



# **Fiscal Crisis, Corrections and Education: A Call for Collaborative Action**

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## **Leadership Forum: Education in Corrections and Juvenile Justice**

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# Presentation Outline

- I. Historical Overview of Education and Corrections**
- II. Education, Crime and Recidivism**
- III. Research on Juvenile Correctional Education Outcomes in Florida**
- IV. Lessons from No Child Left Behind for Adult Correctional Education**
- V. Future Challenges**
- VI. Confronting Future Challenges Through Correctional Education**



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# I – Historical Overview of Education and Corrections

- **Colonial America and Grim Determinism**
  - ◆ God preordains everything
  - ◆ No effort to “correct or educate” wayward individuals, rather respond to them according to religious doctrine
  - ◆ Reliance upon strict codes and severe punishment
  
- **Period of Transition (1790-1830)**
  - ◆ Free will focus on explaining crime rather than preordainment from God (Pain vs. Pleasure)
  - ◆ Crime control centered upon apprehending criminals and providing swift and sure adjudication and punishment that was focused upon ensuring greater pain than the pleasure which resulted from the crime
  - ◆ No concern with rehabilitation or academic education, rather the goal was specific deterrence (individual offender) and general deterrence (population at large)



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# I – Cont.

## ■ Jacksonian Era and the Discovery of Prisons (1830)

- ◆ Emerging belief that the bad environments of cities caused crime (urban disenchantment / social disorganization of the cities)
- ◆ The discovery of prisons, asylums, and alms-houses as “good” or socially organized environments
- ◆ The policy was to take criminals out of the “bad” city environment and place them in a “good” institutional environment in order to retrain or change them (spiritual-coat-of-armor) with a focus upon work and strict regimen compliance, not academic education

## ■ 1850 – The Discovery of Recidivism

- ◆ Many individuals leaving prison were returning – leading to the belief that to successfully change criminals required earlier and earlier intervention
- ◆ Rise of youth reformatories to retrain young criminals who were not as “fixed” in their criminal careers as were adult offenders again like adult prisons – youth reformatories were focused upon work and strict regimen compliance not academic education
- ◆ The rehabilitation focus was on behavior modification not “individual empowerment” through academic education
- ◆ The prevailing belief was that criminals and delinquents did not have the necessary mental skills and discipline to academically achieve
- ◆ Consequently, the rehabilitation focus was on training for manual work and associated labor careers for males and homemaking skills for females (Rothman, 1969)



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# I – Cont.

- **1880' s to Present – The Rehabilitative Ideal**
  - ◆ Rise of probation and parole for more individualized retraining (1880' s)
  - ◆ The invention of the Juvenile Court (1899-forward)
  - ◆ The official goals involved a shift toward treatment, academic education, and vocational training in both juvenile and adult corrections revealing an emerging effort toward “individual empowerment” and increased societal integration of juvenile and adult offenders in response to a changing society’ s economic and industrial structure and needs
- **Throughout 20<sup>th</sup> Century**
  - ◆ Despite the rhetoric of individual treatment, academic education, individual empowerment; treatment and academic education in juvenile and adult corrections has been largely uneven, fragmented, and deficient
  - ◆ With few exceptions, there has been a focus upon control within prisons and youth reformatories
  - ◆ Academic education an afterthought until recent years
- **More recent recognition of financial scarcity, escalating correctional costs and economic globalization have contributed to the emerging acknowledgement of the value of academic education in corrections and the escalating need to “empower” and successfully reintegrate adult and juvenile offenders into society with competitive academic and vocational skills, thereby reducing these offenders marginality**



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# II – Education, Crime and Recidivism

- **Is there a positive relationship between education employment and crime for the general adolescent population?**
    - ◆ **High school graduation has been found to increase employment and reduce involvement in crime**
    - ◆ **Juveniles report significantly less involvement in crime when they are committed and attached to school**
- 
- **Massey and Krohn, 1986; Cernkovich and Giordano, 1992; Stewart, 2003; Thaxton and Agnew, 2004; Sampson and Laub, 2003; and Bernberg and Krohn, 2003**



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## II – Cont.

- **How does correctional education programming impact recidivism?**
  - ◆ **Education programs have an overall significant effect in reducing recidivism**
  - ◆ **Employment training in prison has a greater effect on reducing recidivism when it is followed by post-release education**
  - ◆ **High school graduation or earning a GED while incarcerated lowers the rate of recidivism for youth, but only 7% or so of incarcerated youth graduate from high school or earn a GED while incarcerated**

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- **Wilson, Gallagher and Mackenzie, 2000; Harrison and Escher, 2004; Ambrose and Lester, 1998; and Brier, 1994; Foley, 2001; Haberman and Quinn, 1986; Leblanc and Pfannenstiel, 1991; and Bernberg and Krohn, 2003; JJEP 2004**



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## II - Continued

- **Glaser found that federal prison inmates held high expectations of their post-release experiences, but that their actual experiences involved infrequent employment and low wage jobs**
- **Federal prisons had a range of 20% to 40% recidivism**
- **Glaser concluded that employment was the best predictor of avoiding recidivism for adult inmates and that employment was related to long-term education gains while incarcerated, particularly where inmates raised their grade level, became literate or graduated from high school (1966)**
- **Most youth and adults who are released from institutions have not graduated from high school**
- **In sum, correctional education has the capacity to contribute to “individual empowerment” for both adult and juveniles, thereby facilitating their post-release success**



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# III - Research on Juvenile Correctional Education Outcomes in Florida

- We employed a cohort of 4,147 youth released from residential commitment programs in Florida to assess the relationship between educational achievement among incarcerated youths and post-release education, employment and crime desistance
- Characteristics of youth in the cohort included 57% minority, 39% with disabilities, an average of 2-3 years behind their age appropriate grade level, and most youth had been suspended, expelled or had dropped out of school, but were now subject to compulsory school attendance while incarcerated
- Measures included academic credits earned while incarcerated, age/grade level, prior delinquency, educational disabilities, and youth demographics
- Conducted a 12 and 24 month community follow-up on return to and attendance in school, employment and rearrest



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# **III Cont. - Does Greater Academic Achievement while Incarcerated Lead to a Greater Likelihood of Return to School?**

- **The odds of youth returning to school following release with above average academic achievement while incarcerated were 69% higher than for those youth who achieved below average while incarcerated**
  - ◆ **Older youth, males, and those who were below their appropriate age grade level were less likely to return to school following release**



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# III Cont. - Does Returning to and Staying in School Post-release decrease the Likelihood of Youth being Rearrested?

- **Post release return to and attendance in school significantly reduced the likelihood of being rearrested within 12 and 24 months.**
  - ◆ **Youth who spent six months or more in school following release had a 38% reduction in the odds of rearrest within one year post-release compared to those youth who did not return to school.**
  - ◆ **Youth who spent 12 months or more in school following release were 30% less likely to be rearrested within two years post-release compared to those youth who did not return to school.**



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# **III Cont. - Does Post Release Return to School Increase the Likelihood of Employment and Crime Desistance?**

- **Youth who returned to school exhibited a 52% greater likelihood of being employed compared to youth who did not return to school**
  - ◆ **The length of employment also increased for those youth who returned to and stayed in school**
- **Within the first year following release, each quarter of employment reduced the likelihood of rearrest by 8.7% and 4.1% within the first two years**
- **The combination of returning to and staying in school and obtaining and sustaining employment increased the likelihood of youth desisting from crime**



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# III – Cont.

## Conclusions

- **Academic achievement among incarcerated youth is contributing to stronger school attachment that is leading youth to return to and stay in school following release which, in turn, is increasing their likelihood of obtaining and sustaining employment**
- **Post-release return to and attendance in school and employment are contributing to crime desistance**
- **Youth experiencing academic gains while incarcerated, post release return to school and employment may be experiencing a “Turning Point” from a delinquent and or criminal life course to a conventional and legal life course**
- **Drawing from criminology’s “Control Theory” – These findings can be interpreted as demonstrating education’s role in increasing offenders’ level of self-control and associated commitment to legal behavior and conventional institutions**



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## **IV – Lessons from No Child Left Behind for Adult Correctional Education**

- **The diversity in organizational structures and sizes has contributed to inconsistent and uneven implementation of NCLB requirements across and within states**
- **Juvenile justice schools are temporary settings with high student mobility rates, making Adequate Yearly Progress and student performance difficult to calculate**
- **Competing with public schools for highly qualified teachers**
- **Coordinating effective transition services across school systems that ensure youth return to school and/or gain employment (Aftercare is often nonexistent in many states)**



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## IV – Cont.

- **Teacher quality has been shown to improve the academic achievement of youth\***
- **Evidence from our national surveys have shown that states are increasing the numbers of certified and qualified teachers in their juvenile institutions**
- **Florida's community reintegration research has demonstrated that academic achievement increases the likelihood that youth will return to school after release and, as a result, this positive outcome could be occurring throughout the country in response to NCLB**

**\*See - Boyd, D., Goldhaber, D., Lankford, H., and Wyckoff, J. (2007) Boyd, D., Grossman, P., Lankford, H., Loeb, S., and Wyckoff, J. (2006) Darling-Hammond, L. (2000) Darling-Hammond, L., Holtzman, D. J., Gatlin, S. J., and Heilig, J. V. (2005) Goldhaber, D. D., and Brewer, D. J. (2000) Ingvarson, L., Meiers, M., and Beavis, A. (2005)**



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## IV – Cont.

- **In addition to teacher quality and academic achievement, NCLB requires states and facilities to focus on transition services that assist students with returning to school and post-release employment**
- **School participation and high school graduation post-release decrease the likelihood of recidivism**
- **These mandates, while inconsistently implemented nationwide, could be positively impacting student outcomes**



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## IV – Cont.

- States across the nation have shown good faith in their efforts to implement NCLB in juvenile justice education as well as public schools, but because of insufficient human, financial and organizational resources have been seriously impeded
- As suggested by Sanderman and Orfield (2006) federal law should turn its attention to assisting states with necessary infrastructure improvements rather than more responsibilities and requirements (This should be a mandate for our policy efforts)
- The above NCLB efforts in juvenile correctional education could be replicated in many adult correctional education programs
- If such replication was accomplished, various participating adult correctional education programs would be able to incorporate “best education practices” that would be informed by regular reviews of the relevant literature, longitudinal community reintegration studies and federal and state policy analyses for continuous quality improvement



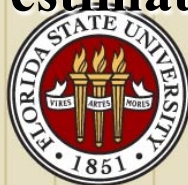
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# V – Future Challenges

## Incarceration Rates

- **In 2008, 1 in 100 Americans will be behind bars (The PEW; Center on the States, 2008)**
  - ◆ **The U.S. incarcerates more people than any other country in the world with 2.3 million adults followed by China with 1.5 million**
  - ◆ **From 1987 to 2007 America's prison population has nearly tripled**
- **An estimated 600,000 adult inmates are released from federal and state prisons each year**
- **An estimated 300,000 juveniles exit residential facilities each year (using census data from OJJDP 2006 annual report)**
- **Approximately 900,000 adult and juvenile inmates are released each year from commitment**
- **Combined reconviction rates within one year for both adults and juveniles average 25.3% nationally or approximately 228,000 each year (conservative estimate based on a one year follow-up)**



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# V – Cont.

## The Costs of Crime

- **The U.S. spends more than \$1 Trillion annually on criminal victimization and the operation of the criminal justice system (David Anderson, The Aggregate Burden of Crime, “Journal of Law and Economics. Vol. XLII, Oct. 1999 pp. 611-642)**
- **The total economic costs of one youth dropping out of high school for a life of crime and substance abuse ranges from \$2.2 to \$3 million (Mark Cohen, “The Monetary Value of Saving a High-Risk Youth,” Journal of Quantitative Criminology. Vol. 141998 pp. 5-32)**
  - ◆ **The lifetime economic losses of a high school dropout range from \$470,000 to \$750,000 (OJJDP Annual Report, 1999)**
  - ◆ **The economic loss from a substance abuser range from \$200,000 to \$480,000**
  - ◆ **The economic loss to society of one delinquent to criminal career ranges from \$1.5 to \$1.8 million over their lifetime**



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## V – Cont.

# Potential Cost Savings Through Correctional Education

- From 1987 to 2007 states increased spending on higher education by 21%, while in the same time state spending for incarceration increased by 127% (PEW, Center on the States, 2008)
- In Florida, the per-student annual cost for educating an incarcerated youth is \$6,800 (FLDOE 2006)
- If providing a quality education and educational attainment can reduce the reconviction rate by 10%, society will see a life time cost savings of over \$2.6 billion annually
  - ◆ A 20% reduction yields \$5.3 billion in savings and a 30% reduction would save \$7.9 billion



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# VI – Confronting Future Challenges Through Correctional Education

- **The development of a national data warehouse for research on adult and juvenile correctional education practices and community reintegration outcomes with annual assessments and reports**
- **The development of a “best practices” correctional education curricula and a uniform national evaluation and quality assurance model for adult and juvenile correctional education practices**
- **The development of effective partnerships between various adult and juvenile correctional education organizations and associations**
- **The creation of a national teaching certificate for working with adult and juvenile correctional education teachers**
- **The development of university programs that train teachers to work in correctional settings**



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# VI – Cont.

- **In sum, much can be done to improve adult and juvenile correctional education throughout the country, but there will be resistance particularly in relation to any necessary increased costs given our current economic climate or national fiscal crisis**
- **However, the essential policy issue remains – pay a little now to expand and improve correctional education or pay a great deal more later for the costs of unabated crime, recidivism and related victimization**



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## VI – Cont.

# Charting the Future: National Conference on Juvenile Justice Education and NCLB

- April 21-23 in Tampa Florida
- Assessing the national state of juvenile justice education through state case studies
- Building a national data clearinghouse for juvenile justice education
- Data quality and state data systems in the field of juvenile justice education; measuring the impact of education on future delinquency
- Got to [www.criminologycenter.fsu.edu](http://www.criminologycenter.fsu.edu) for information



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# The Juvenile Justice No Child Left Behind Collaboration Project

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**[www.criminologycenter.fsu.edu](http://www.criminologycenter.fsu.edu)**



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