersilia 2003). In Australia, incarceration is often seen as the punishment of last resort, yet one local commentator observed that the mainstream Australian media rarely reports on positive rehabilitative stories because they do not make exciting news, and remarked that responses to prison issues other than calls for harsher punishment tend to be disregarded as ‘the bleeding heart bleatings of someone who’s never been a victim of crime’ (Pinkney 2002 p. 18).³ However, this does not mean that the general public will never countenance other non-custodial criminal justice responses. For instance, everyday observers’ justice responses to hypothetical criminal cases tend to centre less around prison when their knowledge about non-custodial options increases (see Israel and Dawes 2002).

3 This is not intended to discount the important role victims can play in community-oriented approaches to prisoner throughcare (refer Chapter 3). It is included simply to illustrate an approach to corrections that permeates some sections of the media.

Box 1.2 Objectives for Australian Corrective Services

- **Custody:** to protect the community by the sound management of prisoners commensurate with the risks they pose to the community, and to ensure the environment in which prisoners are managed enables them to achieve an acceptable quality of life consistent with community norms;
- **Community:** to protect the community by the sound management of offenders commensurate with the risks they pose to the community, and to ensure the environment in which offenders are managed enables them to achieve an acceptable quality of life consistent with community norms through referral to social support agencies;
- **Reparation:** to ensure work undertaken by prisoners or offenders benefits the community either directly or indirectly (by reducing costs to the taxpayer);
- **Prisoner/offender programs:** to provide programs and opportunities that address the causes of offending, maximise the chances of successful reintegration into the community and reduce the risk of re-offending; and
- **Advice to sentencing and releasing authorities:** to provide sentencing and releasing authorities with advice to assist the determination of the disposition of prisoners and offenders, their release to parole, and the necessary conditions for their supervision and post-release supervision.

from *The Report on Government Services 2005* (p. 7.9, SCRGSP 2005)

Australian correctional services therefore hold the unenviable position of guaranteeing public safety, delivering just punishment and restitution, successfully rehabilitating, convincing the public that correctional rehabilitation can produce crime reduction benefits, and doing so with maximum productivity. Further, this must be done under the most intense public and media scrutiny, and in the context of demands for ever-more punitive responses to crime (what some observers have labelled 'penal populism'; see Roberts, Stalans, Indermaur and Hough 2003).

Prisoners in Australia

A snapshot of the Australian prison population as of 30 June 2004 (Australian Bureau of Statistics; ABS 2004a), showed that there were 24,171 adults held in custody in Australia. Australian prisons are, on average, currently operating at around maximum capacity (see SCRGSP 2005). The total expenditure on Australian prisons in the financial year 2003/04 was \$1.6 billion, with the recurrent cost of maintaining a single prisoner averaged at \$162 per day (SCRGSP 2005).

Of all Australian prisoners in June 2004, 19,236 were sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The majority of these convicted prisoners (60%; including periodic detainees) were sentenced to aggregate terms of up to 5 years, with a median aggregate sentence of 38 months (indicating that

half were sentenced to terms of this length or less). However, around three-quarters of all sentenced prisoners were *expected* to serve less than five years.⁴ The median time expected to serve was 24 months. Unsented prisoners (those awaiting hearing, trial, sentencing, or deportment) constituted one-fifth of the prison population. At 30 June 2004 they had, on average, served 5 months, with 90% of these prisoners having spent 12.5 months or less incarcerated. Almost half (47%) of sentenced and unsentenced offenders' most serious offence involved violence or the threat of violence. Only 10% of all sentenced and unsentenced prisoners' most serious offences were related to illicit drugs. Indigenous Australians were over-represented amongst both sentenced and remand prisoners, constituting about 21% of each group (see ABS 2004a).

The Australian prison population does not remain stable over the year. The flow of inmates in and out of prisons reflects changes from remand to sentenced status, release from remand, the completion of sentences, and discretionary release under supervision (i.e., post-release community orders, such as parole). For instance, the number of new admissions of prisoners sentenced to full-time custody in the quarter year ending June 2004, was 6,234. The average number of prisoners under parole orders in the community on the first days of the month during the same quarter was 8,612 (ABS 2004b). Within each of the Australian jurisdictions, rules for counting prisoners, and the means of tracking them through the criminal justice system differ. This, coupled with the flow in and out of custodial sites, makes it difficult to ascertain exactly how many individuals enter and exit prisons each year.

Counting difficulties aside, the ABS (2003a) observed a number of general trends in the prison population snapshots compiled over the past decade, including:

- a 45 per cent increase in size of the prison population, exceeding the 15 per cent growth in the general population
- an increase in the rate of imprisonment, from 118 prisoners per 100,000 adults, to 148 per 100,000
- remandees (unsentenced prisoners) proportionally accounting for more of the prison population
- a larger proportion of Indigenous offenders
- a larger proportion of prisoners sentenced to an aggregate sentence length of 10 years or more, and
- women constituting a larger proportion of the total population (although still in the minority compared with men).

Australian correctional authorities must now manage a larger prison population than in the past, which is increasingly made up of prisoner subgroups with special needs (eg Indigenous offenders, offenders held on remand, and women; see Chapter 4).

⁴ The time elapsed between prison reception and the earliest possible release date (ABS 2004a).

The Outcomes of Imprisonment

International research

The relationship between imprisonment and crime is complex and therefore difficult to examine empirically. Statistical simulation research examining how imprisonment and crime interact at a societal level faces a range of methodological issues that are not easily resolved (see Spelman 2000). The majority of statistical research exploring associations between prison and crime rates has taken place in North America, and recent sophisticated models of crime and punishment suggest that expansion of the US prison system will reduce the crime rate (Spelman 2000). Similar conclusions have been drawn using Australian data (see Saunders and Billante 2003). These findings do not, however, indicate that imprisonment is the most cost-effective means of crime reduction (Spelman 2000).

An extensive systematic review of studies of criminal justice system interventions in North America (MacKenzie 1997) concluded that incapacitating prolific offenders at an appropriate point in their criminal careers could reduce crime. However, the crime reduction effect is diminished when low risk offenders who probably would not have re-offended, are incarcerated. Difficulties in assessing the relative risk and which point offenders are at in their criminal careers also mean that incapacitation can be an expensive crime prevention option.

Other research has examined how various sentencing options (eg prison versus intermediate sanctions versus traditional probation) influence levels of recidivism among individuals. A recent meta-analytic⁵ study of various sanctions employed in North America concluded that there is no strong evidence to suggest that harsh punishment-based sanctions (such as imprisonment) deter re-offending (see Smith, Goggin and Gendreau 2002). International research suggests that other correctional interventions that aim to 'get tough' (such as boot camp) or that increase the degree with which offenders are monitored in the community do not impact upon recidivism to any greater degree than other more traditional criminal justice responses (see MacKenzie 2000).

Re-offending by Australian prisoners

The precise number of prisoners who exit the Australian prison system each year is unknown for reasons outlined above, however some estimates place it at over 43,000 annually (see Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone and Peeters 2003). How successfully these offenders integrate into mainstream society is also unknown, although one indicator of the effectiveness of imprisonment is the rate at which ex-prisoners re-offend.

5 One technique for reviewing the outcomes of multiple studies of the effectiveness of interventions is meta-analysis. This involves creating a common metric that allows quantification of the average effect of a type of intervention on an outcome, relative to some non-treatment option. In the case of correctional treatment, the outcome is usually recidivism. This technique is more objective than literature reviews, although is still subject to limitations (eg see Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk & Stewart 1999).

The ABS (2004a) reports that 58% of those sentenced and unsentenced prisoners held at June 30 2004 were known to have served previous terms of imprisonment. Among Indigenous offenders, this figure was 77%. Other data indicate that of the prisoners released from Australian prisons in 2000/01, 47% had received a further (non-fine based) correctional sanction of some sort within two years of release, and for 37% of all released prisoners, this sanction was prison (SCRGSP 2004). Thus imprisonment in its current form does not seem sufficient to prevent a large proportion of Australian prisoners from committing new offences after release. New approaches to offender management are needed to lower the rate of recidivism among returning prisoners.

Rehabilitation to reduce crime

Data are not conclusive regarding the degree with which imprisonment can fulfil all of the functions ascribed to the justice system. Imprisonment can serve to incapacitate and allow offences to be denounced and condemned but its deterrent effects on future offending have not been convincingly demonstrated. However, there is an increasingly large body of (primarily North American) research supporting the crime reduction benefits of offender rehabilitation.⁶ Irrespective of any humanitarian notions, rehabilitation (unlike many other approaches to prisoner management) has shown its worth as a crime prevention tool under certain circumstances (Cullen and Gendreau 2000). Some researchers have argued that research evidence to date indicates that punishments such as prison are best used for purposes other than reducing recidivism (eg condemnation), and that rehabilitation should be used to minimise re-offending (Bonta 2002).

The two dominant approaches to reducing offending—rehabilitation and imprisonment—are not mutually exclusive, and as already noted, rehabilitation and reintegration are explicit goals of Australian custodial corrections. The period when offenders are under the control of the prison system can provide a unique opportunity to stabilise and rehabilitate because authorities can ensure treatments and services are delivered in a consistent and timely fashion. In this sense, the period of incarceration can be used to increase the health and social adjustment outcomes for prisoners, and so ultimately improve the health and safety of the community (Taxman 1998).

One principle of effective rehabilitative programming (see Chapter 3) is that interventions should be *multimodal*—they should be used in combination to address the range of issues that confront each offender. Prisoners tend to be challenged with social, psychological and economic disadvantages that can impede integration into the broader community (Chapter 4). These factors must too be addressed if offender rehabilitation is to be effective. Further, formal rehabilitative treatment should be followed-up with informal aftercare, in part to reinforce newly acquired skills in a range of settings. Correctional authorities around the Western world have therefore acknowledged the crime reduction benefits of providing specific rehabilitative programming during imprisonment,

6 Not all rehabilitative techniques have the same crime reduction benefits. Effective correctional rehabilitative programs must be appropriate, which means they adhere to a set of general principles that are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

followed by structured transition in to the community, and treatment and support after re-entry into mainstream society (eg see Motiuk, Boe and Nafekh 2002).

■ The Relevance of Post-Release Services to Prisoners

Ongoing prisoner treatment and support is not a new concept: correctional practitioners operating four decades ago acknowledged the necessity of prison aftercare. A UK report compiled by the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders in 1963 highlighted three important trends supporting the provision of prisoner aftercare:

1. an humanitarian concern for all ex-prisoners
2. an acknowledgment that supervision at the close of a sentence may effect recidivism, and
3. recognition that specialist systems of aftercare are needed for various classes of offenders.

Data compiled since that report show that by providing treatment and support after custody and into the community, in-prison rehabilitative gains can be maintained, and the challenges associated with return to the broader community can be eased, both of which will assist in minimising the risk of ex-prisoners re-offending (Cullen and Gendreau 2000). This approach to prisoner treatment has been called *throughcare*, or a *continuum of care*. The post-release, community component is variously called *aftercare*, *transitional care*, *re-entry*, *reintegration* or *resettlement* (see Chapter 2 for a more thorough delineation of terms).

In addition to humanitarian notions of improving offenders' quality of life, and utilitarian concerns about public safety, other issues are driving the interest in post-release services. For instance, prisons in the USA are becoming increasingly overcrowded as a result of changed sentencing and parole practices, the increased detection of technical violations, and increased sentence lengths (eg Austin 2001; Lynch and Sabol 2001; Travis and Lawrence 2002; Travis and Petersilia 2001). Prison crowding may soon be relevant in Australia. Prisons on average are operating at maximum capacity, and there have been large average increases in both the number and rate of imprisonment across the nation, (see above; Carcach and Grant 1999). The proportion of all Australian prisoners who are held on remand has also increased (see above, Fitzgerald 2000), which is relevant given the difficulties associated with the community return of those imprisoned for only short-terms (see Chapter 4). Measures that seek to stop offenders from re-offending, such as throughcare or post-release interventions, are likely to assist in addressing crowding pressures.

At a more esoteric level, there has been an interest in the process of prisoner re-entry into the community because the experience of certain subpopulations of prisoners can provide important information about the nature of social inequality. The *collateral consequences* of imprisonment (Chapter 4) have been shown to disproportionately accrue to African American and Hispanic communities in the USA. By examining prisoner re-entry in the context of the whole of society, issues of race and inequity can be studied in detail (Western, Kling and Weiman 2001).

Australian jurisdictions have adopted a range of responses to issues of re-offending and community safety. However, in keeping with international thinking, the Report on Government Services 2003 noted that among the important policy trends observed in Australian corrections,

‘Transitional management of prisoners upon release into the community is a major policy focus... This becomes particularly relevant given the trends identified by some jurisdictions in relation to the increasing complexity of prisoner profiles (that is, those with unresolved drug and alcohol issues and backgrounds of social disadvantage, low education achievement, poor employment history, significant health problems including mental illness, and unsatisfactory family and social skills)’ (SCRCSSP 2003, p. 7.10).

■ Stakeholders in the Delivery of Services to Prisoners

Community safety benefits flow on from preventing future crime, and so effective post-release adjustment is of concern to the whole community, and not simply those individuals who have direct contact with the criminal justice system. Indeed, these crime reduction benefits, coupled with the large costs associated with imprisonment, and with crime (Mayhew 2003), mean that post-release issues should be a concern for the whole of government.

The challenges confronting prisoners post-release arise from a complex set of social factors, therefore the means of addressing challenges will be found in social institutions including, but beyond, prisons, courts and law enforcement. Other important stakeholders in the delivery of services and supports for prisoners that have been identified in international literature include:

- non-custodial (ie community) corrections
- non-correctional government agencies, such as those administering health and education
- faith-based and voluntary organisations who can assist in community reintegration
- local businesses and industry, and
- members of the community where offenders return (eg see Clear and Cadora 2002).

Recent thinking has also emphasised an important role for the victims of crime in the post-release adjustment of offenders. For instance, because victims often know offenders, they can provide information regarding strategies for managing those same offenders in the community (eg Lehman, Beatty, Maloney, Russell, Seymour and Shapiro 2002).

The term post-release does not refer to a single concept. This chapter explores the language and the concepts employed in discussions of prisoner return and post-release issues and services.

■ Terminology Surrounding Prisoner Return

The way in which terms have been employed in the discussion of prisoner re-entry has varied.

Figure 1 plots how these terms interrelate.

Re-entry: a single *moment in time* when a prisoner is released from custody. It can also be a *process* by which prisoners move from custody to independent community living. The re-entry process can be formal and mandatory, such as is the case with parole supervision, although at present, not all Australian prisoners are subject to formal re-entry programs.

Transition: the process of re-entry. *Transitional* services are those that aim to assist in this process, and these can be any formalised supports provided just before, at the point of, or following release. They can specifically refer to *transitional/pre-release centres*, which are supervised residential settings that bridge the gap between community and custody, allowing inmates substantial interactions with the outside world (eg outside employment or family contact).

Aftercare: is less formal support following formal service delivery, such as ongoing contact following structured drug treatment. Because interventions can be delivered to prisoners at any point in a custodial term, aftercare need not always occur in the community. However, if informal community support follows in-prison treatment programs, this support could be classified as aftercare.

Post-release: refers to the time following custody. *Post-release interventions* aim to minimise re-offending during this time, by managing risk and promoting rehabilitation. Some interventions delivered *before* release into the community can be considered post-release because they aim to ensure post-release adjustment. Aftercare, post-release and transition can refer to similar processes, and to some extent will be used interchangeably for any treatments, programs or services aiming to assist in the transformation from prisoner to law-abiding community member.

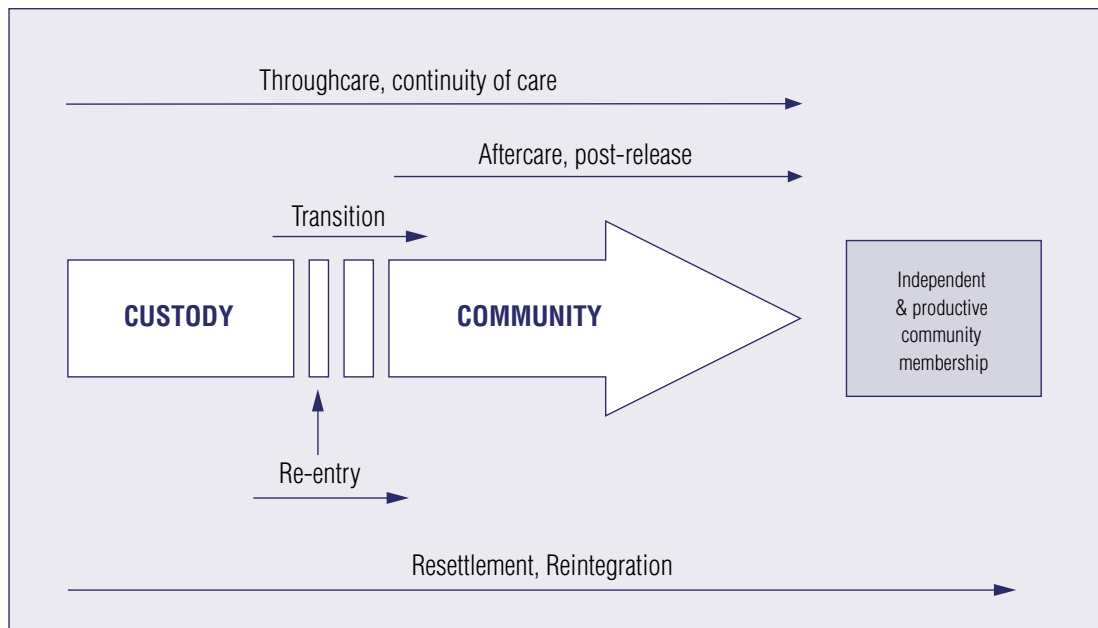
Continuity of care: describes the philosophical commitment to providing consistent services and supports to prisoners within and beyond prison, with this holistic program of rehabilitation ideally commencing at first contact between the offender and the justice system.

Throughcare: describes the process of delivering continuous care.

Reintegration/Resettlement: describes the desired aims of throughcare—independent and productive community membership—as well as the processes required to achieve this aim (HM Inspectorate of Prisons 2001). The appropriateness of these terms has been debated, because

some argue that the majority of prisoners have never been integrated or settled in the mainstream community and so logically cannot return to these states (see Ward 2001). The terms nonetheless capture the idea of offenders actively participating in their re-entry process rather than just passively receiving services, and so will be used in this review. Another term has appeared relatively recently—*reintegrative confinement*. This was developed with respect to throughcare for juvenile offenders. It refers to a correctional philosophy in which the custodial experience is oriented towards successful re-entry, with formal surveillance and support in the community to achieve this end (see Altschuler and Armstrong 1999).

Figure 1: The relationship between terms related to prisoner release



Important Concepts in the Design of Post-Release Services

Justice systems are acknowledging that treatments and services to assist in reintegration can contribute to public safety and offender rehabilitation. If reintegrative support and surveillance mechanisms are to be implemented, justice systems must also precisely specify the nature of the interventions they intend to provide.

Defining Post-Release

Post-release implies the period immediately following community return, but many of the challenges confronting prisoners necessitate long-term interventions. In this sense, the period required to reintegrate may last substantially longer than the period of any formal, post-custodial community

supervision. Post-release preparation is best commenced before community return, therefore the period may also incorporate some segment at the close of a custodial term. The period that will be classified 'post-release' reflects assumptions about the time needed to effectively reintegrate. For example, if post-release is defined as the period of parole supervision, it implies that reintegration takes precisely as long as this bureaucratic process (Lynch and Sabol 2001).

It is critical that authorities clarify the time frame that they intend to treat as post-release, which could variously mean:

- the period of immediate community return, such as the first few days
- a specified period following return, such as one-month
- the term of mandated community supervision, and so varying with offender
- a specific period following community supervision
- some variable date, such as the time when independent and productive community membership is demonstrated, or
- any of the above in combination with some closing portion of the custodial term.

Defining the Client

A related issue involves specifying who any services are intended to assist—clarifying what prisoners should access post-release interventions. Given the resource limitations confronting most jurisdictions, it is likely that services will need to be restricted, but as with above, there are multiple ways of defining clients. For instance, services could be directed towards:

- all prisoners, including those held on remand
- all sentenced prisoners
- only prisoners released with community supervision
- only prisoners assessed as presenting high or medium level risk, or
- only prisoners convicted of certain offences, such as sex offenders.

Other aspects of the client base that require clarification include whether offenders voluntarily partake of services, or whether they are mandatory. If the latter, authorities must consider how they will deal with non-compliance. The blend of surveillance and support to be employed must also be specified. Although there is no strong evidence indicating that post-release surveillance alone will produce strong positive effects on recidivism (eg MacKenzie 2000), effective community protection requires some offender surveillance. Post-release services must therefore establish the optimal blend of support and supervision to achieve desired outcomes.

At a more detailed level, the purpose of the services to be supplied to clients must be considered. In the UK, the aftercare services delivered by community correctional officers have shifted in focus from welfare, to programs chiefly addressing criminogenic needs.⁷ This has meant that voluntary

⁷ Those offender attitudes, personality aspects and/or behaviours that are linked directly to offending (see Chapter 3).

aftercare clients (whose chief concern has historically been welfare-related issues) now tend to approach non-government service providers rather than the government probation service (Maguire, Raynor, Vanstone and Kynch 1998).

Finally, authorities must be alert to the way public attitudes may influence the type of client who receives services, and the way in which these attitudes can have paradoxical outcomes. For instance, excluding one group of prisoners from programs, (eg high risk or violent offenders) because the public perceives them to be receiving undeserved advantages does not stop those same offenders from eventually returning to the community (see Taxman, Byrne, Holsinger, and Anspach 2003). Exclusion on the basis of moral deservedness rather than relevant need also ignores the fact that those most at risk stand to gain the most from appropriate rehabilitative interventions (see *Principles of Effective Correctional Programming* in Chapter 3).

Defining Rehabilitation

If offender rehabilitation is a desired outcome of corrections, the general process by which this will be achieved should be stated. Cullen and Gendreau (2000) speak of three components that identify rehabilitation (as opposed to some type of other intervention):

1. it is planned (ie not chance)
2. it targets something about the offender believed to be linked to offending, and
3. it is intended to stop future offending via mechanisms other than simply deterrence.

In addition, there are three levels at which the implementation of rehabilitative programming should be considered (see Roberts 1995):

1. examining the range and type of services expected and to be provided, to highlight any gaps in provision
2. devising a framework for the order of practice implementation, and for the processes necessary to deliver, monitor and evaluate that practice, and
3. developing a framework for addressing the availability, knowledge, and competency of staff to deliver programming.

Some have argued that it may be more appropriate to speak of *preparation for release* rather than *rehabilitation*, because it is simply unlikely that the latter will be achieved (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons 1986). However, as will be discussed, the success of rehabilitation is intrinsically linked to what yardsticks are employed to index success.

Defining the Desired Outcome of Interventions

Authorities must decide how they choose to define the success of post-release interventions. Any coherent policy driving the implementation of throughcare or post-release services should also dictate the type of outcomes that will be used in the evaluative process. Ward (2001) identified three types of outcome measures that have been used to index the efficacy of post-release services:

1. ease of the transition process
2. reduced recidivism, and
3. decreased prison population.

The second and third measures reflect a utilitarian approach to offender management, whereas the first suggests a humanitarian agenda. Other measures that have been used also have a more rehabilitative orientation, such as the ability to transfer acquired positive skills to new community settings, or the seriousness of relapse (see Serin and Kennedy 1997).

By far the most commonly employed outcome measure is recidivism, which can be defined in a variety of ways, including:

- re-offending (either with or without⁸ law enforcement detection)
- rearrest
- reconviction
- reimprisonment, and
- time-to-failure (re-offence, rearrest, etc).

Researchers have noted that the various recidivism measures can themselves reflect differing correctional goals. For instance, rearrest is useful if behaviour change is the desired outcome of interventions, whereas reimprisonment is the most useful measure if assessing effects of programs on prison numbers (Brewster and Sharp 2002). The timeframe for ex-prisoner follow-up can also inform as to beliefs about how long the process of successful resettlement should, in theory, take.

Additionally, using recidivism as an outcome is unlikely to lead to an underestimation of the real risks posed by offenders. Some outcome measures, such as program completion, may lead correctional staff to view all *completing* offenders as *successful* offenders. However, without measuring the degree with which the program actually reduces re-offending, statements about changes in offender risk are difficult to make (see Glover and Bumby 2001). It is important to remember that at the most basic level, the utility of correctional rehabilitation is derived from its ability to change patterns of offending (Howells and Day 1999).

There is debate, however, as to the appropriateness of recidivism as a measure of rehabilitative success. Some argue that recidivism is not optimal in the evaluation of how effective the process of implementing an intervention has been—it can do little to illustrate specific program failings or merits, and measures such as employment, reduced drug use, or decreased assessed risk may be more appropriate (Boone and Fulton 1996). Similarly, justice administrators rarely expect to achieve zero recidivism, therefore it may be appropriate to consider employing measures that more effectively bridge the gap between community expectations and the justice system's capacity to actually control crime (Turner and Petersilia 1996). Lastly, employing recidivism measures alone

⁸ Where the latter would be measured by offenders' own reports of their criminal activity.

can lead to a failure to address non-criminogenic disadvantages in offenders' lives that impede reintegration (such as domestic violence, see Ogilvie 2001), and other factors that have traditionally been thought to bring about 'correction', such as education.

Clarifying Post-Release Service Delivery

Factors that are dictated by forces external to corrections (such as budget allocation, or sentence lengths) can have a profound effect on correctional operations (see Lynch and Sabol 2001). This reality, coupled with the variety of challenges faced by returning prisoners, means that the task of whole of person reintegration is quite probably beyond the scope of correctional authorities alone. The stakeholders in prisoner re-entry were outlined in the introductory chapter, and the precise role of these stakeholders in the actual process of service delivery must be considered and codified.

Lastly, there are two important decisions that must be taken by correctional authorities when instigating any custodial component of throughcare or post-release services (see Nelson and Trone 2001):

1. Are services to be standardised across the jurisdiction? One compelling reason for standardisation would be the continuation of services to prisoners transferred between facilities.
2. Will services be delivered from a dedicated facility within the custodial environment? This can allow a separate *transitional culture* to be developed within institutional settings.

Choices will be dictated in part by the specific programs to be delivered, by the resources available for services, and by the type of offender that services are designed to address.

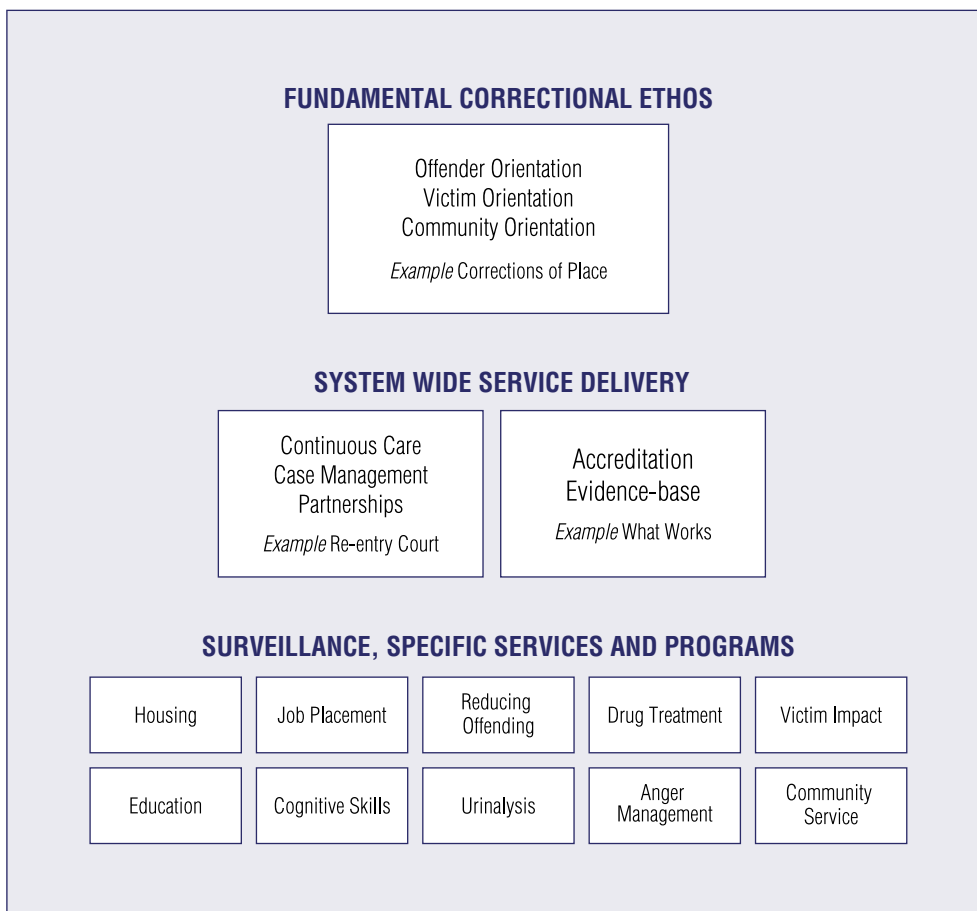
3 MODELS OF POST-RELEASE AND THROUGH-CARE SERVICE DELIVERY

17

There are a number of themes in corrections that are being variously embraced by some Western jurisdictions. These themes relate to both the micro level delivery of specific programs and macro level, system-wide approaches to offender risk management, treatment, and rehabilitation. This chapter describes important features of post-release service delivery.

There are three levels at which the delivery of post-release and throughcare services can be considered (see Figure 2): the correctional ethos that informs reintegration policy; the implementation of the policy into system-wide services; and the interventions that are delivered within that service. Each of these levels is discussed below.

Figure 2: The three levels of post-release service implementation



■ Fundamental Correctional Ethos

The philosophical position that informs the definition of client, of outcome, and of the timeframe that constitutes post-release can be variously classified. One such classification is based around various correctional stakeholders:

- *offender-oriented*: the traditional adversarial approach, in which interventions are aimed at changes in individual offenders' behaviour (regardless of whether via deterrence or rehabilitation), disregarding broader social context.
- *victim-oriented*: in which victims' input and wellbeing are central to criminal justice responses. Victims are viewed as primary clients of the criminal justice system (see Clear and Cadora 2002), in part because they often share a community—and sometimes a home—with offenders. This position is strongly articulated by Lehman, Beatty, Maloney, Russell, Seymour and Shapiro (2002), who place the direct support of victims as fundamental. Victim involvement is increasingly a feature of criminal justice systems in many jurisdictions. It can include the notification of victims of key justice milestones for offenders, victim input into justice decisions about offenders, assisting offenders to understand their impacts on victims, and ensuring victim (ie community) safety.⁹ A key component of a victim centred approach is encouraging offender accountability and responsibility (see below; see also Michaud 2003).
- *community-oriented*: where offender reintegration is considered in the context of his or her environment of return, with capacity building for both offender and their community as fundamentally important. This is exemplified in the *community justice* approach espoused by Clear and his colleagues (eg Clear and Karp 2000; discussed below).

These orientations are not diametrically opposed, and system-wide justice responses can draw on elements of each. There are other key concepts that this categorisation does not explicitly capture because these concepts can feature in each orientation. Important concepts include:

Therapeutic jurisprudence: or the notion that the law is a social force and can increase (or decrease) wellbeing. Whilst a therapeutic role is not primary to the law, this approach acknowledges that the law can act to encourage pro-social living by offenders from the point at which they first contact the justice system. This process involves balancing community safety with individual autonomy, and can draw on insights from psychiatry and psychology. An example of therapeutic jurisprudence would be court-mandated offender participation in a cognitive restructuring program (see Birgden 2002; Wexler 2002).

Personal responsibility/accountability: A purely humanitarian approach to rehabilitation can be construed as a process performed upon, but not actively involving, offenders. By returning rehabilitative responsibility to offenders, offenders are required to work hard to regain their place

⁹ See Beatty and Gregorie (2003) for discussion of the practical aspects and logistical difficulties associated with victim involvement in the correctional process in the USA.

in society (Lawrence, Mears, Dubin and Travis 2002). In its most extreme form, rehabilitative responsibility is vested entirely in offenders, who receive only the most basic support from corrections (after Horn 1999, cited in Austin 2001). This is very different to a rehabilitative agenda that aims only to improve the quality of life of offenders, and is therefore possibly more palatable to the general public. In practice, it would involve:

- offender admission of guilt, and repaying both victims and communities for damage
- the development of, and the monitoring of compliance to, offender accountability plans (see Lehman, Beatty, Maloney, Russell, Seymour and Shapiro 2002)
- placing the primary responsibility for addressing re-entry challenges in the offender, although providing adequate supports for them to do so (Field 1998), and
- victim participation at key criminal justice points (such as sentencing), in restorative justice, and/or through victim organisations (Herman and Wasserman 2001).

Graduated sanctions: acknowledge the very real possibility of offender relapse, and treat relapse as an opportunity to reinforce rehabilitation. The severity of sanction is matched to the lapse, and in line with findings about human learning, sanctions quickly follow the behaviour in question. Responses are intended to promote positive behaviours rather than simply to punish, and so may include short custodial spells, but not an automatic return to prison for any and all violations (Travis and Petersilia 2001).

A New Criminal Justice Ethos: A Corrections of Place

This restorative approach (also known as *community justice*, *environmental corrections*, or *neighbourhood parole*) has a community orientation, and also explicitly acknowledges the role of victims. Clear (eg Clear and Karp 2000) has remarked that it is both a philosophy and a process that aims to transform the criminal justice system from a defender of the law, into a community resource. Variants of this justice ethos can:

- draw on a *routine* activity approach to crime, resulting in situational crime prevention responses
- be seen as derived from Gottfredson and Taylor's (1986) exploration of recidivism risk as a function of person-environment interactions
- acknowledge the benefits of drawing on informal social controls (such as positive family and other relationships, and pro-social community networks) in addition to the formal controls of the traditional criminal justice system
- employ notions of community policing, and,
- advocate *what works* (evidence-based) correctional principles.

Community justice is oriented towards *place*, in recognition of the way one's geographical community can influence life chances. It also acknowledges the existence of crime hotspots. It provides a model that can explicitly address the community collateral consequences of imprisonment that accrue in localities with high numbers of incarcerated and returning prisoners

(see Chapter 4). It aims to improve public safety, to strengthen *informal* social controls, to build community capacity, and so improve quality of life.

Post-release issues are explicitly addressed by the placement of community corrections staff in the community to which offenders return.¹⁰ This differs to conventional parole supervision on a number of dimensions:

- community correctional workers are placed at locations central to returning offenders rather than central to other criminal justice functions
- these community corrections locations also act as central points for other services, such as accommodation, employment, or health, and as a general community resource
- community correctional staff members view the neighbourhood, rather than the offender alone, as the ‘client’, which requires staff to understand and know the neighbourhood and its inhabitants
- staff aim to improve community safety, not simply to provide offender supervision
- staff aim to pro-actively prevent crime and other community problems by identifying potential crime hot spots (a kind of ‘risk assessment of place’), and by creatively addressing identified community issues
- staff work in partnerships with community businesses, community networks, families, other justice agencies, other welfare services, and returned prisoners, to maximise community capabilities, and minimise individual re-offending¹¹
- staff foster *community guardianship*, where community teams mentor individuals, and sponsor activities that aim to contend with crime hotspots
- staff engage in contact visits with individuals in a range of locations, and out-of-hours, to learn about the offender’s own risks and strengths, and to assist with resettlement
- staff aim to decrease an individual’s opportunities to offend within their own community (using conditions, as with traditional parole, but considering the precise environment, aware of the offender’s own risks and strengths)
- offenders are encouraged to be accountable, to give back to the community, and to recognise their crimes, and
- punishment, surveillance and formal controls are used, but as tools for reintegration, and not simply as punitive ends.

Theorists note that because community justice aims to respond to the unique problems encountered within communities, this approach is necessarily flexible. It is not so flexible though that all returning offenders will be best managed within this framework—high-risk offenders will still need to be adequately identified and suitably controlled to minimise the risk of serious re-offending (Clear 1996).

¹⁰ Although offering a direct means of addressing re-entry, it is a broader framework that encompasses all aspects of the criminal justice system, including corrections and policing.

¹¹ One model maximises partnerships between community corrections and the whole of the community of return: ‘Citizens Circles’ develop accountability plans for offenders (who volunteer to participate and also meet relevant criteria and work to facilitate the re-entry process). The circle is made up of representatives of local police, businesses, victim groups, corrections, etc, and circle members collaborate to help offenders realise and meet their responsibilities, and to become contributing citizens themselves (eg, see Rhine, Matthews II, Sampson & Daley 2003).

Refer to Clear (1996); Clear and Cadora (2002); Clear and Karp (2000); Cullen, Eck and Lowenkamp (2002); Petersilia (1999); and Rhine (2002) for more detail.

■ System Wide Service Delivery

The broad aims of correctional models such as community justice require alternate correctional practices in order to implement policy goals. Although these models are new, the principles underpinning post-release reintegration have been long recognised. For instance, the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders (UK; 1963) noted that effective compulsory aftercare:

- required integrated actions from custodial and community staff
- should commence at reception
- should be available as long as necessary after release
- should include both support and supervision
- should involve pre-release planning incorporating family care, and
- should include post-release assessment of conduct.

The following addresses in detail the various correctional practices related to the implementation of throughcare and post-release services.

Continuum of Care

Research now supports the notion that aftercare should commence *before* release (see Travis 2000), and so is more rightly called *throughcare*. In providing care that spans the gap between prison and community, gains from in-prison treatment are retained and can be applied, can be seen as relevant, and can be reinforced in daily life (Altschuler and Armstrong 2002). This is especially true for drug-involved offenders (eg Terry-McElrath, McBride, Vander Waal and Ruel 2002). It is optimal that the treatment and services offered in prison are continued (or at least mirrored) upon release, which includes ensuring that the treatment ethos is consistent between community and custody (see Fox 2002). Continuous care naturally requires enhanced links between custodial institutions and the broader community.

For further information: Burrows, Clarke, Davison, Tarling and Webb (2001); Farabee, Prendergast, Cartier, Wexler, Knight and Anglin (1999); Taxman (1998).

Intervening Early

Because complexly interwoven, long-term problems often require long-term solutions, the earlier in the custodial term that services and programs are initiated, the longer the treatment, and the greater the likelihood that interventions will produce positive outcomes. This is even more important with short-term prisoners or remandees, because the window of opportunity in which to establish a

program of throughcare is severely reduced. Therefore, assessment for and allocation to services and supports should occur at reception into prison (eg HM Inspectorate of Prisons 1986), although some suggest that services instigated at very first contact with the justice system may be even more appropriate (eg Birgden 2002).

Whilst a network of interventions to address an offender's risks and needs should be initiated at the earliest possible point, individual interventions need to be delivered in a timely fashion. If programs are delivered long before release and learning cannot be applied to daily community life, gains may be lost and replaced with criminogenic or negative ways of behaving that are appropriate within a prison setting but counter to mainstream reintegration (see Brewster and Sharp 2002).

Surveillance and Support

Although intensive monitoring and surveillance alone have not produced demonstrable crime reduction benefits relative to traditional supervision, research suggests that decreases in recidivism may arise when an offender is subject to supervision control in combination with rehabilitative treatment in the community (MacKenzie 1997). The level of surveillance must be appropriate to risk however, because there is little evidence of crime reduction gains from the reimprisonment of low risk offenders for technical violations of parole conditions (Altschuler and Armstrong 1999). Other research has shown that less intensive, more traditional supervision that is properly enforced can improve re-offending outcomes relative to supervision that is not enforced. For example, one study examined actual and predicted risk among offenders serving community sentences in the UK. The rapid and appropriate enforcement of probation conditions (when compared to poor enforcement) decreased actual recidivism, relative to but regardless of, the level of predicted re-offending risk (May and Wadwell 2001).

A critical element of traditional community supervision has been assisting the offender to manage their behaviour and comply with societal norms. Community corrections officers have tended to occupy dual roles of 'enforcer' and 'social worker'. The recent trend in the USA has been towards emphasis of the surveillance function at the cost of support (eg Seiter 2002), yet in order to help offenders manage their behaviour, workers should be 'agents of change', where both support and surveillance are directed at increasing reintegrative success (Taxman 2002). The difficulties associated with this role shift are both practical and philosophical. For instance, workers need to contend with issues of confidentiality between functions, as well as gaining offender trust. Returning prisoners may also find it difficult to reconcile a case manager that apparently holds conflicting roles. Even when this can be reconciled, the rapport necessary for effective support and role modelling must necessarily taper off as a client nears the end of supervision. However, this tapering can be seen as a negative by clients, a kind of removal of valuable support (eg Meisel 2001), and so must also be appropriately addressed.

Case Management

In order to prevent the recurrence of offending, the factors that have precipitated it in the past need to be identified, and then systematically removed (Travis 2000). This will often require the coordination of a range of disparate services and supports because treatment and services will probably be provided by different government and non-government agencies. In order to navigate these sometimes uncommunicative and occasionally alienating organisations, and to ensure continuity between custody and community, offenders require a central point of contact. A case manager can fulfil this function, acting as a single point of reference for offenders.

A case manager (or case management team) can link offenders to their required services and treatments, can monitor progress and report this to the appropriate authorities (or adopt the surveillance function themselves), and can ensure that treatment and support continues from custody to community. Case managers may also take responsibility for linking offenders to informal networks and other forms of unstructured community support. See Box 3.1 for detail of the stages involved in correctional case management.

Case managed throughcare can take a variety of forms, including:

- outreach, or prison staff contacting the community for appropriate services
- in reach (or reach-in), where community correctional staff commence work with offenders pre-release, and
- non-correctional providers delivering case management.

Within this, the manager may actively broker the required services for an offender, or may provide services themselves. They may adopt what has become known as *activist supervision*, which is traditional parole supervision by community corrections staff, coupled with the active procurement of employment and the provision of other supports (Petersilia 1999). The manager may choose to build around the positive components in an offender's life and environment—around those positives that can improve the likelihood of reintegration. This *strengths-based* approach evolved within the mental health care system, and so does not directly address the fact that within a correctional milieu, case management must appropriately address relapse, new offending, and anti-social behaviours and attitudes. A strengths-based case management approach may therefore require some adaptation within the criminal justice system (Murphy Healey 1999).

Regardless of the type of case management pursued, it is critical that services are responsive to and appropriate for the offender's level of risk and need. Case management plans should also employ an offender's input regarding perceived needs and past experiences, including past treatments, so as to maximise compliance.

Box 3.1 Stages in a Case Management Model

- **Intake:** involving orientation, discussion of sanctions, etc., and also involving crisis intervention where required.
- **Assessment:** to provide an understanding of the types of interventions required, so involving history taking or interviews and evaluation.
- **Classification:** to guide placement in institutions and services.
- **Referral:** to those services, dependent on offender risk and needs.
- **Intervention:** matching available resources and services to identified needs, but viewing the offender as responsible for program compliance and for changing their offending behaviour.
- **Monitoring:** used in conjunction with graduated sanctions. The need for monitoring and sanctions should ideally decrease over time as the offender assumes increased responsibility.
- **Evaluation:** to assess if prescribed services have been delivered and were effective.
- **Advocacy:** including testimony, arranging legal services, mediation of difficult life situations (eg, access to children) or finding solutions to other larger issues (eg, developing inter-agency connections).

Adapted from Murphy Healey (1999; after Enos & Southern 1996)

A systems approach to the case management of correctional clients (see Taxman and Sherman 2002) recognises that agencies delivering both treatment and supervision must act in coordination, more like a single agency. This approach sees case management as a core function in the supervision and treatment of offenders. Criminal justice and treatment agencies are linked by operational policies and procedures to ensure good client outcomes, and a clear understanding of different roles. System wide policies ensure adequate resourcing. An important aspect of this approach is the monitoring of progress to allow refinement of both treatment and supervision plans, and to inform decision-making regarding the client. This requires that all agencies have timely access to relevant client information.

For further information: Altschuler and Armstrong (1999); Ferguson (2002); Field (1998); HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2001); Murphy Healey (1999); Nissen (2001); Petersilia (1999); Rhine (2002).

Partnerships

If a case manager is to provide continuous care, they must be able to negotiate with and access a range of services. Clearly this process will be facilitated by formal partnerships between relevant organisations. Partnerships also acknowledge that the task of reintegration requires a whole of government and whole of community response.

The form of the re-entry partnerships will vary with the type of services to be delivered, the manner in which case management will be conducted, and the degree of broad community involvement. For instance, in the US, Department of Justice-supported *Reentry Partnership Initiatives* between law enforcement, corrections, businesses, and other government and community organisations were formed to develop and implement re-entry plans for paroled and unconditionally released offenders. When implemented, these plans then drew on this network of community resources to provide comprehensive throughcare, improve offender risk management (via better surveillance and monitoring), and address victim reparation (eg see Taxman, Young, Byrne, Holsinger, Anspach, Thanner and Silverman 2001; US General Accounting Office 2001).

For further information: Altschuler and Armstrong (1999); Field (1998); Kuehl (2001); Taxman and Sherman (2002); Valentine (2001).

Risk Assessment

The assessment of the risk an offender poses is a critical component of case management. A failure to assess offenders has been likened to medical professionals prescribing treatment for undiagnosed patients (Latessa, Cullen and Gendreau 2002).

Risk assessment is not a new concept. For instance, the process of granting parole has always involved consideration of potential offender risk, and assessment information gathered by community correctional staff has also informed pre-sentence reports. However corrections are increasingly employing standardised techniques for assessing risk. The tools used today are typically derived actuarially. This means data collated from the large-scale study of many offenders, ideally within the jurisdiction of interest, are mathematically examined to consider how certain offender characteristics are related to observed re-offending. Factors considered include criminal history, personal characteristics, and aspects of an offender's current life, such as employment, mental health, or alcohol and drug use. Subsequently assessed offenders are then measured on those identified factors, and their individual level of risk is calculated.

In employing what has been called *third-generation* risk assessment (examining history, plus current life, in a systematic mathematical way, see Bonta 1997), authorities can ensure that decisions about risk are reached in a uniform fashion. This also ensures that limited throughcare resources are appropriately allocated to those offenders most in need. If risk assessment is conducted at intake to the justice system and then regularly throughout custody and into the community, it also allows relevant adjustments to be made to individual offender treatment and transition program plans.

For further information: Jones, Masters, Griffiths, and Moulday (2002); Latessa, Cullen and Gendreau (2002); May (1999); Raynor, Kynch, Roberts and Merrington (2001)

Evidence-Based Corrections and Accreditation

To ensure that the services and treatments delivered to returning offenders produce the best possible outcomes, those services should be built on principles and practices that have been shown to work in the past. An evidence-based approach seeks to identify ‘what works’, and uses knowledge gained from systematic research and evaluation. It also contributes back to that knowledge base by ensuring programs and services are evaluated in a rigorous fashion.

One system wide approach to evidence-based corrections is a process of *accreditation*. Under a system of accreditation, correctional programs are categorised on the basis of how effectively they have been shown to work to achieve stated outcomes. Those programs that are demonstrably effective are accredited and become part of the core correctional curriculum (eg Correctional Service of Canada 2002). An example of this is the *What Works* approach adopted in England and Wales (Home Office 1999; National Audit Office 2002). This system of accreditation requires programs to satisfy numerous stringent criteria. A panel independent of the UK Prison and Probation Services, consisting of academic experts, researchers, and operational staff, assess the degree with which programs satisfy pre-defined criteria. The process of accreditation is typically time consuming, and involves program designers fine-tuning the program on the advice of the panel. Some criteria used in accreditation in the UK include:

- program grounded in evidence
- program targets criminogenic needs
- program delivers appropriate dosage, and
- clear documentation to allow program duplication.

A philosophy of evidence-based policy and practice should not be over-interpreted to mean *evidence-led* policy and practice. Research findings in isolation are not sufficient to explain outcomes, and it is important that evidence is used to formulate testable theories (Cullen and Gendreau 2000). Nor should evidence be used in lieu of policy—an over-reliance on evaluation outcomes can disguise the fact that an organisation may not have explicit goals (Cohn 2002). More pragmatically, governments rarely have the luxury to be able to wait until all evidence is gathered when formulating policy, and they must often be guided by moral considerations (Tilley 2001).

Some have advocated for a more specific approach to what works, acknowledging the complex set of unique triggers behind individuals’ offending behaviour. This would involve gathering evidence about the efficacy of certain programs, in particular locations, with certain types of offenders—*realistic evaluation* that asks ‘what works for whom, in what circumstances, and how?’ (see Tilley 2001).

Examples of System Wide Responses to Returning Prisoners

Systems of post-release and throughcare services that variously draw on these concepts have been implemented in some overseas jurisdictions. For instance, the CARAT (*Counselling, Assessment, Referral, Advice and Throughcare*) service is a good example of an outreach, case management

approach to continuous care. CARAT is part of the UK Government's strategy for addressing drug issues among offenders. This service is explicitly designed to provide continuous drug services between prison and community, using external treatment providers. CARAT also provides post-release support for up to eight weeks after re-entry if necessary, and links ex-offenders with other community services. CARAT is currently available in every prison in England and Wales, with a dedicated worker in each institution (Crime Reduction 2003; HM Prison Service 2002; Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

The US Bureau of Prisons oversees federal prisoners, who undergo an intensive, three-stage reintegration process that commences at prison reception. Programs addressing employment, education, and drug use are delivered whilst in custody. These are not only intended to enhance reintegrative prospects, but also to minimise inmate idleness and so enhance custodial staff safety. Program participation can continue throughout residence in a community-based transitional facility (a halfway house). Assessment for halfway house placement occurs around one year prior to release, and prisoners spend up to 180 days in one of these facilities. Probation officers provide follow-up community support for the period of community supervision (up to five years post-release), intended to reduce offender risk and to facilitate access to treatment. Importantly, probation officers in the jurisdiction where the offender will be supervised are provided information regarding the returning prisoner around three months before release. Offenders contact probation officers within three days of release, and supervision plans, including treatment in all relevant problem areas, are devised (see US General Accounting Office 2001).

In Australia, the Victorian Government in early 2001 commenced *Bridging the Gap*, a two-year pilot program to improve the delivery of post-release support. The program also tried to address the high rates of recidivism and concerns about post-release drug-related deaths among released prisoners. The program used a model where community agencies were funded to provide intensive, case managed pre- and post-release support to particular sub-populations. Agencies provided direct service provision and referrals to drug and alcohol treatment, accommodation, education, health, legal assistance, training and employment as well as family support (Melbourne Criminology Research and Evaluation Unit, 2003).

An evaluation of the pilot phase of Bridging the Gap showed program participants had better outcomes on measures of drug dependence, participation in treatment programs and accommodation (Melbourne Criminology Research and Evaluation Unit, 2003). These outcomes were associated with reduced post-release offending, at least while participants were in contact with their support agency. Once participants stopped being in regular contact with their support agency rates of re-offending rose to be no better than released prisoners not participating in the program. These findings point both to the importance of appropriate support in achieving good post-release outcomes, and the challenge of translating short-term gains into long-term changes.

Traditional justice systems need to move from viewing parolees as liabilities to be supervised, to seeing them as assets to be managed (Travis 2000). Box 3.1 summarises the features of *re-entry*

court, a system wide strategy aimed at improving re-entry outcomes, and an example of an *asset management* approach. It can also be seen as an example of therapeutic jurisprudence, because it uses the law to assist in offender adjustment to community life. It allows offenders to demonstrate their willingness to adhere to positive social norms, whilst also providing thorough oversight of this process, and sufficient support to make it viable. It is essentially case management vested with the authority of the judiciary.

Re-entry court can also be a vehicle for offender community *reinstatement*. Offender reparation would be acknowledged but would be complemented by the formal removal of the stigmatisation ex-prisoners carry after release (see Chapter 4). The court, possibly at the direction of a jury, would preside over the community reinstatement (Siegfried 2001). This strengths-based extension of the re-entry court model argues that a *status elevation* conferred by the same authorities that conferred the *status degradation* at conviction can have strong social and psychological impact upon court participants. A strengths-based approach is therefore future-oriented, aiming to genuinely reintegrate offenders. Rather than the justice system dictating what needs to be done to offenders, this approach establishes what the offender can do to make amends, and so other features of a strengths-based re-entry court would include:

- ‘active responsibility’, where offenders are responsible for future actions, not simply past actions, and
- rewarding positive achievements, not simply punishing violations. In its most extreme form, punishments would be eliminated (see Maruna and LeBel 2003).

Box 3.2 Features of the re-entry court

Background

- Therapeutic jurisprudence, or an active role for the law in assisting offenders
- Resemblance to Drug Court.

Goals

- Stabilisation of the offender, to reduce recidivism at release.
- Formalisation of the re-entry process.
- The provision of a period of community supervision in which the offender can make restitution and demonstrate their willingness to become a productive community member (the custodial term alone fulfils the punishment function).

Processes

- Offender sentenced with specified community (re-entry) component, or non-sentencing judge delivers community component as offender nears release.

- Court oversees entire process, with active offender oversight plus management of supportive services.
- Court outlines conditions and mandates service and programs.
- Short symbolic appearances to explain an offender's obligations and reinforce the court's authority.
- Public recognition of the repayment of an offender's debt to society.
- Continuity of care from custody to community.
- Re-entry plan, including the payment of restitution to victims.
- Daily activities managed by a correctional officer: assessment and planning by corrections and community corrections to identify inmates, assess their needs and forge necessary community links (taking advantage of neighbourhood support).
- Graduated sanctions in response to violations, and rewards for pro-social behaviour eg, good behaviour leading to accelerated rate of regaining withheld rights.
- Accountability to the broader community eg, court liaison with a citizen advisory board.

For *further information*: Clear & Cadora (2002); Maruna & LeBel (2003); Spelman (2003); Travis (2000); Travis (1999); US General Accounting Office (2001).

Specific Services and Programs

Principles of Effective Correctional Programming

Despite minimal emphasis on a rehabilitative agenda until recent years, a body of research into correctional programming has accumulated. Researchers have reviewed this body of work using a range of techniques. The most systematic of these techniques is meta-analysis. As noted previously, this technique converts treatment outcome study findings into a common metric. This allows average effects of treatment to be calculated over multiple studies. Meta-analyses have shown that when compared to offenders who do not receive rehabilitative treatment, offenders who are treated can be up to 40 per cent less likely to re-offend (see Cullen and Gendreau 2000).

Not all programs contain the same elements therefore this effect varies with the type of treatment administered. For instance, meta-analyses have shown that programs that are only sanction-based, are psychodynamic and non-directive, or that fail to target criminogenic needs are less likely to result in lowered recidivism (Gendreau and Goggin 1996). The largest effect sizes for treatment emerge with appropriate programs. Programs are considered appropriate when they adhere to certain principles, and these principles are sometimes seen as synonymous with the *what works* approach. These principles are outlined in Box 3.3.

Box 3.3 Principles of Effective Correctional Programming

Risk

- Level of risk should be systematically assessed, ideally using third-generation tools that assess *static risk* factors (eg, criminal history) as well as the *dynamic risk* factors that are linked to offending.

Need

- Some dynamic factors are also known as *criminogenic needs*: those attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviours that when changed will decrease recidivism eg, pro-criminal attitudes, substance abuse, poor problem solving, criminal associates, etc.

Programs should be matched to risk level, with higher risk offenders subject to more intensive interventions. By extension, offenders at extremely high risk may be treatable only with great difficulty, or not amenable to intervention.

Responsivity to treatment

Is the principle that aims to maximise therapeutic gains, by ensuring that programs are well suited to capitalise on characteristics of the offender and of the treatment situation. It has two aspects

- *General responsivity*: programs should match offender needs, and are best delivered using cognitive behavioural techniques, specifically involving:
 - a clear treatment structure;
 - modelling of appropriate behaviours and the provision of feedback by the therapist;
 - punishment used in conjunction positive reinforcers, with the latter most often employed; and
 - appropriately trained staff, responsive to offenders.
- Content of cognitive-behavioural treatment programs could include:
 - training in behavioural skills, such as replacing anxiety with positive coping;
 - problem solving training eg, enhancing the ability to foresee the consequences of actions; and
 - social skills training, to improve the ability to cope with social encounters.
- *Specific responsivity*: programs should respond to individual characteristics of the client and should be guided by the preferred learning styles, abilities and cultural needs of the offender.

Program Integrity

- Ensuring that programs are delivered in a structured manner according to these principles and adhering to the theoretical and design underpinnings of the program. Ensuring that program staff are appropriately qualified and that rigorous program evaluations occur can enhance integrity.

Professional Discretion

- Appropriately trained staff should use their training, skills and experience to enhance any program gains, such as identifying risks and needs that might not be detected using a standardised assessment tool.

Other elements

- *Dosage and duration*: treatment programs should be delivered for long enough to impact upon offending (at least 100 hours with daily contact is optimal).
- *Setting*: community settings are better than institutional settings, possibly because of factors within custodial settings such as organisational resistance or staff motivation. Although not optimal, an institution can, nonetheless, provide a stabilising environment for some offenders.
- *Aftercare*: providing continuing assistance once the formal treatment phase is complete.
- *Multimodal*: targets the full set of offender-specific needs, such as problem solving, social skills training, anger control, etc., (rather than simply some presumed set of offender-generic needs) and uses a variety of treatment modes (eg, role plays, cognitive training, etc).
- *Role of theory*: programs should draw on an evidence-base but should not be atheoretical, and so should strive to establish how programs act to be effective.

For further information: Birgden & McLachlan 2002; Bonta (1997); Cullen & Gendreau (2000); The Forensic & Applied Psychology Research Group (2000); Gaes, Flanagan, Motiuk & Stewart (1999); Gendreau & Goggin (1996); Howells & Day (1999); Lawrence, Mears, Dubin & Travis (2002); Lösel (1996); Serin & Kennedy (1997); Vennard, Sugg & Hedderman (1997).

The role of offender motivation in correctional programs has been examined. Researchers have noted that motivation is linked to responsivity to treatment, and that gains should accrue when an offender is motivated to change (Serin and Kennedy 1997). Qualitative research conducted in the USA also found that offenders who had turned their lives around—who had successfully reintegrated—only did so when pervasive and meaningful motivators, such as hitting ‘rock bottom’ or religious revelation, presented themselves (Solomon, Gouvis and Waul 2001). It may therefore be necessary to employ tools to assess the level of offender readiness to change. If an offender is not motivated, the lack of motivation should be targeted as an additional criminogenic need (Birgden and McLachlan 2002). It is also critical that services are available at that time when an offender is motivated to change, to maximise their chances of success (Solomon, Gouvis and Waul 2001).

Other research, particularly that investigating in-prison drug treatment, has found that the motivation that initially impels a prisoner to participate in programs (eg escaping boredom, or mandated participation) does not necessarily impact upon the size of treatment gains (Field 1998). Coercion can be a sufficient external motivator in some circumstances, because by enforcing participation, an offender can be subject to treatment of a sufficient duration to produce behavioural change. However,

there are moral considerations surrounding enforced participation, and findings regarding coerced participation should not rule out consideration of alternate, but positive external motivators, such as the possibility of a reduced sentence (Harrison 2001). Others have observed that there has not yet been sufficient research into the long-term effects of coerced participation when compared to internal motivators of behavioural change (Farabee, Prendergast, Cartier, Wexler, Knight and Anglin 1999).

Criticisms of the Principles Approach to Correctional Programming

Practitioners and researchers have not universally accepted a rigid adherence to these program principles, which is sometimes called a *risk management* approach to correctional programming. For instance, programmatic responses can become highly inflexible when treatment manuals are used to guide all aspects of program delivery. Specifically, an inflexible, 'manual' approach can negate the responsivity principle that demands individualised responding to individual offenders. Additionally, clinicians' experience and skills will be under-utilised with too rigid an approach to treatment delivery, and a strict focus on cognitive behavioural techniques can stifle innovation in practice (Hollin 2002, after Wilson 1996).

The strong emphasis on a cognitive behavioural response to offending can also mean that the complex networks of issues confronting prisoners cannot be addressed in a suitably multidimensional fashion (Rumgay 2003). Treatment models that focus on only criminogenic needs can fail to address other factors external to offenders that nonetheless influence the probability of successful community reintegration (see Chapter 4), and can fail to utilise the strengths in offenders' lives.

The offender-centred focus of the evidence-based approach can appear to be in opposition to the community focus of strengths-based offender management. However, the two can be seen as complementary, so that a *what works* ethos informs effective theoretically-driven rehabilitative practice, and community-centred corrections allow for that rehabilitation to occur in an environment of 'community wellness' (see Paparozzi 2003a). Amalgams of risk management and strengths-based approaches to treatment and services have been developed. For example, in one model, the more typical risk assessment can guide treatment, but the aim of the process is not simply the management of offender risk, but the achievement of good lives (Ward 2002). The *good lives* perspective acknowledges the importance of individuals' environments, and so involves a careful assessment of individual's aims and assets, as well as the obstacles that prevent them living a fulfilling life, free of offending (their *human*, rather than only their criminogenic needs, see also Ward and Stewart 2003).

In practice, a system acknowledging both risk and the whole person would involve the delivery of *offence-specific* programs that directly address criminogenic needs, and *offence-related* interventions (addressing factors that can affect reintegration, such as accommodation). The system would also involve interventions aimed at enhancing capabilities, such as improving self-esteem (see Birgden and McLachlan 2002). It would require community corrections officers to expand their role beyond enforcing assessment-driven case plans and brokering services, to include tasks such as helping to establish pro-social networks for offenders (see Gavazzi, Yarcheck, Rhine and Partridge 2003).

4 WHY ARE POST-RELEASE SERVICES NECESSARY? THE CHALLENGE OF PRISONER RE-ENTRY

33

Post-release services and throughcare can assist in reducing re-offending and so enhance community safety. Reductions in recidivism are achieved via rehabilitation and risk management to assist offenders to reintegrate into the mainstream community. This rehabilitation and assistance is required because on average, prisoners suffer from a range of personal and social disadvantages. This chapter summarises findings regarding the challenges that confront prisoners and their communities, as well as providing preliminary data describing the characteristics of Australian prisoners.

■ Challenges Confronting Prisoners

Long-Term Challenges

The average prisoner in the first world can be characterised by certain social, economic and physical challenges, and there is a remarkable consistency to the challenges identified in research conducted in a variety of Western jurisdictions (see Box 4.1). Prisoners tend to experience these challenges to a greater degree than members of the general population. Obviously not all prisoners experience every challenge, although prisoners can often be characterised by multiple challenges. Precise figures have not been included below because they vary between jurisdictions.

Many of these challenges can be seen as long-term, because they may have been with the prisoner for many years or can reflect events that occurred in the past but whose impacts can still be felt in the present. They are also long-term because attempts to nullify these challenges must have a long-term focus. It is acknowledged that there are multiple pathways from early life to later life events. At points of life transition, certain individuals may be vulnerable to inappropriate responses, such as offending, because of the stressors associated with these transitions (National Crime Prevention 1999). Resilience in the face of stressful life transitions arises from positive factors in past and in current life circumstances. If an offender is to respond to life challenges in a socially acceptable and non-criminal way, he or she must develop resilience, which means addressing these long-term challenges and promoting resilience.

Box 4.1 Challenges Confronting Prisoners in Western Nations

Historical factors

- History of social isolation (ie, raised out of the family unit, and/or dislocation from relationships in later life, such as an absence of long-term relationships and support).
- History of criminal involvement by the family.
- History of poor employment or unemployment.
- History of welfare reliance.
- History of sexual, physical, and/or emotional abuse.

Health

- Abuse of licit and illicit substances.
- High rates of mental illness.
- Poor physical health, including blood borne and other communicable diseases, in addition to poor general health and lifestyle.
- High rates of suicide.
- High rates of mortality, especially violent death.
- Co-morbidity of conditions, including dual diagnosis (mental illness plus drug abuse) and triple diagnosis (mental illness, substance abuse, plus blood borne or communicable disease, such as HIV).
- Unknown (although assumed to be high) rates of physical disability.
- Unknown (although assumed to be high) rates of learning disabilities.

Life skills

- Poor education, literacy and numeracy.
- Poor cognitive functioning.
- Poor everyday life skills, including time management.
- Poor financial management.

For further information: Austin, Irwin & Hardyman (2002); Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone & Peeters (2002); Fox (2002); Hammett, Roberts & Kennedy (2001); McGinty (2002); NACRO (2000); NSW LC Standing Committee on Law & Justice (2000); Ogilvie (2001); Sattar (2001); Social Exclusion Unit (2002); Travis, Solomon & Waul (2000).

Issues at the Point of Release

The period of transition from custody back to community life can be particularly stressful. Offenders often lack the protective factors that contribute to resilience, yet the moment of release can present a range of stressors that must be dealt with in addition to long-term disadvantages. The impact of these stressors will of course vary with jurisdiction because of differing welfare and treatment systems, different legislative requirements, and the different procedures set in place to ameliorate them.

The removal from society into prison does not require an offender to produce official identification, but in order to access housing, benefits and other entitlements, returning prisoners must be able to provide suitable documentation. Prisoners can be released without adequate identification, which can result in delays in accessing welfare benefits and other services (eg Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Delays can also arise because of out-of-hours release (eg Travis, Solomon and Waul 2000). It is not uncommon for prisoners to be released with little or no savings, and delays in accessing benefits can be compounded by the need to negotiate with multiple agencies to access the range of everyday necessities, such as housing (eg NACRO 2000). Even if armed with adequate identification, an offender may be unprepared to acknowledge their need for assistance (eg Taxman, Byrne, Holsinger, and Anspach, 2003), may simply be unaware of any immediate support options at their disposal, or may be untutored in the best means of accessing them. Finally, prisoners can exit custody with already accumulated debt, and because they are unable to access emergency support or secure a source of income, may be unable to pay any justice system mandated restitution (Petersilia 2000).

Delays and problems in accessing the physical means of support can be mirrored in delays in accessing supports for social and psychological needs. Research internationally (eg Sattar 2001) indicates that suicide and mortality rates are higher among individuals under community orders than in the general population, and than among the population of incarcerated prisoners. A similar pattern was observed in the mortality rates of prisoners and of offenders under community orders in Victoria (Biles, Harding and Walker 1999). The population of all offenders (including those released *without* supervision) also experiences much higher rates of mortality. The rate of unnatural death (ie homicide, suicide, or accident) among all adult ex-prisoners released in Victoria between 1990 and 1999 was 10 times that of the general population in Victoria (Graham 2003). An examination of young people in Victoria¹² released from their first custodial term between the years 1988 and 1999 showed similar trends—male offenders were nine times more likely, and females over 40 times more likely, to die than young men and women in the general Victorian population (Coffey, Veit, Wolfe, Cini and Patton 2003).

Of course, observed high rates of suicide and mortality are not only a function of lack of support, because certain factors that are associated with a high risk of suicide in the general population (mental illness, substance abuse, homelessness, etc) are common among offenders (Biles et al 1999). Additionally, prisoners will often 'party' at release, especially if they return to their pre-release environment (Carnaby 1998). This can be particularly dangerous for drug-using offenders, because they may have substantially altered their drug use behaviours in prison, subsequently lowered their tolerance, and so increased their risk of overdose (Turnbull and McSweeney 1999). Research into post-release mortality indicates that this may be the case for many prisoners: around half of the unnatural post-release deaths among prisoners released from Victorian prisons in the 1990s were

¹² That is, aged less than 21 years.

related to heroin, with the majority of these resulting from heroin used in combination with some other drug. Further, 15 per cent of *all* unnatural deaths occurred within the month following release (see Graham 2003).

Finally, theorists and practitioners have recognised that for some prisoners, anxiety and uncertainty accompany release from incarceration, and this can be manifested physically and psychologically. This 'gate fever' can in part reflect the effects of *institutionalisation* (which is discussed in greater detail below), but can also be a response to the very real structural and systemic difficulties that confront prisoners upon their return to the community (Davies and Cook 2000).

■ Collateral Effects of Imprisonment

As already discussed, contacts with the criminal justice system can provide an opportunity to intervene with offenders to benefit the broader community as well as the individual. The level of control that can be exerted over imprisoned offenders is virtually unparalleled, and so can allow for the delivery of services that offenders may never otherwise be able to access—adequate healthcare in the USA is one such example (Travis, Solomon and Waul 2000).

Western society usually rejects unspecified punishments because they run counter to notions of equity and justice. However imprisonment can result in a range of unarticulated and unintended negative consequences for offenders in addition to the overt punishment of removal from mainstream society (Siegfried 2001). These systemic effects can pose challenges both for individual offenders and for the communities to which they return. The effects of incarceration have been called the collateral consequences of imprisonment. They are collateral because they are independent of any crime prevention effects of imprisonment (see Tonry and Petersilia 1999). The following summarises literature examining the negative consequences of custodial sentences at both an individual and a social level.

Collateral Consequences of Imprisonment Upon Individuals

Direct effects of the experience of prison

At the most practical level, imprisonment may mean an offender must rebuild their lives post-release from little or no material base. Personal belongings may be lost because of an inability to store possessions whilst in custody (Carnaby 1998). Similar difficulties can apply to the maintenance of housing for both offenders and their families, although issues related to accommodation are discussed in greater detail below.

The deprivation of liberty, the close proximity of violent and other anti-social individuals, and the lack of purpose, may also influence mental health. Whilst there is little research evidence for long-term negative mental health outcomes from imprisonment per se, there has not been serious longitudinal research undertaken into its effects on mental wellbeing (Tonry and Petersilia 1999).

However, practitioners have recommended that support and counselling must address not only successful integration, but must also consider and address the effects of the sentence itself (eg Lynch 2000a).

Specifically, the experience of incarceration may have subtle, long-term effects on some prisoners—an *institutionalisation*—and the number so affected is likely to increase in harsher, more extreme or psychologically taxing prison environments (see Haney 2002). Imprisonment imposes a rigid routine on an offender that removes the potential for individual decision-making in many aspects of daily life. As noted above, prisoners typically possess poor everyday life skills. In removing opportunities to exercise even these limited skills, imprisonment can lead to institutionalisation, in which a prisoner becomes decreasingly able to live independently, and may lose a sense of personal responsibility. Other manifestations of institutionalisation include hypervigilance, aggression, emotional over-control, and loss of self-worth (Haney 2002). Institutionalisation can be compounded by the lack of purposeful activity many prisoners experience when in custody (see Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Some offenders expect that their totally dependent role will continue after release, and are therefore disappointed when community correctional staff cannot provide all the means of reintegration. This disappointment can in turn impede the development of productive, post-release worker-offender relationships (see Nelson and Trone 2000).

Prison can create and reinforce negative attitudes to the criminal justice system and more broadly, to the mainstream community. It may also strengthen criminogenic social networks (Western, Kling and Weiman 2001). As frequently commented upon, prison too can serve to socialise less experienced offenders into criminal lifestyles (Smith, Goggin and Gendreau 2002; Tonry and Petersilia 1999).

The prison experience may adversely affect physical health. Prison populations suffer from poor average health, and tend to contain higher proportions of individuals with blood borne and other communicable diseases than the general population (eg in the USA, see Nicodemus and Paris 2001). Inmates may be vulnerable to contracting communicable diseases because of the close living conditions and because of risky drug taking and sexual practices (Petersilia 2000). Further, the poor average literacy level within the prison population can be an obstacle to the delivery of programs designed to prevent disease transmission and to educate in healthy practices (Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care 2000).

The effects of imprisonment can also be felt at a community level. For example, in the USA, convictions for certain offences result in a loss of the right to vote. This becomes especially problematic when entire communities—either because of higher rates of imprisonment among certain communities or because of ex-prisoner settlement patterns—are politically disenfranchised (eg Petersilia 2000). This and other community consequences will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Effects on employment

Research suggests that legal employment can minimise the risk of re-offending. For instance, when asked about the likelihood of committing future crime, UK prisoners nearing release who had secured paying post-release jobs rated themselves significantly less likely to re-offend than those offenders nearing release without jobs in the community (Niven and Olagundoye 2002). However, the relationship between employment and re-offending is not completely clear-cut (Webster, Hedderman, Turnbull and May 2001). Offenders are drawn from lower socio-economic groups that also tend to be disproportionately unemployed relative to those with greater levels of socio-economic advantage. Other research suggests that gains of reduced re-offending may be linked to the quality of post-prison jobs, rather than to simply being employed in any role (Uggen 1999).

Regardless of the nature of the relationship between labour force participation and offending, incarceration has negative effects on future employment chances. Prisoners tend to have patchy and erratic histories of employment within the legal economy, which can in part be linked to average poor education levels, poor life skills, low self-esteem, unstable lifestyles, and drug abuse. Upon release, these factors may be exacerbated by a lack of stable accommodation, a criminal history that now contains a custodial term, a prolonged absence from the job market, and associated job skill loss (Webster, Hedderman, Turnbull and May 2001). Additionally, offenders may not have the social skills to effectively disclose criminal histories, or even to assess at what point in the employment process disclosure may be relevant. They must also contend with employer discrimination (see Metcalf, Anderson and Rolfe 2001). Survey research conducted in a large US city hints that discrimination by employers may itself be in response to the poor social skills offenders possess, but also in part from fears about negative customer and client responses to ex-prisoners (Giguere and Dundes 2002).

Other longer-term effects of prison on the career have also been observed. For instance, offenders in the USA have been seen to suffer a 'wage penalty of incarceration', where they tend to earn less (than non-offenders) for the same post-release work. Longer custodial terms also tend to be associated with decreased probabilities of working within the legitimate economy (see Travis, Solomon and Waul 2001). This latter effect may be due to the development of a set of social and other skills that are appropriate for prison life, but unsuitable for legitimate employment (Western, Kling and Weiman 2001). The effects of imprisonment on later labour force participation are not clearly understood, but as noted above, custodial terms diminish earnings over the lifetime, with the wage penalty more pronounced for older ex-prisoners (Western et al. 2001). The prison experience also results in a stigmatisation, and this has been codified in some US jurisdictions, prohibiting ex-offenders from participating in certain professions (Davis 2003; Heinrich 2000).

Prisons in most Western jurisdictions offer some opportunities for inmates to work and gain occupational and educational experience. However, the work skills acquired inside may have little relevance to real world positions. Even if given opportunities to train in commercially viable job skills, some prisoners choose to engage in low-skilled, in-prison work because it can pay more

highly than participating in in-prison education (Cameron 2001). Macro economic factors can then interact with poor work skills, so that lowly skilled jobs that might utilise in-prison work experience become increasingly unavailable to prisoners—job shortages mean that positions tend to be filled by individuals leaving welfare rather than ex-prisoners (Lynch and Sabol 2001). If ex-prisoners are able to use their prison-acquired work skills to gain a job in the mainstream community, they may be particularly vulnerable to unscrupulous employers who take advantage (eg extremely low wages) of ex-prisoners and their limited workplace options (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

Effects on accommodation

Stable accommodation has been linked to better post-release outcomes for ex-prisoners (eg see Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone and Peeters 2003; Carlisle 1996). Further, a lack of stable accommodation is one factor that impedes ex-prisoners from gaining employment, yet accessing housing post-release can be as difficult as obtaining employment. Offenders may be unable to maintain housing whilst imprisoned, and therefore need to find new accommodation at release. However, prisoners may be unaware of their precise release date and may not meet with a parole officer prior to release (Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone and Peeters 2002; Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone and Peeters, 2001). This means they may not have sufficient time to arrange for housing, or may be unable to commit to accommodation pre-release even if suitable properties are located.

Although difficult to ascertain, research studies indicate that ex-prisoners are especially vulnerable to homelessness (eg Baldry et al 2002). Although they may be likely to have insecure housing before imprisonment ([UK] Rough Sleepers Unit 2000), prisoners in some jurisdictions are not eligible for priority public housing after release because preferential treatment for offenders is perceived as penalising in-need community members who have not offended (eg NSW LC Standing Committee on Law and Justice 2000). In the USA, access to public housing can be denied to offenders who have been convicted of certain classes of offences (see Travis, Solomon and Waul 2001). Furthermore, in most jurisdictions in the English-speaking world, owners of private housing are free to let to whomever they choose. Even if overt discrimination is legislated against, prisoners may simply not have the means of securing private rental properties (ie identification, references, security bond/rent in advance), thus public, community, or emergency housing are the only accommodation options. If these, too, are inaccessible because of policies excluding ex-prisoners or prisoner sub-groups, or because of limited housing stock, temporary hostel-type accommodation or even homelessness can result.

Links to family and social supports

The benefits of supportive family and social networks in reducing recidivism have been documented¹³ (eg Social Exclusion Unit 2002; The National Economic and Social Forum 2003), however the experience of prison can weaken ties to positive social supports, and in some instances,

¹³ It is important to note that not all family relationships can or will positively effect reintegration; benefits presumably will only arise if family influences support reintegrative goals.

actively discourage them. Prisoners can be housed far from home, making it difficult for family and friends to visit, and even when they are able to reach institutions, visitors can be subject to complicated entry and search procedures (NSW LC Standing Committee on Law and Justice 2000). A survey of visitors conducted in an Australian jurisdiction found that specific factors associated with visiting that discouraged more frequent visits included:

- difficulties associated with transport
- visiting hours, and
- conditions within the visiting area (McHutchison 2000).

A survey of prison visitors in another Australian jurisdiction found a lack of consistent and timely information to visitors. Without that information, visitors may not adhere to rules, and long hauls to prisons may be wasted because of a poor understanding of visitation procedures (Begg 2002). Custodial institutions are not generally family-friendly environments, offering little by way of privacy or comfort (Austin, Irwin and Hardyman 2002), or adequate facilities for children (McHutchison 2000), and so can further discourage family visitation.

The families of prisoners face additional challenges, such as the loss of a breadwinner, or the placement of children in care. The situation is even more complex when considering women prisoners with dependent children. Women prisoners in certain Australian jurisdictions are able to maintain custody of children whilst imprisoned, but this option is highly dependent on the age of the child and the length of the sentence (see Carnaby 1998). The situation in the USA is particularly difficult. In instances where children are placed with surrogate parents of the offender's choosing (such as a grandparent), no additional benefits are available to that surrogate. Offenders are rarely placed to assist financially, thus compounding the economic hardship experienced by offenders' families (Hagan and Petty Coleman 2001). Offenders' families are also typically left out of the decision-making process, although clearly both prisoner and family would benefit from family input regarding offender placement both during and after release. This is particularly relevant if the offender has been a destabilising or violent force within the family.

Lastly, the most enduring effect of imprisonment on family life may be its impact on future offending by prisoners' children. Offending and conviction have been shown to be intergenerational insofar as children of convicted offenders are more at risk of being delinquent themselves (Farrington 1995). The mechanism by which this occurs however—such as shared environment or imitating offending—is not entirely clear (Rowe and Farrington 1997), although it has been suggested that it might be linked to institutionalisation, which prevents ex-prisoner parents from instilling protective factors in their children (Haney 2002).

Effects of cycling through the criminal justice system

Observers of the US criminal justice system have highlighted that changes in parole and sentencing systems have resulted in increased numbers of offenders returned to prison on technical violations (Lynch and Sabol 2001; Petersilia 2000) or for new offences (US General Accounting Office 2001).

Prison systems in the United Kingdom and Australia have also been witness to ‘revolving door’ offenders, who repeatedly offend, and therefore enter, leave, and re-enter incarceration (eg HM Inspectorate of Prisons 2001). Their criminal offences may not necessarily increase in seriousness over time, but because judicial responses must consider criminal history, prisoners are ‘pushed up the penal ladder’ (NSW LC Standing Committee on Law and Justice 2000).

The churning of prisoners in and out of prison presumably compounds the stressors confronted at release and the collateral effects discussed above. Because of their many custodial contacts with the justice system, these offenders may have scant opportunity to integrate with mainstream society. They are also repeatedly confronted by the challenges of release and, given the characteristics of the prison population, probably ill equipped to contend with these. For instance, although the way in which prison and release interact to influence the high ex-prisoner mortality rate are not well understood, research nonetheless shows that the greater the number of spells of imprisonment among offenders released in the 1990s, the higher the rate of unnatural post-release death (in Victoria, see Graham 2003).

Obstacles to delivery of services to prisoners

Research has demonstrated that in-prison treatment for prisoners with substance abuse problems is best maintained and transferred to a community setting when it is followed by support and treatment in that community (eg Farabee, Prendergast, Cartier, Wexler, Knight and Anglin 1999). However, attempts to instigate throughcare from custody to community can expose deficiencies within the penal and health systems that set up barriers to effective service delivery (Turnbull and McSweeney 1999).

Obstacles to the delivery of drug services can include staff, capital, and funding shortages, the precedence of other priorities such as institutional security, and inconsistent philosophical approaches between in-prison and community service providers. For example, prisoners may be subject to a medical model of drug treatment when in custody, but be expected to adhere to a post-release community program based on moral expectations, and that has little tolerance for relapse (Fox 2002).

Obstacles have also been observed with respect to the delivery of non-drug services to prisoners. For example, a lack of clear accountability between prisons and education systems can influence the quality of in-prison education, and result in curricula insufficiently targeted to the learning needs of offenders, and so incapable of producing optimal learning gains. Similarly, physical health gains can be lost if places in community treatment are not available upon release. In general, pre-release preparation for release can be left incomplete if prisoners are transferred between facilities with different programs and services (Social Exclusion Unit 2002).

Service delivery to the prisoner population can prompt community concerns and negative publicity, and correctional authorities are aware of this. For example, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (1986) noted that correctional treatment programs must contend with the ‘variable and often unpredictable response of the outside world towards prisoners and the schemes designed to divert them from

crime' (p. 63). Offenders may also perceive services and treatment as essentially negative: mandatory programming can be interpreted as just another form of punishment, because non-compliance with program requirements can lead to further penalties (Taxman 1998).

The negative effects of imprisonment are not limited to individuals. The cycling of offenders through the custodial justice system has also been linked to a set of negative consequences for the communities to which offenders return.

Community Collateral Consequences

In some US jurisdictions, offenders tend to be drawn from certain geographical communities. For example, three-quarters of New York State Prison inmates came from only seven New York City neighbourhoods (Western, Kling and Weiman 2000). Convicted Australian criminals also appear to be disproportionately drawn from certain areas, and these areas tend to be disadvantaged—there were three times as many court convictions in the 30 most socially disadvantaged localities in NSW than would be expected given the population of these areas¹⁴ (Vinson 1999).

In some instances, the removal of chaotic and highly criminal offenders may benefit communities through incapacitation, but the longer-term effects of this removal are not clear (Travis and Petersilia 2001). More importantly, when these prisoners are released, it is likely they will return to their communities, leading to what have been called 'agglomeration effects' (Western et al 2000), or the spatial concentration of returned prisoners.

Theorists have noted that crime and disadvantage are cyclical, where disadvantaged communities are more open to crime, and increased crime can make an area less attractive, and so further disadvantaged in terms of decreased economic and social investment (see Clear and Cadora 2002). Given that prisoners are typically from socially and economically disadvantaged areas, and given the stigma and disadvantage that accompany returning prisoners, the communities to which offenders return can be expected to become less socially and economically able. Further, because returned offenders' challenges cannot be met within these ill-equipped communities, returned individuals will probably re-offend. The cycle of crime and community disadvantage is therefore felt at both a community and individual level.

Box 4.2 summarises the collateral consequences of imprisonment identified in communities the USA. These effects do not occur in isolation, but rather interact with each other to make cause and effect difficult to disentangle. More research is needed to comprehensively assess the short- and long-term effects of cycling prisoners through communities. Research is also needed to evaluate the success of place-based crime reduction and re-entry strategies (such as community justice discussed in Chapter 3) that have evolved to respond precisely to these issues of cyclical community disadvantage and crime.

¹⁴ With disadvantage indexed by a composite disadvantage score incorporating factors such as employment, education, and income.

Box 4.2 *The Interactive Collateral Consequences of Imprisonment and Re-entry on Communities in the USA*

Material wellbeing and employment

- Lack of funds within the community.
- Debt and an inability to pay required restitution.
- Loss of job prospects as area becomes increasingly disadvantaged.
- Loss of workers by employers, through incarceration.
- Infectious diseases, acquired in prison and brought back to the community.

Family life

- Family dislocation and separation, especially as female offenders are increasingly imprisoned.
- Family violence.
- Loss of breadwinner at incarceration and the acquisition of financial dependent at release.
- Poor supervision of children.

Social capital

- Concentration of individuals who are unable to vote, and community disenfranchisement from mainstream political life.
- Community disorganisation.
- Transferral of stigma from individuals to community (area becomes 'bad').
- Loss of positive role models.
- Loss of hope.
- Loss of sense of community efficacy in collective action.
- Loss of social networks that provide employment and other opportunities.
- Increased criminal justice surveillance, because of high numbers of ex-offenders in the community.
- Decreased access to the broader, less disadvantaged community
- "Tipping point", reached as consequence of above, where community can no longer exert any positive influences over its members.

Community safety

- Entrenchment of criminogenic social networks.
- Increased criminal activity - offenders may resume activities with new vitality or may flourish in an environment of anonymity and decline.
- Decreased public safety.

For further information: Clear, Rose & Ryder (2001); Hagan & Dinovitzer (1999); Hagan & Petty Coleman (2001); Petersilia (2000); Petersilia (2001); Tonry & Petersilia (1999).

The need for ongoing research is even greater in Australia, as it has not yet been firmly established if Australian prisoners are subject to the same agglomeration effects. A recent study of prisoners in NSW and Victoria suggests that, at least among the surveyed sample of offenders, returning prisoners tend to come from and return to socio-economically challenged localities (Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone and Peeters 2003). Thus some Australian communities may be experiencing collateral consequences of imprisonment. These geographical areas must be clearly identified and their unique needs addressed if we are to halt the cycle of re-offending and community decline.

D The Challenges Confronting Australian Prisoners

There is a dearth of research into the post-release experiences of offenders in Australia. That which has been undertaken has tended to focus on specific subgroups, such as women (eg Carnaby 1998), or on specific post-release issues, like accommodation (eg Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, and Peeters 2003). Given the diverse issues that affect members of prison subpopulations and the multi-jurisdictional nature of Australian corrections, a more narrow research focus allows investigations to be undertaken thoroughly, in a timely and cost-effective fashion. Other research has utilised national prison data, and has found associations between repeated terms of imprisonment and socio-economic disadvantages: as the number of terms served increases, higher proportions of prisoners tend to:

- be unemployed
- have lower levels of education
- have never married, and
- have Indigenous status (see Rawnsley 2003).

Detailed analysis at a national level is required to ascertain the characteristics, demographics, and challenges of the typical prisoner because as already noted, even the precise number of returning prisoners is unknown. In order to implement relevant policy and allocate appropriate funding to address issues of re-offending post-release, corrections and other associated agencies must first assess the scope of the post-release challenge.

Virtually all prisoners will return to the community. For example, only 4% of all sentenced Australian prisoners held as at 30 June 2004 were serving life sentences (ABS 2004a). Consequently, the following basic analysis describes all prisoners in Australia. Where available, information concerning features of the general Australian population is included to provide some indication of how prisoners differ to the broader Australian community. Summary information focuses specifically on those prisoners who have already attempted community reintegration—those who have been imprisoned in the past. Data examined include:

- a sample of male prisoners with prior term(s) of imprisonments in their pasts
- all prisoners with prior term(s) of imprisonment at any time in their lives

- police detainees imprisoned in the year prior to interview, and
- injecting drug users with a prior term of imprisonment at any time in their past.

The previously imprisoned injecting drug users examined represent a special subset of ex-prisoners: unlike those sampled in the other data sources, they have not been surveyed because they have come to the attention of the criminal justice system, but rather because of their injecting drug use. In this sense, their attempts at reintegration have been more successful than those with prior prison experience captured by the other data sets. As will be seen though, their reintegration should be not considered total, because some still report engaging in criminal behaviour and in potentially injurious illicit drug use.

Some Notes on the Sources of Prisoner Information

Appendix A contains the tables summarising information concerning Australian prisoners, as well as detailed information regarding the sources of this information.

Various data sources were interrogated to gain a broad-brush picture of Australian prisoners. The individual data sources, in general, relate to the year 2001, although reference years vary with respect to some measures and table footnotes indicate when this is the case.

Rather than describing only prisoners returning to the community, this examines some of the characteristics of all Australian prisoners. There are logistical difficulties associated with isolating and compiling data on Australian prisoners nearing release. For example, release dates are not always known well in advance, because release may be contingent factors such as the granting of parole. Various recording rules and jurisdictional difference in release procedures make it difficult to compare release data between jurisdictions. Additionally, the data sources examined were originally compiled for a range of reasons, none of which was to explicitly characterise the returning prison population.

Information from the various data sources is not directly comparable, and is intended to be, *at best*, broadly indicative of the characteristics of the prisoner population. As noted, none of the data sources were compiled explicitly to assess the spectrum of social, demographic and health characteristics, and behaviours, of ex-prisoners. Data are also limited in a number of other ways:

- only the National Prison Census examines the population of all adult prisoners, but even this cannot capture all Australian prisoners because it is only a snapshot of those in custody at a single point in time
- other data sources sample from a range of different populations, using differing sampling techniques and producing disparate sample sizes from varying geographical areas
- only some data sources contain information relating to juveniles and this has been included where available because juvenile offending and rehabilitation are of critical importance
- similar measures were compiled in some of the data sources, but variables rarely had identical definitions, thus limiting their comparability, and

- information concerning all variables was rarely available from all data sources, thus there are many instances of missing data. Missing data are denoted in each table by a dash.

Statistical tests have *not* been conducted because:

- of the non-comparability of data sources
- unit record information was not available for each source, and
- of the vastly differing numbers within sub-groups derived from the data sources (eg first-time prisoners versus those who had served prior custodial terms).

Demographics

The demographic characteristics of prisoners appear to vary markedly to those of the general Australian population (see Table A1, Appendix A). Particularly:

- a much smaller proportion of females were detained by police, were in prison, or had previously been in prison (between one-fifth and one-twentieth, as opposed to around one-half in the wider community)
- Indigenous Australians were over-represented amongst injecting drug users (IDU), police detainees, current male prisoners, and in the snapshot of all prisoners, with over-representation most pronounced among sub-groups who had been previously imprisoned
- a lower percentage of Australian prisoners were born overseas, although a smaller proportion of prisoners with prior imprisonment experience were overseas-born than first-time inmates, and
- high proportions of detainees, IDU, and prisoners tend to be aged in their early to early-middle adult years—nearly 50 per cent of all Australians are aged under 35 years, whereas among the other data sets examined, this figure ranged from over 60 to over 80 per cent. With the exception of IDU, higher proportions of younger individuals tended to be concentrated in the previously imprisoned groups compared to their counterparts with no prior imprisonment experience.

Those prisoners that had previously attempted reintegration and failed—those that had been in prison before—seem, in general, more likely to be male, more likely to be Indigenous, and more likely to be younger than first-time prisoners. This latter characteristic seems somewhat counter-intuitive because older prisoners could be expected to have more extensive criminal careers, which would presumably result in more custodial experience. There is a range of possible explanations (although none can be tested given the current data). For example, this may be a generational effect, where younger offenders' criminal careers are more accelerated than in the past, resulting in custodial experiences earlier in life. Alternatively, younger offenders cycle in and out of custody, but maturity curtails this pattern of offending and re-offending so that older adults in the prison system have quite different profiles to their younger counterparts.

Regardless of the reasons underpinning apparent age trends, data imply that specialist interventions to break the cycle of re-offending are needed to address the specific needs of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander individuals, particularly young Indigenous men.

Housing

Unfortunately, information relating to current housing or accommodation arrangements prior to imprisonment was extremely limited (see Table A2, Appendix A). That limited information hints at higher levels of unstable housing (no fixed address, hostel, refuges or shelters) and lower levels of accommodation in private dwellings among prior prisoners when compared with first-time prisoners or never imprisoned IDU. These data are generally in keeping with other Australian research that indicates Australian prisoners face serious accommodation challenges before prison and upon release (eg Baldry et al 2003).

No data were available regarding home ownership among sampled sub-groups, although relative to the general population, police detainees (especially those who have been in prison in the past year) seemed to make more use of public housing. This has important implications, because if detainees go on to be incarcerated for prolonged periods of time, they may be unable to maintain this relatively stable housing, thus compounding the likelihood of having to pursue inadequate and unstable accommodation upon release.

Education

The various data sources suggest that although detainees and prisoners were generally as likely as the broader population to have attended school, they seemed far less likely to have completed senior high school or to have attained university qualifications (see Table A3, Appendix A). Again, this was more pronounced among those with prior prison experience than those without.

Overseas research indicates that prisoners generally have low average levels of education, which is accompanied by low levels of literacy and numeracy. Information regarding basic skills was not available for Australian prisoners, although it is probable that they too may have less than average literacy and numeracy skills. Educational attainment appears to be an area of challenge for Australian prisoners, but also for Australian corrections, for if educational opportunities are to be made available to prisoners, preparation in terms of basic skills may be required before these more advanced opportunities can be seized.

The relatively high proportion of prisoners with vocational qualifications may reflect the fact that prisoners and IDU are drawn from a segment of the broader population that is likely to attain a vocational rather than an academically-oriented education. If indeed the case, the content of in-prison education should allow for the learning preferences of this group. Importantly though, if education is explicitly intended to promote post-release employability, vocational curriculum content will need to be balanced with the demand for certain skills in the market place.

Employment and income

The rate of unemployment among IDU, detainees and prisoners appeared markedly higher than that seen in the Australian population over 15 years of age, with the proportion even higher among those who had previously been imprisoned (Table A4, Appendix A). Among mainstream Australians,

the ratio of full to part-time work was almost 3:1, but this was not the case with detainees and male prisoners. For instance, among the previously imprisoned IDU, 9 per cent reported part-time employment, but only 4 per cent reported full-time work. It is not clear if the low rates of employment reflect low levels of voluntary workforce participation, or involuntary unemployment, but when employed, prisoners tend to be engaged in less stable part-time and casual work. Taken together, these data suggest that prisoners have limited recent experience with stable, legitimate employment. This presumably will influence the chance of gaining stable legitimate employment in the future, thus removing one informal social control thought to impact on successful reintegration.

Employment opportunities for prisoners may be limited by an inability to access adequate housing, low levels of education, and poor literacy. Overseas research also indicates that ex-prisoners are victim to discrimination by employers. Despite Australian Government and some State-based anti-discrimination legislation (see [NSW] Anti-Discrimination Board 1999), it is reasonable to assume that subtle discriminatory attitudes may nonetheless influence Australian employers. Effective reintegration may therefore be enhanced by community education, to highlight the nature—or lack—of any relationships between past offending and future behaviours.

Given the level of unemployment, it is not surprising that high proportions of sampled police detainees and male prisoners reported income from some form of government benefit, with higher proportions again amongst previous prisoners. Whilst few of those sampled in any group reported income from sex work, higher numbers of prisoners and detainees with prior prison records derived income from illegal sources than those without previous prison experience. The direction of this relationship—what is cause and what is effect—is impossible to establish with these data, but it is possible that these limited employment opportunities may lead offenders into deriving income from other sources, including illegal activities,¹⁵ so perpetuating a cycle of offending and re-offending.

Correctional interventions designed to promote post-release employability will need to account for aspects of the prisoner that are linked to unemployment (eg housing), as well as initiatives that can combat tacit discrimination among potential employers.

Family

Although divorced at the same rate as the general population, prisoners have lower rates of marriage (including de facto relationships) and prisoner groups contain higher proportions of individuals who have never been married (Table A4, Appendix A). Smaller proportions of detainees appeared to live in households with dependent children, although the relative youth of police detainees may account for both this, and the apparently low levels of long-term relationships among this group relative to the mainstream population.

¹⁵ It is also possible that detainees, prisoners and ex-prisoners choose to operate outside the legitimate economy. The above trends could merely reflect this choice rather than any actual relationship between unemployment and other sources of income.

International research into prisoner groups show that they are especially vulnerable to social isolation and exclusion after release. Whilst no data are available regarding the non-familial social networks that Australian prisoners have access to pre- and post-release, examined information hints that social exclusion may too be an issue for returning prisoners. Post-release care will need to consider social aspects of reintegration in addition to those practical welfare considerations of housing, education and employment. As suggested by figures indicating high levels of self-reported violence towards family members, part of this social reintegration should necessarily also involve strategies to enhance positive family relationships.

Mental health and risky health behaviours

Only the scantiest information regarding health and health behaviours among Australian prisoners and detainees was found in the examined data sources (see Table A6, Appendix A). What was found nonetheless suggests risky health behaviours among those who have been previously imprisoned, especially with respect to drug administration: use of shared needles, a higher proportion of overdoses, and a suggestion that injections tend to take place outside private homes, which could indicate that those sampled may be more likely to inject in unsanitary, unsafe or inappropriately monitored surroundings.

Unsafe practices increase the risk of infection with blood borne viruses, and overseas research shows that prisoner groups tend to have disproportionately high levels of communicable diseases. Similar national prisoner health data are not available in Australia, but given the high levels of illicit drug use (discussed below) and the apparent tendency to engage in risky health behaviours, the prevalence of communicable diseases is expected to be much higher than that among the general population. Data collated within Australian jurisdictions strongly indicate that this is likely to be the case (eg see [NSW] Public Health Division 2002).

International research also shows high levels of dual diagnosis among prisoners (ie mental illness co-occurring with substance misuse). Obviously currently examined data are unable to directly address the issue of the rate of dual diagnosis among Australian prisoners. However, the apparently larger proportion of ex-prisoner detainees who had spent time in a psychiatric unit (when compared to those not recently incarcerated), coupled with drug use trends, suggest that Australian prisoners may too confront multiple challenges related to mental wellbeing. A significant challenge in terms of prisoner reintegration is therefore likely to be the development of programs that can simultaneously address alcohol and other drug use, mental wellbeing, and chronic physical ill-health.

Criminal behaviours and experiences with the criminal justice system

Earlier research into the criminal careers of repeat prisoners shows little specialisation according to crime type, with the exception of a group of recidivist robbers and a group of offenders repeatedly incarcerated for break and enter (Rawnsley 2003). In the current analyses, smaller proportions of male first-time prisoners reported engaging in most types of crime when compared to current prisoners who had been previously incarcerated (see Table A7). However, the largest apparent

differences were seen in categories of property offences (motor vehicle theft, break and enter, stealing, and trade in stolen goods), suggesting that repeat prisoners tended to have relatively extensive property offending backgrounds rather than excessively violent criminal careers relative to first-timers: the smallest differences were found in categories of killing and sex offences, with the pattern reversed (ie slightly higher proportions seen for new prisoners). Further, whilst a larger percentage of all male prisoners reported that their current sentence related to violent offences rather than property crimes, a seemingly higher proportion of repeat male prisoners' reported property crime when compared to first-time inmates. The reverse was seen for violent offences. A similar pattern was seen among all prisoners enumerated in the census, so that a higher proportion of first-time inmates were incarcerated in relation to violent offences when compared to those with prior prison experience, but a higher proportion of prior prisoners' offences were property-related (see Table A8, Appendix A).¹⁶

Because of their severity, violent offences should result in generally longer sentences than property crime, thus cycling in and out of prison should presumably be slowed for the most violent offenders when compared with the shorter spells experienced by property offenders. Data suggest that the average length of the total current sentence and the time until parole consideration were also shorter for repeat inmates when compared to prisoners without prior prison experience.

Current data appear generally in keeping with overseas research that indicates a 'churning' of recidivist prisoners through the correctional system.¹⁷ Given that sentence length could be expected to increase with each new encounter with the justice system, that fact that repeat male prisoners' average sentences were nonetheless shorter than their new prisoner counterparts suggests these offences may be less severe. The average 'recycled' prisoner may serve multiple short stints for less severe, property-based offences. There are two implications of this:

- addressing the needs and challenges of these offenders may be difficult given their short and sporadic contacts with custody, yet
- they may be more amenable to pro-social change given that offences are less severe and do not seem to involve profoundly antisocial and violent behaviours.

Lastly, sizeable percentages of detainees and prisoners used drugs or alcohol prior to offending. Most noteworthy is the seeming difference between detainees with and without prior imprisonment, so that a larger percentage of those in prison in the past year had sought and used drugs prior to offending, but a higher proportion without prison experience had used alcohol. The complex relationships between drug and alcohol use and criminal behaviour are hard to disentangle,

¹⁶ Negligible differences were noted on similar variables for police detainees and IDU, and contrary to above, most showed slightly higher percentages among past prisoners. This may be in part a function of the fact that detainees' charges are not proven, and the timeframe for prior IDU imprisonment is unknown and may or may not be linked to reported arrests.

¹⁷ See Table A8: previously imprisoned detainees have an average of three adult custodial spells compared to one for those not in prison in the past year.

however information on self-reported drug use (below) hints that this pattern could be linked to generally higher rates of non-alcohol drug use among past prisoners.

Alcohol and other drug use and treatment

Samples examined appeared to exhibit very different patterns of recent and current drug used and drug use history when compared to mainstream Australia (see Tables A9 and A10, Appendix A).

Relative to the general population:

- higher proportions of male prisoners, detainees and IDU reported having used all categories of illicit drugs at some point in their lives, with the exception of cannabis
- higher proportions of male prisoners, detainees and IDU seemed to have recently used all categories of illicit drugs
- detainees and current male prisoners apparently first used various types of illicit drugs at an earlier average age
- the age of first drug injection among surveyed IDU appeared to be younger, and
- a smaller percentage of detainees and IDU reported recently using alcohol.

Higher proportions of both recent and lifetime levels of illicit drug use were reported among those who had been previously imprisoned when compared to those who had not, and there is the suggestion that past prisoners also used various categories of illicit drugs at an earlier age. Relative to those without prior imprisonment, past prisoners also reported apparently higher levels of dependency on all categories of illicit drugs except for hallucinogens and ecstasy/designer drugs. This difference was most pronounced for heroin, which was the preferred drug of around one-fifth of repeat male prisoners (cannabis was preferred by a slightly higher proportion—around one-quarter of this sample). Interestingly, alcohol was the drug of choice most frequently endorsed by first-time male prisoners, with only around 10 per cent endorsing heroin.

In summary, prisoners, detainees and IDU show high past and current levels of drug use, with those who have previously experienced prison reporting the highest levels of use and dependency (especially with regard to heroin), and a suggestion that their drug use may have started slightly earlier in life. Any serious attempt to reintegrate Australian prisoners must address the drug issues that these individuals confront, acknowledging that drug use may or may not be linked to offending behaviour, and may potentially be linked to a range of other life stressors, such as social isolation, financial difficulties, homelessness, or psychological distress or illness.

Any alcohol and other drug treatment must also account for prior treatments that have not proven successful. Table A11 (Appendix A) suggests that at least one-third and as many as three-fifths of detainees, prisoners and IDU have been in some form of drug treatment in the past. Above indications of high levels of recent and/or ongoing drug consumption signal that treatment was not successful in eliminating all forms of illicit drug use. If abstinence is the goal of reintegrative programs, the method and content of drug interventions may need to be reconsidered for those who have not succeeded in past treatment. If controlled drug use is the goal, programs will need to

ensure that use is modified to effectively minimise risk and maximise opportunities to constructively participate in community life.

Overseas research shows that treatment success need not be linked to whether or not treatment is wholly voluntary (see Chapter 3). Current data show that at least one-quarter of detainees and one-eighth of past prisoners who had previously participated in treatment had taken part in mandated treatment. Proportions were higher among those with past prison experience. The success of this mandated treatment cannot be ascertained, but detailed examination of data show that 19 per cent of all detainees who had been in mandatory treatment in the past, and 31 per cent of male prisoners who had previously undergone compulsory treatment, were also in treatment at the time of interview.

Lastly, participation in voluntary treatment (either in the past or at the time of interview) appeared to be higher among detainees who had not been imprisoned in the past year when compared to their recently imprisoned counterparts. This may be linked to a lack of voluntary treatment places, especially for ex-prisoners: data suggest that the proportion of surveyed returning prisoners who were unable to access treatment was double that of detainees who had not been imprisoned in the past year. This highlights the importance of throughcare that ensures services commenced in prison can be continued, or at least reinforced or supported once a prisoner re-enters their community.

Given the similarity between Australian offenders and their counterparts in other Western nations on dimensions such as education and employment, it is not unreasonable to expect similar collateral effects of imprisonment. For instance, in the USA, communities of return are often considerable distances from services and supports (Travis, Solomon and Waul 2000). This would also be expected in Australia, especially within rural and remote communities, but also within those disadvantaged areas on the outskirts of major metropolitan centres.

Other investigations have noted that Australian prisoners are subject to the same social forces that negatively impact upon successful integration after custody as their international counterparts. For example, the NSW LC Standing Committee on Law and Justice (2000) remarked on obstacles to integration, including:

- insufficient program places for prisoners
- lack of adequate identification at the point of release
- difficulties in obtaining adequate welfare support post-release, and
- obstacles to the maintenance of welfare payments for the families of offenders.

Of course these issues are not unique to any single Australian jurisdiction. They are additional generic obstacles faced by Australian prisoners in all jurisdictions that will need to be addressed if recidivism rates are to be lowered.

■ The Special Needs of Subgroups of Prisoners

There are subgroups within the general population of returning offenders that have special needs and so confront specific challenges (in addition to those outlined above) when attempting to integrate with the broader community.

Offenders imprisoned for short terms

UK research has shown high rates of reconviction among the large subgroup of prisoners who serve short terms of 12 months or less (see NACRO 2000). Although incarcerated for short periods of time, these periods of removal from the community may be sufficient to damage workplace and family relations, and necessitate a change of address. It is recognised that short-term prisoners and those held on remand are in need of assistance when returning to the community (HM Inspectorate of Prisons 2001), yet the obstacles confronting the average prisoner are compounded within this population because of their short contact with the criminal justice system. Principles of effective correctional programming (discussed in Chapter 3) dictate that treatment must occur for a long enough period to effect a change in offenders, yet these offenders may be under the responsibility of the criminal justice system for only brief spells. Research in the UK shows that those with short sentences or held on remand can have complex unmet needs, including poor mental health, financial and housing difficulties and AOD issues (eg Hardie, Bhui, Brown, Watson and Parrott 1998), but have little opportunity to access or participate in in-prison programs. Typically there has been no statutory requirement for correctional authorities to assist with their transition back in to the community (Lewis, Vennard, Maguire, Raynor, Vanstone, Raybould and Rix 2003; National Audit Office 2002).

The recidivism rates among short-term prisoners in Australia are not known. However, as outlined in Chapter 1, half of convicted Australian prisoners in custody in 2002 were expected to serve sentences of two years or less. Data contained in the National Prison Census for 2001 and analysed for this current project (see Table A12; Appendix A) indicate that of inmates in custody on the census date who had previously experienced prison, 20 per cent were held on remand. Viewed slightly differently, 56 per cent of these remandees had been in prison on a prior occasion. Nearly one-fifth of previously imprisoned offenders in June 2001 expected to serve sentences of between six and 12 months, around one-eighth between three and six months, and 6 per cent had expected sentences of less than three months. Around 70 per cent of each of these subgroups of sentenced prisoners had been imprisoned before.

Given the high numbers of repeat Australian prisoners who spend relatively short spells in prison, programs specifically addressing their risks and needs seem especially important if a reduced cycling of offenders through the custodial system is to be achieved.

Women prisoners

Women constitute a small percentage of imprisoned offenders, but trends throughout the Western world, including Australia, indicate that this proportion is increasing (eg see Chapter 1, Cameron 2001). The fact that women tend to incur shorter sentences than men (Davies and Cook 1998) means that the challenges associated with short-term prisoners are applicable, but there are also additional, gender-related issues to consider. Whilst most prisoners face obstacles in securing adequate employment, women are particularly challenged. They have limited workplace experience, low educational attainment, and are more likely to be responsible for dependent children than women in the general population (UK research; Hamlyn and Lewis 2000). Responsibility for children can further limit the pool of available housing and means that employment considerations must also include access to childcare.

Women are often primary caregivers within families, and so women prisoners often experience the negative consequences of enforced separation from their children. A qualitative study of costs of imprisonment for women in the USA found that the distress of separation could be exacerbated if children are placed under state care. If a mother has more than one child, they may be placed in separate locations, making family reunification difficult (Dodge and Pogrebin 2001). Reunification post-release can also be impeded by the requirement for mothers to demonstrate 'rehabilitation', because the complex challenges facing women offenders can make this difficult. For instance, women cannot regain custody of their children until they find a house, which cannot occur until employed, which is unlikely if they are not drug-free, and so on (Richie 2001).

Women prisoners have been loosely characterised as *dependent*—be it on drugs, on others, or on welfare—and dependency issues must be addressed if re-offending is to be curtailed (Morris and Wilkinson 2000). The dependency is often made visible in the abusive domestic relationships that many women are unable to escape either before or after release (Carnaby 1998). Others have observed that Australian women exist in a cycle of drug addiction and violence (eg Easta 2001). This cycle can be perpetuated by experiences within the mainstream community, as well as in-prison experiences, because women's prisons tend to ignore the specific needs of female offenders (Easta 2001). Gender differences in terms of abuse histories, dependencies, anger display and management, and psychopathology (see Sorbello, Eccleston, Edward and Jones 2002) mean that rehabilitative programs developed for white, adult, male offenders may be inappropriate for this subpopulation.

Indigenous prisoners

Indigenous Australians are disproportionately represented in the Australian correctional system (refer above, Chapter 1), yet in the past, programmatic solutions to problems have tended to be developed in reference to the European male majority of the prison population. For instance, mainstream risk assessment tools (such as the LSI-R¹⁸) may not be appropriate for use among

18 Andrews, D. & Bonta J. 1995, The Level of Supervision Inventory - Revised (LSI-R), Multi-Health Systems, North Tonawanda, NY.

Indigenous populations: on average, this group tends to record higher levels of the factors that contribute to estimates of re-offending risk (eg criminal history, younger age, unemployment, alcohol abuse; see Jones, Masters, Griffiths and Moulday 2002). Additional challenges are faced by Indigenous Australians as a consequence of the colonisation experience, such as loss of positive identity and connection to culture (Jones et al 2002).

These specific challenges are layered upon the already outlined, long-term and structural issues faced by *all* prisoners, with the challenges possibly greatest for Indigenous women (see also Baldry et al 2003). For instance, because women's custodial centres are fewer in number, the distance from family and friends can be even greater than for male inmates. This can make it difficult for family, and especially children, to visit, particularly if the family needs to travel from a remote location. Upon release, remoteness means poor access to the services necessary for reintegration. The loss of women from their communities can often pose a disproportionate loss to that (possibly already disadvantaged) community because of the important cultural, economic and family role Indigenous women play (see Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander [ATSI] Social Justice Commissioner 2002).

Prisoners with mental illnesses

This subgroup also faces a set of unique additional challenges in their attempts to integrate into the community after release. The rate of mental illness among prisoners is estimated to be high (eg in NSW, see [NSW] Public Health Division 2002), but estimates cannot capture those who, because of past experiences, will not self-identify. Even if mental illness is diagnosed, adequate facilities to treat conditions appropriately may not be available. For instance, magistrates have been known to sentence mentally ill offenders simply to ensure access to some specialist services (NSW LC Standing Committee on Law and Justice 2000).

Prisoners with intellectual disabilities

These prisoners are often severely disadvantaged in terms of interacting with justice officials, such as police. However, the needs of these offenders are often unmet because of difficulties associated with identifying these individuals. A recent report examining intellectually disabled offenders in NSW identified that they:

- have high levels of recidivism
- may have social networks unable to assist in dealing with their offending
- tend to have socially disadvantaged backgrounds including poor education and high rates of unemployment
- have high levels of homelessness, and
- are not well serviced in terms of physical and mental health.

Even if able to access support once in the justice system, it is unlikely that services will have the specialist staff skills and targeted programs necessary to deal with their complex and special needs (see Simpson, Martin and Green 2001).

Juvenile offenders

Young people who offend constitute a somewhat special subgroup because public opinion is often more accepting of attempts to rehabilitate young people. However, the rehabilitative task can be more challenging because adolescence is a time of major cognitive, social, biological, and emotional change. This means the personality is less stable than in later life (see Borum 2003), and so treatments and programs delivered by juvenile correctional authorities must be appropriate for this group.

5 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THROUGH-CARE AND POST-RELEASE SERVICES

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The systems of service delivery described in Chapter 3 are generic insofar as various programs to treat, support or address different offender challenges could be incorporated. This chapter describes the ways services have been implemented to address specific offender challenges. It also includes a summary of implementation issues that have been identified and variously addressed by practitioners and researchers. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the gaps in our knowledge of throughcare and post-release services.

■ Interventions to Address Specific Offender Risks, Needs, and Challenges

Within service delivery systems, various in-prison supports and treatment options may exist to assist in reducing re-offending. Types of interventions commonly implemented include those that address basic skill shortfalls (literacy, numeracy), anger management, cognitive skill shortfalls, or sex or violent offending. These types of programs will not be described in detail because they address highly specific outcomes rather than community reintegration per se, and related procedures and evaluations have been well documented elsewhere (eg see The Forensic and Applied Psychology Group 2000; Howells and Day 2002; Howells, Day, Bubner, Jauncey, Williamson, Parker, and Heseltine 2002; Kerka 1995; Porporino, Fabiano and Robinson 1991; Vennard, Sugg and Hedderman 1997).

The following briefly details interventions aimed at assisting reintegration via employment, training, accommodation, reduced drug misuse, or reduced institutionalisation. Interventions to assist special needs subgroups within the imprisoned population are also described. This is not exhaustive, but rather aims to provide a feel for the scope of interventions being implemented to assist prisoners' transitions into the community. Features that can be described as best practice have also been included where available.

Addressing Unemployment

Observers of traditional in-prison employment have remarked that it offers little to advance offenders' post-release prospects because of its lack of congruence with real world employment (low rates of participation, slow pace, low productivity, low wages, low skill level; see Colbourne 2001; Webster, Hedderman, Turnbull and May 2001). Under certain conditions, however, in-prison work could be made more attractive, to allow prisoners to contribute to the legal economy whilst incarcerated, as well as providing genuine employment experience that could be transferred to the mainstream workforce. This would require partnerships between corrections and mainstream

businesses, and would necessitate changes to custodial settings and workings. These changes would include (Travis 1999):

- facility redesign to consider security plus modern workplace technology
- incentives to encourage prisoner productivity and quality
- simultaneous training and education for offenders, and
- building training partnerships with private industry.

There would also need to be careful regulation to ensure that the captive labour force was not exploited (see Colbourne 2001)

Improved in-prison employment experience and preparation must be followed up with support for offenders' various needs in the community if the likelihood of post-release employment is to be increased. Although the exact employment program components responsible for positive outcomes have not been isolated, there are some features shared by successful post-release employment programs around the world. These include:

- appropriate networking with the labour market
- adapting recruitment and placement procedures to meet the markets needs
- providing incentives to employers (eg tax credits) and adding value to the hiring process (eg providing drug testing)
- identifying and communicating job opportunities to offenders in a timely fashion, and providing a range of job information sources
- providing vocational training relevant to the job market
- providing work release opportunities for suitable (ie risk assessed) offenders
- providing job retention, not simply job placement, skills
- helping prisoners develop skills to appropriately disclose criminal history, and
- long-term follow-up support for offenders.

(see Fletcher, Woodhill and Herrington 1998; Heinrich 2000; Nelson and Trone 2000; Webster, Hedderman, Turnbull and May 2001)

By these criteria, Chicago's SAFER Foundation is a model employment program. It focuses on job readiness and not simply job placement. It delivers pre-release literacy courses and other treatments like anger management and parenting skills, provides transitional accommodation and support, and long-term follow-up by a volunteer 'guardian' for up to one year following job placement (addressing all aspects of post-release life, such as childcare). Behavioural objectives and outcomes have been adopted, and evaluation showed that in 1996, 59 per cent of 1102 ex-prisoners placed in jobs were still employed after 30 days. Staff attribute the success of this privately run service in part to strong partnerships with local corrections and businesses (see Finn 1999; Finn 1998).

In June 2002 Victorian Government commenced a *Correctional Services Employment Pilot*. This program aims to build job readiness in serving prisoners through education and vocational training. On release the prisoners are assisted to find and maintain a job so they can develop workplace skills and experience that will help ensure long-term employability and provide a basis, for improved career options (Delphine, 2004).

Addressing Educational and Vocational Shortfalls

Although in-prison work has been criticised, a meta-analysis of mostly US studies that examined custodial work programs, education, and vocational training showed lower average recidivism and higher average employment rates for participants relative to non-participants. The best outcomes were found with education when compared to in-prison work (although contributing studies did vary in terms of the quality of evaluations; Wilson, Gallagher and MacKenzie 2000).

Other research has shown that it is not simply *any* educational experience that promotes positive post-release adjustment. For instance, it took longer for ex-prisoners in one US jurisdiction to return to the justice system when they had attained the equivalent of a high school diploma in prison, when compared to prisoners who had not attained the same qualifications (Brewster and Sharp 2002). This effect was especially pronounced for women, who may not have been otherwise able to attain these qualifications in the mainstream community because of childcare obligations. Those who had completed some form of vocational training whilst imprisoned remained out of the justice system for much less time when compared those gaining educational qualifications. Unfortunately this apparently detrimental effect of vocational training could not be examined closely because detailed information concerning the content of different vocational programs was not contained in the prison records examined.

Findings are therefore mixed regarding the efficacy of current modes of delivering training and education to prisoners, and program evaluation in this domain has been plagued by methodological difficulties (see Steurer and Smith 2003). As remarked upon already though, any vocational training would be best aimed at providing practical and employable skills, and would optimally be part of a training scheme delivered in collaboration with the outside world, to ensure relevance. For example, a UK program delivering in-depth and specialist automotive mechanical training for young offenders was established with training facilities outfitted by a large motor vehicle company. The curriculum was consistent with the training offered by this motor company in the broader community. Long-term data are not yet available, but anecdotal reports on the first completing cohort (eight young offenders) indicate that one graduate had been employed by the company in question (see Webster, Hedderman, Turnbull and May 2001).

Future research is necessary to establish the precise benefits of training and education, and the optimal form of delivering beneficial learning experiences to prisoners. It is also important to identify how the completion of general secondary education specifically benefits offenders once released.

Addressing Accommodation Issues

The important role of stable accommodation in successful community return has long been recognised, yet the practical difficulties associated with securing accommodation (see Chapter 4) have often prevented the delivery of cohesive housing services. A review of trends in the provision of accommodation services to ex-prisoners noted that ex-prisoners are a high needs group that require specific policies to address their housing needs (Meehan 2002; see also Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone and Peeters 2001).

The placement of offenders into stable accommodation upon release requires close cooperation between corrections, public housing services, and private housing providers. In order to ensure that services are timely, offenders should have access to information and assistance relevant to their community of return before release. Specific assistance would optimally include the maintenance of existing accommodation for short-term prisoners where possible, connecting prisoners to housing assistance, or the provision of affordable housing (either directly or via brokerage). Naturally, this would be best achieved by formal interagency agreements. The form that service provision should take—be it in-reach by community staff or outreach by custodial staff—would depend on the nature of local housing services.

The *Victorian Government's Transitional Housing Management (THM)—Corrections Housing Pathway* is a collaborative pilot initiative providing dedicated public, transitional housing (or assistance in obtaining housing), and appropriate support services to returning prisoners. Services are coordinated by *housing placement workers*. The workers assess the risk of homelessness and other needs pre-release, and if necessary, aim to maintain housing already held by short-term prisoners. This initiative is part of Victorian Correction's *Long Term Management Strategy*, for which evaluation is currently underway (see Department of Justice 2002; Meehan 2002; Westacott 2002).

Addressing Alcohol and Other Drug Issues

Various approaches to throughcare for drug offenders are being piloted around the world (eg see Fox 2002). Research to date indicates that in-prison programs addressing drug misuse that are based around a *therapeutic community* (TC) model¹⁹ can be effective (see Field 1998). These effects are optimised when followed with community TC treatment supplemented by employment and/or other skill development (eg the Key-Crest Program, see Inciardi 1996). The benefits of this treatment model have been demonstrated with various recidivism measures, in reduced substance use and relapse, in better health outcomes, and in longer durations for positive outcomes (Field 1998).

Movement from in-prison to community TC is a good example of throughcare. However, as noted earlier, there can be substantial barriers to the provision of continuous care, especially in the delivery

¹⁹ TC involves changing the drug-using offender's attitudes and values by peer influence. In these drug-free, residential settings, program staff and clients in their daily interactions promote functional and drug-free living. Ideally, participation lasts between 18 and 24 months (see NIDA 2002).

of drug services. An investigation of effective drug throughcare found that the mechanisms that can assist in service provision include:

- a centralised directories of drug services
- the creation of specialist roles for workers to arrange drug support at offender release, and
- the provision of aftercare for the range of offender issues, not just drugs (see Burrows, Clarke, Davison, Tarling and Webb 2001).

Addressing Institutionalisation

There are various ways to address the poor living skills that many prisoners possess, (and which can be compounded by the highly dependent prison environment). Cognitive behavioural programming delivered in prison can enhance the ability to reason and problem solve, to anticipate the consequences of actions, and to develop alternate and appropriate ways of coping with stressful situations (Vennard, Sugg and Hedderman 1997). Providing detailed, accessible and individualised information before release about how prisoners can best access the services and supports to assist their situation after release can ease the frustrations and difficulties associated with dealing with multiple agencies in the community (eg *Prisoners' Passport*, piloted in the UK, see Harrison and Harrison 2000).

Prisoners can also gradually learn to cope with enhanced responsibility in daily life in formalised transitional facilities. There is no single model for transitional centres, although they typically intake suitably assessed offenders, nearing the completion of their sentence. These residential settings allow prisoners to gradually reinitiate everyday contact with the broader community (jobs, family, etc, Nelson and Trone 2001). They allow for continued participation in formal programs, and provide a level of structure and support that reduces the chances of offenders being overwhelmed by the pressures of independent living. Importantly, community safety is enhanced because offenders are reacquainted with the community whilst under close residential supervision. A variant of this approach is *work release* or *day release*, in which offenders leave secure facilities for specified periods to participate in work or other reintegrative activities (see Ward 2001).

Addressing Special Needs Prisoners

Short-term prisoners and remandees

The compressed timeframe for addressing the transitional risks and needs of short-term offenders presents special challenges. Resource limitations within correctional services mean that very short-term prisoners may not be assessed or even accessed by custodial or community staff during their incarceration. This once again highlights that post-release services should optimally begin at first contact with the justice system.

The STOP START program, developed in a women's prison in the UK, attempted to overcome the difficulties of delivering programs within shortened timeframes. This service provided individualised

programs, based on risks and needs assessment. Importantly though, various programs were delivered in a modular form, enabling delivery in either a group or in a one-on-one format, as necessitated by an individual's progress through custody. These in-prison programs were linked to one or more relevant community resources, thus enabling community follow-up for all modules commenced in prison (see Hollin 2002).²⁰

In its re-tender of the Bridging the Gap program, the Victorian Government has included a target group of prisoners identified as repeatedly serving sentences of six months or less, who have drug and alcohol issues and who are likely to re-offend without timely, case-managed intervention (Delphine, 2004, personal communication).

Women prisoners

Elements that should ideally be present in services for returning women prisoners include (see Richie 2001; see also Covington 2002):

- case management, providing individualised assistance for complex multiple needs, from a single place (*wraparound care*)
- strengthening community capacity, to ensure services are locally available and culturally relevant to women in that community
- personal empowerment, to allow women to develop insight about the structural influences on their lives
- mentoring for returned prisoners, ideally by women who can understand ex-offenders' situations because of shared histories, and
- structured, predictable, and well-resourced activities that allow consistency and opportunities for collective community action.

Specifically, Sorbello, Eccleston, Edward and Jones (2002) posed an *enhancement model* of rehabilitation for female prisoners, that recognises the obstacles that prevent women prisoners from living balanced lives. Services within this model would be delivered as part of a custody-community continuum, with refresher courses in the community, enabling unresolved psychotherapeutic issues (such as self-esteem or anxiety) and practical needs (eg housing) to be revisited until addressed. Importantly, programs would follow from a risk and need assessment that accounts for gender differences in psychopathology, history, and life situation. Program content would also reflect gender differences.

A survey of administrators and clients in women's custodial facilities in the USA identified an extensive list of elements important to successful programming (see Morash, Bynum and Koons 1998). Some of these included:

²⁰ Evaluative information regarding this project could not be located.

- women staff members to serve as role models
- open communication, but confidentiality, within programs
- addressing domestic violence, empowerment and self-sufficiency, and
- non-aggressive management style and understanding and supportive security staff.

The Parramatta Transitional Centre in NSW integrates a number of these elements into its operations. Lynch (2000b) reported that this residential, *pre-release facility* employs case management, with frequent staff-client contacts that aim to empower women to take control of their lives. Case managers encourage the development of basic skills and formal education. Women are provided with the opportunity for limited management of their own finances, and of their own daily lives, as well as residential contact with their children. Service delivery requires close working with other agencies in the local community. Ninety-nine women had been resident at the centre by the year 2000. One woman had been returned to custody after release on parole, and seven residents had been returned to the mainstream prison system during their residence.²¹

Indigenous prisoners

Mainstream programs and services do not necessarily meet the needs of Indigenous offenders. The pre- and post-release services provided for Indigenous prisoners should (see ATSI Social Justice Commissioner 2002):

- recognise that the Indigenous community can and does extend into prison
- include programs run by Indigenous people
- involve individualised case management, and
- include programs that are culturally and spiritually appropriate.

Education in Indigenous cultural values can play an important role in developing community responsibility, in improving self-esteem, and in reducing recidivism.²² This cultural education should not be left until parole or probation (Dillon 1999).

The above recommendations were made in reference to Indigenous women prisoners²³, but issues of cultural appropriateness are relevant to offenders of either gender. Programs that directly address issues of violence are also of critical importance, especially with respect to Indigenous women. These programs must address the complex nature of the experience of violence by Indigenous people, where individuals might be both victims and perpetrators (ATSI Social Justice Commissioner 2002). Strategies for delivering programs addressing violence to Indigenous offenders should aim to (see Howells, Day, Byrne and Byrne 1999):

21 Cameron (2001) noted that about 45% of women prisoners in Australia had been imprisoned previously (with the figure as high as 70% for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island women).

22 International research, although clearly not directly comparable, has produced related findings. A qualitative examination of the factors that assisted in the rehabilitation of Aboriginal offenders in Canada highlighted the critical role of Indigenous culture and spirituality (Heckbert & Turkington 2001)

23 Indigenous women are doubly disadvantaged in terms of program delivery, typically receiving variants of Indigenous male, or of mainstream female, services (ATSI Social Justice Commissioner 2002).

- address the non-criminogenic needs that occur in high levels among Indigenous offenders
- be responsive to the cultural and language needs of offenders
- consider the benefits of Indigenous facilitators and segregated Indigenous program groups (eg greater specialisation, safe environment for disclosure), as well as the potential problems (eg difficulties arising from facilitators being from the same community as offenders or victims), and,
- acknowledge the critical need for ongoing treatment and support during the period of community reintegration, with the involvement of key family members.

Prisoners with mental or physical health issues, or intellectual disabilities

The community adjustment issues confronting returning offenders with mental illness are substantial, because their poor functioning layers upon the stigmatisation and disadvantages encountered by most prisoners, and this is exacerbated by factors such as poor adherence to stabilising medication regimes. The delivery of services to mentally ill offenders returning to the community requires a *therapeutic culture*, in which there are shared goals and values across all the staff that offenders encounter (see Childs and Brinded 2002). These shared goals should revolve around increasing personal effectiveness, of which reduced offending is only one component (the rehabilitation of mentally ill offenders traditionally centred on either reducing offending *or* alleviating the illness).

The case management model of service delivery evolved within the mental health system, and this can be particularly effective with mentally disordered or developmentally challenged prisoners (Murphy Healey 1999). Given that many prisoners are subject to dual (mental illness and drug abuse) and even triple diagnoses (mental illness, drug abuse, plus serious physical illness requiring medical intervention), a case management approach is best able to ensure that appropriate services are secured (see Hammett, Roberts and Kennedy 2001).

Certain additional processes must be undertaken to help deliver effective services in the case management of mentally ill offenders within the justice system. For instance, longer-term management should employ individualised case managers and treatment plans, and may involve pharmacotherapy. Transition and community-based sentence components should mandate community-based mental health care as a condition of parole, and so will require additional specialist parole resources to ensure suitable care. This will also necessitate close liaison with welfare agencies. Alternative sanctions are also necessary, because parole violations among this population can arise directly from mental illness, such as delusions or cognitive impairment (see Lurigio 2001). There are additional challenges to service delivery when a mentally ill offender is in custody for only a short period because diagnosis, treatment and connection to appropriate agencies must occur in a very short time. Specialist protocols addressing the needs of short-term prisoners with mental illness are therefore necessary (see Osher, Steadman and Barr's 2003 APIC model of service delivery for dual diagnosis offenders in US gaols²⁴, which emphasises that no mentally ill inmate should *ever* be held for longer than necessary simply because of a lack of specialist services).

²⁴ Inmates in US jails can be unsentenced (and so equate with Australian prisoners on remand) or may be subject to extremely short sentences.

Expert input, possibly in the form of a specialist capacity within community corrections, is also required for offenders with intellectual disabilities. This input would:

- facilitate the systematic assessment and identification of intellectually disabled offenders
- develop the specialised programs needed to deal with their offending behaviours, and
- provide advice on the modification of generic disability services, and on the delivery of justice services.

Disability services would be best delivered in close consultation with the justice system. This more holistic approach would require coordination between relevant agencies and quality case management by workers experienced with both offenders and with disability services (see Simpson, Martin and Green 2001).

Lastly, inmates in the USA with ongoing specialist medical needs (such as offenders living with HIV) are typically referred on to appropriate community health providers, but there are rarely mechanisms in place to ensure that appointments are kept. The Centers for Disease Control (2001) in the USA recommended that sustained advocacy is necessary to ensure that continuous health services are provided from custody to community, including ensuring that the relevant welfare mechanisms to support community health treatment are in place before release.

Juvenile offenders

Many jurisdictions are implementing initiatives aimed explicitly at reducing recidivism through the provision of throughcare to young offenders in detention. In the USA, this is a response to custodial overcrowding, as well as a recognition that a small proportion of juvenile offenders are beset by a range of socio-economic problems and will become entrenched in criminal careers (Altschuler and Armstrong 1994). There is sufficient evidence to indicate that community treatment reduces juvenile recidivism rates, although unequivocal support has not yet been forthcoming, and the role, if any, of community surveillance in recidivism outcomes among juveniles has not yet been clarified by research (MacKenzie 1999).

In general, tailored case management approaches, addressing multiple risk areas, appear to be the most effective at reducing offending among both young people at risk and young people who have already offended. Ideally, these programs should be comprehensive, targeting family, education, and the local community, and considering social competence, skill development and mentoring (see AIC and ACT Chief Minister's Department 2003). Various programmatic responses have adopted strengths-based, throughcare approaches that aim to build capacity within youths and communities. For example, in a model described as demonstrating *reintegrative confinement* (Altschuler and Armstrong 1999), five principles are outlined that should inform service delivery to high-risk juveniles in custodial care (Altschuler and Armstrong 1994):

- preparation for progressively increased responsibility and freedom
- facilitation of interaction between the youth and the community

- targeting support systems (eg schools and family) and working with the offender to foster the qualities needed for adjustment
- developing new resources and supports where needed, and
- monitoring and testing the youth's and the community's ability to deal with each other.

These principles underpin the *Intensive Aftercare Program* (IAP; see Altschuler and Armstrong 1994), which was developed under the auspices of the US Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This program is intended to be flexible, responding to local conditions, but central features regardless of location include:

- a focus on reintegration during incarceration
- structured and gradual transition to aftercare (from pre-release, to transition, and on to long-term reintegration)
- focus on high-risk youth, therefore assessment (employing valid tools), and clearly defined classification and selection criteria
- individualised case planning, incorporating the family and community of the youth, with continuity of case planning and management between institution and community
- institutional and community case management by dedicated specialist staff
- a mix of surveillance and services (therefore worker caseloads should be smaller than is traditionally the case), with services addressing anger management, family counselling, etc
- incentives (rewards) and graduated consequences to reinforce behaviours in both the institution and when on parole, and
- the creation of links with community and social resources, including the brokerage of services and capitalising on informal social controls.

This program has been variously implemented in the USA, and data on its effectiveness are as yet incomplete. However process evaluations suggest that this model when implemented does differ to more traditional modes of parole supervision (see Altschuler and Armstrong 1999; Wiebush, McNulty, and Le 2000). For a comprehensive list of relevant publications and juvenile post-release programs in the US, refer Cohen and Gies (2002).

Dangerous prisoners

Providing continuous care to dangerous offenders is important to ensure that community safety is not compromised. Dangerous offenders are not always released under supervision, making legal sanctions and physical security—the traditional means of containing this group—less powerful. Alternative ways to manage dangerous offenders in the community include *relational security*, which utilises personal relationships to change attitudes and behaviours. This approach has been implemented in the (as yet unevaluated) Langley House Trust program in the UK, a residential post-release setting for voluntary clients. Akin to a therapeutic community, staff and clients share values, respect clear boundaries, and share objectives. Physical security is employed when these voluntary clients first arrive, but there is a process for tapering physical security into relational security as the

offender nears exit from the setting. Detailed exit plans are formulated for offenders, to assist in their leaving for the wider community, and sufficient resources are employed to ensure goals are achieved (see Adams 2001).

Post-release preparation is best commenced at the start of a custodial term. A program undertaken in the Colorado State Penitentiary Supermax²⁵ (the *Progressive Reintegration Opportunity Unit*; see Reid, Ploughe, Wright and Lehman 2000) aims to promote the transition of the most dangerous offenders through the custodial system and in to general population custody. This program follows principles outlined with respect to transition from prison to community (assessment, case management, programming to address thinking, mental health, vocational skills, etc) but because of the nature of the client population, progress through the program is slower and tolerance for lapses lower. It is unique because it provides the opportunity for even the most hardened of offenders to one day reintegrate into the broader community, by allowing gradual movement away from the extreme social marginalisation of a supermax facility.

■ Challenges to the Implementation of Throughcare and Post-Release Services

In Chapter 4, some of the obstacles to service delivery under traditional correctional systems were outlined. Some of these obstacles can be addressed by rethinking the manner in which offenders are managed, and implementing correctional policies to reduce re-offending through offender rehabilitation and reintegration. As noted in Chapter 3, post-release and throughcare service delivery models require new ways of administering corrections, such as case management, continuous care, and partnerships. These new ways of working can present numerous challenges to correctional authorities, some of which have been discussed already. The following summarises challenges, and potential solutions to those challenges, that have been identified in jurisdictions where new ways of working have been implemented. These challenges can be loosely classified as those arising from inter-agency working, those related to human resource management, and those that are linked to working with a prisoner population.

Inter-Agency Working

Case management that ensures continuous treatment and care requires corrections, other government agencies, and non-government organisations to work together. Specific impediments to effective care between custody and community include:

- inconsistency between the programs offered in custody and in the community

²⁵ Supermax facilities in the USA are employed with the most violent and unmanageable of offenders. These custodial units are segregated from the mainstream prison community, have strict discipline, low staff-inmate and inmate-inmate interaction, and minimal or no access to programs.

- a lack of places and long waiting lists for community services
- a tendency—and sometimes a codified policy—among community providers to not service ex-prisoners, especially sex or violent offenders
- differing priorities between custodial and community correctional staff (eg institutional security versus rehabilitation)
- the need to operate across geographical boundaries when custodial settings are distant to the communities to which prisoners return, and
- confidentiality requirements impeding information transfer between agencies.

More broadly, obstacles to the formation of effective partnerships have been observed, such as

- no single agency accepting responsibility for offenders, allowing prisoners and ex-prisoners to fall into service gaps
- coordinating the different agendas, practices, and jargon of participating agencies
- the duplication of resources, and
- poor system design, leading to poor implementation, poor communication between parties, and ultimately, to poor compliance by clients.

Suggested practices to help overcome obstacles to the delivery of throughcare include:

- placement of offenders in custodial settings close to their community of return
- contracting community services into prisons
- establishing dedicated community programs for offenders
- encouraging community providers to access prisoners and establish contact and rapport before release (possibly via teleconference)
- establishing a reservation system, where prisoners can be placed on eligibility lists for community programs, and
- establishing formal partnerships.

However, as noted above, implementing partnerships presents new problems. Partnerships would therefore benefit from:

- the selection of suitable staff from each agency to form partnerships: that is, those with suitable authority to take decisions and implement policy
- explicit recognition of shared goals, and the education of partners who may not have previously worked with correctional clients
- raising awareness of participating agencies' histories, including any obvious conflicts, and ensuring all intentions are made explicit to all partners
- establishing a *lead agency* to coordinate services and accept final responsibility for clients
- producing formal interagency agreements that outline aims, specific roles for each agency, protocols for addressing issues such as confidentiality, and program evaluation needs
- support for partnerships by leaders *within* all agencies
- partnership at all organisational levels, from senior management (seen in coherent policy), to

operational staff (evident in clear and formalised procedures)

- installing interagency case management teams, and ensuring all team members are involved in key decision-making about clients
- allowing offender information to be centralised, in an electronic form that is accessible by all relevant parties, and
- keeping all stakeholders (including informal partners, such as victim support groups) informed.

Human Resource Management

Some of the issues confronting staff in the implementation of new models of service delivery (such as balancing surveillance and support functions) were discussed in Chapter 3. In addition to these, correctional authorities and the staff putting new policies into action must contend with:

- integrating new services with existing practices without creating confusion regarding the agencies operational philosophy (what has been called ‘mission distortion’; after Corbett 1998, cited in Gavazzo, Yarchek, Rhine and Partridge 2003)
- insufficient capital and administrative resources to support new ways of working
- changed caseloads for case managers (or ‘mission creep’, where new tasks arising from innovation are simply added to existing duties; after Corbett 1998, cited in Gavazzo et al. 2003.
- staff resistance to new approaches and perceived increases in workload
- staff turnover, and
- recruiting qualified case management staff from correctional systems that may previously have focused on only surveillance/supervisory functions.

Some solutions to the staffing issues that have been identified include:

- staff training to articulate the benefits of the new policy direction and to clarify new responsibilities
- cross-training for custodial and community correctional staff to improve communication and facilitate shared goals
- continuous staff input into the implementation of new ways of working, to ensure that emerging issues are addressed
- clear delineation of staff responsibilities at all stages
- adequate resources to ensure correct implementation, and
- if necessary, recruiting externally to fill the new roles that arise with new ways of working (such as strengths-based case managers).

Working with a Prisoner Population

For some prisoners, prior experiences with the criminal justice system have imposed onerous obligations (such as intensive supervision in the USA), or offered little in the way of assisting in reintegration. Authorities implementing new ways of managing offenders released into the

community must overcome the negative expectations some offenders have because of past involvements with the traditional justice system. There are also specific problems relating to the implementation of post-release services that have been identified in various jurisdictions. These include:

- a failure to adequately inform prisoners of community services, or a failure to clearly articulate offenders' post-release obligations, reducing their rate of compliance and therefore their chances of success
- overloading returning prisoners with a range of obligations and community contacts
- limited access to all relevant programs for motivated offenders because of limited program availability in the community (due to the high cost of implementation at all possible community sites), and
- poor offender participation in, and high dropout rates from, community programs for the above reasons, or because of prisoners' previous negative experiences with the justice system.

New ways of working to assist prisoners in the reintegration process could be:

- creating a contract with offenders pre-release to inform them of their obligations and their community contacts after their return and ensuring offenders understand their contractual obligations
- encouraging offenders to take responsibility for change and for coping with the problems they will experience post-release, which is linked to the provision of pre-release programs designed to address motivation and self-management
- providing incentives for community participation, and/or appropriate sanctions for non-compliance if programming is mandatory, and
- ensuring that interventions intended to *maintain* already learnt skills can be delivered at multiple community sites:
 - in a group or individual format
 - within a single program focusing on the everyday problems offenders confront, and
 - with continuous client intake, so there are no difficulties or delays in accessing services after release.

For detailed discussions of the issues concerning the implementation of new ways of working in corrections, see Altschuler and Armstrong (1999); Burrows, Clarke, Davison, Tarling and Webb (2001); Farabee, Prendergast, Cartier, Wexler, Knight and Anglin (1999); Ferguson (2002); Field (1998); HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2001); Kuehl (2002); Lewis, Vennard, Maguire, Raynor, Vanstone, Raybould and Rix 2003; Murphy Healey (1999); The National Economic and Social Forum 2003; Nissen (2001); Paparozzi (2003b); Petersilia (1999); Rhine (2002); Taxman (1998); Valentine (2001); Wiebush, McNulty and Le (2000); and Yazar (2003).

■ Research and Evaluation Needs

An evidence-based approach to offender throughcare requires ongoing evaluation as an integral part of program delivery because, as noted by one observer:

The absence of clear and convincing program evaluation data establishes the foundation for ideologically driven, as opposed to the more preferred evidence-based policies, programs and practices. (*Paparozzi 2003b; p. 47*)

Naturally, an evidence base also requires basic research to advance knowledge and theory about effective interventions (see MacKenzie 2000). Importantly, both specific evaluation and general research should be documented and those findings shared, regardless of whether those findings are positive or negative. For some practitioners, evaluation brings with it the risk that hitherto convenient yet unquestioned practices will be shown to be ineffective (Latessa, Cullen and Gendreau 2000). Correctional research can also be used exclusively to provide ‘proof’ supporting certain long-held beliefs about programs and practice. An ethos valuing *feedback* is more productive than one seeking only proof: research and evaluation feedback can be used to keep stakeholders (including the community at large) informed about all current policy and operations, to uncover poor practice, and to highlight and explore alternative ways of operating (Boone and Fulton 1996).

The Investigative ‘Gold Standard’

Just as there are principles of effective programming, there are methodological principles that should inform effective research and evaluation. The gold standard of criminological (and therefore, correctional) research involves the *random allocation* of clients to treatment or control conditions (ie non-treatment, or standard treatment), in an experimental approach. This allows an assessment of whether it was the intervention, or simply some other unique feature of the treatment group, that led to observed outcomes. This has been referred to as *internal validity*. Furthermore, evaluators should be sure that:

- they employ measures that reflect the concepts they purport to assess (ie *construct validity*)
- outcomes are repeated and shown to be similar across different measures of the same concept, different settings, and different client groups before they are generalised to a range of settings, subgroups, etc (*external validity*), and
- evaluation outcomes are disseminated in an informative and accurate format, to ensure that all key features are discussed. This is known as *descriptive validity*, and will guarantee adequate information for future meta-analyses and other systematic reviews of the effectiveness of interventions (see Farrington 2003 for further information).

The logistical difficulties associated with attaining the gold standard of evaluation have meant that past investigations have not always been as methodologically rigorous as would be hoped. This is why there are few unequivocal statements about what is known to work with all prisoners in all

circumstances. Methodological problems that have proven particularly challenging for correctional research are (see Lawrence, Mears, Dubin and Travis 2002):

- selection bias, where only well-motivated offenders are selected for treatment, making it difficult to ascertain if effects are because of the treatment, or because of the types of offenders who participated. Selection bias also makes it difficult to assess the effects of treatment among prisoners who may be at more risk of recidivism but who have lower motivation, and to assess how motivation can influence long-term offender outcomes. This is especially true of employment programs, and
- difficulties in disentangling the specific factors behind outcomes, especially in programs with multiple goals. A related problem is a failure to specify precise aspects of programs in evaluation studies, making it impossible to clarify how specific components combine to lead to outcomes.

Other researchers have questioned the appropriateness of the gold standard given that this type of research simply may not be realistically possible in real correctional settings. Random allocation may not be possible when there are only limited numbers of potential clients. An experimental approach may also produce evaluations that ask the wrong questions, failing to address the complex set of mechanisms that trigger behaviour and behavioural change (Tilley 2001). There is ongoing debate concerning the necessity of *experimental evaluation*²⁶, but there is consensus regarding the important role research has in informing policy, practice and theory.

Process and Outcome Evaluation

There is also consensus regarding the need to evaluate correctional intervention *process*, in addition to intervention *outcome*. As discussed earlier in this report, outcome measures can include indices of recidivism or of other aspects of reintegration, such as employment, drug use, etc. These outcome measures allow the effectiveness of programs and services to be explored, at both the level of an individual and of the intervention. However, these measures of outcome cannot illuminate as to why certain outcomes arose, or how *processes* can be modified to ensure better outcomes (Boone and Fulton 1996). *Process evaluation* involves observing how well interventions are implemented whilst they are in progress, and so is also necessary to ensure that the principle of program integrity is observed (eg Byrne, Lurigio and Baird 1989).

Important Questions to be Investigated

Lynch and Sabol (2001) remarked that the issues surrounding prisoner re-entry could be reduced to a few key questions:

²⁶ For example, Farrington 2003 argued that an experimental approach can and does address complex triggers and interrelationships by investigating moderators and mediators of observed experimental outcomes.

- can the disruption caused by offender removal and re-entry in communities be decreased without increasing public risk?
- if this is possible, how do we reduce levels of removal and re-entry?

These questions do address the major aspects of post-release resettlement: community safety, collateral consequences, and minimising the unintended effects of re-entry. There are, however, detailed questions that need to be answered in order to address these broad issues, including:

- Can parole work to reduce re-offending? In order to justify any rehabilitative component of community supervision, gains relative to non-supervision or surveillance alone must be identified (Petersilia 2001; Petersilia 2000).
- What is the relationship between technical parole violations and actual recidivism? A related question asks if the costs of reimprisonment for technical violation can be justified in terms of crime reduction (see Travis and Lawrence 2002).
- More broadly, what are the costs and benefits of various criminal justice responses to recidivism? This would involve an assessment of outcomes for incapacitation, relative to throughcare, relative to community corrections, or relative to alternate sentencing options. This is especially relevant for policies aimed at stopping drug abuse (Harrison 2001).
- What is best practice in the delivery of throughcare and post-release services? and
- What program factors act together to decrease recidivism, and what coherent theory may account for this pattern of influences (after Cullen and Gendreau 2000)?

Lastly, in addressing these questions, it is important that research and evaluation considers the gamut of stakeholders that can be affected by and are involved in the correctional process (eg offenders' families, victims, etc; see Tonry and Petersilia 1999).

Specific Research Issues for Australia

As noted at the outset, the state of knowledge regarding the post-release experience and the delivery of services to returning Australian prisoners is minimal because of a paucity of local research. There are phenomena and issues identified internationally that may be relevant to Australia, but are yet to be explored. For instance:

- What are the composition, the demographics, and the precise number of returning Australian prisoners?
- Are Australian prisoners subject to the same set of post-release challenges as have been identified in North America and the United Kingdom?
- Are there agglomeration effects, where Australian prisoners tend to settle in certain communities following release?
- If so, where are these communities, and are they victim to the same collateral consequences that have been observed elsewhere?

- Are the costs and benefits of various criminal justice responses to recidivism equivalent to those costs and benefits observed overseas?
- Are the theoretical accounts of risk and success derived from the study of prisoners overseas appropriate to an Australian setting? and
- What is best practice in throughcare and post-release service delivery among Australian offenders?

There is an additional set of issues in need of investigation that would seem linked to our geography, our multicultural population, and our State-based system of justice administration. These questions seem uniquely *Australian*, and include:

- What are the individual and community collateral consequences facing Indigenous Australians?
- Are these consequences the same for Indigenous Australians returning to metropolitan communities, to large provincial centres, and to rural and remote locations?
- What is the optimal mode of service delivery to remote locations?
- Are the post-release issues to be addressed by each of the jurisdictions identical? and
- What is best practice throughcare for other subgroups of the general Australian prison population, such as women, juveniles, offenders with mental health or drug issues, etc?

Increased interest in the provision of throughcare and post-release services is a welcome policy development in Australian corrections. However the effective use of scarce correctional resources will not be possible unless basic research into the precise situation of Australian corrections and Australian prisoners is known. This will require a thorough characterisation of the returning population and the current mechanisms of service delivery. This itself demands the development of procedures, protocols and databases to ensure accurate and ongoing recording of prisoner and programmatic information.

■ Characterising Australian Prisoners

Sources of Information on Australian Prisoners

Australian Bureau of Statistics, National Prison Census 2001 (ABS 2002)

The National Prisoner Census covers all adults in gazetted Australian prisons, including periodic detainees in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, but excluding persons held in juvenile institutions, psychiatric custody and police custody. It is based on data extracted from administrative records held by the corrective services agencies in each Australian State and Territory. These statistics provide a profile of the demographic characteristics, legal status and sentence details of Australian prisoners. (ABS 2002).

Collated information relates to all relevant inmates in custody on 30 June 2001, and these data represent a snapshot in time. As such, these data cannot capture information relating to the absolute number of prisoners throughout the whole of that year, or the number of prisoners who served multiple sentences in the year 2001. Similarly, prisoners who may have been incarcerated during 2001 but not on the day in the question are not represented. For a full discussion of aspects of these data, particularly as they relate to prisoners who were known to have served at least one term of prior imprisonment, see Rawnsley (2003). For further details of counting rules and jurisdictional differences in data definition in the 2001 census, refer to ABS (2002).

Unit record data were forwarded to the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) from each of the jurisdictions. Secondary analyses of data relating to convicted and sentenced prisoners (excluding those on periodic detention orders) were then conducted at the AIC. For these purposes, prisoners who had previously been in an adult prison were considered separately to prisoners who were incarcerated for the first time.

These data provide the only large-scale description of the Australian prison population, and this research must acknowledge the ABS and the correctional authorities in Australian jurisdictions for their cooperation and assistance in compiling this information, and in facilitating access to this data set.

National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS) Collection, [2001]

The Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS) is an ongoing illicit drug monitoring system funded by the Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing that has been conducted on an annual basis...in all states and territories since 1999. (Topp, Kaye, Bruno, Longo, Williams, O'Reilly, Fry, Roe and Darke 2002 p. 20).

The IDRS consists of:

- survey data from a sample of injecting drug users (IDU) in each jurisdiction
- interview information from key informants who have contact with illicit drug users in each state and territory, and
- the secondary analyses of existing data sources concerning drug use, the policing of illicit drugs, and associated with drug use, such as treatment measures.

IDU respondents are sampled using a range of methods, which could be generally described as opportunity sampling, or in some instances, as snowball sampling. Detailed analyses and interpretation of the 2001 IDRS can be found in Topp et al. (2002).

Only IDU survey data have been examined in this report. In addition to supplying information concerning drug use, survey respondents are questioned regarding their demographic backgrounds, their recent criminal activities, and importantly, whether or not they have served a prior term in custody. This enabled summary data to be produced for IDU who had previously been imprisoned, and for those who had never been in custody.

The National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC) who provide national coordination of the IDRS kindly provided summary analyses of key variables in the 2001 dataset encompassing IDU data from all jurisdictions. The important contribution that this information can make to our understanding of illicit drug use following imprisonment is gratefully acknowledged, as is the contribution of the data collectors in each state and territory and, of course, NDARC.

Australian Institute of Criminology, Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection, [2001]

As noted at the AIC website 'Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) is a program which seeks to measure drug use among those people who have been recently apprehended by police'.²⁷ This is done through the collation of various measures. Specifically, researchers:

- collect confidential and voluntary primary data from people recently detained by police at seven watchhouses in five cities
- primary data is collected four times a year using a questionnaire and urine testing, and
- access to police records is granted to determine the circumstances that led to the person being detained.

Unit record survey data for the year 2001 were examined for this research: urinalysis information was not analysed. Data relating to prior imprisonment was used to create two groups, those who had been imprisoned in the past year, and those who had not. As noted above, the DUMA program is currently conducted in seven watchhouses in five cities. In the year 2001, this was not the case, and data was derived only from Southport (in Queensland), Bankstown, Parramatta (both in New South

²⁷ Refer www.aic.gov.au/research/projects/0015.html

Wales), and East Perth (WA). Detailed analyses and interpretation of the 2001 DUMA collection can be found in Makkai and McGregor (2002).

The DUMA program is funded by the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department and the South Australian Attorney General's Department. This research gratefully acknowledges the work of the data collectors and the relevant Police Services for their support of the DUMA program, although neither the data collectors nor the police involved in the DUMA program bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented herein.

Australian Institute of Criminology, Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection, [2001]

The Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) is an ongoing project drawing on survey information from a random sample of sentenced inmates in a subset of Australian jurisdictions. Compiled survey information is supplemented by correctional administrative data. The project is funded by the Australian Government National Illicit Drug Strategy, through the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department, with the aim of examining the relationship between illicit drug use and crime in the incarcerated population. Research is proceeding in three phases, separately examining:

- adult male prisoners
- adult female prisoners, and
- young people in custody.

This current research drew on the adult male dataset, which was compiled in 2001. Prisoners in Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania and the Northern Territory participated. Information supplied by respondents encompassed demography, drug use, and criminal activities, and variables were examined as a function of whether or not respondents reported having been previously imprisoned in an adult correctional facility.

The detailed information supplied by the sample of prisoners provides valuable insight into the personal histories of prisoners, and we are grateful for the efforts and support of the DUCO data collectors, of the correctional authorities in participating states and territories, and of the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department, all of whom facilitated the DUCO project. Notwithstanding, all responsibility for the *current* data analyses and interpretation belongs to the author of the current work.

For further information on the DUCO project, refer to <http://www.aic.gov.au/research/projects/0019.html>, and for the detailed analyses of the DUCO male dataset, refer to Makkai and Payne (2003).

Table A1. Demographics

	General Australian Population(a)	Current Prisoners(b)		Injecting Drug Users(c)		Police Detainees(d)		Male Prisoners(e)	
	n = 18,972,350	First time prisoner n = 8101	Prior imprisonment n = 11870	Never imprisoned n = 457(f)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(f)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1336
Percentage									
Female	51	8	6	43	21	20	17	na	na
Indigenous	2	11	26	10	21	11	20	14(h)	31(h)
Born overseas	22	29	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Speak non-English at home	15	—	—	5	5	—	—	—	—
Aged < 18 yrs	25 (na)	< 1	0	4	1	7	4	< 1	0
Aged 18 to 20 yrs	4 (6)	12	5	11	8	18	21	11	6
Aged 21 to 24 yrs	5 (7)	18	17	21	17	18	23	17	19
Aged 25 to 29 yrs	7 (9)	17	25	21	18	19	22	21	24
Aged 30 to 34 yrs	7 (10)	13	21	18	19	15	18	12	19
Aged 35 to 39 yrs	8 (10)	11	14	12	15	10	8	12	12
Aged 40 to 49 yrs	15 (20)	16	14	12	19	10	3	14	13
Aged 50 yrs & over	29 (38)	13	5	1	2	3	1	13	6
Average age (years)	—	34(g)	32(g)	—	—	—	—	34	32

(a) Calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002 "Basic Community Profile", *2001 Census Community Profile Series*, Cat. no. 2001.0. Excludes overseas visitors. Figures in parentheses for age categories refer to the proportion of the adult population (ie persons aged over 18 years, n = 14,056,070) within that age category.

(b) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, & those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT. Reported age refers to age at the census date of 30 June 2001.

(c) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001]*.

(e) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001]*.

(f) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages encompass only valid cases.

(g) Average values exclude cases with missing values: first time prisoner n = 8091; prior imprisonment n = 11870.

(h) Information derived from administrative data. Missing data resulted in smaller samples for this variable: first time prisoners n = 732 & those with prior imprisonment n = 1281.

Table A2. Housing

	General Australian Population(a)	Current Prisoners(b)		Injecting Drug Users(c)		Police Detainees(d)		Male Prisoners(e)	
	n = 7 188 100	First time prisoner n = 8101	Prior imprisonment n = 11 870	Never imprisoned n = 457(f)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(f)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner	Prior imprisonment
Percentage									
Home owner	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Renting (private)	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Renting (public)	6	—	—	—	—	19(j)	25(j)	—	—
In private home (owner, renter or visitor)	—	—	—	75(i)	65(i)	90(k)	78(k)	—	—
In treatment residence	—	—	—	2(i)	1(i)	< 1(k)	2(k)	—	—
In hostel/refuge/shelter	—	—	—	7(i)	10(i)	1(k)	2(k)	—	—
In prison	< 1(g)	na	na	na	—	na(k)	7(k)	—	—
On street/no fixed address	—	3(h)	2(h)	7(i)	12(i)	6(k)	7(k)	—	—

(a) Describes features of all households (not individuals) in financial year 1999-2000; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *2002 Year Book Australia*, Cat. no. 1301.0.

(b) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, and those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(c) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001]*.

(e) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001]*.

(f) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages encompass only valid cases. Refers to accommodation type in which respondents lived at time of interview.

(g) Based on an Australian imprisonment rate of 151 per 100,000 as of 30 June 2001 (ABS 2002).

(h) Derived from location of last known address prior to current episode of imprisonment.

(i) Place of residence at time of interview.

(j) Respondents who reported living in a residence belonging to the relevant state-based housing authority.

(k) Place of residence most of the time in the 30 days preceding interview.

Table A3. Education

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(a)		Injecting Drug Users(b)		Police Detainees(c)		Male Prisoners(d)	
		First time prisoner n = 4542	Prior imprisonment n = 7381	Never imprisoned n = 457(e)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(e)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 774	Prior imprisonment n = 1333
Percentage									
Average years of school completed	–	–	–	11(j)	10(j)	–	–	–	–
Did not go to school	1(f)	1	< 1	–	–	< 1	< 1	1	2
Year 10 or less complete	41(f)	23(h)	22(h)	–	–	51	67	78	89
Year 11 or 12 complete	47(f)	–	–	–	–	18	12	21	9
Vocational	20(g)	4	1	35	37	13	11	47(m)	46
Diploma, bachelor or higher	24(g)	3	1	11(k)	7(k)	4	1	8(n)	3
Any complete post-school qualifications	44(g)	9(i)	4(i)	46	44	17(l)	12(l)	55	49

- (a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, and those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT. Education data were not available for prisoners in NSW.
- (b) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].
- (c) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001]*.
- (d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001]*.
- (e) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages encompass only valid cases.
- (f) Percentage of persons aged 15 years or over, excluding those still at school, not responding, never attending school, or overseas visitors (n = 14,856,774); calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002 "Basic Community Profile", *2001 Census Community Profile Series*, catalogue no. 2001.0.
- (g) Percentage of all persons aged 15 to 64 years as of May 2000, including those who never attended school (n = 12,652,700); Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *Year Book Australia 2001*, catalogue no. 1301.0.
- (h) Individuals who had "Completed secondary (certificate level)", therefore may include those with Year 10 or Year 12 certificates.
- (i) Also includes cases with undefined post-secondary education.
- (j) Respondents who had never been imprisoned n = 530; respondents who had experienced prior imprisonment n = 415.
- (k) Respondents who had completed university or college courses.
- (l) Respondents who had completed TAFE, or university (or higher).
- (m) Respondents who reported completing an apprenticeship or TAFE/technical college without necessarily having attained Year or Year 12 certificates.
- (n) Respondents who reported completing university or higher without necessarily having attained Year or Year 12 certificates.

Table A4. *Employment and income*

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(a)		Injecting Drug Users(b)		Police Detainees(c)		Male Prisoners(d)	
		First time prisoner n = 4527	Prior imprisonment n = 7211	Never imprisoned n = 457(e)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(e)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1335
Percentage									
Unemployed	6(f)	57	67	69	79	42(n)	64(n)	41(q)	61(q)
Employed	—	33(k)	26(k)	—	—	—	—	—	—
In full-time work	44(g)	—	—	8	4	25	10	34(q)	20(q)
In part-time work	16(g)	—	—	10(l)	9(l)	11	9	11(q)(r)	11(q)(r)
In home duties	—	1	1	4	3	5	3	—	—
Retired	—	—	—	—	—	1	< 1	2(q)	< 1(q)
In education/student	4(h)	2	1	5	2	6	3	—	—
Government benefit income	21(i)	—	—	—	—	60(o)	80(o)	46(s)	68(s)
With any income from family/friends	—	—	—	—	—	33(o)	42(o)	9(s)	13(s)
With any sex work income	—	—	—	3(m)	3(m)	2(o)	4(o)	< 1(s)	1(s)
With any illegal income	—	—	—	—	—	22(o)	42(o)	32(s)	46(s)
Gambling	46(j)	—	—	—	—	33p	30(p)	6(s)	8(s)

- (a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, and those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT. Employment data were not available for prisoners in NSW.
- (b) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].
- (c) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection* [2001].
- (d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection* [2001].
- (e) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages encompass only valid cases.
- (f) Annual average rate for civilian population aged 15 & over for financial year 2000-01; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *Year Book Australia 2001*, catalogue no. 1301.0.
- (g) Annual average rate for civilian population aged 15 & over for financial year 2000-01, calculated as percentage of civilian population (n = 15,317,400); Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *Year Book Australia 2001*, catalogue no. 1301.0.
- (h) Includes individuals attending TAFE, university, or some "other" non-school institution on a full-time basis, and those attending who did not state if studying on part-time or full-time basis, calculated as percentage of total population excluding overseas visitors (n = 18,972,350); Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *Census of Population & Housing Selected Social & Housing Characteristics Australia 2001*, catalogue no. 2015.0.
- (i) Percentage of Australians of workforce age receiving income support in 1999; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 1999, *Australian Social Trends 1999*, catalogue no. 4102.0.
- (j) Percentage of Australians 18 years or over who had participated in some form of gambling in the previous (reference) week in 1996-97; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2001, *Australian Social Trends 2001*, catalogue no. 4102.0.
- (k) Information relating to the full-time or part-time status of individuals was not available.
- (l) Includes respondents whose main employment at time of interview was on a part-time or casual basis.
- (m) Respondents whose main employment at time of interview was in the sex industry.
- (n) Includes both unemployed respondents looking for work, and unemployed respondents not looking for work.
- (o) Respondents who derived any income from this source in the month preceding interview.
- (p) Respondents who had gambled either legally or illegally in the month preceding interview.
- (q) Main form of employment at the time of arrest.
- (r) Respondents whose main form of employment at the time of arrest was on a part-time or casual basis.
- (s) Respondents who derived some income from this source in the 6 months preceding arrest. Missing data resulted in smaller samples for this variable: first time prisoners n range = 763 to 776 & those with prior imprisonment n range = 1324 to 1336.

Table A5. Family

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(b)		Injecting Drug Users(c)		Police Detainees(d)		Male Prisoners(e)	
	n = 14 856 744	First time prisoner n = 8100	Prior imprisonment n = 11 862	Never imprisoned	Prior imprisonment	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 585	Prior imprisonment n = 1069
Percentage									
Never married	32	55	59	—	—	61(g)	63(g)	56(i)	59(i)
De facto	—	—	—	—	—	18	23	14(i)	19(i)
Married	51	29	31	—	—	9	5	17(i)	12(i)
Separated/divorced	11	10	7	—	—	12	9	11(i)	9(i)
Widowed	6	1	1	—	—	< 1	1	2(i)	1(i)
In household with dependent children	63(f)	—	—	—	—	30(h)	25(h)	—	—
Violence to family members	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45(j)	47(j)

(a) Persons aged 15 years or over, excluding overseas visitors; calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002 "Basic Community Profile", 2001 Census Community Profile Series, Cat. no. 2001.0.

(b) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, and those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(c) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001]*.

(e) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001]*.

(f) Persons in families in private dwellings with dependent children under 15 years, and/or dependent students 15 to 24 years (excluding overseas visitors & excluding persons absent on census night; n = 14,845,780); calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002 "Basic Community Profile", 2001 Census Community Profile Series, Cat. no. 2001.0.

(g) Respondents with status of "single".

(h) Respondents taking care of dependent children.

(i) Information derived from administrative data.

(j) Respondents who reported being violent at some time in their lives towards their past or current spouse, partner or boy/girlfriend; parents; children; or other relatives. Missing data resulted in smaller samples for this variable: first time prisoners n = 519 & those with prior imprisonment n = 995.

Table A6. Mental health and risky health behaviours

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(a)		Injecting Drug Users(b)		Police Detainees(c)		Male Prisoners(d)	
		First time imprisonment	Prior imprisonment	Never imprisoned n = 457(e)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(e)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner	Prior imprisonment
Percentage									
Ever in psych unit	—	—	—	—	—	13	19	—	—
Taking anti-psychotics (past fortnight)	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—
Taking anti-depressants (past fortnight)	—	—	—	—	—	6	6	—	—
Had at least 1 heroin OD	—	—	—	39	50	—	—	—	—
Inject in private home	—	—	—	76(f)	69(f)	58(h)	53(h)	—	—
Inject in public area	—	—	—	19(f)(g)	24(f)(g)	32(h)(i)	33(h)(i)	—	—
Using a needle after another (past month)	—	—	—	13	15	—	—	—	—

(a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, and those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(b) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(c) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection* [2001].

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection* [2001].

(e) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only and averages encompass only valid cases.

(f) Respondents' usual place of injecting in the month preceding interview.

(g) Includes locations of street, park, beach, car or public toilet.

(h) Includes only respondents from quarter two 2001 who had injected heroin (not imprisoned in past year n = 76; imprisoned in past year n = 40). Refers to the place where heroin is normally used.

(i) Public area defined as street or car.

Table A7. Self-reported criminal behaviour

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(a)		Injecting Drug Users(b)		Police Detainees(c)		Male Prisoners(d)	
		First time prisoner	Prior imprisonment	Never imprisoned	Prior imprisonment	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1336
Percentage									
Ever stolen motor vehicles	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31(i)	63(i)
Ever committed break & enter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39(i)	68(i)
Ever stolen without B&E	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39(i)	59(i)
Ever vandalised	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25(i)	35(i)
Ever bought illegal drugs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	59(i)	74(i)
Ever sold illegal drugs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38(i)	51(i)
Ever committed fraud	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21(i)	31(i)
Ever traded in stolen goods	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35(i)	56(i)
Ever assaulted others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52(i)	67(i)
Ever committed sex offences	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19(i)	11(i)
Ever robbed without a weapon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15(i)	29(i)
Ever robbed with a weapon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19(i)	32(i)
Ever killed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13(i)	8(i)
Ever used a weapon to commit crime	—	—	—	—	—	17(f)g	22(f)	—	—
Drinking pre-offending	—	—	—	—	—	28(g)	19(g)	34(j)	45(j)
Used drugs pre-offending	—	—	—	—	—	38(g)	54(g)	34(j)	40(j)
Sought drugs pre-offending	—	—	—	—	—	8(g)(h)	17(g)(h)	—	—

(a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, and those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(b) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(c) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001]*.

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001]*.

(e) Respondents who reported committing this category of crime at any point in their lives.

(f) Includes only respondents for quarter three 2003 (not imprisoned in past year n = 381; imprisoned in past year n = 93). Weapons include knife, firearm, handgun, martial arts weapon, syringe, and "other" weapons.

(g) Prior to the offence(s) for which respondents were detained.

(h) Respondents trying to buy, sell or get drugs prior to the offence for which they were detained.

(i) Skipped responses & missing data resulted in slightly reduced numbers for samples on some offence variables.

(j) Prior to the offences for which respondents were imprisoned, where % using drugs endorsed being "high on illegal drugs" and % drinking endorsed being "drunk on alcohol". Sample n range: first time prisoners 702 to 703; those with prior imprisonment, 1272 to 1274.

Table A8. History with the criminal justice system

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(a)		Injecting Drug Users(b)		Police Detainees(c)		Male Prisoners(d)	
		First time prisoner n = 8101	Prior imprisonment n = 11870	Never imprisoned n = 457(e)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(e)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1336
Average times in juvenile detention	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4(m)	4(m)
Avg total time in juvenile detention (mths)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18(m)	21(m)
Average # times in adult custody	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
Avg total time in adult custody (mths)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33(n)	74(n)
Avg time since last custody (mths)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	na	57(o)
Avg length of total current sentence	—	66(f)	51(f)	—	—	—	—	71(o)	58(o)
Avg time until parole consideration	—	48	36	—	—	—	—	19(o)	14(o)
Arrested in past year (%)	—	—	—	33	58	—	—	—	—
Avg number of arrests in past year	—	—	—	—	—	1(k)	3(k)	—	—
Median number of arrests in past year	—	—	—	—	—	0(k)	2(k)	—	—
Arrested for violent crime (%)	—	52(h)	43(h)	4(i)	10(i)	22(l)	22(l)	69(p)	61(p)
Arrested for property crime (%)	—	13(h)	26(h)	14(i)	21(i)	33(l)	36(l)	31(q)	46(q)
Arrested for drug crime (%)	—	13(h)	5(h)	8(i)(j)	14(i)(j)	7(l)	5(l)	—	—
Arrested for fraud (%)	—	3(h)	2(h)	1(i)	3(i)	—	—	—	—

(a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, & those who prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(b) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(c) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection* [2001].

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection* [2001].

(e) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages encompass only valid cases.

(f) Based on aggregate sentence length, or the longest period the prisoner can be detained under sentence in the current episode (see ABS 2002 for detail). First time prisoner n = 8016; prior imprisonment n = 11774.

(g) Based on expected time to serve, which generally refers to the time elapsed between the date of reception and the earliest date of release (see ABS 2002 for detail). First time prisoner n = 6673; prior imprisonment n = 10407.

(h) Derived from the most serious offence/charge information (see ABS 2002 for detail). Violent offences defined as ANCO 11-22 & 55; property as ANCO 31 & 33-39; drug as ANCO 61-69; fraud as ANCO 32. All other ANCO categories were defined as "other" & are not reported above.

(i) Self-reported arrests for this category of offence in the 12 months preceding interview.

(j) Combines responses of "use/possession" & "dealing/trafficking".

(k) Excludes arrests for which the respondent was detained at the time of interview, & includes only cases where a number value (including 0) was supplied: not imprisoned in past year n = 1469; imprisoned in past year n = 393.

(l) The most serious offence for which the respondent was arrested & detained. Property crime incorporates fraud offences. Missing values resulted in slightly smaller samples: not imprisoned in past year n = 1456; imprisoned in past year n = 396.

(m) Not all adult prisoners had experienced juvenile detention: first time prisoner n = 107; with prior imprisonment n = 510.

(n) Missing data resulted in slightly reduced numbers in the group of prisoners with prior imprisonment, n = 1303.

(o) Missing & skipped data resulted in reduced numbers: first time prisoner n range = 660 to 698; with prior imprisonment n range = 1022 to 1312.

(p) Includes offence(s) for which respondents were imprisoned, involving "assaulting someone, sexual offences, armed robbery, robbery without a weapon, or killing someone": first time prisoner n = 768; with prior imprisonment n = 1330.

(q) Includes offence(s) for which respondents were imprisoned, involving "break and enter, fraud, selling stolen goods, forgery, theft, car theft or shop-lifting": first time prisoner n = 770; with prior imprisonment n = 1323.

Table A9. Current or recent alcohol and other drug use

	General Australian Population(a)	Current Prisoners(b)		Injecting Drug Users(c)		Police Detainees(d)		Male Prisoners(e)	
		First time prisoner	Prior imprisonment	Never imprisoned n = 457(f)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(f)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1336
Percentage									
Using alcohol	82	—	—	22(g)	24(g)	70(j)(k)	63(j)(k)	84(n)	79(n)
Dependent on alcohol	—	—	—	—	—	11(l)	7(l)	16(o)	24(o)
Alcohol drug of choice	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	25(p)	19(p)
Using cannabis	13	—	—	51(g)	53(g)	65(j)	81(j)	55(n)	67(n)
Dependent on cannabis	—	—	—	—	—	17(l)	29(l)	20(o)	24(o)
Cannabis drug of choice	—	—	—	7	5	—	—	22(p)	25(p)
Using cocaine	1	—	—	8(g)	14(g)	18(j)	29(j)	15(n)	17(n)
Dependent on cocaine	—	—	—	—	—	2(l)	7(l)	3(o)	3(o)
Cocaine drug of choice	—	—	—	5	10	—	—	3(p)	2(p)
Using heroin	< 1	—	—	25(g)	32(g)	22(j)	48(j)	18(n)	33(n)
Dependent on heroin	—	—	—	—	—	12(l)	28(l)	12(o)	22(o)
Heroin drug of choice	—	—	—	44	52	—	—	10(p)	20(p)
Using amphetamine	3	—	—	22(g)	23(g)	42(j)	62(j)	34(n)	47(n)
Dependent on amphetamine	—	—	—	—	—	11(l)	23(l)	14(o)	20(o)
Amphetamine drug of choice	—	—	—	28	21	—	—	13(p)	15(p)
Using tranq/sleeping pill/benzos	1	—	—	16(g)	17(g)	15(j)	31(j)	17(n)	26(n)
Dependent on benzos	—	—	—	—	—	4(l)	9(l)	3(o)	6(o)
Benzos drug of choice	—	—	—	< 1	1	—	—	< 1(p)	1(p)
Using ecstasy/design drug	3	—	—	—	—	23(j)	23(j)	—(q)	—(q)
Dependent on ecstasy	—	—	—	—	—	1(j)	0(j)	—(q)	—(q)
Ecstasy drug of choice	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	—(q)	—(q)
Using hallucinogens	1	—	—	—	—	6(j)	6(j)	24(n)(q)	23(n)(q)
Dependent on hallucinogens	—	—	—	—	—	< 1(l)	0(l)	2(o)(q)	2(o)(q)
Hallucinogens drug of choice	—	—	—	< 1(r)	1	—	—	1(p)(q)	< 1(p)(q)
Got/bought illegal drugs recently	—	—	—	56(h)	67(h)	66(m)	85(m)	na	na
Average spent on drugs (\$)	—	—	—	84(i)	126(i)	—	—	692(s)	1117(s)

For footnote see next page

- (a) Prevalence of use in past 12 months by persons aged 14 and over in 2001, Australian Institute of Health & Welfare (AIHW) 2002, 2001 National Drug Household Survey: Detailed findings.
- (b) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, National Prison Census 2001 unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, & those who prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.
- (c) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS) national data set [2001].
- (d) Australian Institute of Criminology, Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001].
- (e) Australian Institute of Criminology, Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001].
- (f) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages encompass only valid cases.
- (g) Respondents reporting using this drug in the day preceding interview.
- (h) Respondents reporting buying illegal drugs in the day preceding interview.
- (i) Reported expenditure on illegal drugs in the day preceding interview: respondents who had never been imprisoned n = 530; respondents who had experienced prior imprisonment n = 414.
- (j) Respondents reporting using this drug in the year preceding interview.
- (k) Alcohol use defined as 5 or more drinks in one day (males), or 3 or more drinks in one day (females).
- (l) Respondents reporting dependency on this drug in the year preceding interview. Excludes cases for quarter 1 in 2001 because dependency information unavailable (not imprisoned in past year n = 1101; imprisoned in past year n = 300).
- (m) Respondents reporting getting illegal drugs in the month preceding interview.
- (n) Respondents reporting using this drug in the 6 months preceding arrest leading to current imprisonment: first time prisoner n range = 757 to 758; with prior imprisonment n range = 1322 to 1324.
- (o) Respondents reporting being addicted to this drug in the 6 months preceding arrest leading to current imprisonment: first time prisoner n = 725; with prior imprisonment n = 1309.
- (p) First time prisoner n = 705; with prior imprisonment n = 1290.
- (q) The category hallucinogen incorporated "LSD, ecstasy, hallucinogens", therefore there is no separate entry for ecstasy.
- (r) Refers to LSD specifically.
- (s) Total spent per week, on average, on all drugs (excluding tobacco) in the 6 months preceding arrest leading to current imprisonment: first time prisoner n = 724; with prior imprisonment hn = 1307.

Table A10. Alcohol and other drug use history

	General Australian Population	Current Prisoners(b)		Injecting Drug Users(c)		Police Detainees(d)		Male Prisoners(e)	
		First time prisoner	Prior imprisonment	Never imprisoned n = 529	Prior imprisonment	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1336
Average age									
First alcohol	17 (90)	–	–	–	–	14 (97)	13 (97)	15 (96)	14 (97)
First cannabis	19 (33)	–	–	–	–	15 (84)	14 (95)	16 (75)	15 (85)
First cocaine	23 (4)	–	–	–	–	21 (39)	20 (56)	20 (27)	20 (36)
First heroin	21 (2)	–	–	–	–	20 (39)	19 (69)	20 (31)	20 (53)
First amphetamine	20 (9)	–	–	–	–	19 (60)	18 (79)	19 (49)	19 (64)
First benzodiazepine	23 (3)	–	–	–	–	19 (27)	18 (53)	19 (31)	19 (48)
First ecstasy/designer drug	22 (6)	–	–	–	–	21 (43)	20 (57)	– (f)	– (f)
First hallucinogen	19 (8)	–	–	–	–	17 (44)	16 (59)	17 (45)(f)	17 (57)(f)
First drug injection	20 (2)	–	–	19	18	–	–	–	–

- (a) Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2002, *2001 National Household Drug Survey: First Results*. Describes mean age of initiation, in 2001, & per cent refers to proportion of population aged 14 year & over. Values in parentheses describe the proportion of Australians in 2001 who had used or tried this drug ever at any time in their lives.
- (b) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, & those who prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.
- (c) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].
- (d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) Collection [2001]*. Averages include only those values reported by respondents who had reported ever trying this drug. Values in parentheses refer to percentage of detainees who had not been imprisoned in the past year, or the percentage who had been imprisoned in the past year, who had ever this drug ever at any time in their lives.
- (e) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection [2001]*. Averages include only those values reported by respondents who had reported ever using this drug. Values in parentheses refer to percentage of first time prisoners, or the percentage of prisoners who had been imprisoned previously, who had ever this drug ever at any time in their lives.
- (f) The category hallucinogen incorporated "LSD, ecstasy, hallucinogens", therefore there is no separate entry for ecstasy.

Table A11. Alcohol and other drug treatment

	General Australian Population(a)	Current Prisoners(a)		Injecting Drug Users(b)		Police Detainees(c)		Male Prisoners(d)	
		First time prisoner	Prior imprisonment	Never imprisoned n = 457(e)	Prior imprisonment n = 396(e)	Not imprisoned in past year n = 1489	Imprisoned in past year n = 400	First time prisoner n = 776	Prior imprisonment n = 1336
Ever in drug treatment (%)	—	—	—	49(f)	51(f)	33	60	36(j)	57
In compulsory past treatment (legal order) (%)	—	—	—	—	—	25(g)	42(g)	13(j)	22
In voluntary past treatment (%)	—	—	—	—	—	75(g)	58(g)	—	—
Currently in treatment (%)	—	—	—	34	36	10	23	11(j)(k)	18
In compulsory current treatment (legal order) (%)	—	—	—	—	—	16(g)	41(g)	—	—
In voluntary current treatment (%)	—	—	—	—	—	85(g)	59(g)	—	—
Average time in current treatment (months)	—	—	—	13	21	21(h)	8(h)	—	—
Median time in current treatment (months)	—	—	—	3	4	7(h)	3(h)	—	—
Unable to access treatment in past year (%)	—	—	—	—	—	9(i)	18(i)	—	—

(a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, & those who prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(b) National Drug & Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC), *Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)* national data set [2001].

(c) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA)* Collection [2001].

(d) Australian Institute of Criminology, *Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Male Collection* [2001]. Per cent values include valid cases only.

(e) Missing data for some cases on some variables means that sample n will be less than this number: per cent value cited refers to valid cases only & averages employ only valid cases.

(f) Respondents participating in drug treatment at some time in the 6 months preceding interview.

(g) Includes only respondents who had reported participating in past or current treatment.

(h) Includes only respondents who reported currently participating in treatment.

(i) Respondents who had tried to enter AOD program in year preceding interview, but were turned away due to lack of places.

(j) First time prisoner n = 721; with prior imprisonment n = 1291.

(k) Respondents participating in in-prison drug treatment at the time of interview.

Table A12. Prior imprisonment among unsentenced and short-term prisoners

Current Prisoners(a)				
	First time prisoner n = 8101	Prior imprisonment n = 11870	Subgroup with prior imprisonment	
Prisoner subgroup	%	%	%	no.
Unsentenced prisoners	24(b)	20(b)	56	(4294)
Prisoners with expected sentence < 3 months	4(c)	6(c)	69	(1005)
Prisoners with expected sentence 3 to < 6 months	7(c)	12(c)	70	(1992)
Prisoners with expected sentence 6 to < 12 months	10(c)	18(c)	72	(2954)

(a) Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) data analysis 2003, *National Prison Census 2001* unit record data, originally compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Excludes sentenced prisoners serving terms of periodic detention, those whose sentence type was unknown, & those whose prior imprisonment status was unknown. Data relating to sentenced ACT prisoners held in NSW are derived from information supplied by the ACT.

(b) Includes all prisoners who legal status was recorded as unconvicted or unsentenced (see ABS 2002 for detail), but excludes those unsentenced inmates awaiting deportation.

(c) Includes all sentenced prisoners, excluding those serving terms of periodic detention. For definitions of *expected sentence* in each of the jurisdictions (refer ABS (2002b).

Note. Figures in parentheses refer to the total number of individuals in that subgroup eg the total number of remand inmates at 30 June 2001.

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Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community:

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Part B: A Survey of Australian Services

SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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An increasing recognition that community safety can be enhanced by successfully *reintegrating* ex-prisoners into mainstream community life is driving a change in the way correctional authorities in Western jurisdictions manage offenders. Research has shown that prisoners can confront multiple social and economic disadvantages, and that these disadvantages are linked to offending and reoffending. Traditional correctional practices do not stop all first-time prisoners from reoffending, and this may be because traditional approaches do not address those disadvantages, and in some instances, may compound them.

By acting to ameliorate these disadvantages, the cycle of offending may be broken. Innovative approaches to addressing disadvantage identified internationally include case management following on from reliable risk assessment; matching intervention to prisoner risk; and providing interventions tailored to needs. It is important that prisoners' unique risks and needs are addressed whilst they are in custody but also afterwards—via post-release services—because by ensuring a continuum of care (also called *throughcare*), individuals are better able to respond in a non-criminal way when confronted with the challenges in community life that were previously related to their offending. Effective inter-agency partnerships are critical to the provision of throughcare.

The nature and extent of post-release interventions made available to Australian adults and young people leaving custody is not known, therefore a survey was undertaken to compile an inventory of the same. A questionnaire was distributed to correctional authorities and non-government organisations known to assist prisoners, gathering information about the agencies themselves and the post-release services they provide. A total of 64 responses, detailing 185 programs were received: whilst this represents a broad cross-section of post-release interventions, the survey was not able to exhaustively capture *all* programs and services for returning Australian prisoners. Not all responses included comprehensive information in response to all items, thus further limiting the degree with which reported information is representative of all programs and interventions in Australia.

Those interventions that were captured with the survey were not uniform in terms of program content, or the ways in which services were delivered. Around one-third of all programs focused on traditional areas of prisoner welfare (such as employment, housing, vocational guidance and training), with the remainder addressing broader aspects of clients' socio-economic context, such as faulty ways of thinking, substance misuse, or social networks. Some programs could be classified as transitional, as they aimed to address clients' issues more holistically (ie the different areas of a client's need dealt with simultaneously). A range of service delivery techniques were used in programs, with four in ten using one-on-one counselling, therapy or discussion, and over one-quarter ensuring follow-up support. Some other service delivery tools included group therapy or discussion, mentoring, classroom training, referral, and advocacy.

Certain shared characteristics of service delivery were identified among those reported upon interventions. Many of these characteristics suggest that Australian programs are engaging in good practices that have been identified internationally. For instance, there was evidence that many programs adhere to *principles of effective correctional programming*, which include:

- addressing criminogenic needs when attempting to minimise re-offending
- placing offenders in programs on the basis of assessed need
- tailoring programs to match risk of re-offending and need
- providing treatments of sufficient duration to influence behaviours
- addressing clients' multiple needs using a variety of techniques including cognitive-behavioural treatments, and
- evaluating success at both a client and program level.

As noted, there appears to be a trend towards (or more accurately, a return to) a philosophy of addressing the multiple challenges that ex-prisoners can face in their attempt to reintegrate. In recognition of the complexity of this task, service providers seem to have an array of interventions at their disposal, and a majority appear to be employing some form of case management.

A throughcare ethos dominates in terms of the stated policy of Australian adult correctional authorities, although this is not necessarily the manner in which all programs are delivered. Nonetheless, there is strong evidence that amongst surveyed interventions, a lynchpin of throughcare delivery—collaborative partnerships between government and non-government providers—is employed. This is important, because by engaging multiple partners in the reintegration process, safeguards exist to ensure that needy ex-prisoners do not fall into service provision gaps. More pragmatically, it means that limited funds are employed to their best advantage, because service duplication is minimised.

The majority of surveyed interventions were also subject to evaluation, ensuring an evidence base for future resourcing claims, and adding to our knowledge about the most effective ways of facilitating reintegration. Unfortunately, very little actual evaluative material was readily available, thus it is impossible to draw any strong conclusions about what is promising in terms of post-release services and throughcare in an Australian context.

Less positively, there is little evidence for the existence of services that cater specifically to subgroups of prisoners that we know can be disadvantaged in terms of complex and high needs (such as remand inmates, Indigenous prisoners, women prisoners, and prisoners with mental health issues). Of course, this may be attributed to the fact that not all interventions in Australia were surveyed. Regardless, the fact that so few were captured by the current survey highlights there is probably only a minimum of dedicated programs and services addressing the needs of especially disadvantaged prisoner subpopulations.

There is a range of post-release interventions for adults and young people returning to the broader Australian community. However, survey information suggests that there are still areas related to the delivery of throughcare and post-release support that need developing; specifically, the establishment of:

- a comprehensive register of post-release interventions, incorporating information about relevant government, non-government and private sector organisations

- formal throughcare partnerships
- clear funding arrangements to maximise gains and allow providers to develop long-term plans
- policy addressing the needs of high stakes prisoners such as sex offenders, as well as those of high needs prisoner subgroups
- community education to facilitate improved community input and offender accountability, and
- research and evaluation agendas to improve our understanding of what works in assisting Australian offenders to reintegrate into mainstream society.

One means of enhancing community safety is to assist ex-offenders to reintegrate into mainstream society so as to minimise the chances of their re-offending. This report summarises findings from a project investigating so-called post-release programs, services and interventions in Australia that are intended to assist in ex-prisoner reintegration. This chapter provides background information, briefly detailing how post-release services and related trends in correctional services can act to enhance community safety.

Background

Communities, and the government services responsible for enhancing community safety, are increasingly aware of the benefits that can be wrought from intervening early—proactively rather than reactively—to prevent crime from occurring. Just how *early* these interventions are undertaken can vary. For instance, some social and developmental approaches to crime prevention aim to manipulate the risk and protective factors in young people's lives and communities that affect the likelihood of later criminality (see National Crime Prevention 1999). Others aim to intervene only with those individuals identified as being at a high risk of offending (see AIC 2003).

Still others aim to intervene to prevent those who have already offended from offending again in the future. This can be a more complex task, because some offenders' criminal careers will end *naturally* as part of their individual development; some one-time offenders may not offend again even without active intervention; and some will persist in offending even after numerous encounters with the justice system and/or programs designed to address criminal behaviours. It is therefore challenging to identify those most at risk of reoffending, and how they may be best targeted to prevent future crime.

In the language of early intervention, the time following release from imprisonment is a life transition—an event that brings with it stressors that can make individuals particularly vulnerable to re-offending. One means of preventing re-offending therefore, is to assist serious offenders—prisoners—to more effectively adjust to community life after they have been released from incarceration.

Post-release interventions are a category of programs and services that aim to assist in the *reintegration* of known offenders into mainstream society. The term reintegration¹ describes a broader aim than simply a reduction in recidivism though, and implies that offenders become

¹ Although this term is sometimes argued to be inappropriate because many prisoners have never been integrated and therefore cannot be returned to that state (eg Ward 2001).

contributing community members, not simply ex-offenders who are no longer criminally active. This approach to community safety and crime prevention is gaining acceptance among Australian correctional authorities (see Borzycki and Baldry 2003; SCRCSSP 2003) because by promoting factors that protect against criminal lifestyles, post-release services can improve public safety (see Seiter and Kadela 2003). That said, an understanding that virtually all prisoners will one day return to community life and that their return must be somehow managed has long been realised. As noted by Former US Attorney General Homer Cummings in 1938:

they (prisoners) come out—back to live in your neighbourhood, to walk beside you on the street. Their children will associate with your children, their families will be part of your community...And that my friends is the challenge of the prison system. We cannot escape it and we simply must face it (Cummings 1938; reprinted 2003).

■ The Current Project

This project assessed the current state of post-release services, specifically aiming to:

1. detail current trends, issues and themes in post-release services
2. characterise the prison population, to assess if Australian prisoners confront similar challenges to those identified in other jurisdictions, and
3. compile an inventory of services made available to both adult prisoners and young people in detention in Australia.

The report, *Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community: A Literature Review* (Part A of this volume), addresses the outcomes of the first and second aims, with the current report addressing the final aspect—available services.

This report documents the findings of a survey undertaken to investigate the services made available to Australian ex-prisoners and to young people released from detention. Specifically, it:

- outlines some basic characteristics of Australian prisoners, and the factors that have been linked to an increased risk of re-offending, as well as the means by which reintegration can be promoted and recidivism reduced (this Chapter)
- describes the survey that was developed to gather information about post-release programs, services, and interventions made available to Australian prisoners and young people in detention (Chapter 2)
- summarises the major findings from that survey (Chapter 3), and
- provides conclusions and recommendations stemming from those findings, in addition to a thumbnail sketch of the policy linked to post-release programs for adults in Australian jurisdictions (Chapter 4).

As noted above, detailed information relating to Australian prisoners, and to the risks and protective factors identified as relating to post-release recidivism can be found in the report describing the initial component of this research, *Interventions for Prisoners Returning to the Community: A Literature Review*. However, key issues canvassed in the companion report provide a context for this survey, and are therefore summarised below.

■ Issues Relating to Post-Release Interventions

Recidivism Amongst Australian Prisoners

Many adult Australian prisoners re-offend and are re-incarcerated after being released from a custodial spell:

- of the 24,171 sentenced and unsentenced prisoners in custody on 30 June 2004, 58% had previously served a term of imprisonment (ABS 2004), and
- 47% of all prisoners released in the financial year 2000/01 had come back into contact with the justice system within two years of release: for 37% of the total released, this contact was re-imprisonment (SCRGSP 2004).

Given the recidivism rates observed, and the number of offenders who experience more than one spell in prison, only a minority of Australian prisoners appear to successfully reintegrate after their release.

The precise number of prisoners who re-enter the community each year is unknown, yet virtually all will return to the community at some point: only 4% of those in custody on 30 June 2004 were sentenced to life imprisonment (ABS 2004). Most prisoners will return to mainstream life, and a majority will probably go on to offend again. This situation is not unique to Australia, and correctional researchers and practitioners in many jurisdictions in the Western world have sought to identify the factors that lie behind ex-prisoner reoffending.

Factors Linked to Re-Offending by Ex-Prisoners

International literature indicates that, on average and relative to the general population, prisoners confront physical and psychological challenges, and socio-economic disadvantages. These include:

- history of abuse, social isolation, and a reliance on welfare services
- high rates of licit and illicit drug use
- high rates of mental and physical illness, especially communicable diseases
- high rates of dual and even triple diagnosis (ie drug use issues, chronic mental health issues, and/or chronic physical illness)
- high rates of suicide and mortality
- poor cognitive functioning and social skills, and
- poor literacy and numeracy.

These factors need not always result in criminal behaviours: indeed, many individuals face one or more of these challenges and yet never offend. However, research has demonstrated that these factors may increase the likelihood of offending and reoffending in some individuals (eg May 1999; Social Exclusion Unit 2002), and so ameliorating these may minimise the likelihood of reoffending.

Research also indicates that the process of imprisonment can create additional challenges for prisoners. Some of the *collateral consequences* of imprisonment are:

- institutionalisation, or longer-term psychological and social impairment arising from the prison environment
- reduced ability to participate in and to access the legitimate workforce
- unstable housing
- high levels of debt
- loss of social networks and the disintegration of family units
- poor access to social and other services within the mainstream community, and
- social and economic decline of the communities to which ex-prisoners return.

Again, these factors do not automatically lead to criminal behaviour, but again, they have been empirically associated with increased risks of re-offending (eg Carlisle 1996; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). Intuitively, collateral consequences such as an inability to secure adequate housing or a source of legitimate income create substantial impediments to productive community membership.

Some Characteristics of Australian Prisoners

Australian prisoners do not appear to be fundamentally different to their overseas counterparts in terms of the challenges they confront. Descriptive statistics, derived from a range of existing data sources², suggest that relative to the general population, Australian prisoners and those detained by police for criminal matters tend to:

- be disproportionately male
- be drawn from young to middle adulthood age categories
- be disproportionately drawn from an Indigenous background
- be unemployed, and when employed, disproportionately employed in casual or part-time positions rather than full-time roles
- rely on government benefits more frequently
- gain senior high school and university qualifications less frequently
- marry less frequently
- have recently used all categories of illicit drugs more often
- have used all categories of illicit drugs more frequently over the course of their lives, and
- have been initiated to various types of drug use at an earlier age.

² Reported and discussed in greater detail in Part A of this volume.

Individuals detained by police for criminal offences and sentenced prisoners who have previously experienced a spell in prison seem to differ to their counterparts who have never been incarcerated. In summary, relative to drug users who have never been imprisoned, to first-time prisoners, and/or to detainees who have not been recently incarcerated, a higher proportion of repeat prisoners and drug users with prior prison experience appear to:

- utilise public housing
- complete fewer years of school and attain fewer university qualifications
- be unemployed, and when employed, participate in (presumably less stable) part-time work
- derive some income from government benefits
- derive some income from family or friends
- derive some income from illegal sources
- have received mental health care
- engage in property offences, but not in extremely violent offences such as homicide
- use illicit drugs prior to committing offences
- have used illicit drugs at some point throughout their lives, as well as recently, and
- have taken part in mandatory alcohol and drug treatment, but conversely, also have difficulties in accessing alcohol and drug treatment after release.

In short, the average Australian prisoner, especially one who has had repeated contacts with the justice system, appears to be subject to a range of social, economic and psychological disadvantages. International literature has noted that the disadvantages can be obstacles to successful community reintegration after release from custody, but fortunately, international literature has also identified effective ways of addressing these impediments.

Promoting Reintegration and Reduced Re-Offending Amongst Ex-Prisoners

Correctional researchers and practitioners have developed various strategies and techniques to promote reintegration and to minimise recidivism. The following briefly summarises major trends that have been identified in the delivery of services to prisoners.

Addressing criminogenic needs, or providing interventions that aim to address those specific factors that have been shown to be linked to offending and that are also amenable to change. This amenability to change means that they are also sometimes called *dynamic risk* factors. Criminogenic needs vary with individuals, but can include factors such as drug misuse, poor problem solving-skills, or pro-criminal attitudes (eg The Forensic and Applied Psychology Research Group 2000).

Matching treatment to risk and need, or ensuring that individuals receive treatment and interventions that are appropriate in duration and intensity to their risks and needs. Research has shown that those at highest risk should receive the most intense interventions.

Risk and needs assessment, or using reliable and valid instruments to ascertain offenders' risks and needs. These empirically developed instruments aim to provide consistent and accurate

measurements of dynamic risks, whilst also considering unchangeable static risk factors linked to offending, such as criminal history. Identifying and addressing risks and needs are principles that have been identified as underpinning **effective correctional programming**. Other principles are:

- program integrity (or delivery as program designers intended)
- utilising treatment provider skills (or professional discretion), and
- responsivity, or ensuring programs match clients and use demonstrably effective techniques, such as cognitive behavioural treatments (see Bonta 1997).

Cognitive behavioural treatment refers to a form of intervention that research has demonstrated produces positive effects on recidivism, by effectively addressing criminogenic needs. Elements of this approach to treatment include:

- modelling of appropriate behaviours
- training in behavioural skills
- the use of positive reinforcement, and
- a responsivity to client's individual learning styles, abilities and cultural needs (eg Vennard, Sugg and Hedderman 1997).

Evaluation is the systematic observation and documentation of program and service operation and outcomes. This results in multiple benefits:

- allowing interventions to be fine-tuned for maximum effectiveness
- ensuring consistent intervention delivery across sites and time
- monitoring individuals' progress
- providing tangible evidence of success or failure for the community and funding bodies, and
- potentially isolating the specific factors that lead to reduced reoffending—finding out **what works** in ex-offender reintegration.

Evaluation facilitates **evidence-based practice and policy**, and can form the basis for an **accreditation** system that helps correctional systems ensure that they consistently employ best practice interventions for all the clients for which they are responsible (eg Home Office 1999).

These aspects of interventions refer to the specific manner in which factors related directly to offending can be addressed. However, other aspects of an individual's life circumstances can impact on successful reintegration. For instance, successful reintegration may be linked to family supports, educational opportunities, or the welfare services available in the area where the ex-prisoner returns, and these factors require coordinated service delivery.

Case management is a mode of service delivery where a worker or team of workers act as a single point of coordination for a prisoner, ensuring that the services and treatments necessary to address particular challenges are accessed by the client (via financial brokerage, referral, advocacy and/or the direct delivery of services by that worker or workers). A case manager can provide support and

may also act in a supervisory/surveillance role (eg parole) for ex-prisoners in the community (see Murphy Healey 1999).

Throughcare/continuum of care, or ensuring that interventions commenced in prison are mirrored or continued after release, enabling in-prison gains to be practised and reinforced in the community. Preparation for release commences whilst in custody. In this sense, post-release services are merely the latter component of a whole regimen of interventions that ideally commence when an individual first enters the custodial system. The process will be streamlined by a case manager or management team that works with offenders throughout custody and following release.

Partnerships, or the coordinated working of relevant organisations, are necessary to ensure that the agencies that will provide post-release services act in concert to avoid costly service duplication, to facilitate ease of prisoner access, and to ensure that prisoners do not fall through gaps in service provision. Ideally, partnerships are formalised arrangements, with all levels of operation from high-level policy initiatives to day-to-day agency interactions documented and appropriately publicised amongst relevant staff. Partnerships can be maximally effective when one partner is assigned to role of lead agency, and so ensures that collaborative efforts are effectively coordinated and one organisation will take ultimate responsibility for ex-prisoners in the community.

Community Justice refers to a reintegrative correctional ethos that focuses not only on the offender, but also on the victims of crime, and the communities affected by that crime. This approach evolved in the US. The community itself becomes a client of the correctional authority, so correctional workers are placed within the community and act to improve outcomes for the whole community—not only for individual clients (as is currently the case with parole and community corrections officers in many jurisdictions). This means correctional staff provide individual support and surveillance as only one part of their core work, which is to build informal social controls, community capacity, and community safety, using a restorative approach that aims to repair the harms done by offending (eg Clear and Cadora 2002). An important aspect of community and **victim-oriented approaches** to corrections is the notion of **personal accountability/responsibility**, where the offender acknowledges their role in their behaviour, their impact on their victims and the wider community, and has an active role in their own reintegration.

This chapter summarises aspects of a survey intended to gather information concerning the programs, services and interventions made available to young people leaving detention and adults leaving prisons in Australia.

Australian prisoners appear to face many of the challenges that have been identified as characteristic of prisoners overseas. In some jurisdictions outside Australia, authorities are providing services designed to address these challenges and assist in prisoner reintegration (eg *Reentry Partnership Initiatives* and *Reentry Courts* in the US, see US General Accounting Office 2001). Prisoners and young people released from detention in Australia are also receiving services, although the range, content, and the depth of coverage of these services are not known. This research therefore undertook a survey to compile an inventory of post-release services currently available within Australia.

■ Gathering Information About Post-Release Interventions

The Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed to elicit information concerning post-release interventions, services and programs. It was intended for all potential service providers catering to adults and young people leaving detention, both government (ie State-based correctional) and non-government, in Australia.

A number of factors had to be considered when compiling questionnaire items. For instance, because the specific types of post-release services in Australia had not been documented previously, this questionnaire aimed to gather only basic information concerning service providers, and the interventions offered. However, the need to collate even basic information had to be balanced with the reality that many service providers operate within severe resource limitations and may not have sufficient resources to complete too detailed a set of questions, or to collate even rudimentary information regarding program delivery and evaluation. Consequently, the number of items was limited to ensure that completing the questionnaire was not too onerous a task. Further, where possible, the items were in a format requiring yes/no responses, or minimal text-based responding.

Preparation for the reintegration process can commence at reception, therefore whether or not a service, program, or intervention is classified as post-release can be open to debate. For instance, it could be argued that any program aimed at addressing physical, emotional, criminogenic or psychological aspects of an incarcerated offender, at any point in their experience with the criminal justice system, is in fact post-release because the aim is rehabilitation and therefore ultimately, reintegration. However, a survey of all interventions was beyond the scope of the current work, therefore criteria for defining *post-release* for the current purposes were incorporated in the questionnaire. Questionnaire instructions noted that:

To help you decide which of your programs, interventions and services are relevant, we are interested in those:

- that prisoners commence 8 weeks or less before release
- that prisoners commence more than 8 weeks before release, but which are continued up to release or post-release
- that provide transitional support to assist in reintegration, or
- that are delivered to prisoners for any period following release.

A linked issue was the content of interventions. For example, should all in-prison employment—even that which does not imbue new skills or community-relevant experience—be considered a post-release intervention? The decision to include a program would ultimately be that of the service provider, however guidelines to assist respondents to make that decision included:

The areas of interest are:

- A. employment – including job preparation and job placement
- B. housing – including accommodation placement
- C. financial management – including debt reduction and welfare access
- D. vocational assistance and training – specifically focused on workplace skills and qualifications
- E. minimising reliance on alcohol and other drugs
- F. mental and physical health (unrelated to alcohol and other drugs)
- G. social networks – including those designed to foster positive community support, for example mentoring schemes or peer support
- H. family relations – including parenting training, addressing domestic violence, and other programs designed to sustain positive family relations
- I. cognitive skills – such as anger management
- J. reducing reoffending – programs specifically designed to minimise reoffending upon release, incorporating programs explicitly targeting criminogenic needs, such as sex offending or violence reduction.

Please do not include programs, interventions or services:

- where the only function is the monitoring or surveillance of prisoners' activities, such as regular reporting
- with very non-specific aims, such as crafts or hobbies, or
- that are no longer being delivered by your organisation.

Finally, because there are multiple jurisdictions in Australia, each employing differing legislation and legislative requirements, terminology, and correctional policies and practices, questionnaire wording had to be suitably generic and sufficiently broad to capture potentially varying concepts.³

Section A of the questionnaire sought organisational and general client information, whereas Section B sought the detail of specific interventions. Section B was uniform among all versions, although variants of Section A were produced. To ensure that the language employed was the same as that used by those who would actually complete the questionnaire, slight variations in wording were made on these master versions at the recommendation of the relevant authorities (eg ‘young people in detention’ rather than ‘prisoner’ for juvenile justice authorities). Appendix A contains adult versions of the questionnaire distributed to custodial authorities, community correctional authorities, and non-government organisations (NGOs).

Questionnaire Distribution

As noted above, the questionnaire was intended for all service providers.⁴ However, given that the extent of Australian post-release services was not known, the range of providers was also unknown. Therefore, chief executives of all State Government correctional authorities responsible for adults and young people were initially invited to participate. Equivalent staff within NGOs known to provide prisoner services, were also approached. Invitations included instructions to contact the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) should organisations wish to take part. In a minority of cases, agencies required that their own ethical approval process be completed before they could take part.

The most appropriate mode of distribution so as to minimise the resource load upon organisations was negotiated with those agencies that replied to invitations. Consequently, some organisations received the questionnaire in printable electronic format, in a mode that allowed electronic completion, or as a hard document. Furthermore, because agencies were best placed to decide the most appropriate staff to provide responses, some organisations chose to distribute questionnaires themselves, whereas others asked that appropriate staff be approached individually by the AIC. In many instances, individuals who were approached directly passed questionnaires on to staff members they deemed more appropriate, or copied the questionnaire to allow it to be passed on to multiple respondents.

³ This instrument was not pilot-tested because of the need to minimise inconvenience for resource-limited organisations. It would be near impossible to design a questionnaire that would perfectly match the language and practices of all providers without gathering feedback on a pilot survey from a sizable proportion of those same organisations that would later be asked to respond to the instrument in some finalised form. As this questionnaire was intended to gather only basic information, it was ultimately deemed uneconomical to finely hone the survey instrument. As such, findings from this questionnaire can form the basis for later work that may seek detailed information regarding ‘what works’: in effect, this questionnaire may act as a pilot for later research.

⁴ Government agencies other than State-based correctional authorities can and do assist prisoners in the process of transition from custody to the community. These include housing, health, education, and other human services. The valuable role that Australian Government agencies such as Centrelink play in prisoner re-entry should not be discounted (eg see Centrelink 2003; Homersham and Grasevski 2003), however surveying all Australian Government entities and all State-based Government agencies was beyond the scope of the current work.

All State correctional authorities responsible for adults and young people in detention were initially invited to participate (a total of 14 agencies). Eighteen NGOs (some national, some jurisdictionally-based) were also approached. Initial invitations were despatched in March 2003. Following responses to invitations, questionnaires were sent to individuals within 31 organisations during the period March to September 2003.⁵

Questionnaire Returns

A 'respond by' date was specified on questionnaires.⁶ A total of 64 responses detailing interventions were received from individuals within 11 government agencies and 14 NGOs, via fax, post, or electronically. Five incomplete surveys were received, with respondents noting that they either did not provide interventions that corresponded with their understanding of the criteria for post-release services, or were unable to spare the resources to complete the questionnaire. All responses were logged upon receipt, and questionnaire information was entered into Microsoft Access and SPSS databases created specifically for this project.

One hundred and eighty-five programs were described that could be categorised as post-release. An additional 5 programs were described that could not be classified as post-release in terms of either their content or their timeframe for delivery. These five programs have not been included in any analyses.

In some circumstances post-release programs were documented on multiple occasions because they were jointly administered by multiple agencies, each of who provided information. Still other overarching programs contained subcomponents that could be seen as programs in and of themselves and that served to address the different areas of interest. Some programs were jurisdiction-wide initiatives, and therefore different sites within jurisdictions reported their own utilisation of a shared initiative. Often the information supplied in duplicate entries varied, reflecting slightly different implementations or interpretations of interventions. When multiple entries were eliminated, a total of 162 programs were detailed.

The (undocumented) copying of questionnaires within participating organisations makes it difficult to calculate an exact percentage of questionnaires returned. However, 72 separate questionnaires were forwarded, and 64 were returned, therefore there was a nominal response rate of 89 per cent. Despite this seemingly high nominal response rate, it is reasonable to assume that Australian post-release interventions were not exhaustively surveyed because:

- some invited organisations did not respond to invitations
- not all despatched questionnaires were returned

⁵ A subset of (previously unknown) NGOs had been listed as partners in service provision by agencies that completed questionnaires in response to the initial round of invitations. If time permitted, these partner NGOs were also contacted to participate.

⁶ This varied with agencies because replies to initial invitations were also staggered. In some cases, this date was negotiated with agencies.

- not all despatched questionnaires were completed by those same individuals to whom they were sent
- varying modes of questionnaire distribution for each agency meant that every single correctional facility in Australia was not approached, thus some unique local initiatives will not have been captured
- some agencies, although willing to participate, were unable to complete questionnaires for a variety of reasons (eg lack of staff resources)
- a number of organisations who were not initially invited to take part were listed as partners in service provision on returned questionnaires, but time constraints meant that these previously unknown organisations could not be separately approached
- some surveyed agencies provided only generic information (rather than specific details) concerning the types of organisations they worked with to deliver services
- some previously unknown organisations may not operate in partnership with any of the surveyed agencies and so they have not been identified or approached, and
- as already noted, Australian and State Government departments and agencies responsible for health, education, etc were not approached because a survey of this scale was beyond the scope of this current project.

Lastly, differing definitions of what is understood by post-release services will have influenced what programs were described in returned questionnaires. It is possible that very narrow interpretations of program inclusion criteria may have resulted in the omission of types of services that other respondents with broader interpretations of the criteria may have chosen to report.

3 THE NATURE OF SERVICES AVAILABLE TO PRISONERS IN AUSTRALIA

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The types of interventions, programs, and services made available to returning Australian prisoners and young people leaving detention are summarised in this chapter. Findings are arranged thematically, examining the general characteristics of services, the content of programs offered, the types of clients targeted, specific program features, and aspects of program evaluation.

As noted in the preceding chapter, the findings from this survey are not exhaustive. Rather, they should be seen as broadly descriptive of a cross-section of the types of interventions that are currently available within Australia. For this reason, questionnaire information is summarised along a range of dimensions that aim to illustrate the salient characteristics of Australian post-release interventions.

Despite the predominantly yes/no and simple text-based questionnaire format, a number of respondents provided longer text information, presumably because simple yes/no responses did not capture the complexities of their interventions. In a small minority of cases, a text-based response summarising post-release interventions was provided rather than a completed questionnaire. Response categories were developed to summarise this text-based information. Coding criteria for these categories were then applied to responses on two separate occasions (this duplication process was to improve the reliability of the coding scheme). Collapsing text into categories means that detail will inevitably be lost. In cases where detail may be illustrative of particular points, qualitative information is also reported.

In general, percentage values are reported. The number of cases contributing to that percentage varied depending on the information being examined. In all instances, the actual number of cases is also stated.

General Characteristics of Post-Release Service Provision

After release, prisoners may still be clients of the relevant correctional services under some form of community supervision, but day-to-day responsibility for that client shifts from custodial officers to probation and community correctional staff. Authorities are not obliged to provide services to prisoners and young people released without supervision orders or conditions, but this group may seek assistance from the community arm of corrections, or from a range of non-government service providers. Non-government organisations (NGOs) may also be contracted by correctional services to provide services to clients both during and after custodial terms, and their programs may be privately-funded, charitably-based, or partially financed with public monies.

Reported findings encompass information received from staff within the custodial arm (19 responses) and community function (16 responses) of State adult and juvenile correctional services. Fifteen responses reported on the operations of *both* community and custodial corrections. As previously

noted, 14 responses were received from non-government service providers. Of all completed questionnaires received, 34 respondents noted that their agencies catered exclusively to adult prisoners or ex-prisoners, 23 provided services only for young people who are/have been in detention, and seven catered to both adults and juveniles.

Correctional service providers (ie excluding NGOs) were asked to describe the general characteristics of the post-release services available to their clients. Table 3.1 summarises the broad characteristics of post-release service delivery by correctional authorities.

Table 3.1. Broad characteristics of post-release service delivery by surveyed agencies

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 50 respondents</i>		
Integrated throughcare	56	28
Tailored to individual clients	64	32
Self-contained, stand alone programs	24	12
Delivered on an ad hoc basis	6	3
Delivered at regular intervals	32	16
Developed in conjunction with custodial corrections/community corrections	42	21
Voluntary participation	50	25
Compulsory participation	30	15
Voluntary or compulsory participation, depending on client	8	4
Sanctions for failed participation	30	15
Sanctions possible depending on client	8	4

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because categories are not mutually exclusive.

The Application of Principles of Appropriate Correctional Programming

Over 60 per cent of all government correctional providers described a general principle of tailoring post-release interventions to individual clients. This presumably reflects the principles of *effective correctional programming*, which state that the best client outcomes arise from a match of intervention to individual client risk and need.

Although a high proportion of government agencies provided services on a voluntary basis, these services were not necessarily available to all potential clients. Eighty per cent of government respondents also noted that potential clients were screened or assessed for their participation in post-release programs. Again, this presumably reflects the principle of matching service to need (eg see Howells and Day 1999) because information gained in the assessment process can guide what services prisoners access. The high rate of screening also highlights the reality that post-release resources are limited, and mechanisms must exist to ensure that they are used to their best advantage.

Prisoners and young people held on remand tended to be excluded from screening: only 6 of the 15 valid responses reporting on government custodial services to remand prisoners noted that remandees were screened for post-release program inclusion. Of these, 4 respondents were reporting on services for juveniles, not adults. Remand inmates constitute around one-fifth of the adult prison population, and can be incarcerated for spells sufficiently lengthy to interfere with family life, housing, and employment (Australian remandees in custody on 30 June 2004 had, on average, spent 5 months in prison; ABS 2004). Some remand prisoners will be released back into the community if charges are not proven, yet despite this, the post-release needs of the majority of remandees appear not to be assessed and are presumably therefore, left unmet.

Screening and assessment for eligible prisoners typically occurs on multiple occasions, not only before post-release program intake. This allows tailored sentence/case/throughcare plans to be regularly updated to reflect clients' changing circumstances. Respondents from government agencies were asked how regularly clients' plans were reviewed. Responses ranged between *weekly* and *every six months*, with 32 per cent of the 31 valid responses noting reviews on a monthly basis, and 26 per cent reviewing assessments quarterly. Seven respondents noted that the assessment revision process could be variable (eg on a *monthly or needs basis*), emphasising that even the timing of assessment can be tailored to individuals.

NGOs were also asked about client screening. Sixty-four per cent stated that clients were screened/assessed for participation in post-release programs. That over one-third did *not* screen may reflect organisational ethos where services are made available to *all* those in need. When asked about any special criteria used to *include* clients in post-release services, three of the six NGOs providing detail mentioned that contact with clients followed referral, indicating that collaboration between agencies might assist clients in accessing needed services.

Collaboration Between Agencies

The survey asked non-government service providers whether or not they received input regarding post-release programs from government custodial and correctional staff. Seventy-two per cent of NGOs noted input or occasional input from custodial correctional staff, with 79 per cent receiving input from community correctional staff. Some non-government agencies operate independently of state correctional services, but the majority surveyed appear to have some interaction. This is reassuring, because it suggests that redundancy in service delivery may be minimised. However, given that this is not an exhaustive inventory of services, it is possible that some non-government services operate entirely outside the network of communicating agencies, thus potentially duplicating services and interventions, and meaning that limited post-release dollars may be inefficiently spent.

Numbers of Programs Offered by Agencies

On average, respondents from all types of agencies listed almost three (2.9) individual post-release programs provided by their organisation. However this varied widely: some respondents reported no individual programs—indicating they have only a general post-release ethos but do not consider any programs or specific interventions post-release per se—whereas thirteen respondents included upwards of five programs. The considerable variation in part reflects the fact that responses were received from entire jurisdictions, areas within jurisdictions, or single sites/agencies (such as custodial settings), thus the range of programs at their disposal varied. This may also be the result of differing interpretations of what is meant by the term *post-release service*.

Range of Service Types Offered by Non-Government Organisations

Non-government organisations differ to government correctional authorities insofar as their general mission need not necessarily revolve primarily around issues of community safety. Rather, they may be focussed entirely on rehabilitation, on promoting equity, or on some other related goal. For this reason, NGOs may be able to offer a broader range of services to their clients. Table 3.2 lists the types of client services available through surveyed NGOs.

Virtually all NGOs provide advocacy. These non-correctional organisations recognise that many ex-prisoners are poorly equipped to adequately advocate on their own behalf. Similarly, nearly three-quarters of agencies work to ensure families of prisoners are supported, emphasising that the process of imprisonment can profoundly affect prisoners' families. Families can also act as stabilising influences on prisoners' lives after release (eg see Social Exclusion Unit 2002), thus maintaining functional family ties may help protect against some ex-prisoners re-offending. A similar strategy of building protective factors presumably lies behind the high levels of provision of social supports (71%): resettlement may be enhanced if ex-offenders⁷ are not socially isolated after release.

The scope of NGO services was even wider than initially anticipated, because nine agencies provided text-based responses outlining additional services that were not encompassed by the questionnaire check list (the *Other* category in Table 3.2). These ranged from emergency relief, systematic referrals, and outreach, to transport for prisoners and their families, and court support. NGOs appear to be an invaluable resource for returning prisoners, providing services that would be too costly for correctional authorities (such as transport for families to visit inmates or emergency relief for times of particular financial stress), or inappropriate for government agencies because of the potential conflicts in the correctional function that they would produce (eg providing support for court hearings and trials).

⁷ Some observers use the term 'offenders' exclusively to describe individuals sentenced to community sanctions. In this current context, 'offenders' is used more broadly, to refer to all those who have committed criminal offences.

Table 3.2. Types of services delivered by surveyed non government agencies

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 14 respondents</i>		
Accommodation	64	9
Employment	50	7
Legal services	21	3
Financial advice	36	5
Advocacy	86	12
Anger management	36	5
Counselling	79	11
Alcohol & other drug	71	10
Mentoring & peer support	21	3
Social support	71	10
Family support & contact	71	10
Family relationships & domestic violence	57	8
Other	64	9

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because categories are not mutually exclusive.

What are Post-Release Interventions? Respondents' Definitions

The period immediately following release from custody is not the only time that an ex-offender can participate in services designed to assist in their post-release adjustment. Criteria to guide questionnaire respondents in their decision-making about what programs to include aimed to limit the timeframe considered post-release (see Chapter 2). There was, however, considerable variation in what service providers considered post-release. Table 3.3 summarises the program timeframes associated with interventions that were judged to be post-release by respondents.

Table 3.3. Timeframes encompassed by specific post-release interventions

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 185 programs</i>		
PRE RELEASE COMPONENT		
No pre-release component	31	57
Pre-release component: 7 weeks up to release	15	27
Pre-release component: 8 weeks or more before release	19	35
Pre-release component: at intake/reception	2	3
Pre-release component: variable delivery timeframe	16	30
POST RELEASE COMPONENT		
No contact after release	17	32
Post-custody component	74	137
BOTH COMPONENTS		
Program has both pre-release & post-custody components	41	76

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 within pre-release and post-custody components because of missed responses.

Continuity of care? Throughcare for Australian offenders

Table 3.3 shows that around two-fifths of individual programs included both pre- and post-custody components. These programs could be considered examples of throughcare, yet when asked if post-release programs in general involved throughcare, 56 per cent of agencies responded positively (Table 3.1). Thus whilst the majority of agencies support throughcare in general, this is not necessarily a principle underpinning *all* reported-upon programs.

Throughcare implies that services are continued, or at least mirrored between custody and the community. Noteworthy, whilst custodial and community correctional functions fall under the umbrella of correctional services or justice departments in all jurisdictions, only 42 per cent of surveyed government community and custodial respondents reported consulting with their complementary arm when developing programs (see Table 3.1). Translating in-prison learning, gains and supports into settings in the broader community presumably requires program adaptation, and consultation between correctional functions would seem a prerequisite for this process. Throughcare also requires an understanding of the roles and challenges faced by the various staff who will participate in the process, and it has been noted elsewhere that regular and open communication between custodial and community corrections will facilitate this understanding (Stevens 2002). Emphasis should therefore be placed on ensuring that the formal and informal channels of communications between the various components of State-based corrections are opened and fostered.

Lastly, throughcare ideally commences at reception into custody, allowing a maximum of time to work with clients to address their criminogenic and support needs. Of all programs reported upon, only a tiny minority (2%) began at reception. This may be because surveyed interventions ran for fixed periods of time and so were delivered with reference to a prison release date rather than the date of prison reception.

The Content of Post-Release Interventions

The many different challenges faced by returning offenders necessitate services covering a variety of content areas. Table 3.4 details the general areas covered by reported interventions.

Thirty-four per cent of all programs clustered in the areas long assumed to foster rehabilitation: employment, housing, vocational guidance and training, health and general welfare. However, the majority (62%) of all interventions addressed the whole offender and his or her socio-economic context (transitional programs), attempted to change faulty ways of thinking (cognitive) or problematic substance use (alcohol and other drug; AOD) or behaviours (reoffending, financial management), or acknowledged the social isolation that can accompany community return (social networks, family).

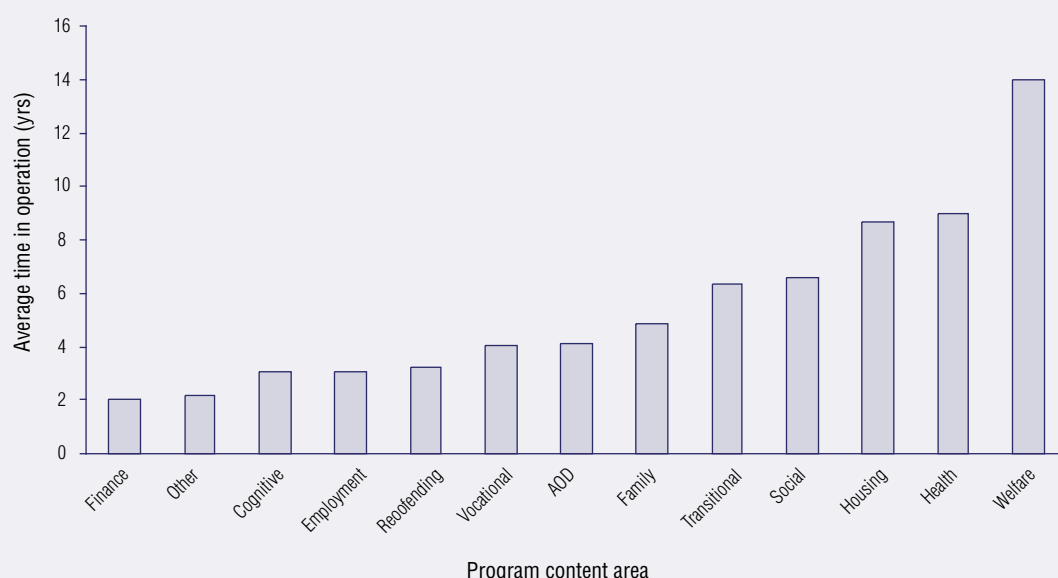
Table 3.4. Content areas of specific post-release interventions

MAIN PROGRAM CONTENT	% ¹	number
<i>n = 185 programs</i>		
Employment Job preparation, search &/or placement	9	17
Housing Accommodation search, placement, provision &/or referral, including emergency housing	7	12
Financial management Counselling &/or advice	3	5
Vocational assistance & training Basic skills, vocational & other skills & qualifications; placement, training delivery &/or referral	5	9
Alcohol & other drug use Counselling, education, harm reduction &/or relapse prevention	14	26
Mental & physical health Mental & physical health services, excluding alcohol & other drug	2	4
Social networks Mentoring, peer &/or other personal support	3	5
Family relations Visitations, parenting skills, &/or domestic violence	7	12
Cognitive skills Social skills, adaptive thinking, insights into behaviour &/or anger management	12	23
Reducing reoffending Sex offending, other specific offences, &/or general offending	5	10
Multiple welfare needs Service provision, brokerage or referral e.g., employment, housing, personal identification, education & training	11	21
Transitional & promoting reintegration Service provision, brokerage or referral e.g. welfare needs plus social networks, personal development, independent living, &/or cognitive skills	18	33
Other e.g. general counselling	4	8

¹ Per cent values may not total 100 because of rounding.

Traditional approaches to prisoner rehabilitation focussed primarily on welfare needs, however recent thinking has acknowledged that the factors underpinning reoffending (criminogenic needs, like AOD misuse) can also impact upon reintegration. Figure 3.1, plots the approximate length of time programs had been in operation, against their main program content, in an attempt to gauge if this change in thinking is reflected in the time that surveyed interventions had been operating.

Figure 3.1. Average years specific post-release interventions have been in operation, by program content^a



^a Includes only interventions for which program duration information had been supplied; n = 121.

This rudimentary analysis of program content over time suggests a relatively recent movement towards addressing offenders holistically within their environments rather than treating them simply as the recipients of traditional welfare supports. As can be seen, programs addressing physical welfare have been in operation the longest, whereas cognitive skills, reducing reoffending, and programs addressing AOD issues are generally ‘younger’. Interestingly, employment and vocational programs are also quite ‘young’, despite the long accepted belief that work and rehabilitation go hand in hand. This may be because of macro-economic changes in recent years. Employment opportunities for those with poor employment histories and low levels of skill are decreasing, and more formal work preparation and job search may be necessary than in the past: securing employment may have been a high priority in earlier years, but this may have been achieved without the participation in formal programs that is necessitated today.

Programs classified as reintegrative or transitional – addressing the whole person – and those acknowledging social aspects of re-entry, appeared in the past decade, and so are slightly ‘older’. The notion of simultaneously addressing multiple welfare needs seems to be expanding though, to

also include measures which address the multiple psychological, physical and social needs of the returning offender. This is not a new approach to offender management: parole services in Australia in the less recent past once adopted a more context-dependent approach to ex-prisoner adjustment (see Borzycki & Baldry 2003). It appears that after a period in which the *whole client* was not the focus of services, thinking might be returning – now with the benefit of accumulated empirical support – to strategies that address *all* the factors that may impact upon adjustment to life in the broader community.

Programs aims were also detailed in questionnaire responses. One hundred and seventy text-based responses were received. In order to examine aims in a quantitative fashion, text responses were collapsed into categories. Table 3.5 summarises the aims of examined programs, and illustrates that no single type of broad aim was common to all programs.

Table 3.5. Broad aims of specific post-release interventions

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 170 programs</i>		
REINTEGRATIVE AIMS		
Reintegration	7	12
Ease transition process	12	22
Promote accountability & responsibility	3	6
Promote independent living	2	4
REDUCED OFFENDING		
Reduce reoffending &/or relapse prevention	27	49
Increase order compliance	1	2
Rehabilitation	6	11
Harm reduction/minimisation	8	15
WELFARE		
Provide housing	10	18
Provide employment	12	22
Provide educational qualifications	8	15
Address general welfare	17	32
Provide appropriate referrals	9	17
Assist in gaining economic independence	1	2
Other e.g., provide recreation	2	3
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT		
Instil cognitive &/or coping skills	20	37
Instil basic &/or vocational skills	4	8
Assist in culturally appropriate living	2	4
Instil personal worth	3	5
Assist in goal setting	4	7
Assist in realising potential	3	5
Instil social skills	4	8
Improve personal relationships	6	11
Provide personal support	13	24
Build clients' community networks	8	15
AGENCY GAINS		
Provide community consultation	3	6
Build interagency partnerships	2	4
Improve community safety &/or decrease prison entries	3	6

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because programs may have multiple aims.

Less than 15 per cent of programs explicitly stated a *reintegrative* aim (reintegration itself, for example), whereas nearly 30 per cent aimed to reduce offending or prevent relapse with interventions. Reduced offending is clearly a part of successful reintegration. Indeed, virtually all of the program aims can be seen as contributing to ex-offender reintegration. That only a minority of programs explicitly stated broad goals linked to reintegration may indicate that reduced reoffending is a more attainable goal than ‘whole of person’ reintegration. It may also reflect the reality that a single treatment program is probably unable to address the complex issues that confront returning offenders.

The most common aim after reduced reoffending was that of equipping offenders with cognitive and coping skills, with one-fifth of examined programs falling into this category. This again emphasises the pervasive influence of the *principles of effective correctional programming*, which advocate using a therapeutic technique that has been shown to work, namely cognitive-behavioural therapy.

A small percentage (less than 5%) of programs included aims for the agency itself or for the broader community, such as building partnerships and building community safety. All of the organisations delivering interventions with aims in addition to client gains were government agencies. Chapter 1 provides a brief background to the US philosophy of *community justice*: the fact that some Australian programs seek to cater to both clients and the communities of their return suggests that a community justice approach—even if not articulated as such—may be informing some Australian correctional practice.

■ Types of Prisoners Targeted by Specific Programs

As noted above with respect to post-release programs in general, remandees are not actively targeted by all agencies. A detailed examination of all of the dimensions on which prisoners were targeted for specific interventions is summarised in Table 3.6. The categories listed were extracted from the text-based information provided for 177 programs.

Only around one-tenth of programs targeted all prisoners, with client need (36%) and age (35%) being the most common targeting criteria. Reported age brackets clustered at the lower end of the spectrum (61% of those targeting on the basis of age targeted individuals less than 30 years old). This serves to underline the priority given to the rehabilitation and reintegration of young people early in their criminal careers. It also illustrates the interaction between public opinion and correctional policy. Mainstream society tends to view young offenders as more amenable to change, as needing specialist services, and tends to be less punitive in reactions to juvenile crime. This means the community generally advocates active interventions to rehabilitate this sub-group of offenders, even when mainstream opinion seems to advocate a toughening of punishments for older offenders (see Roberts, Stalans, Indermaur and Hough 2003).

Like young people, individuals from minority cultural or ethnic backgrounds⁸ and women have different needs to adult males with a mainstream cultural upbringing, and so may require programs catering to their special circumstances. However, only 14 per cent of programs explicitly targeted offenders on the basis of their gender, and only 5 per cent focussed on individuals' ethnicity and/or cultural heritage. Despite the special needs of these prison sub-populations, very few of the programs examined appeared to take unique needs into account.

Table 3.6. Dimensions on which prisoners are targeted for specific post-release interventions

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 177 programs</i>		
Age	35	62
Gender	14	25
Ethnicity or cultural heritage	5	9
Risk of reoffending (either formally assessed, or inferred from past behaviour)	23	41
Need for intervention	36	64
Capacity to participate in program	2	4
Community of return or location of custodial site	6	11
Time left until release	24	43
Type of offence committed	5	8
Length of sentence	14	24
Legal order dictates participation	23	40
Remand status	3	5
Referral from other agency or self-referral	10	17
Possesses prerequisite program participation	3	6
Family or friends of prisoner	10	17
Prisoner volunteered	6	10
All prisoners	10	17

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because programs may employ multiple criteria when targeting clients.

As noted above, a little over one-third targeted clients in need. Almost one-quarter targeted offenders at risk, with approximately 16 per cent of the programs targeting clients *both* with particular risks *and* in need. Principles of effective correctional programming dictate that interventions are appropriate to clients' risks and needs: in particular, those at higher risk should be subject to more

⁸ Including, although not exclusively so, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Australians.

intensive interventions. Of those programs that targeted on the basis of risk, 12 explicitly focussed on clients who posed a medium to high risk.

Only one program ran counter to the principle and referred to targeting lower risk offenders, specifically, to low risk sex offenders. This illustrates the delicate balance that must be struck by service providers between offender rehabilitation and reintegration, and community protection. Sex offenders, like other prisoners, should be encouraged to reintegrate, but the nature of their offending means that more conventional systems of easing transition, such as day release, are not easily used and can pose community safety issues. Assisting these offenders to rehabilitate and reintegrate is therefore particularly challenging for correctional services.

A balance also must be struck between offenders' motivation to take part in interventions, and the very real resource limitations governing program operation: despite potential clients being willing to participate in programs, not all will be able to take part. For instance, only 5 per cent of interventions targeted all offenders who had volunteered to take part, whereas 23 per cent targeted clients who had been legally mandated to participate. Other ways of limiting the numbers in programs included catering specifically to those with a certain time left to serve (24%), and delivering programs to those serving sentences of a specified length (14%).

Ten per cent of programs explicitly aimed to assist family and friends of offenders of all ages, once more highlighting an increasing appreciation that the context of community return can effect community reintegration for adults and juveniles.

The flipside of targeting clients is excluding certain types of offenders, and 44 per cent of surveyed programs explicitly excluded some types of offenders. Table 3.7 lists the various criteria that were derived from text-based descriptions of reasons for exclusion.

Table 3.7. Exclusion criteria for specific post-release interventions

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 82 programs</i>		
Low motivation or failure to admit need	17	14
Incapable of participation <i>e.g., illiterate, NESB, mental illness, misconduct</i>	51	42
Outside targeted age group	11	9
Gender	4	3
Geographic location outside area serviced	1	1
Inappropriate level of risk or need	23	19
Past offences <i>e.g., sex offenders</i>	23	19
Outside targeted sentence length or not on legal order	15	12
Not in targeted client group	20	16
Has other forms of support	5	4
On remand	2	2
Other <i>e.g., awaiting deportation, unemployed in prison</i>	10	8

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because programs may employ multiple exclusion criteria.***The role of offender motivation***

Perhaps most noteworthy is the finding that almost 20 per cent of all interventions that excluded some potential clients, excluded offenders who were not motivated to participate. Intuitively, this seems an appropriate use of resources, but it runs counter to evidence concerning the effectiveness of correctional programs. Research into AOD treatments suggests that the initial factors impelling offenders to take part (eg boredom versus mandated participation) need not necessarily impact upon the success of outcomes (eg see Field 1998). A related aspect of service delivery is whether or not offenders were legally compelled to participate in specific interventions. Twenty-four of the 153 programs with valid responses concerning enforced offender participation noted that programs were mandatory for clients, 99 were wholly voluntary, and the remainder took clients who were voluntary but also catered to those legally obliged to participate. The long-term effects of enforced drug treatment have not yet been assessed (see Farabee, Prendergast, Cartier, Wexler, Knight and Anglin 1999), nor have the longer-term effects of mandated participation in interventions that address non-drug risks and needs. Thus it is unclear what impact motivation level will have on long-term success, and which mode of program attendance—voluntary or mandatory—may be most effective in terms of promoting reintegration.

Paradoxically, those clients who are least motivated may also be those most in need of assistance, and so (research tells us) are also probably those who would benefit most from interventions. Nearly one-quarter of all programs excluded potential clients with an inappropriate level of risk, and around one-fifth excluded those who did fall in the targeted group (which the preceding analysis highlights is often based on risk level). A closer examination of responses showed that six programs excluded on the basis of poor motivation, but conversely targeted by risk: service delivery on the basis of risk may therefore be at odds with exclusion on the basis of motivational levels.

Ideally integrated throughcare regimes will contain components designed to promote motivation before attempting to address larger issues (eg see Birgden and McLachlan 2002). It is not clear from the current information if those offenders excluded for motivational reasons were required to have already undergone some form of motivation building: it is possible that some respondents felt that motivational programs fell outside the criteria for post-release interventions and so did not incorporate them in the supplied information.⁹ Despite the lack of information regarding surveyed interventions, it is nonetheless critical to acknowledge that offender motivation is changeable, and therefore the means of promoting change, and for assessing readiness for change, should be amongst the tools at throughcare service providers' disposal.

Offenders Incapable of Participating in Standard Programs

The smooth and productive day-to-day implementation of interventions requires a match between program content, client learning style and cultural background, and program delivery. For this reason, a high proportion of programs (51%) excluded offenders who were incapable of taking part. Inability to take part sometimes arose because prisoners had violated institutional rules and were being penalised, however the majority of these 'incapacity' exclusions related to prisoners who:

- were illiterate
- had limited English language skills
- had mental health or AOD issues that were not sufficiently controlled, or
- were unable to interact in a group environment.

This approach to resource allocation is intuitively appealing, but as with offenders showing poor motivation, those who are challenged in terms of issues like literacy or mental illness may be most at risk once released and so most in need of reintegrative support. As reported already, special needs prisoner sub-populations, such as women and offenders from minority cultural or ethnic backgrounds, were under-catered for among this collection of interventions. Table 3.4 shows that only 2 per cent of reported programs addressed issues of mental health and physical health, with three of these four programs focussing on mental wellbeing. This combined with the finding that offenders with mental health issues are actively excluded from participation suggest that mentally

⁹ Only a very small number of surveyed programs actually reported subcomponents intended to build motivation.

ill offenders may also be an under-catered for prisoner subgroup, at least among the programs captured in this research.

Reintegrating the ‘Unpalatable’ Offender

Correctional authorities must balance community safety with individual reintegration. This can be difficult when a client’s offence is one that is considered to be particularly heinous. Almost one-quarter (23%) of programs that excluded prisoners did so on the basis of past offending, with the overwhelming majority of these (95%) making direct reference to excluding sex offenders. Although these potentially dangerous individuals must be closely managed to ensure public safety, and despite public resistance to providing perceived advantages to offenders seen as morally reprehensible, excluding sex offenders from post-release programs does not prevent them from one day being released back into the mainstream community. If they have not been able to access the range of supports necessary for reintegration, the community ultimately will suffer if that individual re-offends. Correctional authorities offer dedicated programs to rehabilitate sex offenders, but managing sexual offending behaviour is probably not the only issue confronting these individuals after custody. The challenge for corrections therefore appears to be one of addressing the whole person when their offence—often justifiably—appears to overshadow the individual.

Including only ‘low stakes’ offenders—those who are less likely to cause a public outcry—has been considered a technique for building community support for new correctional approaches. The rationale is that by initially implementing innovative programs with a low stakes group, benefits can be demonstrated in a relatively non-controversial way and programs can then be expanded later to include higher stake prisoners. However Taxman, Byrne and Young (2002) caution that under current correctional regimes in the US, very few piloted interventions actually go on to be incorporated into mainstream programming, and (as already noted) research to date demonstrates that the best reductions in reoffending occur when higher risk prisoners are targeted. Australian post-release service providers will need to carefully consider how they will approach the issue of assessing new initiatives to assist in the reintegration of high-risk and high stakes offenders to ensure that the community is safe in both the short- and the longer-term.

Prisoners Released Without Conditions or Parole

In addition to items about client targeting and exclusion, government agencies providing community correctional services were asked if their interventions were made available to offenders released from custody *without* supervision orders. Fourteen of the 21 valid responses noted that clients without supervision orders could voluntarily access interventions. Whether or not clients could access the *full* range of programs could not be ascertained. However, of the 36 interventions that these agencies delivered which also contained information about exclusion criteria, 61 per cent (or 22) employed criteria to exclude potential clients. Thus whilst there appear to be some government-delivered services for prisoners and young adults leaving detention who are not under mandatory supervision order, unsupervised releasees may be excluded from accessing available services on other grounds.

Addressing the Needs of All Prisoners?

Limited correctional dollars and limited resources within NGOs mean that access to interventions clearly must also be limited, hence criteria for targeting and exclusion, and assessment for risk and need. What then does this mean for prisoners leaving custody? Will the average prisoner receive needed service and supports, or will only a high-risk minority gain the assistance needed to reintegrate? Service providers were asked about the number of clients in their care, as well as the numbers completing their specific programs and interventions.

Survey responses suggest that this information was extremely difficult to compile. Only 38 agencies were able to provide even approximate information concerning client numbers, and when count information that was qualified in some way was removed, only 27 valid responses remained. Similarly, information regarding numbers completing specific interventions was received for only 82 programs, with this figure reduced to 60 once qualified counts were removed. Given the inadequacy of the data, plus the fact that surveyed interventions do not capture all Australian programs and services, it is impossible to ascertain the degree with which *all* prisoners' post-release needs are evaluated and addressed in some way.

Other Australian research (Baldry et al 2003) estimates that upwards of 40,000 adults leave custody each year. No similar national estimates exist for young people leaving custody. In order to gain an understanding of how well prisoners' and young peoples' reintegrative needs are being met, a critical first step appears to be ascertaining precise numbers leaving custody, and then gaining access to services.

■ Characteristics of Interventions

Case Management and the Brokerage of Services

Inferences were made on the basis of supplied information as to whether or not agencies offered a range of services to returning prisoners (as opposed to simply one or two uniform programs delivered to all clients). Three-quarters of the examined agencies implied or directly stated that a number and variety—a battery—of programs, services or interventions were potentially available to clients. Eighty-eight per cent of correctional agencies supplying community supervision, 63 per cent of custodial correctional services, 80 per cent of combined custodial/community correctional respondents, and 71 per cent of NGOs appeared to have a battery of interventions at their disposal.

When coupled with the findings that over 60 per cent of all agencies explicitly noted that their programs were tailored to individuals (Table 3.1), and that specific clients were targeted under particular programs (Table 3.6), one can assume that a case management approach to post-release service delivery was favoured among the majority of surveyed agencies. Agencies appear to be attempting to *simultaneously* address the multiple challenges met by prisoners re-entering the community (the principles of effective correctional programming state that effective programs

should be multimodal: that they should act to address multiple offender-specific needs, and should use a range of techniques in doing so).

Case management requires a case plan, and this plan is typically derived from an assessment of a client's risks and needs. All agencies were asked when prisoners and ex-prisoners were assessed for participation in the post-release interventions, and results showed that:

- half of the 46 agencies that provided information screened at an unspecified or variable time pre-release
- twelve assessed prisoners between six and one month before their release
- one assessed after release, and
- ten screened at reception or intake.

Optimally, throughcare will commence early in the custodial spell and continue after release, but this is a highly resource intensive mode of service delivery. Thus it is not surprising that eight of the ten agencies that screened at intake catered to juvenile clients. As already noted, this prisoner subgroup can be perceived as being more deserving of correctional programming, is smaller in number, and may be more amenable to rehabilitative change than adult prisoners, and so possibly warrants the investment of this most intensive form of throughcare.

The detail of individual interventions was examined to assess if specific programs involved case management and the brokerage of/referral to services.¹⁰ Of the 184 interventions that provided adequate information to make this assessment, 39 per cent suggested a case management approach, and 36 per cent implied brokerage or referral. These relatively low proportions may in part reflect the fact that a number of individual interventions were simply components of overarching case managed approaches to addressing returning offenders' risks and needs (presumably the low proportions are also attributable to fact that these variables were inferred rather than directly assessed).

Effective case management requires close working relationships between agencies. Of the 167 interventions in which relevant information was supplied, 68 per cent of programs involved a range of agencies, acting either as partners, contractors, or outsourced service providers. Thus whilst only a small proportion of programs explicitly aimed to build interagency partnerships (see Table 3.5), many appeared to be delivering services on the basis of coordinated interagency activities.

A full list of all agencies that were involved in the delivery of surveyed post-release interventions, programs and services can be found in Appendix B (the list incorporates agencies that completed questionnaires, as well as those that were listed as involved in service delivery by agencies completing questionnaires).

¹⁰ Questions explicitly referring to case management and brokerage/referral were not included because it was felt that these terms may not be uniformly interpreted by all respondents. Instead, program detail was used to deduce these service delivery characteristics, although in some cases respondents explicitly referred to employing case management, referral and/or financial brokerage.

Components of Specific Interventions

Tailored case management is a mode of service delivery gaining prominence, and it seems critical if service providers aim to address all of a client's issues and challenges to facilitate their reintegration and rehabilitation. However, if a program's aims are more modest—for example, providing access to an employment agency or instilling social skills—a variety of service delivery techniques can be employed.

Table 3.8 summarises the various components that were listed for 161 specific interventions. As with some program dimensions already discussed, categories were extracted from text-based responses.

More than four in every ten specific interventions (43%) involved one-on-one counselling, therapy or discussion. This probably reflects the dominance of a cognitive-behavioural treatment model.

It is also likely to be linked to the notion of delivering tailored services to clients: in order to tailor services, a formal or informal assessment of individual challenges must be made, and this is presumably best done in a one-on-one setting. Seventeen of these programs using one-on-one interactions also employed group discussion, suggesting that group work may follow-on from one-on-one assessment. Overall, around one-quarter (26%) of all programs delivered programs in a group forum.

Table 3.8. Components of specific post-release interventions

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 161 programs</i>		
One-on-one counselling, therapy or discussion	43	69
Family therapy or discussion	4	6
Group therapy or discussion	26	42
Self-monitoring	2	4
Written materials or provision of verbal information	14	22
Classroom or practical training	19	30
Outreach	6	10
Assessment	15	24
Referral	27	43
Advocacy	6	10
Follow-up support	29	47
Job or educational search or placement	17	28
Vocational guidance or training	14	22
Direct provision of services	14	22
Program, sentence or exit planning	6	10
Mentoring	8	13
Other e.g., family visits, residential treatment, recreation	9	15

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because programs may consist of multiple components.

In keeping with the above finding that nearly 40 per cent of programs involved brokerage and/or referral, only 14 per cent of programs explicitly referred to providing services directly to clients. An example of this would be providing transitional accommodation to released prisoners rather than simply referring the client to an accommodation service. The majority of programs with direct service provision involved vocational or employment focussed interventions (55%). A sizeable minority (36%) were transitional programs though, suggesting that the service that is provided is in fact case management, referral or brokerage in some form. Unless agencies employ a multidisciplinary team capable of providing an adequate standard of specific needed services and treatments, the engagement of qualified external service providers is presumably the most economical use of resources when addressing the holistic needs of prisoners.

One-third of all programs used traditional educational techniques, employing classroom or practical training, or providing written or verbal information. Given that some transitional challenges confronting prisoners relate to matters as seemingly simple as accessing Centrelink payments,

providing helpful information (14% of programs) is probably the most effective way of ensuring that prisoners can negotiate certain aspects of community life once released. Of course this information is only as useful as its level of accessibility. Prisoners tend to have low levels of literacy and education, therefore it is critical that any written materials are constructed to be readily accessible for this group.

Follow-up support once the formal components of a program have been completed is critical to the concept of throughcare. This is so important because it enables gains from programs to be reinforced, and means ex-prisoners will not face challenges in the community alone. Nearly 30 per cent of all programs provided follow-up support, with 40 per cent of these transitional in content, meaning that for clients of these programs, informal support was provided when confronting their reintegrative challenges.

The Duration of Specific Programs

Individual programs varied in the number of face-to-face hours clients engaged with workers, therapists or counsellors. Indeed, for 38 per cent of the 126 specific interventions that had accompanying duration information, the time spent with *individual clients* varied within the program. In a number of these cases, variable face-to-face hours were '*dependent on need*', '*as required*', or '*varied with components*', indicating once again that some of the surveyed interventions were highly tailored to individual needs.

Of those 78 programs of fixed duration, 40 per cent ran for over a 50-hour period, showing adherence to yet another principle of effective correctional programming: interventions must be of sufficient dosage (which includes duration) to effect a change in the client. Inappropriate thinking and problem solving skills are often developed over a lifetime, therefore it is not surprising that seven (or 23%) of the programs of the longest duration focussed on changing cognitions. Around one-quarter of the longest interventions were transitional in focus (ie addressing multiple welfare and social needs), with the multiple foci presumably requiring adequate time to do so effectively.

Programs also varied in terms of the length of time taken to complete them; in the number of weeks or months over which the hours were spread. Tailoring also played a role, because 21 per cent of the 138 programs with relevant information noted variable program lengths, with this again usually linked to variable client needs. The largest proportion of programs (35%) however, ran over a period of two to six months. This timeframe presumably allows a variety of issues to be adequately addressed yet also reflects the reality that limited resources mean support cannot continue indefinitely.

Programs and Pilots: the Funding of Specific Interventions

Resources for post-release services can be limited both in terms of the amount of funding available for their implementation, and the timeframe for that implementation. Respondents were asked about the funding for specific interventions, and information is summarised in Table 3.9.

Around one-third of programs did not include information concerning funding expiration, suggesting that respondents either did not have this information, or were reluctant to supply the same. The majority of the 39 time-limited programs were set to lose funding within the next two years. Half of all programs delivered by NGOs for which funding information was supplied (ie 18 of 36) were in receipt of that funding for only a limited period of time. The equivalent figure among government agencies was 24 per cent.

Table 3.9. Funding timeframes for specific post-release interventions

	% ¹	number
<i>n = 185 programs</i>		
Funding expiry information not supplied	34	63
Not applicable because no funding expiry date set	44	81
Not applicable, pilot only	2	2
Funding expiry date set	21	39
	<i>Expiry date 2003</i>	7
	<i>Expiry date 2004</i>	18
	<i>Expiry date 2005</i>	11
	<i>Expiry date 2006</i>	2
	<i>Expiry date 2007</i>	1

¹ Per cent values do not total 100 because of rounding.

Forty-four per cent of the specific interventions that provided relevant information did not have a set funding expiry date. The fact that no date was set for a large minority of surveyed interventions could be indicative of at least two quite different policy positions regarding funding:

- that the program is regarded as part of the day to day correctional enterprise, and so is factored into recurrent expenditure as a dedicated cost, or
- that funding is drawn from the general pool of recurrent expenditure, but that these funds could be withdrawn if spending priorities change.

It is unclear which may be the case, but if interventions to support prisoners post-release are to become part of the standard repertoire of correctional tools, they will need to be legitimised by factoring them in, as a dedicated cost, to be recurrently funded. Of course, this financial commitment should not be made without evidence that these interventions do in fact do what they purport to do, and this is where program evaluation plays an important role.

■ Evaluations of Interventions

The worth of evaluation should not be underestimated. Whilst well-conducted process and outcome evaluation can involve sizeable up-front investments, longer-term benefits include:

- reliable data regarding program efficacy
- reliable data to refine program implementation
- evidence to support resourcing claims to funding bodies
- evidence to demonstrate program merit to the wider population, and
- contributions to the knowledge base of *what works* in corrections.

However, the benefits of evaluation may not have been sufficient to outweigh the costs among the surveyed interventions. Information regarding evaluation status was supplied for only 137 specific interventions, and whilst 60 per cent of these had completed evaluations or evaluations underway, evaluations were *not* integral to over one-third of programs.

An examination of program content area and evaluation information was conducted to ascertain if only certain types of interventions tended to be evaluated. Although results (summarised in Table 3.10) should be treated with extreme caution because of the small number of cases in some intervention types, they suggest that smaller proportions of programs that focused on traditional welfare needs (eg housing, 33%; employment, 24%; or multiple welfare needs, 33%) were evaluated when compared to those addressing multiple transitional needs (58%), or aspects of the person other than basic welfare: cognitive skills (65%), social networks (80%), and family relations; (58%). As shown in Figure 2.1, non-welfare interventions tended to be more ‘modern’ than those catering to physical welfare, thus this difference in the rate of evaluation may reflect the fact that—in keeping with principles of effective correctional programming—newer innovations tend to have evaluation in-built to the implementation process.

Table 3.10. Evaluation status and content area of specific interventions

Percentage with:						
<i>n = 185 programs</i>						
Content Area	no eval	eval ¹	status unkn	no info ²	pilot pgm only	number
Employment	41	24	6	29	—	17
Housing	33	33	8	25	—	12
Financial management	40	20	—	40	—	5
Vocational assistance & training	33	44	—	22	—	9
Alcohol & other drug use	31	35	—	35	—	26
Mental & physical health	25	25	—	50	—	4
Social networks	20	80	—	—	—	5
Family relations	25	58	—	17	—	12
Cognitive skills	17	65	—	13	4	23
Reducing reoffending	20	20	—	60	—	10
Multiple welfare needs	33	33	—	10	24	21
Transitional & promoting reintegration	15	58	—	27	—	33
Other	—	63	—	38	—	8

¹ Includes complete evaluations and those not yet completed at the time of responding.

² Interventions for which no information regarding evaluation status was included in response.

Note: Per cent values may not total 100 because of rounding.

Very few respondents—even when program evaluations had been completed—were able to supply detailed written information relating to the evaluation process. Twenty-six noted that evaluation reports could potentially be supplied, however only seven reports or report extracts were actually consulted for this research.¹¹ Of these, two related only to the pilot programs that preceded the interventions referred to in the questionnaire (rather than the current implementation of program), and two reported on broader initiatives, of which reported programs were only a part. One was a copy of information supplied as part of the annual reporting requirements.

¹¹ Five reports were forwarded by respondents, but two reports relating to the pilots of mentioned programs were downloaded from relevant web sites.

Evaluation Methods and Findings

Adhering to the 'gold standard' of criminal justice program evaluation

If adhering to the 'gold standard'—to the *experimental* method—program evaluations will involve the random allocation of clients to treatment versus non-treatment (or control) conditions. Randomly allocating participants helps eliminate the possibility that some systematic feature of participants *other* than the treatment is responsible for the observed findings, thereby allowing stronger conclusions to be drawn (see Farrington 2003). If, for example, clients were allocated to a treatment or to a control condition on the basis of the motivation they displayed, it is impossible to later disentangle whether any differences in outcomes were due to the intervention per se, or simply to different levels of motivation. Findings regarding outcomes can inform about overall intervention efficacy, but if evaluations are intended to inform about program implementation, then they should also assess the way in which interventions were made operational, in *process* evaluation.

Evaluation that adheres to the gold standard is a costly proposition and can be ethically challenging, therefore it is not surprising that none of the examined evaluations associated with surveyed interventions were able to employ random allocation. Rather, quantitative evaluation methods used in those few interventions for which information was available involved either:

- quasi-experimentation, using non-equivalent comparison groups (where already-formed treatment groups were compared to groups made up of those who did not take part in treatment), or
- the examination of groups of clients who took part in programs without any comparison to other non-participating clients, examining participants on multiple occasions before, during and/or after their participation in interventions (another form of quasi-experimentation, time series analysis), or gathering information at only one point in time.

Nearly all examined evaluations relied on administrative data, which contained information about variables such as recidivism (defined in various ways), the number and duration of worker-client contacts, or successful order completion. All made use of verbal or written information supplied by key stakeholders and informants in the delivery of services. These stakeholders included (but not always):

- program participants
- family members of participants
- program staff
- program administrators, and
- victims.

Stakeholder data collected included attitudes and opinions, as well as output from standardised questionnaires and pre-existing assessment tools. To some extent, all studies gathered and reported information on both final outcomes and the process of implementation.

Potential reasons for low rates of evaluation and supply of evaluation information

As already noted, evaluation is a resource intensive exercise, and levels of program funding and/or staff expertise may have simply been insufficient to permit this process. Alternatively, long-standing programs may not have needed to demonstrate their worth as they were already an accepted part of service delivery to prisoners and ex-prisoners.

Overseas researchers have noted that evaluation can be made more difficult when programs have multiple goals and multiple components (see Lawrence, Mears, Dubin and Travis 2002). This is because it becomes difficult to disentangle causal factors, and to adequately control the influence of all aspects of the treatment environment over specific outcomes. Multiple aims and components may have posed methodological difficulties for some service providers. Surveyed programs, on average, had approximately two aims (as categorised in Table 3.5), but the number of aims varied with intervention content area, so that the average transitional program had 3.4 separate aims, whereas the average financial management program had a single aim. Similarly, the average program consisted of 2.6 components (as per the categories outlined in Table 3.8), but again this varied, so that transitional programs had an average of 3.7 components, with financial management interventions having an average of only 1.2 components. As noted above, multimodal treatments have been shown to lead to the best outcomes. However, multimodal approaches, unless components and aims are clearly defined and readily operationalised into measurable items may be an obstacle to obtaining informative evaluations.

Conclusions from evaluations

All outcome information in evaluation reports noted that programs generally achieved some level of success, as per the unique aims of those specific interventions, but the very small number of reports precluded any formal analyses. Nonetheless, some findings and recommendations regarding process—the *implementation* of interventions—from the various reports are worth mentioning. These include:

- the need for strong community partnerships to effectively deliver a range of programs in the community
- the need for strong relationships between community workers and custodial institutions, and
- relationships between clients and workers need to be established well before release to ensure a strong relationship that can survive the transition process.

The numbers of program participants was not always reported, making it difficult to assess the rate of participant *dropout* from programs. This measure can be a good indicator of the general efficacy of the process of implementation. Assessing the characteristics of those who were unable to see the program through to its close can additionally inform about specific aspects of the program that may need to be refined or rethought. Two evaluation reports noted dropout rates of between 30 and 40 per cent, but without detailed data relating to aspects of these individuals, it is difficult to apply any interpretation to these figures.

A systematic review of the evaluations of 32 North American transitional initiatives concluded:

This analysis of prisoner reentry programs has identified several categories of programs in which there is evidence of success. Correctional administrators should take note of these programs; implement or expand the use of vocational training and/or work release programs, drug rehabilitation programs, education programs, halfway house programs, and pre-release programs that have proven success; and expand the use of sex- and violent-offender programs that show promise. (Seiter and Kadela 2003; p 380).

Unfortunately, information regarding outcomes derived from the current research cannot be collapsed in any meaningful way given the extremely small number of reports examined, and the disparity in measures, clients, and program content and aims. It is therefore impossible to extract any general principles of effective post-release interventions in Australia. However, the fact that Australian service providers are delivering programs and interventions with similar content and form to those that appear to be easing transition and reducing recidivism amongst prisoners in other Western jurisdictions bodes well for maximising the reintegrative success of Australian prisoners reentering the community.

In this chapter, correctional policy directions regarding post-release services are briefly examined in conjunction with the main findings to emerge from questionnaire responses. Recommendations regarding the implementation of, and any future research into, Australian post-release and throughcare programs are also made.

■ Policy Directions in Australian Corrections

Amongst the broad Australian correctional goals of community protection, reparation, program provision, and sentencing and release advice, ‘(the) Transitional management of prisoners upon release into the community is a major policy focus’ (SCRCSSP 2003, p. 7.10). A brief examination of public-domain documents produced by correctional services in Australian jurisdictions was conducted to highlight policy regarding transitional management (see Appendix C for a listing of the relevant documents). Table 4.1 provides a thumbnail sketch of planned and mooted policy directions in prisoner management: the total refers to the number of Australian adult correctional authorities who explicitly referred to the associated policy directions.

Table 4.1. Transitional and related policy in Australia

	TOTAL
Promoting successful transition / re-entry / reintegration	8
Throughcare	8
Case management / integrated offender management	8
Assessment	8
Addressing criminogenic needs / cognitive behavioural approach	8
Transitional housing ¹	5
Transitional mental health care ¹	2
Transitional physical health care ¹	2
Transitional AOD treatment ¹	4
Procuring ID, benefits, etc ¹	5
Community relevant employment & training search &/or placement ¹	8
Developing links to community supports ¹	3
Developing social supports/mentoring ¹	3
Support & includes prisoners' families ¹	8
Partnerships: government & NGO	8
Victim involvement / mediation	4
Encouraging offender accountability / responsibility	3
Program evaluation / research	7

¹ Refers to the mention of a policy or practice specifically addressing this area during and after release rather than simply making reference, for example, to generic risks and needs or community reintegration, or to *only* pre-release services in these areas.

All jurisdictions explicitly state a commitment to providing services that facilitate transition (or reintegration or re-entry), using a throughcare model of service delivery, which relies on offender case management (or an integrated offender management system). All explicitly acknowledge that government inter-agency working and partnerships with NGOs are important means of achieving this goal. Interestingly, not all jurisdictions highlighted 'restorative' policy moves to increase offender accountability and responsibility, and to provide a clear role for victims of crime in the rehabilitation and reintegration process.

Policy regarding the content of reintegrative and transitional supports varied, with all authorities endorsing the more traditional areas of employment and training opportunities that bridge custody and community. There was less uniform explicit emphasis on transitional services addressing social supports, mental health issues, and alcohol and other drug use.

The principles of effective correctional programming have permeated correctional thinking, with all State-based authorities advocating assessment to inform a range of decisions, including institutional classification and preparedness for release. Assessment also informs placement in cognitive-behavioural interventions and/or those programs designed to address criminogenic needs in all States and Territories. Also in keeping with the general principles, most jurisdictions explicitly advocate for research into, and evaluation of, correctional interventions.

The progress of policy implementation is not uniform across Australia. In some jurisdictions pilots and programs were already underway at the time the consulted documents were written. In others, transitional policy was essentially 'aspirational': only at an initial formulation stage, with recommendations yet to be accepted or the detail of implementation still to be finalised. Completely up-to-date publicly available policy documents were not easily accessible, thus actual progress is likely to be further advanced in the States and Territories than is indicated in the above table. Regardless of this, the identified policy trends were reflected in the interventions described by survey respondents and reported in Chapter 3. The following briefly reiterates the main findings from the post-release survey.

Main Findings

Evidence of employing principles of effective programming

The principles of effective correctional programming were evidenced in the programs examined. Specifically, survey responses indicated that some Australian post-release programs:

- examine criminogenic needs to ensure that interventions address offending behaviours
- use assessment to guide client placement in programs
- Tailor programs to clients, matching interventions to assessed risk and need
- provide treatments of sufficient duration to influence behaviours
- address multiple needs, using a variety of techniques but especially cognitive behavioural techniques, and
- employ evaluation to gauge program success at an individual client and a program level.

Trend towards addressing the whole person

Although many programs explicitly address criminogenic factors, many also aimed to assist offenders in a more holistic fashion, considering all aspects of the post-release context that may influence the success of reintegration attempts. When program content was analysed, these more *whole of person* interventions were well represented. These programs consider the important role of family and social networks pre- and post-release, as well as meeting psychosocial needs, and ensuring physical welfare is adequately addressed.

The aim of these multifaceted programs is presumably rehabilitation, reintegration, or at least reduced reoffending. Interestingly, the articulated aims of examined interventions were often

more modest, ranging from instilling appropriate cognitive skills to the provision of recreational opportunities. Only a minority of programs actually aimed to facilitate reintegration.

Lastly, because of the emphasis on effective correctional programming and matching intervention to risk, it is critical that motivation to participate in programs is one aspect of the whole person that is not ignored. A number of interventions target on the basis of formally or informally assessed risk, but some exclude because of lack of motivation. There is insufficient evidence to assess if enforced participation in treatment reaps the same benefits as taking part on a voluntary basis, thus it would seem important to ensure holistic services take steps to improve the motivation of unmotivated, at-risk clients.

Dominance of a case management approach

Case management is an effective service delivery vehicle if complex multiple needs are to be met. Case management coordinates multiple services, supports and programs and so can address whole of person integration. Less than half of all programs implied a case management approach and the brokerage or referral of services, yet a majority of agencies implied that multiple and various interventions were at their disposal when needed. Respondents were not asked directly about case management or batteries of available programs, thus these inconsistencies may be a function of the type of information actually supplied.

Any future investigation of case managed throughcare and post-release support in Australia would be advised to gather information regarding the way in which agencies conceive and implement case management.

Delivering a continuum of care

A number of programs aimed to bridge the period of transition between custody and the community, although only around half of government correctional agencies explicitly endorsed a post-release regimen built on throughcare. A throughcare ethos informs general programming (as is suggested by the thumbnail sketch of policy), but this is not necessarily evident in all practice. Of course it is not appropriate that all programs be continued after release: for instance, arranging for post-release access to welfare benefits need not be followed-up if adequate arrangements are made prior to prisoner re-entry. However, in many cases, lack of ready income is not the only challenge that a returning prisoner may face, thus whilst the welfare component of support can be terminated at release, other aspects of that same client may need ongoing support.

The survey used here examined various levels of service delivery—from overarching models such as case management, to individual programs addressing very narrow aspects of a person, such as alcohol misuse. Future research would benefit from thoroughly assessing the precise way in which all levels of service delivery interact to provide a safety net of prisoner throughcare.

Evidence of interagency working

Despite a shared hierarchy and a commitment to throughcare, not all government-sponsored programs were developed jointly between the custodial and the community arms of corrections. Additionally, not all NGOs communicated with government authorities. Nonetheless, there is support in these findings for the notion of interagency working, because numerous programs involved multiple service providers drawn from the government and non-government sector. Further research is necessary to address the degree of formality that governs these between agency relationships, and to assess the optimal form that the joined-up operations should take to ensure that the chances of reintegration are maximised, whilst minimising the risk of reoffending.

Meeting the needs of diverse clients

Whilst the most up to date thinking regarding offender rehabilitation and reintegration can be found in the surveyed services, there are subgroups of prisoners whose post-release needs may be inadequately met. These include:

- remand inmates
- inmates from a minority ethnic or cultural background, especially Indigenous Australians
- women
- prisoners whose pose a risk to community safety and whose offences are especially antisocial, such as sex offenders
- imprisoned individuals with mental health issues, and
- clients displaying low levels of motivation or failing to admit their need for treatment.

More positively, a number of programs explicitly targeted the families of offenders, recognising the important role that social networks play in prisoner reintegration.

Use of evaluation

Evaluation was integrated into the implementation of about two-thirds of all programs, with it more typically a feature of programs whose content addressed areas other than welfare provision. Very little evaluative material was examined for this project, but of that received, no evaluation had employed random allocation to treatment and control conditions (the so-called 'gold standard'). Rather, process and outcome evaluation relied on quasi-experimental design, or on more qualitative surveys of stakeholders. Administrative data was employed to provide quantitative information. The extremely small number of reports examined meant that no strong conclusions can be drawn regarding what works in an Australian context.

■ Conclusions

The Provision of Post-Release Services and Throughcare

Despite evidence that the post-release challenges and needs of some Australian prisoners are being addressed in various ways, recidivism rates indicate that not all prisoners are being successfully reintegrated, or are even having their criminogenic needs effectively addressed. The growing interest from authorities in post-release services and throughcare bodes well for the likelihood of lessened offending and increased reintegration, but there are still aspects of throughcare delivery that are not well developed. Areas of throughcare that need further examination or elaboration include:

1. The compilation of a comprehensive register of post-release and throughcare services delivered by *all* organisations in Australia, including State-based custodial, State and Australian Government non-custodial, and non-government faith-based and not-for-profit agencies. The potential roles for private industry in the promotion of post-release adjustment must also be explored, especially regarding aspects of resettlement such as adequate housing and long-term employment opportunities.
2. The establishment of formal throughcare partnerships between all relevant government and non-government agencies, flowing on from ongoing and genuine collaboration in terms program design and implementation between the community and custodial arms of corrective services.
3. The development of funding practices that:
 - ensure dollars are spent in the most efficient manner to produce the best possible gains for individual clients and therefore the best community gains, and
 - allow service providers to confidently implement long-term plans to address the long-term needs of returning prisoners and young people on the basis of guaranteed, dedicated post-release funding.
4. The evolution of policy that allows the reintegrative needs of prisoners with high and complex needs to be addressed. Although these groups are often quite small in number relative to the mainstream prison population (ie relative to English-speaking males of European heritage), they are disproportionately disadvantaged, and yet may be actively excluded from mainstream post-release interventions.
5. The evolution of policy that allows the reintegrative needs of high stakes prisoners, such as sex offenders, to be addressed. Public resistance to any special treatment for these prisoners is understandably high, but ignores the reality that many of these individuals will return to mainstream society one day, and all will benefit if these offenders' anti-social behaviour is stopped.
6. The education of the broader community about the active role community members can play in the reintegration of offenders. This process may be easier if a restorative, victim- or community-centred approach to offender management is adopted, because this emphasises the critical importance of offenders being accountable and accepting responsibility for their past criminal actions and their future resettlement into community life.

The reintegrative needs of ex-prisoners are complex and appear to stem from socio-economic disadvantage that can both pre-date and flow on from imprisonment. If adopting this perspective to the causes of crime, the task of reducing reoffending becomes one of promoting post-release adjustment by ameliorating disadvantages. Given the diverse disadvantages experienced, coordinated actions are required from the whole of the community, which in turn must stem from a whole of government approach (rather than actions initiated and driven only by government correctional agencies who already must address the more immediate needs of an increasing prison population). Importantly, any broad whole of government responses would be most productive if designed to complement already existing national strategies addressing the needs of the socially excluded (for instance, the National Homelessness Strategy, CACH 2003).

Future Research into Post-Release Services and Throughcare

The above areas for development require a strong evidence base that shows what works and what is ineffective in prisoner throughcare and post-release interventions. In order for the knowledge base to be expanded though, all the current means of promoting reintegration, as well as new and innovative approaches, need to be assessed, with the results of those assessments shared amongst all interested parties.

Evaluations need to be *in-built* into pilot and program implementation. This means that the evaluation process should be planned prior to a program commencing, and the intervention should have adequate resources to ensure any evaluation is conducted in a manner that adds to the knowledge base (ie produces reliable and meaningful information). Evaluation is a costly and unproductive exercise if the information gained is not referred to or used to inform future practice.

Systematic investigations of post-release and throughcare services conducted in overseas jurisdictions are contributing to an expanding knowledge base. However, the degree with which this information applies to Australian situations and the diverse needs of Australian prisoners is unknown. It is crucial that Australian service providers and researchers consistently examine the outcomes of Australian initiatives to develop a local understanding of what works in promoting reintegration. Lastly, in order to plan and fund post-release interventions, precise knowledge regarding the number of and the extent of the needs of clients must be obtained.

The Questionnaire Distributed to Australian Service Providers

Section A, Version Forwarded to Custodial Correctional Services (Adult)

SECTION A: YOUR ORGANISATION – CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

Name of correctional centre

Address of correctional centre

Contact person

Contact phone number

 ()

Today's date

 / / 2003

Gender of clients (please tick)

☐ male ☐ female ☐ both male & female clients

Security classification of inmates
(please tick)

Max. # of beds

Security classification of inmates
(please tick)

Max. # of beds

☐ remand/unconvicted

☐ secure – minimum

☐ transitional/pre-release

☐ secure – medium

☐ community custody

☐ secure – maximum

☐ periodic detention

☐ secure – special protection

☐ residential/open

☐ secure – unclassified

☐ other (please specify)

1. Normally, are convicted prisoners screened/ assessed for their participation in post-release programs?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, when does this assessment occur?

2. Are any convicted prisoners excluded from assessment for their participation in post-release programs?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, what type of prisoner is *not* assessed for program participation?

3. Normally, are remand prisoners screened/assessed for their participation in post-release programs?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, when does this assessment occur?

Section A, Version Forwarded to Custodial Correctional Services (Adult, cont.)

4. In general, what are the characteristics of delivery of your post-release programs?
(please tick each characteristic that applies to your programs)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Part of an integrated throughcare plan | <input type="checkbox"/> Tailored to the individual prisoner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Self-contained, stand alone programs | <input type="checkbox"/> Delivered on an ad hoc basis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Delivered at regular intervals | <input type="checkbox"/> Developed in conjunction with Community Corrections |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary participation | <input type="checkbox"/> Compulsory participation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sanctions for failed participation | <input type="checkbox"/> No sanctions for failed participation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please detail) | |

5. How often are individuals' program plans reviewed?

Section A, Version Forwarded to Community Correctional Services (Adult)

SECTION A: YOUR ORGANISATION – COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

Name of region/area

Address of administrative office

Contact person

Contact phone number

 ()

Today's date

 / / 2003

Gender of clients (please tick)

☐ male ☐ female ☐ both male & female clients

 Nature of supervision order
(please tick)

☐ bail
☐ parole
☐ home detention
☐ other (please specify)

 Numbers supervised
(please write number)

 Nature of supervision order
(please tick)

☐ probation
☐ community service order
☐ attendance centre order

 Numbers supervised
(please write number)

1. Normally, are prisoners assessed for their participation in post-release programs?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, when does this assessment occur?

2. Are any prisoners excluded from assessment for their participation in post-release programs?

☐ Yes ☐ No

 If YES, what type of prisoner is not assessed for program participation?
(e.g. those on remand, those released without supervision orders, etc)

 3. In general, what are the characteristics of delivery of your post-release programs?
(please tick each characteristic that applies to your programs)

<input type="checkbox"/> Part of an integrated throughcare plan	<input type="checkbox"/> Tailored to the individual prisoner
<input type="checkbox"/> Self-contained, stand alone programs	<input type="checkbox"/> Delivered on an ad hoc basis
<input type="checkbox"/> Delivered at regular intervals	<input type="checkbox"/> Developed in conjunction with Custodial Corrections
<input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary participation	<input type="checkbox"/> Compulsory participation
<input type="checkbox"/> Sanctions for failed participation	<input type="checkbox"/> No sanctions for failed participation
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (please detail)	

4. How regularly are individuals' program plans reviewed?

5. Are prisoners who are released without supervision orders able to access your services on a voluntary basis?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Section A, Version Forwarded to Non-Government Agencies (Adult)

SECTION A: YOUR ORGANISATION – NON-GOVERNMENT AGENCIES**Name of organisation****Address of organisation****Contact person****Contact phone number** () **Today's date** / / 2003**Gender of clients** (please tick)☐ male ☐ female ☐ both male & female clients

Approximate number of clients under your organisation's care

Types of services provided (please tick)

<input type="checkbox"/> accommodation	<input type="checkbox"/> counselling
<input type="checkbox"/> employment	<input type="checkbox"/> alcohol and other drug
<input type="checkbox"/> advocacy	<input type="checkbox"/> mentoring / peer support
<input type="checkbox"/> legal services	<input type="checkbox"/> social support
<input type="checkbox"/> financial advice	<input type="checkbox"/> family support and contact
<input type="checkbox"/> anger management	<input type="checkbox"/> family relationships / domestic violence
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify)	

1. Normally, are prisoners assessed for their participation in your post-release programs?

☐ Yes ☐ No**If YES, when does this assessment occur?****If NO, what criteria (if any) do you use for inclusion in a program?**

2. Do you receive input from custodial correctional staff when providing programs to prisoners?

☐ Yes ☐ No

3. Do you receive input from community correctional staff when providing programs to prisoners?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Section B, Version Forwarded to Providers with Adult as Clients

GUIDE TO COMPLETING SECTION B OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions relating to post-release programs follow. Before you start completing the questions, please decide which area of interest you feel best describes the program and write this in the space at the top of the answer sheet for section B.

Question 1

Write the formal name of this program. If it does not have a formal name, write the name it is referred to by staff and/or clients.

Question 2

Write the aims of this program, as they are stated in any supporting paperwork. If supporting paperwork is not available, write the goals or aims that are stated to clients taking part in this program.

Question 3

Write broad descriptions of the different component activities in this program. Some examples of program components include “structured classroom training”, “role-plays”, “practical experience”, “one-on-one discussion”, “cognitive-behavioural therapy”, and “group discussion”.

Question 4

Describe the features of people for whom this program is intended. For example, this program may target “women between the ages of 18 and 24 with substance abuse problems”, or it might target “prisoners with learning disabilities”.

Question 5

Are there any criteria used to exclude some clients from taking part in this program? If there are no exclusion criteria, tick “no” and go on to question 6.

If there are exclusion criteria, please tick “yes” and list these criteria. Examples of exclusion criteria might be “classified as low-risk of re-offending”, or “sentenced for less than 9 months”.

Question 6

If clients take part in this program before they are released from custody, please note about how long before release they start their participation. If clients only take part after release, just write nil.

Question 7

Some programs may aim to assist a prisoner post-release, but may not actually deliver any services after release. An example of this is a program that arranges accommodation before release but does not contact the prisoner after they have been released.

If this program does not include any actual service delivery after a prisoner has been released, please tick “no”

Question 8

Please estimate how many hours the average client usually spends face-to-face with a worker/counsellor/trainer/facilitator over the course of this program.

Question 9

Please estimate the length of time the average client takes to complete this program. That is, the duration in weeks or months regardless of how many face-to-face hours you may have specified in question 8.

Question 10

If prisoners must participate in this program, please tick “yes”.

If prisoner participation is voluntary, please tick “no”.

Question 11

If there are any penalties for failing to attend or adhere to this program, please tick “yes”.

If there are no penalties, please tick “no”.

Question 12

If clients are not awarded a qualification upon completing this course, please tick “no” and go to question 13.

If clients are awarded a qualification, please tick “yes” and write the name of that qualification.

Question 13

Write the length of time your organisation has been responsible for delivering this program to clients.

Question 14

Write the number of clients who have completed this program. If the precise number is not known, please provide an estimate.

Question 15

Please tick the relevant box. If this program is currently being evaluated but no evaluation material is yet available, please tick “evaluation incomplete”.

Question 16

We would appreciate any available documentation related to the evaluation of programs. If you are able to forward such material, please tick “yes” to both parts of this question and include the material in the envelope when you return the survey to us. *We are interested only in program information, not information regarding individual prisoners.* Please only forward documentation that has had any information that might identify specific clients removed, to ensure the privacy of participants in programs.

Question 17

If funding for this program is only guaranteed for a limited period of time, please write the date until which funding is assured. If this program operates from recurrent funding, or if it is not resourced with time-limited funds, please tick “N/A”.

Question 18

This program may be outsourced by your organisation, may be contract work for your organisation, or may be delivered in conjunction with some other organisation(s). Please write the name of any other organisations involved in the delivery of this program.

SECTION B: POST-RELEASE PROGRAMS, SERVICES AND INTERVENTIONS**AREA OF INTEREST**

1. Program name

2. Stated aim(s)

3. Program components

4. Target client group

5. Do you have any criteria for excluding individuals from this program?

☐ Yes ☐ No
If YES, what are these criteria?6. How long before their release do prisoners take part in this program?
(if only delivered post-release, write "nil")
 Weeks

7. Does this program have a post-release component?

☐ Yes ☐ No

8. How many total hours of contact does this program involve?

 Hours

9. What is the normal duration of the program ?

 Months Weeks

10. Is participation in this program mandatory?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Are there penalties if this program is not attended or followed?

☐ Yes ☐ No

12. Are there any formal qualifications that are awarded in this program?

☐ Yes ☐ No
If YES, please write the name of the qualification(s)

13. Length of time this program has been in operation

 Years Months

14. Approximate number of clients who have completed the program to date

15. Has this program been evaluated?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Evaluation incomplete

16. Are you able to supply a final or interim evaluation report?

☐

Yes

☐

No

If YES, have you attached a copy of the evaluation report(s)?

☐

Yes

☐

No

17. When will funding for this program expire?

☐

N/A

or

18. Is any other organisation (whether government department or non-government agency) involved in this program?

☐

Yes

☐

No

If YES, please name the relevant organisation(s):

■ Organisations involved in the Delivery of Surveyed Post-Release Interventions in Australia

Specific Named Agencies

- Aboriginal Community Services (WA)
- ACT Corrective Services
- ACT Domestic Violence Crisis Service
- ACT Family Violence Intervention Program
- Adolescent Forensic Health Service (Vic)
- Alcoholics Anonymous members (Vic)
- Armadale Mental Health (WA)
- Australian Community Safety & Research Organisation (ACRO; Qld)
- Australian Community Support Organisation Inc.(ACSO; Vic)
- Australian Government Attorney-General's Department
- Australian Government Department of Employment & Workplace Relations
- Australian Government Department of Family & Community Services
- Australian Vietnamese Women's Welfare Association (Vic)
- Ballarat Community Health Centre (Vic)
- Barnados Australia (NSW)
- BAYSA Youth Services Ltd (Vic)
- Bayside Adolescent Boarding Incorporation (Qld)
- Bentley Mental Health (WA)
- Bremer TAFE (Qld)
- Brosnan Centre (Jesuit Social Services;, Victoria)
- Bundjalung Tribal Society Ltd (NSW)
- Caraniche Pty Ltd (Vic)
- Career Employment Australia Inc. (Qld)
- Catholic Prison Ministry (Qld)
- Centrecare (WA)
- Centrelink (multiple jurisdictions)
- Children of Prisoners Support Group (NSW)
- Community & Juvenile Justice (WA Department of Justice)
- Community Restorative Centre (CRC; NSW)
- Consumer Affairs Victoria
- CORE The Public Correctional Enterprise (Vic)
- Correctional Services (NT Department of Justice)
- Corrections Health Service (NSW)
- Education Queensland
- Family & Youth Services (SA Department of Human Services)

- Flat Out Inc. (Vic)
- Forensicare (Vic)
- Foster House (The Salvation Army; NSW)
- Geelong Adult Training & Education (Vic)
- Geraldton Resource Centre (WA)
- Glebe House (NSW)
- Good Beginnings National Parenting Project
- Grassmere Cardinia Youth Services (Vic)
- Great Southern Community Drug Service Team (WA)
- Great Southern Community Partnerships (WA)
- Guthrie House (NSW)
- Harry Hunter Centre (The Salvation Army; WA)
- Headquarters (WA)
- Hepatitis C Council of Victoria
- Holyoake, The Australian Institute on Alcohol & Addictions (WA)
- Inside Out (Vic)
- Job Futures Ltd (Vic)
- Judge Rainbow Memorial Fund (NSW)
- Juvenile Justice (Community Care Division, Victoria Department of Human Services)
- Kangan Batman TAFE (Vic)
- Legal Aid New South Wales
- Lifeline (Qld)
- Link-Up (NSW) Aboriginal Corporation
- Melbourne Citymission (Vic)
- Mission Australia
- Moneycare (The Salvation Army; NSW)
- Mosaic Family Support Services Inc. (WA)
- Narcotics Anonymous members (Vic)
- New Horizons Enterprises Ltd (NSW)
- Next Step Specialist Drug & Alcohol Services (WA)
- North West Aboriginal Islander Agency (Qld)
- NSW Department of Corrective Services
- NSW Department of Education
- NSW Department of Housing
- NSW Department of Juvenile Justice
- Offenders Aid & Rehabilitation Services of South Australia Inc. (OARS)
- Office of Housing (Victorian Department of Human Services)
- Outcare (WA)
- Palmerston Drug Research & Rehabilitation Association (WA)

- Police Citizens Youth Clubs (Qld)
- Prisoners Aid Association (NSW)
- Queensland Department of Corrective Services
- Queensland Department of Employment & Training
- Queensland Department of Families
- Queensland Department of Housing
- Reconnect Program
- Relationships Australia (multiple jurisdictions)
- Ruah Community Services (WA)
- Ruah Women's Support Service (WA)
- SA Department for Correctional Services
- Sanctum Centre for Personal & Corporate Wellbeing (Vic)
- Sisters Inside Inc (Qld)
- South West Accommodation (WA)
- Southeast Alcohol & Drug Services (SEADS; Vic)
- Southern Edge Training (Qld)
- St Lukes Financial Services (Vic)
- Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP)
- TeenCare (Qld)
- The Basin (The Salvation Army; Vic)
- The Brosnan Centre (Program of Jesuit Social Services; Vic)
- The Hepatitis C Council of NSW
- The Salvation Army (Vic)
- Vic Roads (Vic)
- Victoria Legal Aid
- Victorian Association for the Care & Resettlement of Offenders (VACRO)
- Victorian Department of Education & Training
- Victorian Department of Human Services
- Victorian Department of Justice
- Victorian Department of Justice (Office of the Correctional Services Commissioner)
- Victorian Legal Commission
- WA Alcohol & Drug Authority
- WA Department of Education & Training
- WA Department of Health
- WA Department of Housing & Works
- WA Drug & Alcohol Office
- West Moreton Alcohol, Tobacco & Other Drugs Service (Qld)
- Western Drug & Alcohol Service (Vic)
- Westernport Accommodation & Youth Support Services (Vic)

- WhiteLion Inc. (Vic)
- YMCA (Vic)
- Youth for Christ Victoria
- Youth Justice (Qld Department of Families)
- Youth Justice Services (ACT Department of Education, Youth & Family Services)
- Yulawirri Nurai Aboriginal Corporation (NSW)
- Yurauna Centre (ACT)

Generic Types of Services Listed as Involved in Service Delivery

The following generic information (ie specific service providers were not named) was listed in response to question 18 in Section B, concerning other organisations involved in program delivery:

- A non-government agency is funded to provide additional housing support and exit planning following the tenancy (Vic)
- Accommodation (Vic)
- Agencies are engaged via brokerage system to address individual needs of the young person (NSW)
- All work conducted in cooperation and partnership with relevant government and non government organisations (Vic)
- Any housing agency relevant to the prisoner's need (Vic)
- AOD agencies and rehabilitation (Qld)
- Approximately 70 alcohol and drug treatment agencies (Vic)
- Community justice groups (Qld)
- Community tenancy schemes (Vic)
- Counselling services (Vic)
- Courts (magistrates and judges, court diversion staff; Vic)
- DCS makes a link with wide variety of job placements agencies (SA)
- Educational and training organisations in the community (WA)
- Educational facilities (Vic)
- Educational supports (WA)
- Employment initiatives (Vic)
- Food processing company (WA)
- Health services (Vic)
- Indigenous organisations (Qld)
- Job agencies (NSW)
- Job Network members (NSW)
- Many government and non-government agencies - too many to write down (Vic)
- Multitude of other service providers dependent on need (Vic)
- Numerous other disability employment program providers funded by Australian Government Family and Community Services (Vic)

- Numerous other program providers (Vic)
- Other external institutions (educational; WA)
- Other relevant bodies (NSW)
- Police (Vic)
- Private prisons (Vic)
- Private registered training organisations (SA)
- Private transitional housing managers (Vic)
- Public registered training organisations (SA)
- Range of other community agencies (Qld)
- Women's groups (Qld)

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