
[All ETDs from UAB](#)

[UAB Theses & Dissertations](#)

2017

A Control Theory Examination of Reentry Programming

Seth Undrea Lewis

University of Alabama at Birmingham

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/etd-collection>

Recommended Citation

Lewis, Seth Undrea, "A Control Theory Examination of Reentry Programming" (2017). *All ETDs from UAB*. 2265.

<https://digitalcommons.library.uab.edu/etd-collection/2265>

This content has been accepted for inclusion by an authorized administrator of the UAB Digital Commons, and is provided as a free open access item. All inquiries regarding this item or the UAB Digital Commons should be directed to the [UAB Libraries Office of Scholarly Communication](#).

A CONTROL THEORY EXAMINATION OF REENTRY PROGRAMMING

by

SETH U. LEWIS

KATHRYN D. MORGAN, COMMITTEE CHAIR
JOHN A. DANTZLER
O. HAYDEN GRIFFIN

A THESIS

Submitted to the graduate faculty of The University of Alabama at Birmingham,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

2017

A CONTROL THEORY EXAMINATION OF REENTRY PROGRAMMING

SETH U. LEWIS

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE

ABSTRACT

The United States has a considerable prison population. More than 90 percent of prisoners will be released back into society. Faced with an increasing number of prisoners being released each year, reentry programs have become a popular tool to ensure successful reentry back into society. Research has indicated that successful completion of a reentry program reduces the likelihood that a former prisoner will return to prison. Travis Hirschi argued that when individuals have strong bonds to society they are less likely to exhibit criminal behavior. This study uses Hirschi's social bond theory as a basis to identify factors that influence reentry program participant outcomes. Data from the Jefferson County Community Corrections Program operated by UAB's Treatment Alternatives for Safer Communities (TASC) was used to examine the relationship between the tenets of social bond theory and program completion.

Keywords: Social bond theory, barriers, outcomes, reentry, social bond, recidivism

DEDICATION

To the Almighty God. All I do, I do in Your name and I pray that it is pleasing to You. My wife Tamika, daughter Sydney, and godson Ethan. Words cannot express the gratitude and love that I have for you. MKT, we have come a long way since the 5th grade. Finally, the Lewis clan: grandmother Gracie Mae, mother Willie Mae, Evelyn, Mary, Jimmy, Edward, Eddie, Charles, Aunt Lucille and my dad Isaiah. I love you all and all that came after you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I'd like to thank the Few and the Proud of the United States Marine Corps, specifically those of 4th Battalion 4th Marine Division, Lima Battery. You all challenged me at every turn to be a leader which set me on my current path. Cpt. Roderick W. Wilkins and Sgt. Vincent Sims of the UAB Police Department, thank you for being the great mentors you were and are. Corporal Tonikos Vandiber, FTO Arthur Williams, and Officer Tristan Cunningham thank you for being the inspiration needed to return to UAB and the UAB Police Department. Eddie Dowdell of the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles, I thank you for believing in me and supporting me. Your appointments to the Sentencing Guideline Commission as well as the liaison to the 10th Judicial Circuit of Alabama were instrumental in my developing an understanding of policy on a state level.

I'm appreciative of Department Chair Dr. Jeffery Walker. Your lessons in data analysis and support beyond the classroom have set the foundation for future endeavors. Dr. Hyeyoung Lim, I've never taken your class but you always offered your assistance and support. Dr. John A. Dantzler and your data analyst, Christina Cenczyk, without knowing or being directly involved, you were instrumental in this process. I am so thankful to you. Dr. Heith Copes, I thank you for granting me the opportunity to come home and be a part of such a challenging program.

Dr. O. Hayden Griffin, I cannot thank you enough. You have been a refreshing breath. Your direct approach and blunt personality remind me of many of the Marines whom I've served with. You don't minx words, something that service members particularly appreciate. Dr. Kathryn Morgan, we first met around 1997. I recall sitting in your Race and Crime class and how you would challenge your students, particularly me. While I was an undergrad, you demonstrated a standard that I have rarely seen. You've supported me even when I had no clue of what I wanted to do with my career. I am forever indebted to you.

I would also like to thank the men of Phi Beta Sigma: Dr. Stacey P. Gill (Leslie), Sterrick D. Morgan (Stacey), Derrick L. Colley, Roderick W. Wilkins (Trisha), and Terry Cauthen. Your support and friendship have been enduring and future endeavours would be void without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
1 THE EFFECT OF GET TOUGH POLICIES ON PRISON POPULATIONS AND REENTRY	1
Impact of Policies on Incarceration.....	3
Release from Prison and Reentry	4
Purpose of the Research and Organization of the Thesis	6
2 REVIEW OF REENTRY LITERATURE.....	7
Studies Reporting Findings about Reentry Programs.....	8
Studies Identifying Barriers to Successful Outcomes	9
Studies Identifying “What Works” in Reentry	12
3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL BOND THOERY	14
The Current Study	15
UAB TASC.....	16
4 RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES.....	18
Research Questions and Hypotheses	18

Study Population.....	19
Data Collection Strategy.....	19
Variables Used in the Study	20
Statistical Data Analysis	25
5 FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS	26
General Findings.....	26
Bivariate Analysis.....	27
6 DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS.....	35
Study Limitations	36
Policy Implications	37
Implications for Future Research	37
REFERENCES	39
APPENDIX.....	45
Institutional Review Board Approval.....	45

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Study Variables, Definitions, and Descriptives	22
2 Bivariate Analysis Results for Demographic Variables	28
3 Bivariate Analysis of Family Emotional Support.....	30
4 Bivariate Analysis of Satisfaction with Level of Family Emotional Support	30
5 Bivariate Analysis of Criminal Parents.....	30
6 Bivariate Analysis of Criminal Friends	31
7 Bivariate Analysis of Gang Membership.....	31
8 Bivariate Analysis of Marital Status	32
9 Bivariate Analysis of Relationship Satisfaction	32
10 Bivariate Analysis of Employment.....	33
11 Bivariate Analysis of Employment at Time of Arrest	33
12 Bivariate Analysis of Education	34

CHAPTER 1

THE EFFECT OF GET TOUGH POLICIES ON PRISON POPULATIONS AND REENTRY

The 1960s represented a time of change in America. While the country experienced progress and prosperity, there were challenges. The Vietnam War provoked anger and violent antiwar demonstrations and protests in response to a war that most Americans opposed. Blacks continued the fight for civil rights, equality and racial justice. Women demanded equality and equal access to opportunities. Between 1965 and the mid-70s, American society experienced increased crime rates and the public's increasing fear of crime and victimization. Americans were especially fearful of the rising violent crime rates. There was also disillusionment with rehabilitation and its promise to reduce recidivism and crime rates. Conservative criminologists emerged to attack rehabilitation and call for more punishment for criminals and protection for society. Robert Martinson's (1974) "*Nothing Works*" study of rehabilitation programs argued that rehabilitation programs show no effect on recidivism. In his book, *Thinking About Crime*, James Q. Wilson (1975) rejected mainstream criminologists' search for causes of crime in favor of deterrence theory and public safety. Rising crime rates, the war on drugs, increased public fear of crime, more emphasis on punishment and protection of the community resulted in tougher penalties and more people going to prison. This "get tough on crime" position had a profound impact on criminal justice policies. In response to this new "get

tough on crime” philosophy, police departments increased their number of officers and many states implemented mandatory sentencing guidelines (Grimes & Rogers, 1999)

Determinate sentencing structures replaced indeterminate sentencing structures and many states, as well as the federal government abolished discretionary parole. In the 1980s, sentencing reform resulted in more offenders being sent to prison for longer periods of time.

In 1971, Richard Nixon declared a War on Drugs to address increasing use of illegal drugs by college students and the more educated (Gray, 2001:27; Boyum and Reuter, 2005:5). While the Nixon administration adopted a combined rehabilitation-get tough approach, drug policies in the Reagan era became more punitive (Peterson, 1985:251). First Lady, Nancy Reagan initiated a campaign aimed at youth drug abuse public schools; this campaign resulted in the “Just Say No” slogan (Baum, 1996).

The War on Drugs has been viewed as the most significant contributor to the increased prison populations, overcrowding and escalating prison costs. Tough drug policies frequently resulted in more prisoners being placed in a crowded prison system and a prison population boom (Angelos & Jacobs, 1985). Spohn (2000) notes that not only did the drug war increase prison populations, but it disproportionately targeted African Americans for tougher penalties and increased the number of African Americans arrested and imprisoned for drug offenses.

The War on Drugs, rising crime rates and tougher sentencing policies resulted in more people going to prison with the consequences of prison overcrowding and shorter sentences. Ditton and Wilson (1999) reported that offenders sentenced to prison were serving approximately 30 months (44 percent of their sentence). The system was locking

up more people who were spending less time in prison. The efforts to toughen criminal penalties were being undermined by prison release policies, with the consequence that inmates were serving less time (Morgan, 2016). When the Federal Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 was passed, it abolished federal parole and implemented truth- in-sentencing for federal offenders that required convicted federal offenders to serve at least 85 percent of their court imposed sentences.

As most states followed the lead of the federal government that required offenders to serve all or part of their sentences, critics pointed out that this policy would only increase the prison population, inflate already high prison costs, and remove incentive of early release from prison (Petersilia, 2003; Morgan, 2016:118).

Impact of Policies on Incarceration

These criminal justice policies that were designed to punish and deter have had a dramatic effect on incarceration in the United States. According to Blumstein and Beck (1999), prison populations increased by 200 percent between 1980 and 1996. Nonviolent drug arrests saw a ten percent increase between 1980 and 1996 (Blumstein & Beck, 1999). In 2012, United States law enforcement agencies arrested approximately 12,000,000 people from across the country (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). Arrest rates of this magnitude have become common place in the U.S. since the 1980s. This has had a domino effect on the criminal justice system. Court systems have struggled to hear the large number of criminal cases in a fair and speedy manner, often resorting to plea bargains to clear court dockets. The effects of so many arrests are most apparent in the correctional systems. U.S. jails and prisons house more offenders than any

other developed nation. In 2005, there were approximately 735 inmates per 100,000 citizens in the U.S. compared to a world average of 166 per 100,000 (Ralphael, 2009). In 2013, there were approximately 6.8 million people under correctional control in U.S. at the end of the year (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014). By year's end in 2013, 1 in 110 adults were incarcerated (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014).

Recent data from the Sentencing Project indicates that the United States incarcerates more of its citizens than any country in the world. According to the Sentencing Project, there are currently 2.2 million Americans housed in the nation's jails and prisons (Sentencing Project, 2015:1).

Release from Prison and Reentry

While incarceration rates are high, the majority of those who are incarcerated will be released from prison back into society (Bowman & Travis Jr, 2012). In 2002, more than 600,000 prisoners were released back into society which equates to approximately 1,200 per day (Petersilia, 2003). It is that inevitable release, where the criminal justice system finds itself at another crossroad. Inmates who are released from prison face many challenges. A 2005 U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics study found that 67.8 percent of persons released from prison were arrested within three years of release and 76.6 percent were arrested within five years (Cooper, Durose, & Snyder, 2014). Recidivism is a major contributor to prison overcrowding. Maintaining prisons or jails can be a costly endeavor that many criminal justice agencies may want to minimize by creating programs aimed at reducing prison populations. Discretionary parole release, end of sentence (EOS), and probation are some of the tools used by courts and correctional authorities to reduce

prison populations. Other programs were designed to divert prison bound offenders to community correction programs. The criminal justice system is faced with the challenge of ensuring that those released from prison or by the courts via parole, EOS, or probation successfully reenter mainstream society.

Reentry programs have become popular over the past few decades. With funding decreasing for institutional programming and the inevitable release of more than 90 percent of prisoners, the criminal justice system is turning to faith and community based reentry programs to help ease recidivism rates. Reentry programs are designed to help prisoners overcome many of the barriers that prevent successful reintegration into mainstream society. Educational training, substance abuse prevention classes, mental illness treatment, HIV/AIDS counseling, and job training are some of the common programs that reentry programs provide. Reentry programs have attracted much attention in recent years and were mentioned by President George W. Bush in his 2004 State of the Union Address. Seventy seven percent of prisoners are arrested within five years of their release. Studies have determined that prisoners that participate in reentry programs are less likely to return to prison (Petersilia, 2003).

There has been a substantial amount of debate that suggests that reentry programs reduce prison overcrowding as well as recidivism. James (2015) argued that much of the literature on reentry focuses on “what works.” James’ assessment seems to be accurate. Much of the research focuses on specific individual treatment measures such as job placement, substance abuse treatment, education, housing, etc. to determine “what works.” Research on reentry as a holistic program providing services to combat reentry barriers seems to be lacking.

Purpose of the Research and Organization of the Thesis

This research project will examine the relationship between Jefferson County Community Corrections Program participant's ability to complete the reentry program and the social bonds attachment and commitment of Travis Hirschi's social control theory.

Chapter 1 presents an overview and introduction to the policies that resulted in increased prison populations and the introduction of reentry as a possible solution.

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature for the current study. These studies are divided into three categories: (1) studies that report general findings on reentry programs; (2) studies that identify barriers that prevent successful outcomes; and (3) studies that identify "what works" in prison reentry.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework of the study, purpose of the current study, and detailed information on the program used in the study.

Chapter 4 discusses the methods and procedures used in the study. Included is a discussion of the hypotheses; the study participants, data collection, the variables used in the study, and statistical analysis process.

Chapter 5 provides the findings and interpretations of the study.

Chapter 6 discusses the study limitations, policy implications as well as implications for future research implications.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF REENTRY LITERATURE

With the exception of people who are sentenced to the death penalty or life without the possibility of parole, those who are incarcerated in our prisons will be released back into mainstream society. Upon an inmates' release, they face barriers that may affect their success on probation or parole. In many cases, previously incarcerated persons, face similar challenges that initially led to their incarceration (Designing a prisoner reentry system hardwired to manage disputes, 2010). Successfully overcoming these barriers and decreasing recidivism is the ultimate goal of reentry programs.

Reentry has been recognized as an important element of the criminal justice system as well as the subject of many previous studies. The rising costs of incarceration has created a situation to which the "get tough on crime" era of politics may have subsided. Prisoner reentry reform has garnered the support of both Republican and Democrats (Colgan, 2007). The Second Chance Act bolsters the notion that prisoner reentry reform may be necessary and is supported by both sides of the political aisle. The Second Chance Act provides federal funding to nonprofit organizations as well as government agencies with the goal of reducing recidivism by improving outcomes of incarceration through reentry programming (Second Chance Act, 2015).

There is quite a bit of literature on prisoner reentry, but actual research of reentry and reentry programs are not substantial. Existing literature of prison reentry focuses on

recidivism and barriers that influence successful outcomes. Existing literature on reentry program operations tend to focus on the “what works” aspect of reentry. Meaning that specific programs such as housing or job placement services tend to be the primary focus of literature. This seems to be somewhat reasonable. To implement meaningful programs, it is important to identify what works. Researchers and criminal justice professionals seem to agree that there are a substantial number of barriers that prevent successful reentry into society. Recidivism is perhaps the gold standard of measurement for any reentry program. If reentry is deemed to be a success, then recidivism rates should be positively affected by reentry programs.

Studies Reporting Findings about Reentry Programs

Wikoff et al. (2012) conducted a study on Project Re-Connect (PRC) which is a reentry program located in St. Louis, Missouri. PRC offered the unique concept of providing a stipend to program participants up to \$5,000. Wikoff et al. noted that evaluations have been conducted of two programs of this type. Of the two, Living Insurance for Ex-Offenders (LIFE) saw a reduction in arrests among participants. The Wikoff et al. (2012) study focused on three aspects: the recidivism rate of PRC, recidivism rates of participants as opposed to the rates of eligible to participate but did not, and factors associated with new convictions.

Wikoff et al. found that those who participated in the program were less likely to be convicted of a new offense. Also, those with a high school diploma or equivalent were less likely to be convicted of a new felony, more likely to have institutional adjustment

issues, and more likely to suffer from substance abuse problems. Of note, Wikoff et al. stated that personal motivation could not be ruled out of reentry outcomes.

In a study that seems to continue the work of Wikoff et al., Morani et al. (2011) conducted a study that focused on needs as identified by program participants as well as an assessment of outcomes of participants. Morani et al. (2011) is based on the premise that prisoners are more likely to successfully reintegrate into society when self-identified or self-perceived needs are incorporated in the reentry plan. Morani et al. (2011) addressed four research questions in their study: what percentage of eligible inmates participated and did not participate in Project Re-Connect, what were the self-identified needs of former prisoners who participated in Project Re-Connect, how participants spent their \$3,000 monetary allotment, and what were the outcomes of participation.

Morani et al. (2011) found that prisoners would take advantage of reentry programs when given the opportunity even if not required as a condition of their parole. The study seems to fail to address actual outcomes of reentry programs. The outcomes are based on how the parolees are responding to while they are in the program. It does not follow the parolee after completion of the program. The study does identify needs based on the parolee assessment that seem to be consistent with other studies that have identified reentry barriers.

Studies Identifying Barriers to Successful Outcomes

Petersilia (2003) defines reentry as the process of planning for an inmate's release to include prerelease activities and how they are supervised post release. Prisoners are often poorly educated, lack vocational skills, or come from a weak family structure

(Petersilia, 2003). This combined with legislative restraints that are commonly referred to as “invisible punishments” that restrict the types of jobs available to prisoners after they have been released are substantial barriers that must be overcome to reduce recidivism as well as prison overcrowding (Petersilia, 2003). Prisons provided important programming to counter many of these deficiencies (e.g. GED training) but budget constraints and political posturing has caused a decline in many of these programs. Failing to provide meaningful programming to help overcome these barriers may substantially contribute to recidivism. Research has indicated that inmates who participate in prerelease or educational programs are less likely to recidivate (Petersilia, 2003).

Weiman (2007) makes the argument that prisons are criminogenic and may add barriers that previously incarcerated persons may face. Prisons are essentially training grounds for criminal behavior and only tend to reinforce existing criminal behavior. As a result, prison serves as a transitional institution that may create more hardened criminals who will ultimately be released back into society (Weiman, 2007). Criminal reinforcement may be a product of survival techniques or a prisoner simply trying to blend into the prison environment (Weiman, 2007). According to Weiman, low level offenders, those with nonviolent or short criminal histories, who receive prison sentences are the best examples of how prisons can reinforce criminal behavior. Placing a low-level offender in a high security facility increases the chance that a low level offender will recidivate, often by committing more serious crimes (Weiman, 2007).

The basis of Weiman’s study is that prison blocks pathways to the labor market. Weiman specifically examined how the “War on Drugs” impacted low level or marginal offender’s ability to obtain and maintain decent employment. Weiman (2007) argued that

employment is a key point in a person's life that aids in the transition to life changing moments such as marriage which is a key element in desisting from criminal behavior. Weiman also looked at the social costs of mass incarceration. Incarceration has an impact not only on people who are convicted of crimes but also their families, neighborhoods, and to some extent the economy.

Bowman and Travis studied reentry and recidivism applying B.F. Skinner's Theory of Verbal Behavior which used the perspective of former prisoners and reentry service providers. Bowman and Travis argued that reentry is more than recidivism and a theory-based approach is needed to better understand what is needed for successful reentry (Bowman & Travis Jr, 2012). Bowman and Travis conducted focus groups with former prisoners and reentry service providers to study factors that impact recidivism rates (Bowman & Travis Jr, 2012).

Bowman and Travis cited three objectives for their study: 1) to describe the perspectives of former prisoners and reentry providers in areas with high concentrations of probationers and parolees, 2) determine if the Theory of Verbal Behavior can predict if verbal behavior reinforces behaviors that lead to recidivism, and 3) provide behavior analysis-based prisoner reentry strategies (Bowman & Travis Jr, 2012). More specifically, Bowman and Travis examined the "sorts of descriptive stimuli are offered by the reentry service providers, how they are received and responded upon by formerly incarcerated individuals, and what behavior(s) are reinforced that produce high recidivism rates" (Bowman & Travis Jr, 2012, pp. 10-11).

Bowman and Travis identified several themes that developed from the focus groups that former prisoners and reentry service providers. The criminal justice system,

residential location, employment, probation and parole officers, and mental health issues were common barriers that developed from the study. Consistent with Wieman's study, the criminal justice system was identified by former prisoners and reentry service providers as a barrier to successful reentry. Former prisoners, particularly believed that the criminal justice system was designed for them to fail. They cited an overcrowded system that caused inefficiencies. Ineffective programming and a heavy law enforcement presence was also considered a major contributor to recidivism.

Former prisoners and reentry service providers also contributed recidivism to the location that programs and former prisoners were available. Neighborhood and ethnicity was believed to impact the likelihood of arrest. Some neighborhoods lacked the necessary resources for successful reentry. Making money and self-reliance were deemed to be important to successful reentry. Many of the former prisoners believed that employers would not hire a felon. Additionally, former prisoners and reentry service providers viewed the reentry transition process as critical to successful reentry. Reentry transition was described as a three-phase process that consists of prerelease activity, community adjustment, and types of programs available post-release (Bowman & Travis Jr, 2012). The focus groups also included mental health aspects as an element that could potentially cause a former prisoner to reoffend.

Studies Identifying “What Works” in Reentry

Seiter and Kadela conducted an analysis of several reentry programs to determine if they were effective. Seiter and Kadela identified several common barriers to prison reentry program that are consistent with other studies. In 1999, the Vera Institute of Justice found that housing, alcohol and drug abuse, unemployment, family relationships,

and parole supervision were some of the barriers to successful reentry (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). In a 1990 study by Anderson, poverty, lack of jobs, and crime contributed to unstable neighborhoods as prisoners returned home (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Seiter and Kadela also found that there were a wide range of definitions of what constitutes a reentry program. For the purpose of the study, Seiter and Kadela (2003) defined reentry as a correctional program that focused transition programs such as halfway houses and work release programs. Seiter and Kadela also required that the programs be initiated in a prison setting and be treatment oriented (e.g. education, substance abuse, etc.).

Seiter and Kadela (2013) used the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods (MSSM) to evaluate reentry programs. Seiter and Kadela grouped similar programs into one of five levels which ranked each program from weakest to strongest based on internal validity. Seiter and Kadela found that vocational and work release programs were effective in reducing recidivism. Vocational and work release programs also improved job readiness skills for previously incarcerated persons. Twelve drug rehabilitation programs were evaluated, and they were found to be successful, however, selection bias was identified as an issue with the programs. Education programs were deemed to improve achievement scores but did not have an effect on recidivism. Seiter and Kadela found internal validity issues with sex and violent offender programs and could not determine if they were effective. Halfway houses were found to ease transition back into society but Seiter and Kadela offered no input on whether there was any impact on recidivism.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL BOND THEORY

Social control theory assumes that individuals are naturally weak, and given the many opportunities to commit crime would commit crime if left to their own devices. There are internal and external forces that keep individuals conforming to the norms and rules of conventional society. When those ties to conventional society become weakened, the individual is more likely to engage in criminal behavior (Hirschi, 1969). Travis Hirschi's control theory, known as social bond theory, is the most cited control theory used by criminologists (Akers & Sellers, 2013). Hirschi (2002) likens humans to animals that are born with the ability to commit delinquent acts. According to Hirschi (2002), social bond theory is based on the notion that criminal behavior is a result of an individual's weak or broken social bonds to society. Social bonds are created through socialization between an individual and society (Wiatrowski & Anderson, 1987). A person who has developed strong ties to family, teachers, peers, etc. are more likely to conform to social rules of society. Hirschi identified four elements that are the basis for this bond to society: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Hirschi argued that the weaker these four elements are the more likely a person is to participate in deviant behavior.

The element of attachment is based on the concept that individuals with strong personal attachments to others are more likely to respect and identify with them. A strong

attachment to a person decreases the likelihood that social norms will be violated. Hirschi identified three types of attachments that impacted delinquency: attachment to parents, attachment to school, and attachment to peers. According to Hirschi, likelihood of delinquency was not determined by the character of the person to whom one is attached but the strength of the attachment (Akers & Sellers, 2013). Even a person attached to a delinquent person was less likely to commit delinquent acts (Akers & Sellers, 2013). Commitment is predicated on the notion of “stake in conformity.” A person who has something that he or she is vested in such as job, family, education, home, etc. is more likely to conform because failing to do so would cause a greater loss. Drinking, smoking, etc., as an adolescent is a sign of lacking commitment that leads to more severe delinquent acts (Wiatrowski & Anderson, 1987). Involvement is based on the concept that a person who is heavily involved with friends, family, school, or employment will not have time to commit deviant acts. The final element of belief focuses on norms and values. A person that places high value in laws and social norms is more likely to conform.

The Current Study

As evidenced by existing literature, prison reentry is a popular topic among everyone in the criminal justice workgroup. Funding has been made available to assist faith-based, community, and government organizations with developing reentry programs. The prevailing reality that an overwhelming number of prisoners will be released back into society has a profound impact on the daily operations of criminal justice agencies and individual citizens alike. Petersilia (2003) argued that prisoner

reentry has emerged as a key policy issue because the prisoner is not isolated in its impact. Prisoner reentry has economic, political, and social consequences that impact families as well as communities (Petersilia, 2003). There seems to be limited prior research of reentry programs that utilizes social control theory. It is pretty well documented that prisoners who successfully complete some type of reentry program are less likely to recidivate. Researchers have examined “what works” in reentry and have also identified potential barriers to successful reentry but empirical studies utilizing Hirschi’s social control theory to examine successful completion of reentry programs seems to be lacking. This study will examine if a relationship exists between Travis Hirschi’s social bond theory and outcomes of the Jefferson County Community Corrections Program.

UAB TASC

The data for the study was collected from an existing database maintained by UAB Treatment Alternatives for Safer Communities (TASC). TASC was founded in 1973 and provides several reentry programs within Jefferson County, Alabama (UAB School of Medicine: Substance Abuse Programs, 2016). The reentry programs operated by TASC are Community Corrections, Drug Court, Electronic Monitoring, Theft Court, Mental Health Court, Family Drug Court, Veterans Court, Offender Reentry Program, Court Referral, and Adolescents Programs (UAB School of Medicine: Substance Abuse Programs, 2016). TASC estimates that it serves 1456 participants annually (Smith, 2015).

TASC received its Community Corrections Program designation on September 6, 1994, by the Jefferson County Commission (UAB School of Medicine: Substance Abuse

Programs, 2016). Approximately 46 participants per month entered the Community Corrections Program between October 2013 and February 2016. Community Corrections participants were Court ordered primarily by District and Court Judges from Jefferson County, Alabama. Between October 2013 and February 2016, 27 participants were ordered to the program by an unknown Judge. Community Corrections participants are nonviolent offenders that would be otherwise sentenced to prison (Smith, 2015).

There are daily approximately 575 participants of the Community Corrections Program. Upon entering the Community Corrections Program, participants are assessed using the Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS) Community Supervision Tool (CST). ORAS was developed to assess the risk and needs of offenders with the goal of predicting recidivism at various stages in the criminal justice system (Latessa et al, 2010). Based on the initial assessment, participants may be required to complete one or multiple programs offered. Community Corrections offers life skills/cognitive behavior, inpatient/residential treatment, outpatient treatment, self-help, vocational and job skills, halfway house/supplemental housing, and individual counseling programs.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Research Questions and Hypotheses

R₁ Is there a relationship between Hirschi's social control theory and outcomes of reentry programs?

H₁ Participants with strong family emotional support will be more likely to complete a reentry program.

H₂ Reentry program participants that are very satisfied with the level of family support will be more likely to complete a reentry program.

H₃ Married participants will be more likely to complete a reentry program.

H₄ Program participants who have a majority of close friends with criminal records will be less likely to complete a reentry program.

H₅ Participants who are active gang members will be less likely to complete a reentry program.

H₆ Program participants with criminal parents will be less likely to complete a reentry program.

H₇ Reentry program participants that are employed will be more likely to complete a reentry program.

H₈ Program participants that are satisfied with the currently marital or equivalent situation will be more likely to complete a reentry program.

H₉ Participants who were unemployed at the time of their arrest will be less likely to complete a reentry program,

H₁₀ Program participants with at least a high school diploma will be more likely to complete a reentry program.

Study Population

Study participants were court ordered to complete the Jefferson County Community Corrections Program as part of a split sentence in which they served an initial term in custody of the Alabama Department of Corrections. Participants were predominantly residents of Jefferson County, Alabama who entered the Community Corrections Program by order of a Judge from the 10th Judicial Circuit of Alabama located in Birmingham and Bessemer, Alabama.

Data Collection Strategy

Data were extracted from participant files maintained by the Jefferson County Community Corrections Program from January 2013 through December 2015. The Jefferson County Community Corrections Program is operated by UAB TASC (Treatment Alternatives for Safer Communities). The data provided included demographic data and data from the ORAS CST (Community Supervision Tool). The CST consists of a set of questions organized into five domains designed to measure a participant's potential risk of recidivism and needs that would decrease the likelihood of recidivism. Other data provided included the offense, number of prior felony convictions, and whether or not the participant completed the program. Participants were identified by

a unique client number randomly assigned by TASC. Participants whose client numbers were not found were omitted from the sample. After excluding cases missing a client number, the total number of participants eligible for the study was 2606. Of these, 1338 were duplicates where some participants were ordered to complete the program on multiple occasions. For this study, only the original entry into the program was included. Participants who did not have a response for the variable, program status, and participants who died prior to completing the program were also excluded. The final sample consisted of 677 participants.

Variables Used in the Study

Variables created from the case files were placed into one of three categories: offender variables, social control variables, and outcome variables.

1) Offender Variables -- The variables associated with the offender were age, sex, race, and prior felony convictions. According to Friedman and Rosenbaum (1988), age is considered a strong predictor of criminal behavior. It is generally accepted that as a person ages, they desist from criminal behavior (Friedman & Rosenbaum, 1988). Gender is also considered a predictor of crime. Males tend to exhibit aggressive behavior and participate in more criminal acts (Friedman & Rosenbaum, 1988). Friedman & Rosenbaum (1988) contend that previous social control models indicate status offenses are better predicted than more serious offenses but most research still uses some form of delinquency as an additional variable. The variables prior felony conviction and most serious crime under 18 were included to measure past criminal behavior.

2) Social Control Variables – Social control variables fell into two subcategories: attachment and commitment. Both were derived from Hirschi’s social control theory. Social control theory is based on four elements of the social bond: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Hirschi theorized that a person who has a weak or broken bond to conventional societal norms would be more likely to participate in delinquent behavior (Hirschi, 2002). Attachment to conventional and unconventional parents, attachment and exposure to criminal influences, attachment to schools, and attachment to peers were factors Hirschi (2002) used to describe the elements of attachment. To assess attachment, program participants were asked how satisfied they were with the level of support they received from family and close friends. ORAS responses available were: very satisfied, satisfied, somewhat satisfied, and not satisfied. Participants were also asked to rate the level of emotional and personal support received from family, spouses, and close friends. Responses available were strong support, ok support, weak support, and no support.

Friedman and Rosenbaum (1988) argued that delinquent peers were an important factor in individual delinquency. While the assumption has been that delinquent peers provide motivation to commit delinquent acts, Friedman and Rosenbaum (1988) contend that having delinquent peers could be a deterrent due to the demonstration of “costs” associated with delinquent behavior. To assess the relationship with delinquent peers, participants were asked if any of their close friends have ever been involved with crime. A follow-up question was asked to determine the percentage of close friends who have been involved with crime. The response was then categorized as none, some, and majority. Participants were also asked if they were ever in a gang. A follow-up question

was asked to determine if participants were actively involved in a gang. The responses were categorized as never, yes, not active, and yes, active. Attachment to criminal parents were also recorded. Participants were asked if anyone in their family had criminal records. A follow-up question was asked to determine if the family member was a parent, stepparent, or person responsible for raising them. Each participant’s response was recorded as yes or no.

Hirschi (2002) argued that a commitment to conventional lines of action as evidenced by movement from juvenile activities to adult activities were an indicator that a person would be less likely to commit deviate acts. Hirschi (2002) claimed that the exertion of a “right” of a juvenile to participate in adult activities is linked to delinquent activity. Current marital and employment status, relationship satisfaction, employment at the time of arrest, and education were the variables used under the commitment category. Program participants were asked if they were satisfied with their current marital or equivalent situation. The response was recorded into yes or no categories. Participants were also asked to provide the highest grade completed.

3) Outcome Variables -- The dependent variable and final category for the study is program status. Successful program completion is a participant who entered the program and completed all programs within the time frame ordered by the sentencing Judge. Program failures are participants that did not complete the program because of new arrest, escape, or otherwise terminated by the sentencing Judge.

Table 1: Study Variables, Definitions, and Descriptives

Variables	Categories	Percentage
Offender Variables		
Age	Age at time entered program	
Grouped Age	0 = 19-28	23.9
	1 = 29-38	37.2

	2 = 39-48	20.7
	3 = 49 & Above	18.2
Sex	Sex of participant	
	0 = Male	83.2
	1 = Female	16.8
Race	Race of participant	
	0 = Black	65.7
	1 = White	33.9
	2 = Asian	.1
	3 = Hispanic	.3
Prior Adult Felony	Number of prior adult felony convictions	
	0 = None	5.3
	1 = One or Two	26.3
	2 = Three or More	68.3
Most Serious Crime Under 18	How old were you when you were first arrested? What was it for?	
	0 = None	43.9
	1 = Misdemeanor	31.8
	2 = Felony	24.3
Social Control Variables		
Marital Status	Legal marital status of participant	
	0 = Single	58.6
	1 = Divorced	19.0
	2 = Married	21.0
	3 = Widowed	1.3
Satisfaction with level of Family Support	How satisfied are you with the level of support received from family and close friends?	
	0 = Not Satisfied	11.5
	1 = Very Satisfied	88.5
Family Emotional Support	How would you rate the emotional and personal support you receive from family, spouse, and close friends?	

	0 = None or Weak	12.7
	1 = Strong Support	87.3
Relationship Satisfaction	Are you currently satisfied with your marital or equivalent situation?	
	0 = No	13.1
	1 = Yes	86.9
Criminal Parents	Does anyone in your family have a criminal record? Who?	
	0 = No	87.0
	1 = Yes	13.0
Criminal Friends	What percentage of your close friends have been in trouble with the law?	
	0 = None	60.1
	1 = Some	30.9
	2 = Most	9.0
Gang Membership	Have you ever been in a gang?	
	0 = Never	86.9
	1 = Yes, Not Active	10.9
	2 = Yes, Active	2.2
Employment	Employment status of participant	
	0 = Unemployed	32.8
	1 = Part Time	12.5
	2 = Full Time	34.5
	3 = Disabled	14.7
	4 = Retired	.2
Employed at Time of Arrest	Were you working at the time of your arrest?	
	0 = No	60.1
	1 = Yes	39.9
Lots of Free Time	What percentage of your week would you say is free time?	
	0 = No, Most Time Structured	67.2

	1 = Yes, Lots of Free Time	32.8
Education	What is the highest grade you completed?	
	0 = Less Than High School	45.4
	1 = High School/GED	36.4
	2 = Some College	13.1
	3 = College Graduate	2.7
	4 = Technical	2.4
Outcome Variable		
Program Status	Did participant complete program?	
	0 = Completed	75.6
	1 = Failed to Complete	24.4

Statistical Data Analysis

The analyses of the data included a bivariate analysis of the impact of offender variables and social control variables on program outcome. The dependent variable was program status, a dichotomous variable indicating the offender completed or failed to complete the program. Independent variables in the study were offender-related variables (age, sex, race, and prior felony convictions) and social control/social bond variables (marital status, employment, criminal friends, etc.) See Table 1 for variables list, definitions, coding, and descriptive statistics.

CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

General Findings

There were 677 offenders who participated in the Jefferson County Community Corrections Program that were included in the sample. Results show that the study population was largely male; 83 percent of the sample was male and approximately 17 percent female. Sixty-six percent of the offenders were Black and 34 percent were White. Other races included in the sample (Asians and Hispanics) comprised less than 1 percent of the total sample. The average age of participants was 37 and ranged from 19-67 years. Forty-five percent of the sample had less than a high school diploma, 36 percent possessed a high school diploma or GED, 13 percent had some college experience, three percent had graduated from college, and two percent had some type of technical training. Fifty-nine percent of the sample were single, 19 percent divorced, 21 percent married, and one percent widowed. Forty-seven percent of the sample were employed during the program while 33 percent were unemployed. Sixty-eight percent had three or more prior adult felony convictions, 26 percent with one or two, and five percent with no prior adult felony convictions. Forty-four percent of the sample had no arrests prior to 18 years of age, 32 percent only had a misdemeanor arrest, and 24 percent had a felony arrest prior to 18 years of age.

Eighty-nine percent of the sample was very satisfied with the level of support they received from family and close friends while 12 percent were not satisfied. Eighty-seven percent had strong emotional support from their family and close friends while 13 percent had no or weak support. Eighty-seven percent were satisfied with their current marital or equivalent relationship and 13 percent was not. Eighty-seven percent did not have parents with a criminal record and 13 percent did have parents with criminal records. Sixty percent of the sample did not have criminal friends, 31 percent had some criminal friends, and 9 percent had most of their friends with a criminal history. Eighty-seven percent of the sample had never been in a gang, 11 percent were in a gang but not actively participating, and two percent were active gang members. Sixty-seven percent of the sample had no free time and 33 percent had lots of free time. Sixty percent were not employed at the time of their arrest that resulted in their participation in the program and 40 percent were employed. Seventy six percent successfully completed the program while 24 percent failed to complete the program. See Table 1 for variable list, definitions, and descriptive statistics.

Bivariate Analysis

On the bivariate level, Chi-square was used to determine if the relationship between the dependent variable (program status) and the independent variables were statistically significant at .05 probability level. Table 2 shows results for the demographic variables included in the study. Of the variables age, race, prior adult felony conviction, most serious crime under 18 years of age, and gender only age and race are statistically significant. Because of small numbers for Asians and Hispanics, those categories were

recoded as missing leaving only Black and White as categories. Eighty-one percent of Black participants completed the program and 66 percent of Whites completed the program. Failure rates for Blacks and Whites were 19 percent and 34 percent respectively. Chi-square values ($X^2=18.32$, $df=1$, $p < .001$) indicate that the relationship between race and program completion status is statistically significant at the $p \leq .05$ level. There are similar findings for the variable age. Results indicate that as participants get older, the completion rates increase while failure rates decrease when compared to the other age categories. The relationship between age and program outcome is also statistically significant ($X^2=14.465$, $df=3$, $p<.002$). Failure rates increased as the number of prior adult felony conviction increased. Ironically, completion rates also increased as the number of prior felony convictions increased. As the seriousness of crimes committed under the age of 18 increased, completion rates decreased. Failure rates decreased as the seriousness of crimes committed under the age of 18 increased. Both variables prior adult felony conviction ($X^2=.398$, $df=2$, $p<.819$) and most serious crime committed under 18 years of age ($X^2=.768$, $df=2$, $p<.681$) were not significant at the .05 probability level.

Table 2: Bivariate Analysis Results for Demographic Variables

Variables	Program Status		X^2 , df, p
	Completed N=512	Failed to Complete N=166	
Gender			
Male	422 (75%)	141 (25%)	$X^2=.820$, $df=1$, $p<.365$
Female	90 (79%)	24 (21%)	
Race	359 (81%)	85 (19%)	$X^2=18.316$, $df=1$, $p<.000$
Black	151 (66%)	78 (34%)	
White			
Age	116 (72%)	46 (28%)	

19-28	178 (71%)	74 (30%)	$\chi^2=14.465, df=3,$ $p<.002$
29-38	111 (79%)	29 (21%)	
39-48	107 (87%)	16 (13%)	
49 & Over			
Prior Adult Felony Conviction	28 (78%)	8 (22%)	$\chi^2=.398, df=2,$ $p<.819$
None	137 (77%)	41 (23%)	
One or Two	346 (75%)	116 (25%)	
Three or More			
Most Serious Crime Under 18 Years of Age	221 (74%)	76 (26%)	$\chi^2=.768, df=2,$ $p<.681$
None	162 (75%)	53 (25%)	
Misdemeanor	128 (78%)	36 (22%)	
Felony			

Social bond independent variables were grouped into two groups: variables that measured attachment and those measuring commitment. Tables 3 - 7 displays the results for the variables associated with attachment. Of the variables family emotional support, satisfaction with the level of family emotional support, criminal friends, gang membership, and criminal parents none were statistically significantly at the .05 probability level. Completion rates were higher for participants who perceived that they received strong emotional support from their family than those who received weak or no support. Failure rates were similar for those with strong emotional support (24 percent) as compared to those with weak or no (22 percent). Results were similar for the variable satisfaction with the level of family support. Those that were very satisfied completed at higher rate than those who were not satisfied. The number of program failures also increased as satisfaction levels increased. Both completion and failure rates increased as the number of criminal friends increased as did with the level of participation in gangs.

Table 3: Bivariate Analysis of Family Emotional Support

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Family Emotional Support	None or Weak	67 77.9%	19 22.1%
	Strong	445 75.3%	146 24.7%

$X^2=.278$, $df=1$, $p=.598$

Table 4: Bivariate Analysis of Satisfaction with Level of Family Emotional Support

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Satisfaction with Level of Family Support	Not Satisfied	60 76.9%	18 23.1%
	Very Satisfied	452 75.5%	147 24.5%

$X^2=.80$, $df=1$, $p=.777$

Table 5: Bivariate Analysis of Criminal Parents

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Criminal Parents	No	448 76.1%	141 23.9%
	Yes	64 72.7%	24 27.3%

$X^2=.462$, $df=1$, $p=.497$

Table 6: Bivariate Analysis of Criminal Friends

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Criminal Friends	None	312 76.7%	95 23.3%
	Some	160 76.6%	49 23.4%
	Majority	40 65.6%	21 34.4%

$X^2=.3.677$, $df=2$, $p=.159$

Table 7: Bivariate Analysis of Gang Membership

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Gang Membership	Never	447 76.0%	141 24.0%
	Yes, Not Active	55 74.3%	19 25.7%
	Yes, Active	10 66.7%	5 33.3%

$X^2=.771$, $df=2$, $p=.680$

Tables 8 - 12 display the results of the variables associated with commitment. Of the variables marital status, relationship satisfaction, employment, employment at the time of arrest, and education only employment ($X^2=26.226$, $df=3$, $p<.001$) was statistically significant at the .05 probability level. The category for retired was recoded as missing due to the small number (1) included in the category. Participants that were unemployed completed the program at lower rate (65 percent) and failed at a higher rate (35 percent) than any other category.

Table 8: Bivariate Analysis of Marital Status

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Marital Status	Single	271 76.6%	83 23.4%
	Divorced	88 76.5%	27 23.5%
	Married	93 73.2%	34 26.8%

$X^2=6.000$, $df=2$, $p=.741$

Table 9: Bivariate Analysis of Relationship Satisfaction

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Relationship Satisfaction	No	71 79.8%	18 20.2%
	Yes	441 75.0%	147 25.0%

$X^2=.956$, $df=1$, $p=.328$

Table 10: Bivariate Analysis of Employment

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Employment	Unemployed	163 65.2%	87 34.8%
	Part Time	65 79.3%	17 20.7%
	Full Time	183 81.0%	43 19.0%
	Disabled	84 87.5%	12 12.5%

$X^2=26.226$, $df=3$, $p<.001$

Table 11: Bivariate Analysis of Employment at Time of Arrest

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Employed at Time of Arrest	No	305 75.1%	101 24.9%
	Yes	206 76.3%	64 23.7%

$X^2=.121$, $df=1$, $p=.728$

Table 12: Bivariate Analysis of Education

		Program Status	
		Completed	Failed To Complete
Education	Less Than High School	218 75.7%	70 24.3%
	High School/GED	172 74.5%	59 25.5%
	Some College	63 75.9%	20 24.1%
	College Grad	12 70.6%	5 29.4%
	Technical	14 93.3%	1 6.7%

$X^2=2.953$, $df=4$, $p=.566$

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between Hirschi's social bond theory and reentry program participant's ability to complete the program. The social bond elements attachment and commitment were the foundation of the study. The study used the program's risk and needs assessment tool (ORAS) to identify tenets of the two social bond elements to be used for analysis. The analysis seems to support the notion that social bond theory is not generalizable (Kempf, 1993) and more research is needed. None of the variables associated with attachment and 25 percent (1) of those associated with commitment were statistically significant.

Hypothesis 1, 2, and 3 were not supported by the results. Participants with strong family emotional support completed the program at a reduced rate than those with weak or no family support. Participants also failed at a higher rate than those with weak or no family support. Participants that were satisfied with the level of family support had similar results as those in the level of family emotional support category. Married participants completed the program at a lower rate than single or divorced participants while failing at a higher rate. Hypothesis 4, 5 and 6 were not supported by the analysis. Participants with a majority of criminal friends or those who actively participate in gang activity are less likely to complete a reentry program. Participants whose parents have no criminal history were more likely to complete a reentry program and less likely to fail.

Hypothesis 7 were supported by the results. Participants that are employed full time during their time in the program or employed full time were more likely to complete a reentry program. Hypothesis 8, 9, and 10 were not supported by the results. Participants who were not satisfied with their current marital or equivalent relationship completed the program at a higher rate than those that were satisfied. Participants with college degrees were less likely to complete the program than those with less education.

Study Limitations

Results also indicate that age, race, and employment status were the only variables that were statistically significant. This could be due to sentencing guidelines in the State of Alabama at the time the data was collected. More serious offenders are not eligible for the Community Corrections program and this created a pool of participants that are more likely to complete the program. In the past, Jefferson County, Alabama District and Circuit Judges had more discretion in sentencing offenders to split sentences with Community Corrections as part of the sentence. This action likely causes many of the variables included in this study to not be statistically significant whereas they may have been found to be statistically significant in previous studies. Recent changes to sentencing guidelines could have future impact on the outcomes of Community Correction program participants. Limitations may also exist due to documentation methods of UAB TASC Community Corrections Program. Much of the data provided by UAB TASC included missing data that could not be included in the study.

Policy Implications

This study provides a basic framework for assessing programs that have adopted the Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS) as their tool for assessing the likelihood a previously incarcerated person will return to prison. It should be noted that the principle investigator in this study was part of the pilot program to implement ORAS as the primary assessment tool with the Alabama Board of Pardons and Parole and utilized the tool for several years. The implementation level of ORAS should be a cause for concern for the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles and as well as UAB TASC Community Corrections program. As evidenced by this study, missing data greatly contributes to limitations on accurate outcomes to the UAB TASC Community Corrections Program. Assessors are burdened with high caseloads and often rush through lengthy initial ORAS assessments failing to gather key information necessary to properly implement and evaluate ORAS using Travis Hirschi's social bond theory as the framework for evaluation. This shortcoming could be addressed by reducing the ratio of UAB TASC Community Correction counselors to program participants. This would allow for more accurate initial assessment and documentation.

Implications for Future Research

Kempf (1993) argued that control theories such as Hirschi's social bond theory had become popular amongst criminological theory but there had not been any methodical assessment of control theory research. Kempf contributed Hirschi's control theory popularity to the "testable nature" of the theory due to the use self-report surveys. The testable nature of the social bond theory is what made this study attractive. Many

agencies are transitioning to the Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS) to assess the likelihood of a previously incarcerated person will recidivate. The five domains of ORAS contain questions that can be operationalized into a format suitable for testing under the social bond theory. This could provide a substantial amount of research that Gibbons suggested was necessary if social bond theory were to be a lasting contributor to criminology research (Kempf, 1993; Gibbons, 1981; Krohn & Massey, 1980). It was also could help quell arguments such as those by Thio who believed that control theory was “oversimplified and only applicable to unsophisticated delinquent behavior” (Kempf, 1993, p. 144; Thio, 1978).

REFERENCES

- Akers, R. L., & Sellers, C. S. (2013). *Criminological theories: Introduction, evaluation, and application* (6th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alabama Department of Corrections. (2014). *Annual Report: Fiscal Year 2014*. Retrieved from <http://www.doc.state.al.us/docs/AnnualRpts/2014AnnualReport.pdf>
- Angelos, C., & Jacobs, J. T. (1985). Prison Overcrowding and the Law. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 478, 100-112.
- Baum, D. (1996). *Smoke and Mirrors: The War on Drugs and the Politics of Failure*. London: Little, Brown and Company.
- Blumstein, A., & Beck, A. J. (1999). Population growth in U.S. prisons, 1980-1996. *Crime and Justice*, 26, 17-61.
- Bowman, S. W., & Travis Jr, R. (2012). Prisoner reentry and recidivism according to the formerly incarcerated and reentry service providers: A verbal behavior approach. *The Behavior Analyst Today*, 13(3 & 4), 9-19.
- Boyum, D., & Reuter, P. (2005). *An Analytic Assessment of U.S. Drug Policy*. Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Public Policy.
- Chriss, J. J. (2007). The functions of the social bond. *Sociological Quarterly*, 48(4), 689-712.

- Colgan, B. A. (2007). The presidential politics of prisoner reentry reform. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 20(2), 110-123.
- Cooper, A. D., Durose, M. R., & Snyder, H. N. (2014). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 30 states in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010*. U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/rprts05p0510.pdf>
- Designing a prisoner reentry system hardwired to manage disputes. (2010). *Harvard Law Review*, 123(5), 1339-1360. Retrieved from http://cdn.harvardlawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/designing_prisoner_reentry.pdf
- Ditton, P., & Wilson, D. J. (1999). *Truth in Sentencing in State Prisons*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2013). *Uniform Crime Report: Crime in the United States, 2012*. Retrieved from <https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/persons-arrested/arrestmain.pdf>
- Friedman, J., & Rosenbaum, D. P. (1988). Social control theory: The salience of components by age, gender, and type of crime. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 4(4), 363-381.
- Gibbons, S. G. (1981). *Social control versus social learning: longitudinal analysis*. Washington State University. Ann Arbor: unpublished.
- Glaze, L. E., & Kaeble, D. (2014). *Correctional Populations in the United States, 2013*. U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpus13.pdf>

- Gray, J. (2001). *Why Our Drug Laws Have Failed and What We Can Do About It*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Grimes, P. W., & Rogers, K. E. (1999). Truth-in-sentencing, law enforcement, and inmate population growth. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 28, 745-757.
- Hirschi, T. (2002). *Causes of delinquency*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- James, N. (2015). *Offender reentry: Correctional statistics, reintegration into the community, and recidivism*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service. Retrieved from <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL34287.pdf>
- Kempf, K. L. (1993). The empirical status of Hirschi's Control Theory. In F. Adler, W. S. Laufer, F. Adler, W. S. Laufer, P. Harris, & N. N. Kittrie (Eds.), *New Directions in Criminological Theory: Advances in Criminological Theory* (Vol. 4, pp. 143-185). New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Kirby, B. (2014). Alabama's second-chance factory prepares parolees for life outside prison walls. *al.com*. Retrieved from http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2014/12/alabamas_second-chance_factory.html
- Krohn, M. D., & Massey, J. L. (1980). Social Control and delinquent behavior: an examination of the elements of the social bond. *The Social Quarterly*, 21(4), 529-543.

- Latessa, E. J., Lemke, R., Makarios, M., Smith, P., & Lowenkamp, C. T. (2010). The creation and validation of the Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS). *Federal Probation, 74*(1), 16-22.
- Marbley, A. F., & Ferguson, R. (2005). Responding to prisoner reentry, recidivism, and incarceration of inmates of color: A call to communities. *Journal of Black Studies, 35*(5), 633-649.
- Martinson, R. (1974). What works? Questions and answers about prison reform. *Public Interest, 35*, 22-54.
- Morani, N. M., Wikoff, N., Linhorst, D. M., & Bratton, S. (2011). A description of the self-identified needs, services expenditures, and social outcomes of participants of a prisoner-reentry program. *The Prison Journal, 91*(3), 347-365.
- Morgan, K. D. (1993). Factors influencing probation outcome: A review of the literature. *Federal Probation, 57*(2), 23-29.
- Nixon, V., Clough, P. T., Staples, D., Peterkin, Y. J., Zimmerman, P., Voight, C., . . . Center for the Study of Women and Society at the Graduate and University Center, C. a. (2008). Life capacity beyond reentry: A critical examination of racism and prisoner reentry reform in the U.S. *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Context, 2*(1), 21-43.
- O'hear, M. M. (2007). The Second Chance Act and the future of reentry reform. *Federal Sentencing Reporter, 20*(2), 75-83.

- Petersilia, J. (2003). *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Petersilia, J. (2004). What works in prisoner reentry? Reviewing and questioning the evidence. *Federal Probation*, 68(2), 4-8.
- Peterson, R. (1985). Discriminatory decision making at the legislative level: An analysis of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. *Law and Human Behavior*, 9(3), 243-269.
- Pinard, M. (2007). A reentry-centered vision of criminal justice. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 20(2), 103-109.
- Raphael, S. (2009). Explaining the rise in U.S. incarceration rates. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 8(1), 87-95.
- Second Chance Act*. (2015). Retrieved from The Council of State Governments: <https://csgjusticecenter.org/nrrc/projects/second-chance-act/>
- Seiter, R. P., & Kadela, K. R. (2003). Prisoner reentry: What works, what does not, and what is promising. *Crime & Delinquency*, 49(3), 360-388.
- Smith, C. (2015). *TASC: Jefferson County's Community Corrections Program*. Birmingham: Unpublished Report.
- Thio, A. (1978). *Deviant Behavior*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Travis, J. (2007). Reflections on the reentry movement. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 20(2), 84-87.

- UAB School of Medicine: Substance Abuse Programs. (2016). Retrieved March 29, 2016, from UAB TASC: <https://www.uab.edu/medicine/substanceabuse/tasc-home>
- Visher, C. A. (2007). Returning home: Emerging findings and policy lessons about prisoner reentry. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 20(2), 93-102.
- Wacquant, L. (2010). Prisoner reentry as myth and ceremony. *Dialectic Anthropology*, 34(4), 605-620.
- Weiman, D. F. (2007). Barriers to prisoner's reentry into the labor and the social costs of recidivism. *Social Research*, 74(2), 575-611.
- Wheeler, D. P., & Patterson, G. (2008). Prisoner reentry. *Health & Social Work*, 33(2), 145-147.
- Wiatrowski, M., & Anderson, K. L. (1987). The dimensionality of the social bond. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 3(1), 65-81.
- Wikoff, N., Linhorst, D. M., & Morani, N. (2012). Recidivism among participants of a reentry program for prisoners released without supervision. *Social Work Research*, 36(4), 289-299.
- Wilson, J. Q. (1975). *Thinking About Crime*. New York: Basic Books.

APPENDIX

Institutional Review Board Approval

Form 4: IRB Approval Form
Identification and Certification of Research
Projects Involving Human Subjects

UAB's Institutional Review Boards for Human Use (IRBs) have an approved Federalwide Assurance with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP). The Assurance number is FWA00005960 and it expires on January 24, 2017. The UAB IRBs are also in compliance with 21 CFR Parts 50 and 56.

Principal Investigator: Lewis, Seth U
Co-Investigator(s):
Protocol Number: **X160708006**
Protocol Title: *A Control Theory Examination of Reentry Programming*

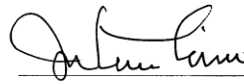
The IRB reviewed and approved the above named project on 9/12/16. The review was conducted in accordance with UAB's Assurance of Compliance approved by the Department of Health and Human Services. This Project will be subject to Annual continuing review as provided in that Assurance.

This project received EXPEDITED review.

IRB Approval Date: 9/12/16

Date IRB Approval Issued: 9-12-16

IRB Approval No Longer Valid On: 9-12-17



Expedited Reviewer
Member - Institutional Review Board
for Human Use (IRB)

Investigators please note:

The IRB approved consent form used in the study must contain the IRB approval date and expiration date.

IRB approval is given for one year unless otherwise noted. For projects subject to annual review research activities may not continue past the one year anniversary of the IRB approval date.

Any modifications in the study methodology, protocol and/or consent form must be submitted for review and approval to the IRB prior to implementation.

Adverse Events and/or unanticipated risks to subjects or others at UAB or other participating institutions must be reported promptly to the IRB.