



Community Corrections in Ohio Cost Savings and Program Effectiveness

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INTRODUCTION

Community corrections have gained acceptance across the United States as a response to the growing costs of traditional correctional settings. Their increased use is based on the fact that such programs are generally cheaper, because they entail shorter periods of control, but also thought to be more effective than residential prisons and jails in reducing future criminal behavior. In Ohio, community-based alternatives to prison were established in HB 1000, also known as the Community Corrections Act (CCA). Under this bill, non-residential prison alternatives were established that would allow lower level felons to be diverted from expensive state penal institutions into cheaper community based programs. Over time, community alternatives expanded across the state and became an integral part of the correctional scene. By Fiscal Year 2000, CCA programs expanded to 85 of Ohio's 88 counties. Typically, these facilities and programs house non-violent, first and second time offenders who might be sentenced to prison if not for the community alternative. It is reported that in 2000, over 8,698 offenders were diverted from the state prison system and 18,344 offenders from local jails (Ohio DRC website). According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Ohio has a smaller proportion of its correctional population in prison and jail than other states in the mid-West, and the nation (Glaze, 2002), and this may be reflective of the state use of community corrections systems.

Currently, community based alternatives to prison are either state run programs, or county run programs that are subsidized by the state. There are also nonprofit organizations throughout the state that administer programs such as halfway houses, which are also subsidized by the state. Nationwide, however, there is an expanding notion of community corrections that goes beyond the concept of sending offenders to locked facilities: More and more states and communities are experimenting with less and less restrictive forms of supervision and treatment, and are seeing treatment programs as part of a vital system that rehabilitates offenders.

On November 5, 2002, Ohio voters defeated a proposal to amend the Ohio

Constitution to allow, with some restrictions, a first- or second- time offender charged with, or convicted of, illegal possession or use of a controlled substance to request treatment in a residential treatment facility in lieu of a period of incarceration. Essentially, the amendment would have allowed treatment instead of incarceration for first- and second-time drug offenders. While the view of every voter cannot be known, the opponents of Issue One contended that sentencing reform did not need to be achieved through the constitutional amendments, and that the implementation costs of the initiative were prohibitively expensive.

Issue One's opponents also voiced strong support for the concept of treatment instead of prison for non-violent drug offenders, particularly through the use of drug courts, and opponents of the initiative pledged that should the state's economy improve, more funds would be found to expand drug treatment options. As new treatment regimens are considered, questions still remain about the extent to which these programs shall be delivered through alternatives to prison. The state could consider a variety of alternatives to incarceration that might more effectively and efficiently serve the treatment need, provide adequate supervision and accountability, and yield cost savings for the taxpayers and citizens of Ohio. Like many states, Ohio is suffering from severe revenue shortfalls. This makes it an important time to closely examine the cost effectiveness of any state spending—particularly any measure which could reduce the costs of promoting public safety, and healthy communities.

This policy brief explores whether alternatives to prison and jail are cheaper than imprisonment in the state of Ohio, and whether such alternatives are more effective methods of reducing recidivism. We attempt to quantify the potential costs and savings Ohio can accrue, and has accrued, by employing the kinds of community corrections programs that would be used under an expanded treatment regime. The major findings are:

- Community corrections programs are, on the whole, much cheaper than traditional prison settings. The state currently saves anywhere between \$2,000 and \$11,000 per person by using Community Corrections instead of prison;
- Inmates (or clients) in community-based correctional programs generally stay under the control of the state for shorter time periods than those in prisons and jails;
- There appears to be less recidivism or re-incarceration for clients from community-based correctional programs than for prison inmates. The state should improve its ability to collect and analyze recidivism data on all of its programs to evaluate the effectiveness of community corrections versus prison.

Methodology

To answer these questions, information on the costs to operate different community corrections programs across the state of Ohio were collected from the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction (DRC), a cabinet-level department within the Governor's office. Specifically, information was gathered from the Division of Parole and Community Services (Bureau of Community Sanctions) and the Bureau of Research, both found within the DRC. They provided information on the costs required to maintain the community programs, as compared to prison. A sample of recidivism rates, which involve the percentage of inmates who return to a correctional setting once released, were obtained from the DRC, and a community

corrections facility in Summit County, Ohio, which operates numerous such programs.

Except where otherwise noted, all of the reported figures are averages from across the state. The exact figures vary from county to county, since the community programs are administered on a county level, although in some cases, they may be partially funded by the state. Each community program serves different clientele and offender populations, has different goals, and has various funding sources.

Past Research

For many years, community corrections has claimed to be a cheaper version of the prison cell (Larivee 1993), thus acting as a cost effective alternative to incarceration (Barajas Jr., 1993). Politicians often “sell” community corrections programs to the public based on the idea that they are cheaper than traditional prisons, especially if the offender is required to pay restitution as part of his or her punishment.

Some research shows that a community can achieve crime reduction through community corrections programs at considerably less cost (Lawrence, 1991). One early study of the costs and benefits of community corrections examined probation in Los Angeles and Alameda Counties in California. The report showed that probation supervised two-thirds of all correctional clients, yet received only about one-fourth of the financial resources allocated to corrections (Petersilia et al., 1985). A 1994 study of the costs of correctional programs in four states (North Carolina, Colorado, Ohio and Virginia) averaged the annual costs per offender of different correctional options and found the majority to be cheaper than prison (see Table 1). A similar study found that the daily costs for community corrections in Oregon were, on the whole, cheaper than prison costs (see Table 2).

Table 1: Costs for Corectional Options Show Overall Savings for Community Sanctions		Table 2: Per Day Costs Show that Community Corrections are More Cost Efficient (Data from Oregon)	
Community Service	\$2,759	Limited Supervision	\$0.70
Probation	\$869	Low Supervision	\$1.37
IPS	\$2,292	Medium Supervision	\$7.02
Electronic Monitoring	\$2,759	Intensive Supervision	\$10.05
Day Reporting	\$2,781	Electronic Surveillance	\$7.00
House Arrest	\$402	Day Reporting	\$12.11
Halfway House	\$12,494	Work Center	\$45.00
Boot Camp	\$23,707	Local Jail	\$85.00
Jail	\$14,363	Prison	\$52.03
Prison	\$17,794		

Source: M. Shilton, International Association of Residential and Community Services, Survey of Selected States, 1994.

Source: Oregon Department of Corrections (www.doc.state.or.us/cc/parole.htm).

These costs, however, may not be typical of all community-based correctional programs. A study by Parent (1990) shows that the costs of day reporting programs

vary widely, from less than \$10 to more than \$100 per offender per day. The average cost per offender per day was \$35.04. Additionally, publicly-run day reporting centers cost less per offender per day than private programs. Obviously, programs with more intense surveillance were more costly than programs with less intensive surveillance.

Buddress (1997) analyzes federal probation and pretrial services and finds them to be cost effective alternatives to incarceration. She cites a report by the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts in which supervision costs for an offender under probation are reported to be \$2,344 a year, compared to the costs of incarcerating an individual in a correctional facility, which is \$21,352 per year (plus an additional \$3,431 for health care expenses). Additionally, her research demonstrates that the federal probation and pretrial services system is successful because "it achieves this success at one-tenth the cost of incarcerating offenders" while fulfilling its mission to "protect the public by effectively using correctional resources to reduce offender recidivism" (pg. 5). She goes on to report that "the taxpayer suffers an economic deficit of approximately \$37,000 per year for each inmate incarcerated. On the other hand, if the same offender is punished locally on federal community supervision, the entire cost to the taxpayer for both supervision expenses and any substance abuse treatment, mental health treatment, or employment services that may be needed is only \$3,686 per year" (pg. 10).

Cost savings can be measured in other ways as well. Effective anti-crime programs, such as drug treatment, may be more effective than incarceration at reducing crime, leading to greater long-term savings. Petersilia (1995, p. 76) writes about a drug treatment program:

"Treatment was most beneficial: for every dollar spent on drug and alcohol treatment, the State of California saved \$7 in reductions in crime and health care costs. The study found that each day of treatment paid for itself on the day treatment was received, primarily through an avoidance of crime. The level of criminal activity declined by two-thirds from before treatment to after treatment. The greater the length of time spent in treatment, the greater the reduction in crime."

Lower Construction Costs

Cost savings can be realized by avoiding new prison construction costs. (Jones, 1991). Petersilia (1998) notes that prison construction costs an average of \$50,000 per cell. If prison commitments are reduced or are constant, new prison construction can be avoided.

Fewer Re-entry Costs

Former prison inmates nearly always have long term employment barriers after release. Family structure undergoes greater disruption when offenders are assigned to a prison setting (Anne Nurse, *Fatherhood Arrested*, 2002). . Prison does not allow for community service work, which can offset some costs. Finally, ex-offenders are more likely to return to prison the longer they remain in custody (Buddress, 1997). Some community corrections programs require clients to pay some treatment costs, lessening the financial burden on the state. In Florida, approximately 20 percent of all referred offenders pay for some of their treatment (Lucken, 1997).

Costs of Community Based Corrections: Ohio Findings

The cost of prison and various alternatives is listed in Table 3. As the table shows, it costs the state of Ohio, on average, \$54.39 per day to house a non-violent first-time offender in prison. With an average length of stay of seven months, this totals to approximately \$11,421.90 per inmate (assuming 30 days per month).

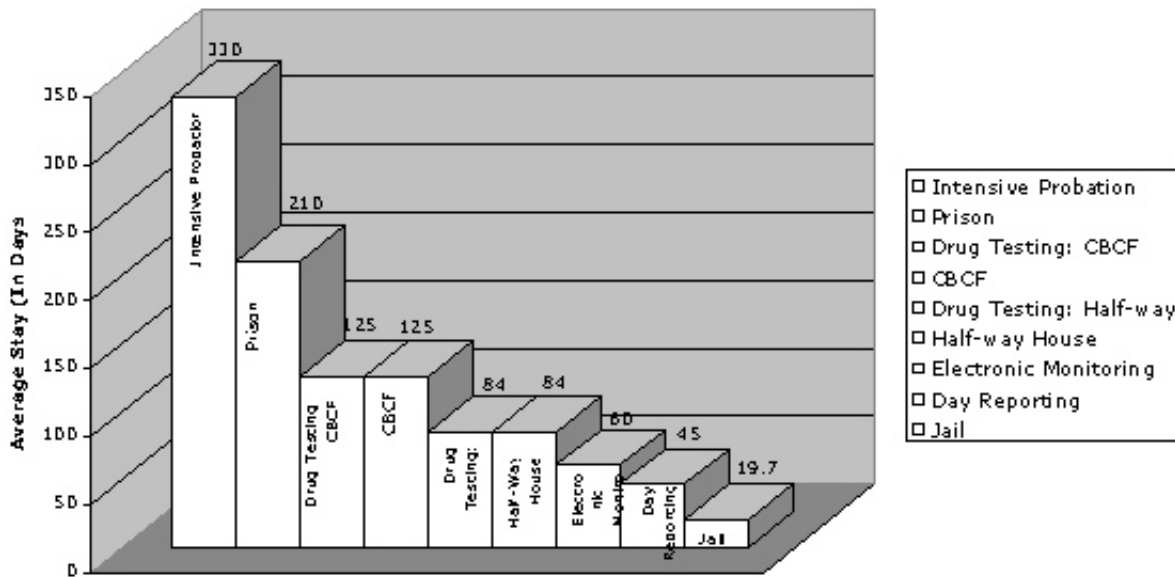
Table 3: Community Corrections Are More Cost Effective Given Their Duration			
Program	Cost per day	Average stay	Total cost
Prison	\$54.39	7 months	\$11,421.90*
Half-way House	\$53.95	84 days	\$4,531.80
CBCF	\$79.00	125 days	\$9,875.00
Intensive Probation	\$4.34	9-12 months	\$1,171.82 - 1,562.40*
Jail	\$60.47	19.7 days	\$1,191.26
Day Reporting	\$21.00	45 days	\$945.00
Electronic Monitoring	\$5.43	60 days	\$325.80

*Source: Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction, 2002 *: Assuming 30 days per month*

One type of residential community-based treatment opportunity is the half-way house. These provide supervision and treatment services for offenders released from state prisons or referred by Courts of Common pleas. In other words, an offender may be sentenced directly to a halfway house instead of (or as a diversion from) a traditional prison setting, or the half-way house serves as a transition for offenders leaving the prison and re-entering the community. Felons who violated their probation may also be sentenced to a half-way house. In this setting, a first time offender would be able to receive intensive drug or alcohol treatment. Also, halfway house residents have access to a multiplicity of services and treatment options that is more likely to ensure that their nexus of treatment needs are being addressed. For example, some substance abusers have mental health needs that can be better addressed in a halfway house than in a prison because they are mentally ill.

During fiscal year 2000, the Ohio DRC and the Bureau of Community Sanctions contracted with private, non-profit organizations to provide 1,596 beds in halfway houses (DRC website). They report that the average cost of housing an offender in a halfway house is \$53.95 per day, with an average stay of 84 days (Ohio DRC). The total cost for this program per client, then, is \$4,531.80.

Graph 1: Average Length of Stay



Source: Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction, 2002.

Another residential community setting is the community-based correctional facility (CBCF). Unlike a prison which is funded by the state, CBCF's are usually ventures between the state and local governments. The state provides the cost of constructing and operating the facility, and the counties operate the facilities through a Judicial Corrections Board, which is made up of local Common Pleas Court judges. This board appoints the director and employees of the facilities, determines their compensation, oversees the selling, leasing, and transfer of property to be used as a CBCF, and oversees contracts with the county concerning the operation of the CBCF.

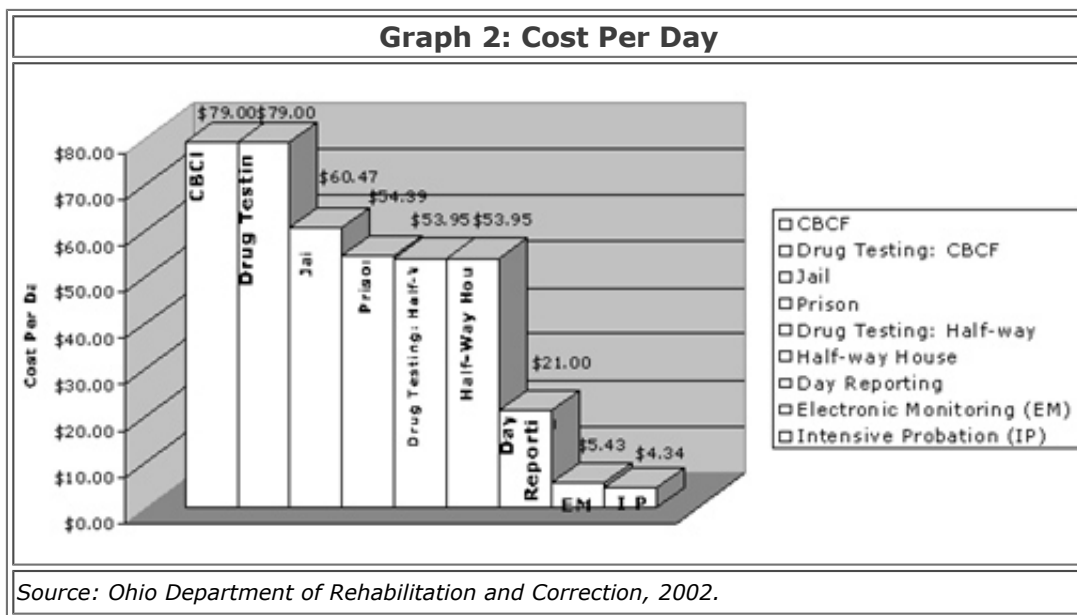
Offenders sentenced to a CBCF program are typically felony probation offenders or low level felony offenders who are otherwise headed to prison. Instead of being sentenced to prison, they are diverted into the CBCF where they receive intense treatment for chemical dependency, education, employment assistance and/or family relations. In many ways, the CBCF is similar to a traditional prison setting in that it is a residential placement with little freedom to move around. Unlike a halfway house, people in CBCF do not leave the facility on a daily basis. However, the CBCF facilities are minimum security operations that house between 50 and 200 offenders, so they are smaller than most prisons and offer somewhat more freedom to the inmate. The offenders are confined for a much shorter period of time (usually around 120 days), and they receive much more intense treatment. Each program is highly structured with assessment, treatment, and follow-up services, including transitional counseling. Those offenders who successfully complete the program usually continue on supervised, non-residential probation for some period of time. Those who do not are sent to prison. This is the last step in the continuum of increasing punishment before incarceration in a prison.

This program costs on average, \$79.00 per day per client, with an average stay of 125 days. This allows for a total cost of \$9,875.00 per offender. In fiscal year 2001, there were 4,617 offenders sentenced to CBCFs in Ohio, which cost the state \$45,592,875.

The jail setting is probably one of the most frequently used forms of residential custody settings for first time offenders. This form of incarceration has an average cost per day of \$60.47. The "typical" offender spends an average of 19.7 days there, translating to a total cost of \$1,191.26 per offender. However, since the jail population spends relatively short periods of time in that setting, they are less likely to receive intensive drug treatment, if they get any treatment at all.

Drug testing programs currently exist in two settings: the half-way house and the CBCF. Drug screening programs are used to monitor compliance with court mandates or conditions of probation. Since drug testing is part of the half-way and CBCF programs, the cost for the drug testing program is incorporated into those costs.

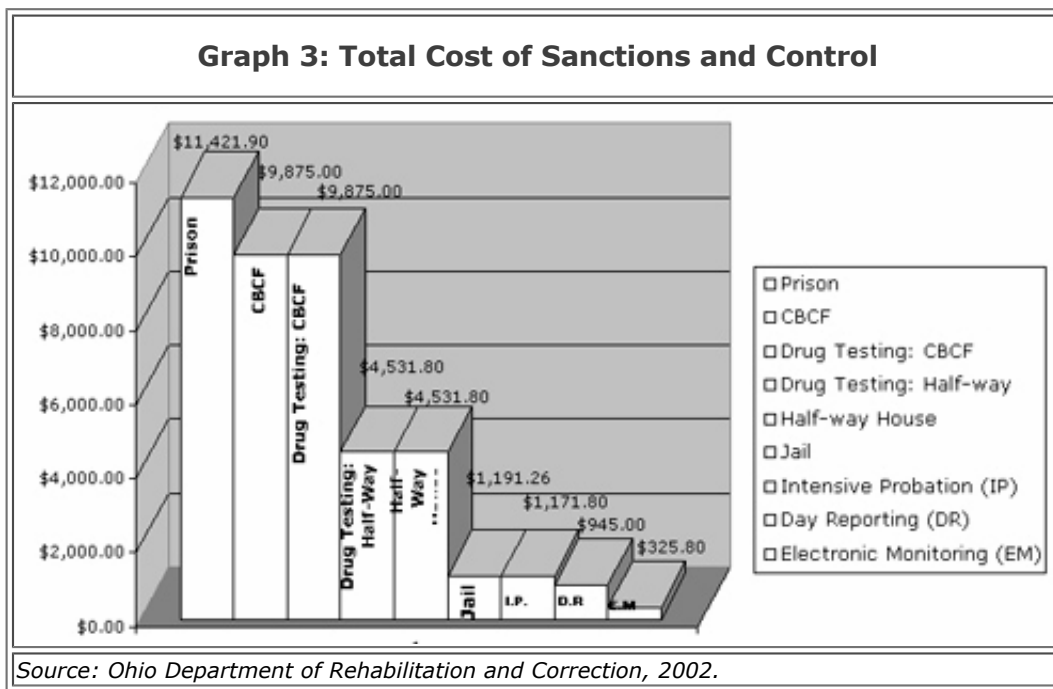
There are three alternatives to prisons that are not residential programs, but still allow for state justice system control over the individual as well as requiring certain conditions such as drug treatment. The first of those, intensive supervision probation program (ISP), involves probation officers that have small caseloads with increased supervision of offenders. Often, these officers receive additional training so they can effectively deal with "special needs" offenders, such as sex offenders, or those who may be mentally ill. This alternative is much cheaper than the residential programs, with an average cost per day of only \$4.34. Since the average length of stay is between 9 and 12 months, the total cost of the intensive probation program is between \$1,171.80 and \$1,562.40 per case.



The second non-residential program, day reporting, involves clients who are on probation, or are referred by the court. The offender may receive drug treatment, education, and/or employment training. Day reporting, because it is a non-residential program, is typically much cheaper than residential programs. The day reporting program costs, on average, \$21.00 per day per client, with the average offender staying 45 days, for a total of \$945 per client.

The third non-residential program, electronic monitoring (or home incarceration), allows for constant monitoring, while allowing clients to continue to work or attend training. Offenders on home incarceration are allowed to leave their homes only for

employment, education, or treatment. This option costs \$5.43 a day for each client. Since the average period of time spent under electronic monitoring is approximately 60 days, it costs the state approximately \$325.80 per offender.



Recidivism

“Recidivism” refers to the repetition of criminal behavior. Obviously, one goal of the corrections system is to prevent offenders from repeating any criminal behavior. In the past, community corrections have been praised for being more effective in reducing recidivism than traditional prison settings because they either provide a “transition” period between prison and the community or because they never take the offender completely out of the community. Ideally, they “teach” the offender how to be successful and productive community members. Unfortunately, some offenders in community programs do recidivate. The recidivism rates for the various programs are important to know because they show how often the inmates return to criminal behavior, which is a measure of how effectively the program is treating such behavior.

Recidivism is a hard concept to measure. It can refer to an offender being arrested, convicted and/or imprisoned for any additional criminal incidents, or technical violations of parole. The re-arrest, charging, and return of offenders to prison has a public safety benefit, and various fiscal and social costs. The following chart gives recidivism rates of some of the programs in this paper. Each box has the recidivism rates for clients who successfully or unsuccessfully graduate from the program, and are either re-arrested, convicted or imprisoned for additional criminal acts. For example, 42.7% of the successful graduates of the half-way house were re-arrested, whereas 70.3% of the clients who were unsuccessful in the program were rearrested.

Table 4: Recidivism Rates by Type of Treatment or Incarceration

Program	Rearrested		Re-convicted		Re-Imprisoned	
	Successful Completers	Program Failures	Successful Completers	Program Failures	Successful Completers	Program Failures
Prison	NA	NA	NA	NA	37.5%	NA
Half-way House	42.7%	70.3%	36.6%	64.9%	11.0%	21.6%
CBCF	62.8%	91.3%	50.4%	88.5%	29.5%	82.8%
Intensive Probation	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Drug Testing: Half-way House	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Drug Testing: CBCF	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Day Reporting	57.7%	86.7%	47.7%	78.7%	11.7%	NA
Electronic Monitoring	41.0%	87.2%	28.1%	83.0%	6.2%	31.9%

Source: Department of Rehabilitation and Correction, 2002; Summit County (Ohio) Community Based Facility Recidivism Reports, 2000

The Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction states that a three year follow-up study shows that, on average, 37.5% of inmates return to prison, and a two year follow-up study shows that the rate of return to prison was 30.2%. While reconviction and re-arrest rates for prison inmates are unknown to them, it is clear from the available data that people who “successfully” complete their prison sentences have the highest recidivism (re-imprisonment rate) among various types of incarceration, custody, and treatment. This matches national studies which show that up to two-thirds of released prisoners are re-arrested (Source: Lavagan, 2002). While Ohio likely incarcerates a populations that have more serious offense histories than those referred to community corrections programs, state data shows that there are nearly 900 people imprisoned on any given day for non-violent drug offenses, and 40% of people incarcerated were serving a sentence for a non-violent (non-person or sex offense) crime. (Correspondence, DRC and Inmate Population on 7/11/97, <www.drc.state.oh.us/web/profile.html>).

Recidivism rates for all community-based programs are difficult to establish. The Ohio DRC does not compile such information. A recent study done for the DRC by researchers from the University of Cincinnati represents a significant step forward in the state’s efforts to quantify the impact of its halfway house and CBCF programming on recidivism. The report (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2002) surmises that CBCF and halfway house residents did exhibit slightly lower re-incarceration recidivism rates than control groups. The treatment effect on reducing recidivism was greater among residents with a “high risk” (including those with deeper criminal backgrounds) of reoffending, and less effective, if not a detrimental effect on lower level offenders. This new data, however, only exists for halfway houses and CBCF, and not for the

wide arrange of community corrections programs discussed above.

However, one county-level program in Summit County (in the north-east portion of the state) provided their recidivism rates for some of their programs. The 1996 recidivism report shows that after a three year period, the recidivism rates for offenders in the CBCF program who successfully completed the program were relatively high for re-arrest, conviction and imprisonment. The records show that 62.8% were arrested and 50.4% were convicted. The re-imprisonment rate of CBCF completers was lower than the re-imprisonment rate of former prisoners (29.5%). For those offenders who did not successfully complete the program, recidivism rates were much higher: 91.3% were rearrested, 88.5% were convicted, and 82.8% were imprisoned.

Statistics on the halfway house program, based on the 1994 intake group, showed that after three years, 42.7% of those inmates who successfully completed the program were rearrested; 36.6% were convicted, and 11.0% were imprisoned. Again, the re-imprisonment rate was two-thirds lower for halfway house residents than prisoners. In the group that did not successfully complete the program, 70.3% were rearrested, 64.9% were convicted, and 21.6% were imprisoned.

The day reporting program also showed fairly high recidivism after three years. Based on the 1994 intake group, the statistics showed that for those who successfully completed the program, 57.7% were arrested, 47.7% were convicted, and 11.7% were imprisoned. For those who did not successfully complete the program, 86.7% were arrested, 78.7% were convicted, and 44.0% were imprisoned.

The electronic monitoring program also showed fairly high recidivism after three years. Based on the 1994 intake group, the statistics showed that for those who successfully completed the program, 41.0% were arrested, 28.1% were convicted, and 6.2% were imprisoned. For those who did not successfully complete the program, 87.2% were arrested, 83.0% were convicted, and 31.9% were imprisoned.

On the whole, then, we can see that the CBCF has the highest recidivism for re-arrest and conviction, followed closely by day reporting for the successful clients. For those who were unsuccessful, the recidivism rate for the CBCF was close to 90%. This means that 90% of those who failed the program were arrested for additional criminal behavior. As with the other programs, it is not clear whether these re-arrests were for minor or serious infractions. It is also unclear whether the higher re-arrest rates are inflated because of the intensive supervision this population is under. In a sense, the higher the level of supervision, the more likely behavior will be monitored and result in re-arrest for minor infractions.

Of the successfully released inmates, the percent of inmates convicted of another offense was about 50% for the CBCF, followed by almost 48% for the day reporting. The recidivism was much higher for inmates who did not successfully complete the program, which is expected.

Finally, the statistics for inmates who were re-imprisoned show that the rates for prison are much higher than any of the community alternatives. Where 37.5% of the inmates released from prison were re-imprisoned, only 29.5 percent of the clients in the CBCF (who successfully finished the program) went back to prison. Of the inmates who did not successfully complete the program, 82.6% were re-imprisoned. The program with the lowest re-imprisonment rate was electronic monitoring.

Of course, this also points to the fact that the inmates in prison or the CBCF were likely to have committed more serious offenses than people in programs with lower levels of supervision, and thus are more likely to have a more extensive criminal background. The offenders in electronic monitoring are, generally speaking, less serious offenders, and less likely to repeat their criminal behavior.

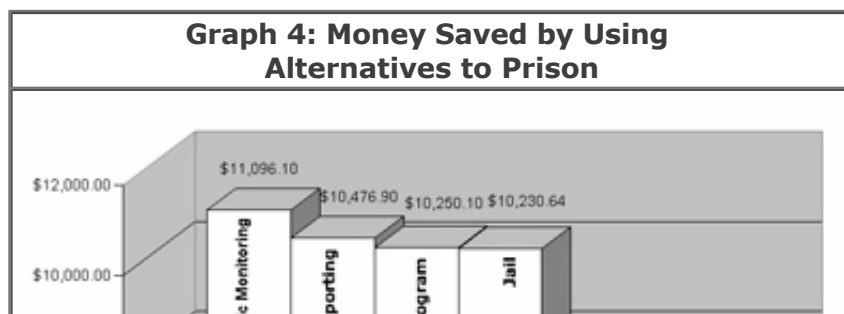
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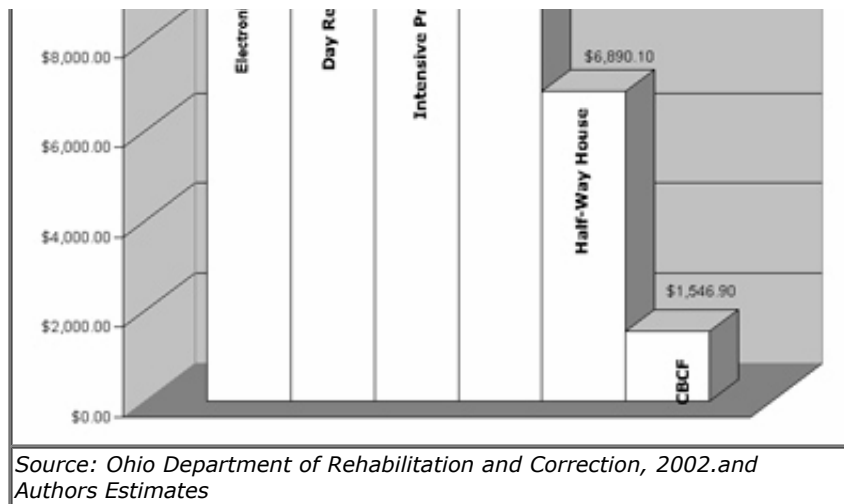
One primary question surrounding community based corrections has to do with costs to the state. Are community corrections cheaper than prison? This is difficult to assess since there are so many types of community-based programs, and they are administered locally rather than state-wide. But a brief analysis can help address the question.

Option	Money Saved (per inmate sentence)
Halfway House	\$6,890.10
CBCF	\$1,546.90
Intensive Probation	\$10,250.10-\$9,859.50
Day Reporting	\$10,476.90
Electronic Monitoring	\$11,096.10

Source: Estimate by Researchers, based on information from Ohio Department of Corrections for costs per day for prison and various community-based programs.

Table 5 provides an estimate of how much money the state could save per inmate over the length of their sentence with each of the community alternatives to incarceration. The amount of money the state could save is determined by the program used in lieu of incarceration. The per day, per client costs of the residential programs (prison, jail, halfway house, and CBCF) are not significantly different from each other. In fact, the CBCF (a prison alternative) is more costly than prison. The real savings comes from the fact that inmates typically spend fewer days in a community setting than in a correctional program. For those inmates who serve a shorter time in a community corrections sanction and commit no further offense, the state may save money by using a community-based program.





By using community corrections options, the state can also save money in other ways. The Ohio DRC notes that offenders in halfway houses in 2001 earned \$5,405,425; paid \$39,653 in restitution and \$92,622 in court costs; and paid \$71,252 in child support. These are all payments that could not have been made had the inmate been incarcerated in a prison. These offenders also completed 64,816 community service hours, which would not have been provided had the offenders been in prison. In addition to this, 78% of the offenders received substance abuse programming, 74% received alcohol abuse programming, 9% received mental health treatment, 56% received employment assistance, 14% received academic training and 11% received vocational training. These all help deter the offender from committing additional criminal offenses.

Conclusion

Based on this analysis, we summarize that community corrections are cheaper than prison, and given the data available for Ohio, may be just as effective. Additionally, since the costs are, in some cases, dramatically lower than prison, and since recidivism rates are, in some cases, similar to (or even lower than) those of the prisons, a good argument could be made for diverting low-level offenders from prison to community corrections and less restrictive forms of correctional control and treatment. This report does not measure other costs of incarceration, such as lost revenues from potential employment of prisoners, family disruption due to incarceration of a parent, social service costs to assist families who lack a wage-earner, and the multiplying costs when families lose fathers and mothers, and children of offenders wind up in the social service system. This report also does not represent community corrections and lower levels of supervision as a panacea for independently reducing recidivism. As recently noted by researchers at the University of Cincinnati (Lowenkamp and Latessa, 2002), "high risk" offenders are benefiting the most from the intensive treatment and program regiments of CBCF's and halfway houses, while for low level or "low risk" offenders, the experience may actually have no effect, or may increase their risk of recidivism. Whether lower recidivism rates can be achieved by ensuring that "low risk" offenders are sent to less intensive forms of supervision and treatment is a question for future research.

Nevertheless, it is promising that Ohio already diverts a significant number of offenders to community based corrections, that the state has a lower proportion of its correctional population incarcerated than other states, and that the prison population has declined here recently without reports of a dramatic impact on public

safety. Since the state has already had some success with these alternative models of rehabilitation and treatment, the public and policy makers can experiment with more effective kinds of community corrections treatment and reasonably expect some cost saving and some community benefit.

About the Author and Organization

Nancy Marion is a Professor of Political Science from the University of Akron. She has written extensively on and lectured frequently on criminal justice policy and community corrections. She is the author of *Criminal Justice in America: The Politics Behind the System* (Carolina Academic Press, 2002), and *Crime and Criminal Justice in Ohio: Programs and Agencies*, 1998 (Midwest Press, 1998). She is a member of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, American Society of Criminology, and Midwestern Criminal Justice Association.

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