

The Revolving Crime Door:

Inability of the United States Government to Provide Sufficient Funding and Effective Policy  
for Returning Offenders

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Senior Seminar in Political Science POL4000

November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2020

## Abstract

Recidivism rates in the United States have been climbing for the past 50 years with little chance for improvement. These rates remain high due to insufficient programming and program funding for returning citizens looking to partake in reentry programs. This thesis will examine what causes these high rates of recidivism, what types of policy have been successful, what current reentry policy is lacking and how to move forward successfully. This thesis will analyze the main causes of recidivism in the United States and how reentry services can create a solution. It will then discuss the effectiveness of current United States reentry policy. This analysis will showcase how reentry is effective if implemented properly and consistently. Finally, this thesis will present possible solutions and paths moving forward to create a successful standard and lower recidivism rates.

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## Introduction

With over two million people incarcerated in the United States, the most prevalent issue of the American Criminal Justice System is mass incarceration, however, mass incarceration is not created by large amounts of different people being arrested, it is created by offenders who are trapped in a vicious cycle of committing crime, being incarcerated, being released, and eventually diving back into crime and returning to prison, or recidivating. Restoring “law and order” has been a popular slogan in the media for many years that has tarnished the idea that offenders can come out of incarceration better and reformed. Public perceptions of the risk of crime are driven less by statistics than by compelling stories and graphic images” (LaFree 2018). Every year in the United States there are roughly 600,000 citizens returning to their communities after spending time in prison or jail. Of those 600,000, roughly 45% will end up back in the criminal justice system for committing another crime or violating provisions of their probation or parole. Another 68% will return to the criminal justice system within three years of their release and 77% of returning offenders will return to the criminal justice system within five years after their release. This is due to insufficient state and federal programming for offenders during the last six months of their sentence into the few years following their release. This paper seeks to analyze the disconnect between individual reentry program success and overall high recidivism rates and to advocate for government mandated and funded reentry programming. Issues such as homelessness, addiction, unemployment, life instability and many more contribute to high recidivism rates. Some offenders truly view incarceration as a better option than being back on the street and living in fear (Cullen & Jonson 2017). Coming from extremely regulated schedules in prison, returning offenders are often unsure of what to do with their time which can lead to high rates of anxiety that leads to relapsing drug abuse or relapsing in committing crime.

Overall, reentry services tend to reduce recidivism (Cullen & Jonson 2017). This thesis will analyze the main causes of recidivism in the United States and how reentry services can create a solution. It will then discuss the effectiveness of current United States reentry policy. This analysis will showcase how reentry is effective if implemented properly and consistently. Finally, this thesis will present possible solutions and paths moving forward to create a successful standard and lower recidivism rates. A mandated program for offenders that follows them from the last six months of their incarceration through the two to five year following their release would provide the stability and regulation that would make the transition less of a shock and therefore reduce the likelihood that offenders will recidivate. This type of program would also allow time for offenders to relearn prosocial behaviors and train for employment in a professional workplace.

## The Recidivism Dilemma

The recidivism rate is often a key indicator of the performance of a justice system (Delaney 2020). Recidivism rates show how successful or unsuccessful a justice system is based

**Table 2.**  
**Rearrest Rates for Recidivism Study Offenders**

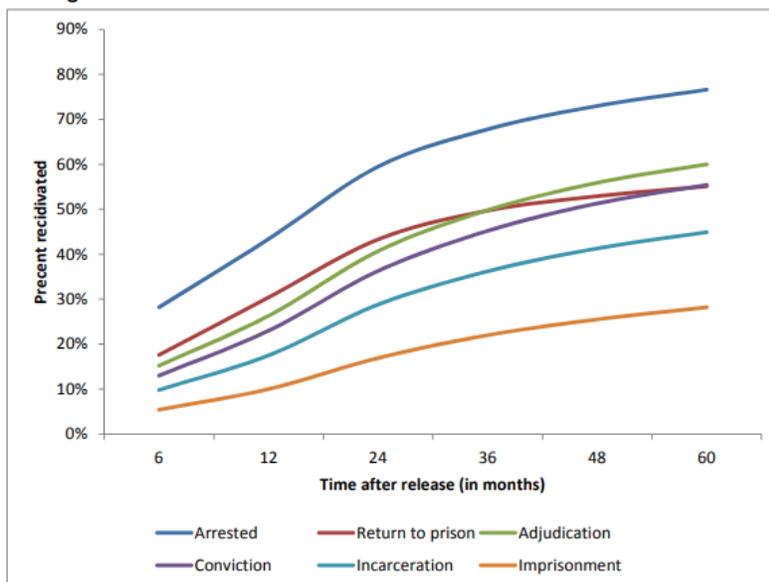
<i>Years After Release</i>	<i>Cumulative</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>One Year After Release</b>	16.6%	16.6%
<b>Two Years After Release</b>	10.5%	27.1%
<b>Three Years After Release</b>	6.6%	33.7%
<b>Four Years After Release</b>	4.7%	38.4%
<b>Five Years After Release</b>	3.7%	42.1%
<b>Six Years After Release</b>	3.0%	45.1%
<b>Seven Years After Release</b>	2.3%	47.5%
<b>Eight Years After Release</b>	1.8%	49.3%

SOURCE: U.S. Sentencing Commission's 2005 Recidivism Release Cohort Datafile, RECID05.

on its ability to reform the offenders it takes in. Higher recidivism rates indicate that incapacitation is not solving the issue of crime being committed, rather just preventing that person from committing crime for a determined amount of time.

Low recidivism rates indicate that there is a positive connection occurring during time spent in incarceration because the offender is no longer committing crime. Roughly 76% of U.S. inmates wind up back in jail (Hatcher 2017). This extremely high recidivism rate shows a disconnect between punishment and becoming reformed after spending time in incarceration. Higher recidivism rates also indicate to the public that more crime is being committed than what is factually occurring. Crime is “accelerated by the electronic media and harnessed by politicians for their own purposes” (LaFree 2018). When the public perception of crime is altered this way, it is harmful to those currently incarcerated or previously incarcerated that are working to improve themselves. It is important to note that a significant portion of recidivism data comes from violations of terms from those on probation or parole. This can include things as simple as getting home a few minutes past curfew, missing an interview or a parole meeting, travelling outside of set boundaries, or any other violations of one’s terms of parole or probation.

**Figure 6. Measured Recidivism Based on Different Definitions of Recidivism**



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

**Notes:** “Adjudication” refers to arrests that resulted in a subsequent court adjudication or disposition (e.g., convictions, dismissals, acquittals, or deferred adjudications). “Conviction” refers to arrests that resulted in a subsequent court conviction. “Incarceration” refers to arrests that resulted in a prison or jail sentence. “Imprisonment” refers to arrests that resulted in a prison sentence. “Return to prison” refers to arrests that resulted in a conviction with a disposition of a prison sentence or when prisoners were returned to prison without a new conviction due to technical violations of the terms of their release.

Mass incarceration or mass imprisonment refers to way the United States has spent an excessive amount of time, money, and resources into incapacitating offenders rather than rehabilitate them and assist them in transitioning into productive, prosocial members of society. The current incarcerated

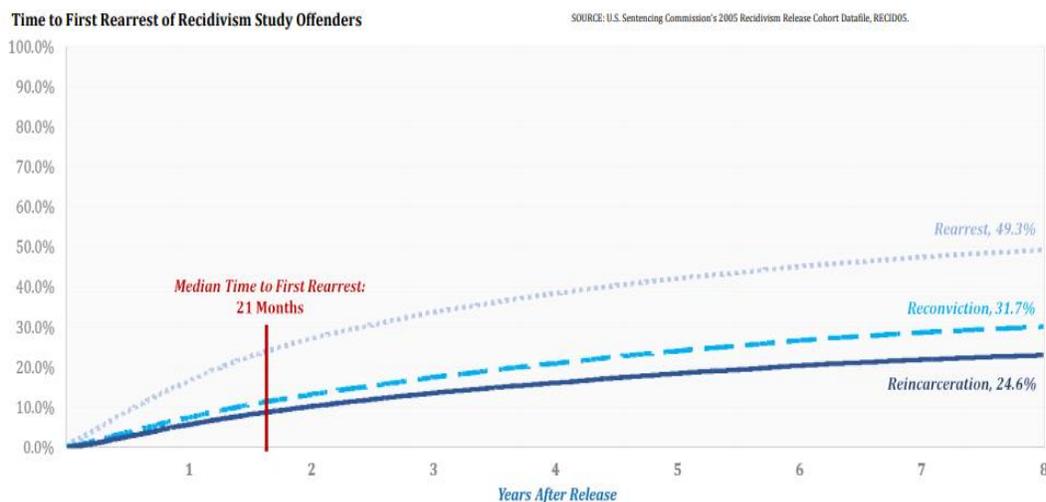
population of the United States stands at over two million making it one of the highest imprisonment rates in the world. A large portion of the U.S. prison population consists of offenders who have previously been incarcerated. Recidivating offenders can include those who were arrested, convicted, returned to prison, about 30% of the prison population is repeat offenders (The Marshall Project). This creates the problem of recidivism, which refers to a person's relapse into criminal behavior after being previously incarcerated for such behavior (National Institute of Justice). Recidivism is an issue because it exposes the lack of reform done within an offender by time spent in prison. This problem speaks to the quality of programs and opportunities available to offenders within prisons or jails. If a person commits a crime, and is being sentenced to some form of punishment, the goal should be that when the offender comes out on the other side of that punishment, they will be reformed. When a person leaves incarceration, they are often leaving with nothing and returning to homelessness, poverty, and antisocial peers or family members. Reentry program case managers help to make this transition less shocking and serve as a guide through the difficult process. Many offenders also end up returning to antisocial peers who will harm their ability to stay or become reformed. Antisocial peers are those who engage in behaviors that are disruptive or harmful to the community, themselves, or other individuals. Having case managers available to walk returning offenders through this period helps to eliminate the chance that an ex-offender will recommit crimes. It is helpful for reentry or reintegration programs to have information on offenders during the six months prior to their release from prison.

Society continues to put up barriers for inmates returning to society making it hard for them to land jobs and attempt to become regular citizens again; and when reentry is studied, it is seen as a failure that involved unfixable individuals. (Cullen & Jonson 2017) The reality of the

problem is that society is refusing to take care of those who slipped through its cracks and places the blame on those who face unfortunate situations that are often out of their control. To FDR, the magnitude of the problem merited special mention: “Between 60,000 and 70,000 persons are released from Federal and state prisons and reformatories back into the communities of the country every single year” (Roosevelt 1939, p. 11). “The most stunning fact is that 75 years later, the challenges identified by President Roosevelt still exist—except the reentering prisoner population has grown tenfold” (Cullen & Jonson 2017). The rate at which recidivism has increased in recent history portrays how important and urgent of an issue this is.

## What Makes a Successful Reentry Program?

What makes reentry overall successful is the guidance it provides during the transition from being incapacitated to being a functioning member of society. The key to a successful reentry program is individual case management combined with access to job preparedness resources, housing applications, and transportation. Individual reentry or reintegration programs have shown high rates of success in lowering high rates of recidivism. Reentry programs are designed to work with offenders during the transition from prison or jails back to their



SOURCE: U.S. Sentencing Commission's 2005 Recidivism Release Cohort Datafile, RECID05. The reconviction and reincarceration lines indicate time to first arrest that led to a conviction and time to first arrest that led to a confinement, respectively.

communities to create a smooth transition and help to create prosocial connections for the ex-offender. However, because these programs are not consistent across the board nor mandated, recidivism rates remain high. A successful reentry program uses evidence-based practices, such as risk-needs-responsivity, to assess and assign offenders to the amount of programming and case management they will need (Cullen & Jonson 2017). RNR, or the risk-need-responsivity model, is a criminogenic theory that was created as a guide to treating offenders. With this as a guide, program case managers identify the factors that cause an individual to commit crime and decide whether they define an individual as low, medium, or high risk. They then assess the criminogenic needs, those directly related to offending, such as antisocial personality, anti-social peers, substance abuse, poor family relationships, unemployment, and lack of education as well as the non-criminogenic needs such as self-esteem, major mental illness, physical health, trauma, grief and loss. From these assessments, case managers can create a plan for offenders. The final assessment looks at an individual's response to interventions and factors that could influence that response. As previously mentioned, individual state-sponsored programs have shown high rates of success but there is a disconnect between individual program success and high recidivism rates due to the fact that these programs are not widely available and are not mandated by the state or federal government for offenders post-release.

A contributing factor to the shocking transition between incarceration and normal life is the disparity in everyday activities. Nordic countries have recidivism rates between 20 and 30 percent (Hatcher 2017). For example, countries such as Germany and the Netherlands have focused largely on "normalization": making life in prison as similar as possible to life in the community (Delaney 2020). In American prisons, prisoners are completely isolated from the "outside world" as part of their punishment. This leads to shock, anxiety, and panic when

offenders are released often causing offenders to backslide into old antisocial habits. Resocialization and rehabilitation are key factors in creating prosocial returning offenders. “German and Dutch prisons are organized around central tenets of resocialization and rehabilitation while the U.S. system is organized around central tenets of incapacitation and retribution” (Delaney 2020). Normalization of crime is essential to helping erase the stigma surrounding returning offenders. Durkheim argues that crime is “normal rather than pathological” and is actually an element of a healthy society, in moderation. This is because of individual deviations from what is considered normal (Durkheim 1893).

Normalization references the idea of normalizing both crime itself as well as the idea that offenders will eventually return to their communities. Normalization also refers to the idea that life inside prison should be as similar to normal life as possible. In Nordic countries, incarcerated persons are not stripped of their rights as members of society (Delaney 2020). For example, unlike prisoners in the United States, prisoners in Nordic countries retain their right to vote and are often still eligible for certain social welfare benefits (Delaney 2020). By retaining their rights as a citizen, returning offenders in Nordic countries do not face major difficulty in finding housing, jobs, licensing, and others that are stripped away from U.S. prisoners due to the stigma surrounding crime.

### Programs Successes Thus Far

Successful programming models are evident in states such as Colorado. Colorado serves as a good model for a state with high recidivism rates, about 50%, while still having many individual sufficient programs for returning offenders. A report by University of Denver states that Colorado is seeking new ways to create connections between people on parole and reentry

services that relate more closely to their personal situation. This shows that creating a bond between successful reentry programming and government intervention is the correct step towards reducing recidivism rates. Connecting programs that the government provides within prisons to reentry programs that are available post-incarceration would create the gold standard.

Reentry programs in Colorado use these three assessments to decide how much case management to assign an individual offender: the CTAP Assessments, the CARAS Assessment, and the LSI-R Assessment. The CTAP Assessments, or the Colorado Transitional Accountability Plan Assessments are based upon the Ohio Risk Assessment System and has three phases. Phase one involves using the Prison Intake Tool to conduct an assessment on an individual's history leading up to incarceration and assign a score. Phase two uses the Supplemental Reentry Tool to focus on an offender's progress during incarceration and is conducted each year for the first four years of incarceration. The third and final phase of the CTAP Assessment is the Reentry Tool; it is conducted every year after the first four years of incarceration until the date of release. This final phase seeks to identify the remaining needs of an individual as they near their reentry to the community. The CARAS Assessment is an automated algorithm that pulls data from multiple systems to create a score to predict recidivism (University of Denver). This score is created using factors such as number of prior offenses and parole revocations, current age, and the LSI-R score of the individual. The LSI-R Assessment is used throughout pre- and post- reentry. It is used to tailor an individual's experience in incarceration to be most beneficial for that offender's growth. The assessment is conducted as intake, at release and every six months on parole. This assessment addresses criminal history, education, employment, finances, family and friends, housing, leisure activities, substance use and abuse, emotional and personal needs, and attitudes and orientations to create a plan very

much tailored to an individual's situation (University of Denver). Each of these assessments works in parallel with the risk and needs model that has proven to be successful. One specific reentry program in Colorado is the Williams Street Residential Reentry Center in Denver, CO. This program seeks to help returning offenders by offering individual assessments, individual counseling with a case manager, gender-specific treatment, family-services, employment assistance, life skills, and community service. Each of these aspects seeks to integrate the returning citizen in the most prosocial way possible. Taking current in-prison programming and combining it with a reentry program that allows offenders to have more of a slow and steady process rather than a steep drop off will help offenders to not recidivate.

### Policy Headed in the Right Direction

In 2018, President Trump signed the First Step Initiative Act into law to “improve criminal justice outcomes and reduce the size of the federal prison population while creating mechanisms to maintain public safety” (Bureau of Prisons). This Act advocated for strong correctional reform that followed a risk and needs assessment, such as the risk-needs-responsivity model, to address criminogenic needs while offenders are in prison. “ Under the act, the system provides guidance on the type, amount, and intensity of recidivism reduction programming and productive activities to which each prisoner is assigned, including information on which programs prisoners should participate in based on their criminogenic needs” (Bureau of Prisons). This follows the principle of RNR in directly addressing offender needs on a case-by-case basis. Following the model outlined by the Act should create success in reducing the overall recidivism rate the following years, if done correctly and consistently.

The First Step Initiative also reauthorized the Second Chance Act of 2007 as the Second Chance Reauthorization Act of 2018; allowing community-based facilities and prison wardens to begin “recidivism-reducing” partnerships with nonprofit and other private organizations to deliver programming for offenders (U.S. Department of Justice 2018). This worked in favor of reentry and sought to reduce recidivism by focusing on four important categories: jobs, housing, substance abuse, and families of returning offenders. The connection with private and non-profit programs was a leap in the right direction. Five million dollars per year are now dedicated to reentry-related research projects to create more accurate and targeted programming, including, “a study on the characteristics of individuals released from prison who do not recidivate” (U.S. Department of Justice 2018). Studies such as this one will help to make reentry more effective. These funds can also be allocated toward implementing this type of reentry program in all prisons and jails so that successes and failures are more consistent and comparable across the nation.

The first review of this Act was published by the United States Department of Justice this past June. The report detailed that the risk and needs assessment, called PATTERN, was extraordinarily successful at placing offenders in post-release programs. PATTERN, or the Prisoner Assessment Tool Targeting Estimated Risk and Needs, has worked well thus far in placing offenders in programming throughout their time spent within incarceration. The review published that as of January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020, inmates will be assigned to participate in evidence-based recidivism reduction programs and productive activities based on an initial risk and needs assessment conducted by the Bureau of Prisons. Participation and completion of those assigned programs and activities can lead to placement in pre-release custody or a 12-month sentence

reduction under the First Step Act. The table below shows the data collected from the 2020 Fiscal Year for the First Step Act during its first year of implementation.

### First Step Act Implementation Fiscal Year 2020 90-Day Report

	Fair Sentencing Act Reduction (1,891 Released)	Compassionate Release (165 Released)	Increase in Good Conduct Time (2,150 Released)	All Groups Combined (4,150 Released)
Arrested	198 (10.5%)	1 (0.6%)	325 (15.1%)	520(12.5%)
Returned to BOP	24 (1.3%)	0 (0%)	57 (2.7%)	81 (2.0%)
Returned to BOP for Revocation	23 (1.2%)	0 (0%)	53 (2.5%)	76 (1.8%)
Returned to BOP with New Conviction	1 (0.1%)	0 (0%)	5 (0.2%)	6 (0.1%)
Recidivism for Violent or Sex Offense	64 (3.4%)	0 (0%)	79 (3.7%)	141 (3.4%)
All Recidivism	199 (10.5%)	1 (0.6%)	332 (15.4%)	528 (12.7%)

“First Step Act Implementation Fiscal Year 2020 90-Day Report.” *U.S. Department of Justice*, June 2, 2020. <https://doi.org/https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/254799.pdf>.

While this Act is a strong step in the right direction, I would argue that there are more steps that can be taken to help returning offenders with reentry. While programming may be strong within the institutions, there is still not enough guidance provided for offender's once they are physically released from incarceration.

### What Current Policy is Lacking

The First Step Initiative has taken great strides toward successful and consistent reentry programming; however, there are still needs of reentering offenders that are not being met. The First Step Initiative does not mandate participation in a reentry program for the general population (U.S. Department of Justice 2020). The two missing pieces being that these programs are not widely and readily available for all offenders and reentry programs are not mandated for offenders and that returning offenders lose some of their rights as an American citizen after being incarcerated. The current sole role of the government in offender reentry is through grant funding which is simply not enough (Bureau of Prisons). Collaboration with non-profit and community programs to assist in offender reentry is helpful but programs for returning offenders are essential and must be made more widely available to all returning offenders and should be mandated by the government after one's release from imprisonment in all institutions across the nation. Due to the fact that there is currently no reentry program that is successful across the board, the federal government needs to create a mandated program for all returning offenders. Creating a mandated program would allow for programs to be more consistent and widely available. This program should involve individual case managers that address returning offenders on a case-by-case basis using a model that follows a risk and needs assessment. Creating a program that was available for all returning offenders to enroll in that would greatly reduce the recidivism would have economic benefits as well. One of the large obstacles reentry

currently faces is that it is not widely available for every person returning to their community whether it be because of a lack of resources or personnel or the absence of knowledge in an area about reentry efforts. This leaves communities with an abundance of programs successful in lowering their rates of repeat offenders and those with a major lack in resources for these programs at an extreme disadvantage when trying to lower their rate of repeat of offenders.

The large variety of reentry policies and programs between states has created a large disparity in recidivism rates between states. The implementation of a consistent, mandated program would help to lower overall incarceration rates as it would remove most repeat offenders from the prison population. The states currently holding top spot for highest recidivism rates are Delaware at about 64.50% and Alaska at about 63.20% (World Population Review 2020) while Virginia has a rate of about 23.40% (Department of Corrections 2018). Across all the United States there is a large disparity between each state's recidivism rate. This unfortunate disparity could be eliminated by mandating the risk and needs assessment presented in the First Step Initiative to be implemented in all places of incarceration across the United States.

Reinstating a previous offender's rights as a citizen is also a key element to helping them to fully reintegrate into their communities. Taking away a previous offender's right to vote or limiting their access to jobs, housing, and healthcare is dehumanizing and takes away from the rehabilitation process. Nordic countries have set a good example as to how maintaining an offender's rights as a citizen can help with their reintegration process. Helping a returning citizen to not feel less than the rest of the population works on their self esteem and empowers them to make prosocial choices. When returning offenders have more opportunity to interact with prosocial individuals in their work and home life, they are able to make new connections

and eliminate old antisocial peers and habits from their everyday life. Prosocial connections refer to individuals that do not make deviant choices and are therefore a better influence on a returning offender who is trying to make amends and self-improve.

### Future of United States Reentry Policy

From what has been observed in states such as Virginia, with low recidivism rates (Department of Corrections 2018) and Delaware with incredibly high recidivism rates (World Population Review 2020) and moderately successful states like Colorado, it is clear that there is no current national standard for combatting recidivism and creating reentry opportunities. The best possible path moving forward is for policy makers to create a government mandated program that begins during the last six months of incarceration and continues through the transition of reintegrating back into society. The most effective program would be one that provides case management that will utilize the risk and needs model as outlined in the First Step Initiative (U.S. Department of Justice 2020). This program will also provide access to job preparedness training, educational and technological resources, and public transportation. Participants would need to maintain employment or education status to ensure that they are creating and maintaining essential prosocial relationships. This style of reentry program would have the most public safety benefit to the general population because it would keep returning offenders busy and separate from their antisocial peers while also protecting the welfare of and promoting growth for previously incarcerated individuals.

Because there are no government mandated reentry programs many returning offenders find themselves alone and afraid with nothing to claim as their own when they leave the criminal justice system. After following extremely regulated schedules during their sentence, the

transition to be able to make their own choices is often overwhelming and is the cause for major post-release anxiety that can cause offenders to recidivate. Programs with case manager that use risk/needs assessments are important to help the offender with this transition and prevent them from reoffending (Cullen & Jonson 2017). “More needs to be understood about why recidivism rates are high in the first year after reentry, why some offenders have late-onset failure, whether who comes home matters, and how stigma and other collateral consequences of conviction can be managed” (Cullen & Jonson 2017). Cullen and Jonson suggest that the future of recidivism will have success if each returning offenders’ reentry process is handled on a case by case basis and takes all criminogenic factors into account (Cullen & Jonson 2017). It is also important that this program be intensive in nature and hold consistency throughout the process of moving from incarceration to reintegration to becoming a fully functioning and proactive member of society (Congressional Research Service 2015). A government funded and mandated program would greatly reduce recidivism rates and prepare returning offenders to become prosocial, proactive, and productive members of their communities. The University of Denver published a report saying that reentry programs and transition periods were inconsistent across the board because the delivery of reentry services varies based on location, size of staff caseloads, and available resources in one’s community. This leaves some communities at a disadvantage if they are understaffed, underequipped, or underserved. Creating a mandated reentry program that is consistent in handling returning citizens on a case by case basis would provide returning citizens with a guided transitional period that would serve the purpose of eliminating the shock of reentry and help to eliminate the possibility of reconnecting with antisocial peers and habits. Implementing this program would significantly lower recidivism rates and therefore reduce the overall prison population.

## Conclusion

The United States Department of Justice has failed it is returning citizens by embracing policies that promote the law and order mentality. In the United States, crime is seen as a shocking, shameful, and uncommon act; however, Durkheim argues that normalizing crime as an event is important because it is an element of a healthy society, in moderation. The stigma surrounding crime in the United States currently creates a large barrier for returning offenders. Crime rates being exaggerated in the media and in political campaigns has altered Americans attitudes toward the reality of crime in their nation. This perception of previous offenders as less than human or less than a “normal” citizen takes a dangerous toll on a returning offender’s journey to becoming a prosocial, productive member of society. Including experts on criminogenic needs in the process of sentencing and reentry policy making would help to create policy that correctly addresses the needs of returning citizens. Including experts on this policymaking would help to eliminate the current stigma surrounding crime and criminals and create a smoother and more consistent transition process for those returning to their communities from incarceration. Reentry programs have proven successful when implemented correctly. While there have been randomized successes with reentry across the United States, creating a national standard for reentry programs that would be provided in all institutions would be more effective. Now, case management would need to be mandated across the nation; however, it is important to note that each offender’s situation must be handled on a case by case basis in order to provide the most fruitful experience.

Despite what has been wrong, the United States appears to be moving in the right direction. Current policy such as The First Step Initiative has made great strides by: advocating for strong correctional reform that follows a risk and needs assessment to address criminogenic needs, reauthorizing the Second Chance Act, and dedicating five million dollars per year to reentry-related research. After implementing these factors to the criminal justice system, there were significant decreases in recidivism in offenders considered within the study (Department of Justice 2020). The First Step Initiative made an incredibly important stride in criminal justice reform by calling for the risk and needs assessment to be used when placing offenders in program. This was a validation of criminogenic theory by the United States government and it holds great importance that this is being enforced. After just one report on the First Step Initiative, it was found that using this assessment to place currently incarcerated offenders in programs toward their progress. By reauthorizing the Second Chance Act of 2007, more grant funding for reentry programs has been made available. This allows for more reentry research and funding of programs in all incarceration facilities. By allowing for more research and development to be done about reentry and reintegration, more successful program types and case manager training can be presented. Implementing a mandate for risk-needs-responsivity assessments for all offenders during incarceration, months prior to release and during reintegration to society would be the next step towards making the First Step Initiative more effective and consistent. Imposing a mandate for participation in reentry programming after incarceration would also aide in reducing recidivism rates in the United States and therefore accomplishing one of the goals of the First Step Initiative (U.S. Department of Justice 2020). Overall, the United States criminal justice system has taken some significant steps in the right direction in terms of criminal justice reform and attempts to reduce recidivism. Moving forward,

the U.S. criminal justice must eliminate policy that dehumanizes and removes offender's rights as a citizen and enforce policy that embraces reentry programming in order to see a significant decrease in recidivism in the United States.

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