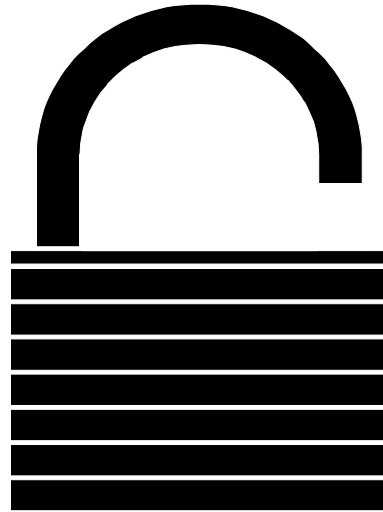


From Prison to the Free World



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John G. Morgan
Comptroller of the Treasury
State of Tennessee
March 2000

Executive Summary

Tennessee's ex-inmates are returning to prison in record numbers for violating parole or for committing new crimes. The total annual admissions to state correctional facilities grew from 5,821 in FY90-91 to 8,627 in FY97-98. Of the FY97-98 admissions, 3,715 (43.1 percent) were either probation or parole violators, up from 1,895 (32.6 percent) in FY90-91. Legislative interest in programs to reduce the revolving door cycle of arrest, incarceration, release, rearrest, and reincarceration led the Office of Research to study the matter and issue this report.

The Department of Correction operates the state's prisons for felony offenders committed by the courts to its custody. Among other duties, the Board of Probation and Parole has authority to grant or deny paroles and to supervise parolees. Parole is the release of a prisoner by the Board before the prisoner's sentence expires, subject to conditions imposed by the Board.

The Department of Correction's responsibility for inmates ends once they are released. The Board of Probation and Parole assumes authority and responsibility only for parolees and has no involvement with releasees whose sentences have expired or those released by court order.

Some practitioners and citizens believe that appropriate intervention and programming in prisons coupled with sufficient supervision and maintenance by parole officers can help alleviate the cycle of recidivism without jeopardizing public safety and security. Although programs and services can address deficiencies, no single program or service can be expected to impact every offender because of the variability of human needs and free will.

This report examines intervention measures designed to reduce recidivism, efforts in Tennessee to prepare inmates for release and to support them upon release, and rehabilitation and transition services used by other states. The report does not address probation issues.

The report concludes:

Tennessee's correction agencies have not adopted offender rehabilitation as public policy. State correction agencies do not stress abandonment of criminal behaviors by offenders through their mission statements, goals, and performance measures. The Tennessee Department of Correction's and the Board of Probation and Parole's mission statements, goals, and performance measures largely focus on agency management and supervision of inmates and parolees rather than treatment and rehabilitative services. (See page 11.)

The Department of Correction no longer complies with the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970. The General Assembly passed the act two decades ago to provide a comprehensive treatment program for certain first and second term inmates and it has not been repealed. The Department's organization included a Division of Rehabilitation

Services until the 1980s when the Correction Plan for the 80s was developed and implemented. However, an organizational structure no longer exists within the Department of Correction to carry out the plan's provisions. (See pages 11-14.)

Except for inmates meeting criteria for admission to the DeBerry Special Needs Facility, the Department of Correction emphasizes security and custody rather than inmate need when assigning inmates to facilities. Classification is a process occurring during an inmate's first 30 days in prison to determine appropriate custody, program, and facility assignment. (See pages 14-15.)

With few exceptions, the Department of Correction has halted inmate furloughs, making it difficult for potential releasees to obtain employment. The Board of Probation and Parole requires all parolees to show proof of approved employment and housing before being released. Because the department no longer allows leave to inmates for this purpose, some inmates without family, friends, or other outside help will be denied parole. (See page 15.)

Despite encouragement by the General Assembly, the Department of Correction did not pursue a plan to establish halfway houses. During the Extraordinary Session of 1985, the legislature authorized the Department of Correction to consider the implementation of a plan for inmates to live in a halfway house for a period prior to his/her release. According to several DOC staff, the Department never proceeded. The Department had previously closed two halfway houses because of budget constraints. (See page 15.)

The Department of Correction does not know whether its interventions impact recidivism. TOMIS, the information system used by the Department and the Board, does not have the capability to compile needed data for program evaluation. Major changes in TOMIS would be necessary to determine which types of interventions are successful with which types of offenders. (See pages 15-16.)

Parole officers may emphasize offender supervision more than services. Several persons interviewed by the Office of Research indicated that only exceptional parole officers actually make an effort to help offenders readjust to living in the community. Although job plans for parole officers require them to assess inmates' needs annually and make referrals to address concerns, they are primarily evaluated on their adherence to meeting standards of supervision (numbers and types of monthly contacts with parolees) rather than provision of services to parolees. (See page 16.)

Although authorized to do so, the Board of Probation and Parole does not use supervision fees for parolee programs. State law requires the Board to collect supervision fees from parolees. The Board may then use these dollars to employ and train personnel, and perform drug screens for parolees. The statute also allows the Board to use the funds to establish programs for parolees to learn trades, support their families, make restitution to victims, or otherwise facilitate the inmate's return to the general public.

Nonetheless, the Board has chosen not to use any of these funds for parolee programs; it uses the funds for personnel and drug screens. (See pages 16-17.)

The Department of Correction does not uniformly apply its programs throughout the system. A lack of consistency often results in inmates not having equal access to programs/services that would benefit them. The only programs/services offered consistently across the state are institutional support, education, and basic mental health programs. Not only are most decisions made locally, but the central office provides little guidance for treatment service delivery. (See page 17.)

With the exception of treatment for sex offenders, Tennessee law does not specify any rehabilitative treatment approaches except work and education. As a result, inmates may not have opportunities to participate in programs to address their criminal inclinations. (See pages 17-20.)

The Commissioner of Education has not developed a plan to increase educational and vocational opportunities for inmates as directed by Public Chapter 730 of 1994. The Commissioner of Correction and representatives from the Board of Regents and the University of Tennessee were to assist the Commissioner of Education to develop the plan and submit legislation to the oversight committees on correction and education.

Rather than developing a plan as directed, the Department of Education submitted a document to the oversight committees asserting that the state should increase choices and opportunities of educational and vocational programs for inmates. The document stated that the Board of Regents would look forward to working with the Department of Correction to develop a plan to use existing community colleges and technology centers for inmates, but that any programs would be subject to funding and should be addressed by the next administration. The document further suggested that an interagency working group be created by executive order to develop a continuing and long-range plan, which would include provisions for funding. However, the interagency working group apparently was never established and the plan was not developed. (See page 21.)

Prerelease and other treatment programs for men may be of insufficient content and/or duration to be beneficial. As a result, many offenders repeat patterns of criminal behavior and return to prison. (See page 25.)

Programs for females appear to be more intensive than those for males. Most persons interviewed for this report generally were more optimistic about women's rehabilitated than they were about men's. Two programs operated under contracts at the Tennessee Prison for Women (TPW) offer both treatment services to address underlying problems that could contribute to criminal behavior and transitional services to assist women with their return to the community. (See pages 25-27.)

Releasees receive little transition assistance in the community. The Department of Correction's responsibility for inmates ends once they are released. The Board of Probation and Parole assumes authority and responsibility only for parolees and has no

involvement with releasees whose sentences have expired or those released by court order. Several interviewees believe that most parole officers do not do enough to help parolees overcome the many obstacles they face and adjust to the lack of structure they were accustomed to in the prisons. Private organizations supplement state agencies in providing services to help clients successfully reintegrate, including meeting the Board's requirement to secure employment and housing prior to release. (See pages 27-29.)

The Board of Probation and Parole is taking advantage of its recent reorganization to explore ways to improve its practices and operations. The Board recognizes that certain populations of parolees need additional assistance to succeed in the community. For example, more juveniles are being sentenced in criminal, rather than juvenile, courts and have never lived as adults in the community. When released on parole, most of these offenders will not have established previous connections with employers nor are they likely to know how to meet daily living needs without the structure of a prison. The chairman of the Board has indicated a need to provide more social services to this population as well as to the increasing number of women being supervised on parole. (See pages 29-30.)

The report summarizes research on elements of effective programs and describes programs recognized as models by national professional correctional organizations. (See pages 30-40.)

Alternatives and recommendations are found on pages 41-43.

Legislative Alternative

The General Assembly may wish to consider whether the Department of Correction should implement a mandated program of offender rehabilitation during or after incarceration. Despite the provisions of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970, the Department's central office no longer includes a division to plan for and implement prisoner rehabilitation programs.

Administrative Recommendations

If the General Assembly decides not to repeal the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970, the Department of Correction should execute its provisions. Additionally, the Department should:

- collect and compile data for program evaluation purposes,
- participate in the living document being proposed by the Board, and
- reinstate furlough privileges.

The Board of Probation and Parole should:

- expand the concepts behind the Knoxville community policing project across the state,
- proceed with its plans to develop an information system, and
- consider a results-driven supervision model as it continues its strategic planning process.

Both the Board of Probation and Parole and the Department of Correction should revise their mission statements, goals, and performance measures to include language related to treatment/rehabilitative services to inmates. In addition, both agencies should work with other government agencies to enhance rehabilitation and transitional services.

Comments from the Board of Probation and Parole and the Department of Correction as well as the Office of Research's response are located in Appendix F.

Introduction

We must accept the reality that to confine offenders behind walls without trying to change them is an expensive folly with short-term benefits – winning battles while losing the war.

Former U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger

Tennessee's ex-inmates are returning to prison in record numbers for violating parole or for committing new crimes. The total annual admissions to state correctional facilities grew from 5,821 in FY90-91 to 8,627 in FY97-98. Of the FY97-98 admissions, 3,715 (43.1 percent) were either probation or parole violators, up from 1,895 (32.6 percent) in FY90-91.¹

Legislative interest in programs to reduce the revolving door cycle of arrest, incarceration, release, rearrest, and reincarceration led the Office of Research to study the matter and issue this report.

Although academic research on recidivism has largely focused on variables such as age, gender, race, type of offense, and the number of prior arrests, these types of variables cannot be addressed by rehabilitative interventions. Nonetheless, other studies and program evaluations indicate that a variety of external factors can also influence whether an individual reoffends. The most frequently mentioned dynamics include drug and alcohol abuse, low educational level/ability, unemployment/underemployment, mental health issues, lack of family/social support, and lack of desire to conform to societal norms and values.

Some practitioners and citizens believe that appropriate intervention and programming in prisons coupled with sufficient supervision and maintenance by parole officers can help alleviate the cycle of recidivism without jeopardizing public safety and security. Although programs and services can address deficiencies, no single program or service can be expected to impact every offender because of the variability of human needs and free will.

This report examines intervention measures designed to reduce recidivism, Tennessee's efforts to prepare inmates for release and to support them upon release, and rehabilitation and transition services used by other states. The report does not address probation issues.

Methodology

The conclusions reached and recommendations made in this report are based on the following:

- interviews with state officials, including the Department of Correction, the Board of Probation and Parole, and the Tennessee Rehabilitative Initiative in Correction (TRICOR);
- interviews with community organizations and individuals working with inmates and/or parolees;
- interviews with officials in other states' criminal justice agencies and national criminal justice research organizations;
- reviews of statutes and other state documents such as annual reports, audits, and planning documents; and
- reviews of professional journals, magazines, newspapers, and books.

¹ Tennessee Department of Correction, *Tennessee Felon Population Update*, August 1999.

Background

The Pendulum Swings

Punishment for criminal offenses has always been an overriding reason for prisons. However, from the 1900s through the 1960s, a primary goal of the criminal justice system was rehabilitation. Treatment professionals believed that environmental and hereditary factors contributed to criminal behavior, which could be “cured.” By the late 1970s, a rising crime rate, social unrest, and the perception of increasing leniency toward criminals led to punishment and incapacitation as the purpose of the correctional system.²

Tennessee eliminated its rehabilitation efforts in the early 1980s when the Department of Correction developed a policy statement to guide the Correction Plan for the 80s. This policy statement emphasized restriction of liberty as punishment and stated that offenders should work. The statement further declared: “Inmates will receive essential medical services and other services which meet the minimum standards of humaneness, but there will be no ‘rehabilitation’ or job training programs offered in the adult correction system except those that are directly related to making it possible for prisoners to work at the specific skilled occupations necessary to maintain the prison system. Taxpayers’ money for general education or job training programs will be spent first on those persons who by their observance of the state’s laws remain outside the correction system and are deserving of the taxpayers’ support.”³ Department officials indicate that the direction taken in the Plan of the 80s was later reversed and various programs reinstated.

Today, in spite of decreasing crime rates, this country is building new prison beds in greater numbers than ever. The United States incarcerated 1,802,496 persons in prisons and jails at midyear 1998⁴ (466 per 100,000 population), costing nearly \$30 billion each year.⁵ Largely because of “get tough” measures such as longer sentences, criminal justice professionals and legislators are faced with overcrowded facilities and rising costs. The public is faced with new or increased taxes to meet these costs.

At the arrival of the 21st century, the pendulum is swinging back toward rehabilitative programming for prisoners. A recent poll conducted by the Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut found that most residents of that state favor rehabilitation over punishment. The number of people saying rehabilitation is the fundamental goal of prison rose from 38 percent in 1989 to 55 percent in 1999.⁶ Many states are once again looking for alternative programs to impact criminal behavior and reduce recidivism.

² Ana Smith, J.D., and Nancy Cayton Myers, *Innovative Practices in the Criminal and Juvenile Justice Systems Report: Sentencing – Corrections – Diversion*, Koch Crime Institute, November 1998. Available 2/29/00 at www.kci.org.

³ 1980-1982 *Tennessee Department of Correction Annual Report*.

⁴ Darrell K. Gilliard, BJS Statistician, “Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 1998,” *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin*, U.S. Department of Justice, March 1999, NCJ 173414. Available 2/29/00 at www.oip.usdoj.gov/bjs.

⁵ Camille G. Camp and George M. Camp, *The Corrections Yearbook*, 1998.

⁶ George Watson, “Poll: Rehabilitation Expected of Prisons,” *The Hartford Courant*, August 5, 1999.

Tennessee's Correctional Services

The Department of Correction (the Department) and the Board of Probation and Parole (the Board) provide state adult correctional services to felons. TRICOR (Tennessee Rehabilitative Initiative in Correction) is a separate state agency that operates industries within the prisons. Titles 40 and 41 of *Tennessee Code Annotated* outline the authority and responsibilities of these agencies.

The Governor's office has enlisted the services of a consultant to assist the Department and the Board to examine their operations. The agencies, like other state agencies, are going through a strategic planning process. The Department and the Board report on their progress to the Select Oversight Committee on Corrections semi-annually.

The Department of Correction operates the state's prisons for felony offenders committed by the courts to its custody. Among other duties, the Board of Probation and Parole has authority to grant or deny paroles and to supervise parolees. Parole, the release of a prisoner by the Board before the prisoner's sentence expires, is considered a privilege rather than a right and is subject to conditions imposed by the Board.

The Department of Correction's responsibility for inmates ends once they are released. The Board of Probation and Parole assumes authority and responsibility only for parolees and has no involvement with releasees whose sentences have expired.

In 1915, the General Assembly created the State Board of Control to manage penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions, grant parole, consider pardon applications, and supervise parolees. The legislature has amended the statutes governing corrections and parole several times. Until 1979, the Board of Pardons and Parole (as it was previously known) operated under the auspices of the Department of Correction, which also provided probation services. When the Board separated from the Department, probation services remained as a corrections function. However, in 1998 the legislature moved probation services to the Board and renamed the agency to reflect its additional activity.

Exhibit 1 summarizes the history of the Department and the Board.

Department of Correction

The Department operates 12 prisons across the state and contracts with Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) for the management of one other state-owned facility. Additionally, the Department places prisoners in another facility managed by CCA through a contract with Hardeman County. Two of the state-operated prisons house women; one in Memphis (Mark Luttrell) was recently converted from a classification center for males.

As of May 1999, the population in these facilities was almost 16,500 inmates. Another approximately 2,000 felons await transfer to DOC facilities from local jails. The total felon prison population, including those in state facilities, those awaiting transfer, and those who are sentenced to local jails, rose from an average of 19,162 inmates in FY96-97 to 21,631 in FY98-99.⁷ Nationally, the number of

⁷Tennessee Department of Correction, Tennessee Felon Population Update, July 1999.

inmates per 100,000 population is 423. The 1998 rate for Tennessee was 325 per 100,000 residents, with 20 states having lower rates.⁸ The 1999-2000 budget for the Department of Correction is \$451.1 million, down about five percent from \$471.1 million in FY1998-99. The transfer of probation and community services to the Board of Probation and Parole accounts for most of the reduction.⁹ The Department receives \$433.6 million in state appropriations, \$14.5 million in current services, and \$3 million in interdepartmental revenue.

The General Assembly has emphasized statutorily that the Department should provide for the education of inmates without high school diplomas or GEDs and that inmates should work. The legislature has not recently passed any requirements related to the rehabilitation of inmates.

Board of Probation and Parole

The members of the Board of Probation and Parole grant or deny paroles and make recommendations to the Governor regarding pardons, reprieves, and commutations. In a declared state of overcrowding, the Governor may direct the Board to reduce the release eligibility dates of certain inmates to reduce the prison population. The Governor appoints the seven members of the Board, including its Chairman, to staggered terms.¹⁰

State statutes specify grounds and eligibility for release to parole. All felony offenders with sentences of two years or more, except those receiving sentences of life without possibility of parole, are eligible for parole upon reaching their release eligibility dates. The sentences of felony offenders with sentences of two or fewer years are suspended to parole upon reaching release eligibility dates. Release eligibility dates are determined by statute, depending upon the offense, the sentence, and an inmate's behavior while incarcerated.¹¹

One provision for denying parole is that an inmate needs to continue correctional treatment, medical care, or vocational or other training in the institution to improve his/her ability to be law-abiding when released. The Board is to consider the extent to which an inmate has attempted to improve his/her educational, vocational, or employment skills through Department of Correction programs. The Board has the right to deny parole to an inmate who has made no attempt to improve his/her skills while incarcerated.¹²

The Board is prohibited from granting parole to persons unless they are able to read at an 8th grade level. However, those certified by the Commissioner of Correction as being so retarded or mentally ill that they are incapable of learning at the required levels are excluded from this requirement.¹³

In FY97-98, the Board conducted 14,680 parole hearings, a decrease of 6.9 percent from FY96-97. The types of hearings include parole grant, revocation, and rescission hearings. Parole was approved

⁸ Crime and Prisons Data for Tennessee. Available 2/29/00 at www.stateline.org.

⁹ Interview with Fred Hix, Budget/Fiscal Director, Tennessee Department of Correction, September 7, 1999.

¹⁰ *Tennessee Code Annotated* Title 40, Chapter 28.

¹¹ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §40-35-501.

¹² *Tennessee Code Annotated* § 40-35-503 (g).

¹³ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §40-28-115.

in 34.6 percent (3712) of the grant hearings, continued in seven percent (755) of the cases, and denied in 58.3 percent (6249).¹⁴

The Board employs 156 field staff whose duties are to conduct investigations for the Board and supervise parolees, reporting on their progress and behavior to the Board.¹⁵ The Director of Probation and Parole oversees the work of the officers and has responsibility to develop and implement techniques related to casework. Casework includes developing plans for supervision and involves “the coordination of efforts of individuals and other governmental agencies involving the treatment and rehabilitation of persons released on parole.”¹⁶

Parole officers supervised an average of 8,506 parolees in FY97-98, a decrease of 3.9 percent from FY96-97. The average caseload per officer was 57¹⁷ at a per diem cost of \$3.91, an increase of 2.4 percent over FY96-97.¹⁸

At its September 21, 1999, meeting, Board staff told the Select Oversight Committee on Corrections that the Board is developing a workload inventory system to gauge how equitably resources are allocated across the state. In certain areas of the state, the growth in the offender population, especially probationers, has outpaced available staff.

The FY99-2000 budget for the Board is \$50,161,600. The budget includes \$40 million for probation and parole services and \$8.8 million for community services. Additionally, the Board administers miscellaneous funds appropriated by the General Assembly to support two private agencies that work with inmates and parolees.¹⁹

**Exhibit 1
History of Tennessee Corrections and Parole**

1829	The General Assembly passed an act to provide for a state funded public jail and penitentiary house.
1831	The Tennessee State Penitentiary opened.
1913	The Legislature authorized a parole system.
1915	The General Assembly created the State Board of Control, made up of three part time members appointed by the Governor and approved by the General Assembly. The duties of the Board included managing penal, reformatory and charitable institutions, granting parole, considering pardon applications, and supervising parolees.
1918	The State Board of Administration replaced the Board of Control.
1923	The Administrative Reorganization Act of 1923 placed administration of prisons and charitable facilities under a new Department of Institutions.
1929	Advisory Board of Pardons created.
1931	The Advisory Board of Pardons created a system for parole eligibility.

¹⁴ Tennessee Board of Paroles, *1997-98 Annual Report*.

¹⁵ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §40-28-111.

¹⁶ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §40-28-108.

¹⁷ American Correctional Association, *The Corrections Yearbook*, 1998.

¹⁸ Tennessee Board of Paroles, *1997-98 Annual Report*.

¹⁹ Document furnished by Jackie Baker, Accounting Manager, Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles, September 1999.

1937	The legislature established the Department of Institutions and Public Welfare (DIPW) as well as the Board of Pardons and Parole, which was chaired by the Commissioner of the DIPW. Three Governor-appointed members sat on the Board.
1939	Legislation divided DIPW into two departments: the Department of Institutions and the Department of Public Welfare.
1955	The Department of Institutions became the Department of Correction.
1961	Adult Probation and Parole was a division of the Department of Correction.
1963	The Parole Board expanded to five members.
1970	The General Assembly passed the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act, which provided for work release and statutorily created the Division of Rehabilitative Services. Legislation removed the Commissioner of Correction as chair of the Parole Board, specifying that the members elect the chair.
1972	The Board of Pardons and Paroles, administratively under the Department of Correction, decreased to three fulltime professional members and was chaired by the Governor's appointee.
1979	The Board of Paroles expanded to five members. The legislature separated the Board of Pardons and Paroles from the Department of Correction.
1989-90	The Board of Paroles increased from five to seven members.
1985	The Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly gave the Board the authority to reduce time served for parole eligibility when the Governor declares a prison overcrowding. The legislature declared a public policy that most inmates must pass a basic skills test before release on parole.
1997	Public Chapter 222 created a special technical violator unit for probation offenders committed to TDOC.
1998	The legislature moved probation and community services from the Department of Correction to a newly renamed Board of Probation and Parole, effective July 1, 1999.
1999	The Select Oversight Committee on Corrections and the Governor's staff requested the Commissioner of Correction and the Chairman of the Board of Probation and Parole to "develop a periodic performance report that includes objective measures concerning important areas of operation." (See Appendix A.)

Sources: 1997-98 Tennessee Board of Paroles Annual Report, Department of Correction Website, and May 14, 1999 Letter to Commissioner Donal Campbell and Chairman Charles Traughber from Brian K. Ferrell, Assistant to the Governor.

The Parole Process

The Board is required to hold initial hearings for all offenders reaching their release eligibility dates. If parole is denied, the Board may hold subsequent hearings at its discretion. Central office staff in the Department of Correction determine release eligibility dates according to statutory criteria and certify dockets of eligibles to the Board. The Department uses its information system, TOMIS, to calculate these dates.

Board employees called institutional parole officers (IPOs) are liaisons to the Department. IPOs notify institutional staff and offenders about scheduled hearings and prepare offender files for the Board to use in its considerations. Board members or hearing officers, either individually or in groups, conduct parole hearings in the prisons or jails holding the inmates and make recommendations for the full Board's consideration. The Board may adopt, modify, or reject the recommendations. In most cases, three Board members must concur with the recommendation of the Board member/hearing officer to grant, deny, revoke, or rescind parole. If an offender has been

convicted for serious crimes enumerated in *Tennessee Code Annotated* §40-28-105(d)(3), the concurrence of four Board members is required. The inmate file is mailed to Board members sequentially. Once the required number of Board members concurs, the file is returned to the Board's central office without being circulated to the remaining members.

After the hearings, IPOs monitor cases for conclusion, including the approval of release plans, and enter applicable information on TOMIS. If parole is granted, the IPOs execute parole certificates to be given to the parolee and notify the Department.²⁰ The Department in turn notifies the sheriffs, the chiefs of police, the district attorneys, and victim coordinators in the jurisdictions where the offender was convicted and where he/she will reside. Upon release, the Department's duty for the inmate ends and the Board's responsibility begins.

Trends

Growing Prison Population

Although the U.S. Department of Justice reports that the crime rate is decreasing, Tennessee's prison population is growing. The nation's violent crime rate fell more than 21 percent between 1993 and 1997.²¹ The 1998 Crime Index total was down 5 percent from 1997, the seventh consecutive yearly decline.²² The average population in Department of Correction facilities grew from 8,702 in 1990-91 to 15,269 in 1997-98. This growth can be largely attributed to longer sentences, rising new incarcerations, proportionately fewer inmates being released, a reduced percentage of inmates being paroled, and parole violators returning to state prisons. As a result, the Department is proposing to build additional beds. Exhibit 2 depicts trends in admissions and releases at Department of Correction facilities.

Note: An October 1999 release from the Council of State Governments reports that the rate of growth for prison populations in the southern states has slowed more than in Tennessee in all but four states. See Appendix E.

**Exhibit 2
Tennessee Correction Admissions and Releases FY90-91 through FY97-98***

Year	Average Population	Total Annual Admissions**	Annual Releases	Annual Releases to Parole	% of Annual Releases to Parole
1990-91	8,702	5,821	2,799	1,939	69.3
1991-92	9,418	6,365	3,601	2,587	71.8
1992-93	10,719	6,513	3,950	2,668	67.5
1993-94	11,799	6,247	3,194	1,995	61.2
1994-95	12,755	6,510	3,241	1,933	59.6
1995-96	13,302	6,728	3,562	2,082	58.5
1996-97	13,815	7,458	4,424	2,905	65.7
1997-98	15,269	8,627	4,129	2,295	54.4

Source: Tennessee Felon Population Update, August 1999

* TDOC custody only (does not include inmates awaiting transfer nor locally sentenced felons)

**Includes new commitments, parole violators, probation violators, and returned escapees.

²⁰ Interview with Colis Newble, Parole Hearings Director, Gayle Barbee, Board Operations Director, and Eydie Cloyd, Executive Administrative Assistant, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, July 12, 1999.

²¹ Information provided by the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the Federal Bureau of Investigation as of October 17, 1999.

²² Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, *Crime in the United States*, 1998.

Recidivism

The recidivism rate has grown in the last decade. Recidivism is the repetition of criminal activity by an offender. Criminal justice agencies often rely on recidivism studies to determine the success of their programs and services. However, comparing recidivism rates among agencies is difficult because jurisdictions measure recidivism in diverse ways. Even within states, various agencies might measure recidivism differently, depending on factors such as the population, length of time, simple rearrests, reconvictions, recommitments, or even recommitments to specific agencies. For this reason, this report does not include a comparison of Tennessee with other states, but presents data from Tennessee sources.

Board of Probation and Parole

In recent years, the number of inmates paroled has decreased and the number of revocations has increased. Exhibit 3 shows that while the number of parole certificates issued to inmates in prisons and jails decreased from 4,744 in 1990-91 to 3,343 in 1997-98, the number of parole revocations increased from 1,806 in 1990-91 to 2,684 in 1997-98.

Based on annual parole revocations per total parole population, the Board of Probation and Parole reports an increase from 1,806 (17.5 percent) in 1990-91 to 2,684 (31.6 percent) in 1997-98. However, the Director of Probation and Parole believes that parole revocation is not necessarily an indicator that parole officers have not been successful. He reasons that public safety is enhanced when offenders who demonstrate that they cannot abide by the law are returned to prison or jail.²³

Exhibit 3
Parole Trends*
FY90-91-FY97-98

Year	# Parolees	Parole Certificates Issued	# Parole Revocations	% Revocations
1990-91	10,305	4,744	1,806	17.5
1991-92	11,215	5,423	2,129	19
1992-93	11,583	4,968	2,343	20.2
1993-94	10,075	3,515	2,765	27.4
1994-95	8,889	3,312	2,594	29.2
1995-96	8,748	3,555	2,301	26.3
1996-97	8,849	4,660	2,509	28.4
1997-98	8,506	3,343	2,684	31.6

Source: 1997-98 Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole Annual Report.

*Includes inmates paroled from and returning to both state correctional facilities and local jails.

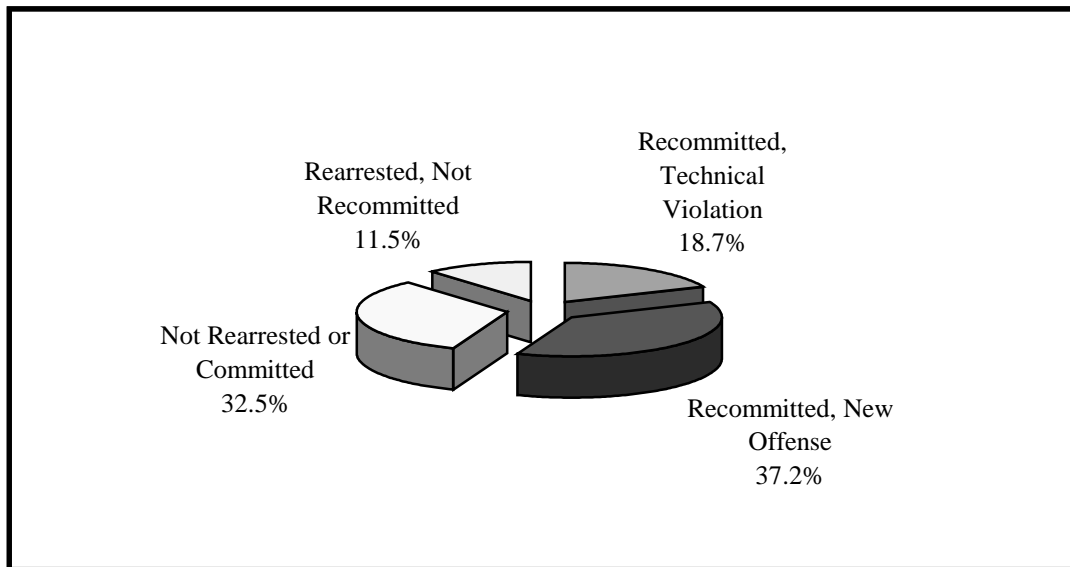
Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

In 1997, the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation released results of a longitudinal recidivism study on offenders who had been released from prisons and jails between July 1, 1989, and June 30, 1991. The study tracked 3,791 offenders, including parolees and those with expired sentences, for four years. Of

²³ Interview with Jim Cosby, Director of Probation and Parole, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, June 23, 1999.

the former inmates tracked, 2,121 (55.9 %) were recommitted to the Department of Correction during the four-year period. Of all the inmates tracked, 1,412 (37.2 percent) were recommitted on a new offense and 709 (18.7 percent) were technical violators.²⁴ Exhibit 4 reflects the rate of commitments, rearrests, and successes.

Exhibit 4
Recommitments, Rearrests, and Successes of Former Inmates
Released Between July 1, 1989 and June 30, 1991



Source: *A Study of Criminal Habits: Recidivism and Rearrest Rates of Tennessee Offenders*. Tennessee Bureau of Investigation, July 1997.

Department of Correction

Exhibit 5 demonstrates another way of looking at recidivism. It shows that the number of violators on either probation or parole steadily increased as a percentage of admissions to state custody from 1990-91 to 1997-98.

²⁴ Tennessee Bureau of Investigation, *Study of Criminal Habits: Recidivism and Rearrest Rates of Tennessee Offenders*, July 1997.

Exhibit 5
Probation/Parole Violators as Percent of Admissions to State Custody
FY90-91-FY97-98

Year	Admissions to State Custody	Total Probation/Parole Violators	Parole Violators	Probation/Parole Violators as a % of Admissions
1990-91	5,821	1,895	NA	32.6
1991-92	6,365	2,056	NA	32.3
1992-93	6,513	2,343	NA	35.6
1993-94	6,247	2,661	NA	42.6
1994-95	6,510	2,790	NA	42.9
1995-96	6,728	2,827	NA	42.0
1996-97	7,458	3,368	2,010	45.2
1997-98	8,627	3,715	2,159	43.1

Sources: Tennessee Felon Population Update, August 1999 and Department of Correction Planning and Research Division, September 1999.

Analysis and Conclusions

Lack of Commitment to Offender Rehabilitation

Tennessee has not adopted offender rehabilitation as public policy. State correction agencies do not stress abandonment of criminal behavior by offenders through their mission statements, goals, and performance measures. These express an agency's reason for existence and announce the priorities, values, and culture of the agency. Agencies direct their workers in carrying out their responsibilities through those guiding declarations.

The mission statements, goals, and performance measures of the Tennessee Department of Correction and Board of Probation and Parole largely focus on agency management and supervision of inmates and parolees rather than treatment and rehabilitative services. (See Exhibit 6.) On the other hand, some jurisdictions (e.g., Georgia, Texas, Delaware, and Canada) strongly state their commitment to rehabilitation and treatment through offender-oriented mission statements. (See Appendix B.)

Note: At the September 21, 1999 meeting of the Select Oversight Committee on Corrections, both agencies stated that they will further develop and revise their performance measures during continued strategic planning efforts. Moreover, one of the goals in the Department's current strategic plan indicates that the Department plans to provide opportunities for inmate self-improvement and skills development.

The Department of Correction no longer complies with the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970.

The General Assembly passed the act²⁵ two decades ago and has not repealed it. Despite this, an organizational structure no longer exists within the Department of Correction to carry out its provisions.

The Act creates the Division of Rehabilitative Services to carry out a comprehensive treatment program for certain first and second term inmates. The division director has the authority to establish special incarceration sites for programs, which should contain various methods of rehabilitation. The statute further requires counselors to develop individual program plans for, and to supervise the activities of, participating inmates.

The director is responsible for developing an overall plan to rehabilitate participating inmates, including:

- proper classification of inmates as to attitude and morale;
- potentials and work skill improvements during periods of confinement;
- adequate work training and vocational-technical programs designed to improve employment potentials;
- moral upgrading programs;

²⁵ *Tennessee Code Annotated* Title 41, Chapter 21, Part 5.

- formal education classes;
- self-help courses;
- religious instruction;
- legal advice; and
- employment aid to include a work release program.

The Department's organization included a Division of Rehabilitation Services until the Department reorganized in the late 1980s. The division operated Community Service Centers in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, and Memphis as well as two halfway houses in Nashville called Halfway Inn.²⁶ The Department closed the Halfway Inn facilities in the early 1980s because of budget constraints²⁷ and closed the last remaining community service centers in Knoxville and Chattanooga in 1998 as a means to reduce operational costs by \$1.6 million.²⁸ Department staff indicate that the low number of prisoners eligible for work or educational release was also a deciding factor in closing the centers. The programs at the community service centers were absorbed into the Brushy Mountain Correctional Complex.

Exhibit 6 Tennessee Mission Statements, Goals, and Performance Measures

Department of Correction

Mission Statement

The mission of the Tennessee Department of Correction is to ensure the safety of the public through supervision of convicted felons utilizing correctional practices which contribute to the effectiveness of the criminal justice system at the most efficient cost to the taxpayer.

Vision Statement

The TDOC will be a nationally recognized leader for its economic and social contributions to Tennessee and its taxpayers. It will be an organization where employees are:

- empowered in the decision-making process,
- involved in the improvement of individual knowledge and skills, the workplace and society, and
- committed to providing a safe and humane environment and to assisting offenders in more fully accepting responsibility.

Values Statement

The TDOC is committed to continuous improvement by working toward a common goal. All team members are encouraged to be flexible, creative, and responsive in meeting the needs of those they manage.

Fair and ethical treatment of convicted felons, respect for co-workers and the public, and openness in both internal and external relationships are essential components in effective management of the Tennessee Department of Correction.²⁹

²⁶ Tennessee Department of Correction, *1980-1982 Annual Report*.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ News Release from the Department of Correction., November 14, 1997.

²⁹ Tennessee Department of Correction, *1996-97 Annual Report*.

Performance Measures

- Employee grievances per 100 employees
- Annual inspection results – percentage of total items inspected found in compliance
- Institutional food costs
- Inmate educational achievement (GED and vocational completion)
- Grievances per 100 inmates
- Community service hours completed by site per six month period
- Percentage of eligible inmates assigned to fulltime equivalent jobs/programs
- Percentage of filled correctional officer/CCO positions occupied by employees with one year or more TDOC service
- Violent incidents per 100 inmates per quarter
- Percentage of inmate drug tests with positive results³⁰
- Unsuccessful initial parole adjustments (added to list in Sept. 99)
- Unsuccessful initial release adjustments (added to list in Sept. 99)³¹

Board of Probation and Parole

Mission Statement

Our mission is to minimize public risk and promote lawful behavior by the prudent, orderly release and community supervision of adult offenders.³²

Goals

- To develop and implement a regional based training program for the new agency by July, 2000
- The new agency will develop and implement an all-agency staff safety plan by July 2000. Recognizing the risk inherent in supervising criminal offenders and prioritizing the safety of staff.
- The new agency will have a “paperless” parole hearing process by July 1, 2001.
- The new agency will have a “living” pre-sentence investigation document by July 1, 2001. (This document will provide accurate and up-to-date information concerning an offender from sentencing to expiration of sentence.)
- The new agency will have an automated case management and case auditing system by July 1, 2001.
- The new agency will equip each staff member with a personal computer attached to a statewide network.
- The new agency will have a community awareness program which will educate the general public about the Board of Probation and Parole on an on-going basis.
- The new agency will have research and planning capabilities utilizing performance measurements and analysis systems.
- The new agency will track and monitor implementation of the strategic plan and implement a successful merger.

Performance Measures

- Number and percent of offenders with positive drug screens by month
- Community service hours by district per month
- Amount fees collected as a percentage of fees assessed by quarter
- Number of drug screens testing positive versus number of positive laboratory confirmations by month

³⁰ Document presented to Select Oversight Committee on Corrections by the Department of Correction, July 7, 1999.

³¹ Document presented to Select Oversight Committee on Corrections by the Department of Correction, September 21, 1999.

³² Board of Probation and Parole, Response to Select Oversight Committee on Corrections, May 17, 1999.

--Number of offenders under active supervision by month
--Ratio of total, active, and inactive offenders to caseload officers by month
--Incoming interstate compact offenders versus the number of outgoing interstate compact offenders
--The number of offenders staying drug free after their initial drug screens
--The number of offenders enrolled in continuing education
--The number of offenders obtaining employment and paying fees and restitution
--The percentage of offenders successfully completing their term of supervision under probation and/or parole.³³

TRICOR

Mission Statement

The mission of TRICOR is to effectively manage revenue-supported correctional industry, agriculture and service operations for the purpose of employing and training inmates, providing quality products and services on time to customers, and assisting in post-release employment, all of which reduce the cost of government in Tennessee.³⁴

Except for inmates meeting criteria for the DeBerry Special Needs Facility, the Department of Correction emphasizes security and custody considerations rather than inmate need when assigning inmates to facilities. As a result, inmates often do not participate in treatment activities.

Classification occurs during an inmate's first 30 days in prison to determine appropriate custody, program, and facility assignment. Classification for females takes place at the Tennessee Prison for Women and for males at one of three regional facilities. The Department reclassifies inmates at least annually.³⁵

During classification, a team of Department employees uses an assessment tool to determine the risk level of the inmate and places the inmate accordingly. The assessment tool considers such matters as history of institutional violence, timing of institutional assaults, severity of current offense, prior assaultive history, escape history, number and severity of guilty disciplinary dispositions, whether a detainer or other charges are pending, and prior felony convictions. In compliance with *Tennessee Code Annotated* §41-21-226, the classification team also tests inmates for educational level and mental health status.³⁶

According to Department staff, for the most part prisoners volunteer for treatment programs offered by the institutions rather than being assigned by prison management according to their needs. However, if the Board of Probation and Parole requires an inmate to complete a particular program before being granted parole, the Department makes every effort to ensure that inmate an opportunity to participate.³⁷ Inmates must apply for mandatory work or education slots when they arrive at their assigned institutions. Unit management teams select inmates for slots by using a method very similar to the state's civil service appointment system.

³³ Memorandum to Select Legislative Oversight Committee on Correction from Charles M. Traughber, Chairman, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, July 7, 1999.

³⁴ Available 2/29/00 at www.tricor.state.tn.us.

³⁵ Tennessee Department of Correction Classification Manual, Rev. 12/98.

³⁶ Interview with Howard Cook, Director of Classification, Tennessee Department of Correction, July 14, 1999.

³⁷ Interview with Charles Traughber, Chairman, Board of Probation and Parole, June 4, 1999.

*Note: Through its strategic planning process, the Board of Probation and Parole is developing a “living document” and hopes the Department will use this document to enhance its classification and treatment processes. The Board’s intent for this shared chronicle is to record pre-sentence investigations, assessments, program participation, and progress, regardless of which agency has responsibility for the individual. The document would “follow the client,” thereby reducing the duplication of records as well as providing a complete record for each offender in the same document.*³⁸

With few exceptions, the Department of Correction has halted inmate furloughs, making it difficult for potential releasees to obtain employment. *Tennessee Code Annotated §41-21-227* allows the Department to grant furloughs to certain inmates, including those who have been recommended for parole and those who will be released with or without parole within 90 days. The statute authorizes furloughs for these inmates only for the purpose of securing employment and housing upon release. This temporary freedom would be available only to those inmates with a record of behavior and conduct worthy of the privilege.

Department of Correction staff cite a pattern of past inmate misbehavior as the reason for limiting furloughs. Both central office and prison personnel attribute inmates’ failure to return, drug and alcohol use, and criminal acts while on furlough as common offenses.

Several interviewees stated that the lack of furloughs results in hardship for inmates seeking parole. For example, the Board of Probation and Parole requires all parolees to show proof of approved employment and housing before being released. Because the department no longer allows leave to inmates for this purpose, some inmates without family, friends, or other outside help will be denied parole.

Despite encouragement by the General Assembly, the Department of Correction did not pursue a plan to establish halfway houses. During the Extraordinary Session of 1985, the legislature authorized the Department to consider the implementation of a plan for inmates to live in a halfway house for a period prior to their release.³⁹ According to several Department staff, the Department never proceeded. The Department had previously closed two halfway houses because of budget constraints and Department staff point to high costs as a barrier to establishing new ones.

The Department of Correction does not know whether its interventions impact recidivism. The chairman of the Select Oversight Committee on Correction has stated the need to be able to “follow prisoners and see how they end up.”⁴⁰ However, TOMIS, the information system used by the Department and the Board, does not have the capability to compile needed data for program evaluation.

Over the past several years, the Department has focused on safety, construction, and prison management rather than offender rehabilitation. As a result, the Department of Correction has not

³⁸ Interview with Jim Cosby, Director of Probation and Parole, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, Oct. 4, 1999.

³⁹ Public Chapter 5, 1985, Extraordinary Session of the 94th General Assembly.

⁴⁰ Interview with Representative Phillip Pinion, Chairman, Select Oversight Committee on Corrections, July 7, 1999.

placed a priority on collecting information to evaluate the effectiveness of its programs. Major changes in TOMIS would be necessary to determine which types of interventions are successful with which types of offenders.

However, because of the limitations of TOMIS, the Board plans to develop an in-house information system using network technology. This new system, scheduled to be completed in 2001, will allow the Board to conduct planning and program evaluation activities by tracking the outcomes of parolee supervision and interventions. A new technical services division will serve as the Board's research and planning section. This unit will collect data about the Board's functions and activities, analyze this data, and use it to establish performance standards and criteria for the agency.⁴¹

Note: Department of Correction officials indicate a plan is underway to review and analyze current programs and their effect on recidivism.

Parole officers may emphasize offender supervision more than services. Several persons interviewed by the Office of Research indicated that only exceptional parole officers actually make an effort to help offenders readjust to living in the community. The Director of Probation and Parole told Office of Research staff that parole officers spend about 75 percent of the time in the office completing paperwork and 25 percent in the field working with offenders. He believes this practice should be reversed and that parole officers need to understand that treatment and referral to community agencies are as important as monitoring and surveillance.⁴²

Board policy #708.10 directs staff to devote time and resources to meeting the specific needs of parolees, including helping offenders find suitable employment, obtain financial assistance, enroll in education programs, and plan for participation in leisure activities and community programs. Although job plans for parole officers require them to assess inmates' needs annually and make referrals to address concerns, they are primarily evaluated on their adherence to meeting standards of supervision (numbers and types of monthly contacts with parolees) rather than provision of services to parolees.

Note: At its September 21, 1999 meeting, Board staff told the Select Oversight Committee on Corrections that the Board is seeking a new way to measure the quality of supervision which might replace the old management indicators such as the number of home visits and the number of face-to-face contacts between officers and offenders.

Although authorized to do so, the Board of Probation and Parole does not use supervision fees for parolee programs. State law requires the Board to collect supervision fees from parolees. The Board may then use these dollars to employ and train personnel, and perform drug screens for parolees. The statute also allows the Board to use the funds to establish programs for parolees to learn trades, support their families, make restitution to victims, or otherwise facilitate the inmate's return to

⁴¹ Interview with George Little, Director of Technical Services Division, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, July 19, 1999.

⁴² Interview with Jim Cosby, Director of Probation and Parole, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, June 23, 1999.

the general public.⁴³ Nonetheless, the Board has chosen not to use any of these funds for parolee programs; it uses the funds for salaries and drug screens. In FY97-98, the Board collected \$432,533 in supervision/rehabilitation funds, an increase of 3.9 percent over the previous year.⁴⁴

Programs/Services in Tennessee Prisons

The Department of Correction does not uniformly apply its programs throughout the system, resulting in inequitable access to services. Additionally, when offenders are transferred from one facility to another before completing a treatment program, they are likely not to be offered the same services or programs in which they previously participated, causing a disruption to service delivery.

Education, institutional support and basic mental health programs are the only programs/services offered consistently across the state. (See Exhibit 7 for the DOC treatment programs in each facility.) Not only are treatment decisions and some program decisions made locally, but little guidance for treatment service delivery from the central office exists. In fact, the directors of education, mental health services, and substance abuse have no line authority.⁴⁵

With the exception of treatment for sex offenders, Tennessee law does not specify any rehabilitative treatment approaches except work and education. As a result, inmates may not have opportunities to participate in programs to address their criminal inclinations. *Tennessee Code Annotated* Title 41, Chapter 1, Part 4 requires all inmates, except those who are either too dangerous or physically unable, to work. Work may include institutional support, community service, work release, or TRICOR jobs. The purpose of work programs can be debated – whether work is to punish, to reduce prison costs, or to instill work ethics in offenders is a matter of opinion. Additionally, state law requires educational opportunities, particularly those teaching the basic skills, to be available at all institutions except classification centers. The Department considers work and education both to be “jobs” for inmates. Exhibit 8 shows total inmates assigned to their jobs as of June 1999.

⁴³ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §40-28-203.

⁴⁴ Conversation with Jim Cosby, Director of Probation and Parole, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, August 10, 1999

⁴⁵ Interview with Theresa Schweizer, Correctional Program Support Coordinator, Tennessee Department of Correction, June 23, 1999.

**Exhibit 7
Tennessee's Prison Programs as of June 1999**

Program	BMCX	DSNF	HCCF	MLRC	MTCX	NECX	NWCX	RMSI	STSR	SCCF	TPFW	TCIP	WCBC	WTSP
GED/ABE	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Title I (under 21)							X							
Special Ed.						X	X							X
Medical (In-Patient)		X												
Rehabilitative Services		X												
Geriatrics-Medical Access		X											X	
Mental Health (Acute)		X												
Mental Health (Basic)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mental Health (step-up, step-down)										X				
Basic skills – low functioning		X												
Prerelease –designated	X				X									X
Sex Offender Tx Program		X									X			
Sex Offender Tx Aftercare	X		X	X			X		X	X	X		X	X
Substance Abuse (Education)	X		X			X						X		
Substance Abuse (Treatment)	*			*	X		X	X	X		X		X	X
Vocational	X		X	*		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Community Service	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Institutional Support Work	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
TRICOR Agriculture	X								X			X		X
TRICOR Industry	X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Work Release					X						X			

*program under development

Legend

BMCX – Brushy Mountain Correctional Complex

HCCF – Hardeman County Correctional Facility

MTCX – Middle TN Correctional Complex

NWCX – Northwest Correctional Complex

STSR – Southeast TN State Regional

TPFW – TN Prison for Women

WCBC – Wayne County Boot Camp

DSNF – DeBerry Special Needs Facility

MLRC – Mark Luttrell Reception Center**

NECX – Northeast Correctional Complex

RMSI – Riverbend Maximum Security Facility

SCCF – South Central Correctional Facility

TCIP –Turney Center Industrial Prison

WTSP – West TN State Penitentiary

**Was recently converted from a facility for males to a facility for females.

Source: Document provided by Theresa Schweizer, Correctional Program Support Coordinator, Tennessee Department of Correction, June 1999

Institutional Support Work and Community Service

Each prison involves inmates in such activities as prison maintenance, food services, groundskeeping, etc. Having inmates perform these tasks not only reduces the cost of government, but also alleviates some problems associated with idleness. Additionally, all but two prisons have work crews performing community service projects.

Education and vocational programs

A national study reveals that 19 percent of adult inmates are completely illiterate and 40 percent are functionally illiterate with only rudimentary reading and writing skills. Nationally, about four percent of the adult population is considered completely illiterate.

Another 21 percent are functionally illiterate.⁴⁶ Nationwide, over 70 percent of all people entering state correctional facilities have not completed high school and 16.4 percent have had no high school experience at all.

Exhibit 8
Prisoner Work Assignments as of June 30, 1999

Assignment	Total
Academic	1,927.0
Vocational education	1,416.0
Institutional support	4,326.0
Program services	899.5
TRICOR industries	777.5
TRICOR farms	112.0
Worklines	571.0
Outside state agency	237.0
Other outside agency	31.0
Community service	654.0
Work release	22.0
Mental health programs	909.5
Boot camp	76.0
Other	773.5
Total	12,732.0
Unassigned due to status	2,634.5
Job waiting	1,096.0

Source: Inmate Activities, Full Time Equivalent Assignments as of June 1999.

Various research reports concur that correctional education appears to influence whether an offender recidivates. The more education received, the less likely an individual is to be rearrested or reimprisoned. For example, inmates with at least two years of college education have a 10 percent rearrest rate, compared to a national rearrest rate of about 60 percent. Other studies show that individuals receiving higher education while incarcerated have a better rate of employment (60-70 percent) than those not participating in college programs.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The Center on Crime, Communities & Culture, *Education as Crime Prevention: Providing Education to Prisoners*, September 1997.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The General Assembly makes clear its desire to provide for the education of inmates through several legislative mandates. State law creates a special school district composed of the state's penal institutions, designating the Commissioner of Correction as the Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools for the district.⁴⁸

Furthermore, statutes require the department to establish policy and programs to bring communication skills of inmates to an acceptable level and to require identified inmates to attend necessary educational classes.⁴⁹ Departmental policy stipulates that refusal to participate in educational programs is grounds for disciplinary action.

In compliance with state law, the Department makes educational opportunities available in all institutions except the classification centers.⁵⁰ The department spent \$7.2 million on education in FY98-99.⁵¹ In FY96-97, 821 inmates tested for the G.E.D., with 569 (69.3 percent) passing. In FY 98-99, 586 inmates tested with 69.3 percent passing. Prisoners in segregation take their classes via closed circuit television. Not only does the Department provide basic education to inmates in class sizes of 35, but also allows additional educational opportunities to inmates. For instance, inmates are allowed to take college correspondence courses at their own expense. As of this report, 30 inmates at Northwest were furthering their studies through correspondence.

Ten correctional institutions currently offer vocational programs and another is currently developing a program. Class sizes range from 15 to 20 inmates. Vocational programs vary from institution to institution and include a wide range of trades. In FY 96-97, 595 inmates graduated from a variety of courses, an 18 percent increase over the number of vocational training graduates in FY95-96.⁵² In FY98-99, 546 inmates graduated from vocational classes. The Department spent over \$2.9 million for vocational classes in FY98-99.⁵³

Vocational courses include air conditioning/heating/refrigeration, building trades, food service, industrial cleaning, building maintenance, electrical apprentice, horticulture/landscaping, interior renovation, business/office education, carpentry/construction, data processing, graphic arts, auto mechanics, barbering, computer repair, masonry, painting and decorating, shoe repair, small engine repair, welding, cabinet making, upholstery, cosmetology, plumbing/pipe fitting, wood working, and sewing machine operation. Some inmates can become licensed in their fields upon completion of the training.

Note: In 1997, the Department of Correction abolished 41 education related positions and reclassified 37 positions, increasing academic classes from 25 to 35 inmates and vocational classes from 15 to a maximum of 23. A 1998 report by the Comptroller found that the Department's reductions may have detrimental effects on the department's

⁴⁸ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §4-6-143.

⁴⁹ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §41-21-226.

⁵⁰ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §41-1-402 (5)

⁵¹ Memorandum from Melinda Lanza, Assistant Director of Budget, Tennessee Department of Correction, October 21, 1999.

⁵² Tennessee Department of Correction, *1996-97 Annual Report*.

⁵³ Memorandum, Melinda Lanza.

educational program. The report advocated that the long-term effects of the educational changes be studied.

The Commissioner of Education has not developed a plan to increase educational and vocational opportunities for inmates as directed by Public Chapter 730 of 1994. The Commissioner of Correction and representatives from the board of regents and the University of Tennessee were to assist the Commissioner of Education to develop the plan and submit recommended legislation to the oversight committees on correction and education. The plan was to emphasize basic educational skills, such as reading and writing, and to include possible use of existing community colleges and vocational schools for inmates who are acceptable security risks and need a skill that cannot be obtained in a prison. Upon implementation of the plan, the Commissioner of Correction and the Board of Probation and Parole were to monitor and document the plan's effectiveness based on skills improvement, employment after release, and recidivism.⁵⁴

Rather than developing a plan as directed, the Department of Education submitted a document to the oversight committees asserting that the state should increase choices and opportunities of educational and vocational programs for inmates. The document stated that the Board of Regents would look forward to working with the Department of Correction to develop a plan possibly to use existing community colleges and technology centers for inmates, but that any programs would be subject to funding and should be addressed by the next administration. The document further suggested that an interagency working group be created by executive order to develop a continuing and long-range plan, which would include provisions for funding. However, the interagency working group apparently was never established and no plan has been developed.

Prerelease and other treatment programs for male inmates may be of insufficient content and/or duration to be beneficial. As a result, many offenders repeat patterns of criminal behavior and return to prison.

Prerelease Programs

During FY 1998-99, Tennessee released over 6,000 inmates either to parole, at the expiration of sentences, or upon court order.⁵⁵ DOC policy #511 requires each institution "to provide services and programs which are designed to facilitate an inmate's release from TDOC custody and his/her reintegration into society." Certain DOC facilities will provide more extensive formal prerelease programming to inmates recommended for parole.

In keeping with this policy, the Department offers prerelease services in each facility and has designated prerelease programs with a total of 150 beds at the West Tennessee State Penitentiary, Brushy Mountain Correctional Complex, and Middle Tennessee Correctional Complex. However, these programs generally operate at only 60 percent capacity, with the remaining beds occupied by other time-building prisoners. The Department assigns

⁵⁴ *Tennessee Code Annotated* §41-21-238

⁵⁵ Tennessee Department of Correction, *Tennessee Felon Population Update*, August 1999.

inmates to these programs, sometimes resulting from a Board of Probation and Parole condition for granting parole.⁵⁶

Correction staff operate the prerelease programs at the Brushy Mountain (33 beds), West Tennessee (60 beds), and Middle Tennessee (56 beds) institutions. However, without a standardized curriculum supplied by the DOC central office, the prerelease coordinators at the institutions determine what is offered. The 90-day program at the Middle Tennessee Complex consists of two weeks of classroom work, relying heavily on video tapes and volunteer speakers to cover topics such as job readiness, family reintegration, parenting skills, financial planning, domestic violence, survival skills, wellness, housing, AIDS awareness, public assistance, coping skills, decision-making, and values. Inmates work on road crews for the Department of Transportation for the remainder of their tenure.⁵⁷ Whether the content or length of this prerelease program is sufficient to impact behavior is questionable.

Correction staff cannot calculate the amount of funds spent on prerelease programs because the counseling staff associated with these programs have other responsibilities as well.

Alcohol and Drug Treatment Programs

All persons interviewed spoke of the high incidence of alcohol and drug abuse by offenders and the need for additional services, but only about 10 percent of Tennessee's inmates receive substance abuse treatment. The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University found that about 80 percent of inmates have had some involvement with alcohol or drugs.⁵⁸ The Director of Substance Abuse for the Department of Correction said that there is no reason to believe that Tennessee's inmate population is any different.

Another national study showed that drug-using felons make up a disproportionate share of repeat offenders. Sixty to 75 percent of untreated parolees with histories of heroin and/or cocaine use are reported to return to drug use within three months of release and to commit additional crimes. The number of prison inmates in drug treatment programs rose from about four percent in 1979 to about 11 percent ten years later, but the majority of inmates with substance abuse problems still do not receive treatment while in prison.⁵⁹

Likewise, the Department provides services only to about 10 percent of its inmates because of a lack of financial resources to treat the entire population. In FY96-97, 1,450 incarcerated offenders received substance abuse services.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Interview with Theresa Schweizer, Correctional Program Support Coordinator, Tennessee Department of Correction, June 23, 1999.

⁵⁷ Interview with Robert Mayers, Prerelease Director, Middle Tennessee Correctional Complex, July 15, 1999.

⁵⁸ Steven Belenko, *Behind Bars: Substance Abuse and America's Prison Population*, The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University, January 1998.

⁵⁹ Douglas S. Lipton, "The Effectiveness of Treatment for Drug Abusers Under Criminal Justice Supervision.," *National Institute of Justice Research Report*, presented at the 1995 Conference on Criminal Justice Research and Evaluation.

⁶⁰ Tennessee Department of Correction, *1996-97 Annual Report*.

Ten prisons offer substance abuse treatment, and two more prisons are developing alcohol and drug programs. As with other institutional programs, the services offered vary from prison to prison. The Department expects to spend \$1.1 million in FY99-2000.⁶¹ A chart reflecting annual program capacity, length, and components is found in Exhibit 9.

Exhibit 9
Tennessee Department of Correction Substance Abuse Programs

Facility	Annual Capacity	Program Length	Program Components
BMCX	100	6 mo.	Modified therapeutic community, education/didactic group process, structured self-help, urinalysis testing
MTCX	100	10 wks.	Assessment, institutional treatment services, community outpatient treatment, structured self-help, urinalysis testing
NECX	100	10 wks.	Assessment, education/didactic group process, structured self-help group, urinalysis testing
NWCX	100	2 mo.	Assessment, outpatient cognitive skills development (MRT), urinalysis testing
NWCX	180	3 mo.	Drug awareness/education group sessions
RMSI	100	6 mo.	Assessment, diagnosis, treatment planning, individual/group therapy, psycho-educational, structured self-help group, urinalysis testing
STSR	100	6 mo.	Assessment, education/didactic group process, structured self-help, urinalysis testing
TPFW	128	6-12 mo.	Assessment, residential therapeutic community, individual and group counseling, structured self-help group, urinalysis testing
TPFW	100	12 wks.	Group counseling
TCIP	100	6 mo.	Assessment, education/didactic group process, structured self-help group, urinalysis testing
WCBC	100	10 wks.	Assessment, education/didactic group process, structured self-help group, urinalysis testing
WCBC	100	12 wks.	Assessment, community technical violators program, individual/group counseling, cognitive skills development, urinalysis testing
WTSP	100	6 mo.	Assessment, cognitive skills development, individual/group counseling, structured self-help
Total	1408		

Source: TN Department of Correction, May 1999.

Mental Health Services

The U. S. Department of Justice calculates that about 283,800 prisoners (16 percent) in state prisons or jails are mentally ill. More than three-fourths of them had been sentenced to jail or prison before and half had served three or more prior sentences.⁶²

⁶¹ Memorandum, Melinda Lanza.

⁶² Paula M. Ditton, BJS Statistician, "Mental Health and Treatment of Inmates and Probationers," *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report*, U.S. Department of Justice, July 1999, NCJ174463. Available 2/29/00 at www.oip.usdoj.gov/bjs.

However, research indicates that personal characteristics that predict future antisocial behavior of mentally ill offenders are the same as those that predict recidivism among criminal offenders in general. Therefore, interventions known to reduce recidivism among offenders will, in all likelihood, be effective for mentally ill offenders as well.⁶³

Tennessee Code Annotated § 41-21-235 requires the Department of Correction, in cooperation with the Department of Mental Health and Retardation, to provide a sexual abuse treatment program for sexual offenders. Successful participation and completion of this program is considered for release on parole. These services, along with treatment for other acute mental health issues, are offered at DeBerry Special Needs Facility.

All DOC prisons offer basic mental health services either through contract or by Department staff. The Director of Mental Health for the Department reported that over 2,200 inmates are diagnosed as mentally ill, but he estimates underreporting by 10 to 15 percent. He further stated that about twice as many inmates have other mental health issues, such as a need for anger management and other treatment programs, but that DOC has insufficient staff to meet the needs of so many inmates.

The Department spent \$9.1 million for inmates' mental health services in FY98-99.⁶⁴ According to the Director of Mental Health, in spite of limited funds, the Department is looking at ways to improve mental health services. For example, in June of 1999, the Southeast Regional Correctional Facility initiated a pilot project for violent offenders and is contracting with Vanderbilt University to develop outcome measures.⁶⁵

Volunteers

Each institution has a volunteer advisory board (VAB) to help recruit and direct volunteer activities. The vast majority of volunteer services offered at institutions are religious in nature, including Bible study, religious services, and religious counseling. However, other volunteers and voluntary agencies offer self-help classes/activities such as: Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous, anger management, computer training, parenting classes, survival skills, and job readiness classes. These classes/activities vary among institutions, depending on the volunteer or agency. Exhibit 10 illustrates volunteer activities in the prisons.

**Exhibit 10
Institutional Volunteer Programs**

Facility	Volunteer Programs
BMCX	Veteran's Group, 7 th Step, Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), Academic teacher
DSNF	Survival Skills, Computer Training, AA, Anger Management
HCCF	AA, Parenting class, Narcotics Anonymous (NA), Personal Financial Planning
MLRC	Preparing for Release
MTCX	AA, Parents in Prison
NECX	NA, AA, Pathfinders, Toastmasters, prerelease speakers
NWCX	AA
RMSI	AA, Survival Skills for Men, AA Big Book, New Beginnings

⁶³ Grant T. Harris and Marnie Rice, *Mentally Ill Offenders in the Community: What the Research Says About Effective Service*. The National Institute of Corrections, 1994.

⁶⁴ Memorandum from Melinda Lanza, Assistant Director of Budget, Tennessee Department of Correction, October 21, 1999.

⁶⁵ Leonard Lococo, Director of Mental Health, Tennessee Department of Correction, September 3, 1999.

SCCF	AA, NA, AA/NA Aftercare, Teen Challenge, Bridging the Gap
STSR	Philadelphians H.E.L.P., AA, NA, Volunteer Chaplain
TPFW	Literacy, AA, Serenity, Door of Hope, Decisions, NA, Anger Management, Grief Group
TCIP	None, other than religious
WCBC	None, other than religious
WTSP	None, other than religious

Source: Memorandum from Theresa Schweizer, Correctional Program Support Coordinator, Tennessee Department of Correction, July 7, 1999.

Programs for females appear to be more intensive than those for males. Most persons interviewed for this report generally were more optimistic about women’s rehabilitation than they were about men’s. Two programs operated under contracts at the Tennessee Prison for Women (TPW) offer both treatment services to address underlying problems that could contribute to criminal behavior and transitional services to assist women with their return to the community.

Therapeutic Community

Therapeutic communities are distinguished by separating participants from the rest of the prison population and by providing treatment to change negative patterns of behavior, thinking, and feelings. Recently published studies of therapeutic community programs in various states show reductions in recidivism for offenders completing the programs. An evaluation of a therapeutic community in New York State concluded that drug abusers who stay in the prison-based program longer are more likely to succeed than those who leave earlier, and that as time in treatment increases, recidivism decreases. Therapeutic communities in prisons represent an approach that addresses not only the addiction, but the numerous problems of a drug-influenced lifestyle as well.

Participation usually lasts for an extended period of time and staff monitor the offender’s changes in conduct, attitude, values, and emotions. The program relies on use of confrontation and support groups, a set of rules and sanctions to govern behavior, and the promotion of prosocial attitudes. With this multiple focus, therapeutic communities are more likely to be successful in the long run than programs aimed mainly at one issue.⁶⁶

The therapeutic community at TPW offers intensive, residential, six to 12 month alcohol and drug treatment for 128 female offenders. The program is located at the TPW Annex, removing participants from the influence of the general population. This federally funded program is provided through a \$340,000 contract with Correctional Counseling, Inc. (CCI). Established in January 1998, the program has been well-received at TPW, resulting in an additional therapeutic community for 24 women at the Mark Luttrell facility in Memphis.

Program treatment elements include assessment, drug education, substance abuse treatment, individual and group counseling, structured self-help, and drug testing. The program at TPW relies on Moral Reconciliation Therapy (MRT), a treatment modality developed by CCI. Moral Reconciliation Therapy and other cognitive behavior training, designed to alter how offenders think and make decisions, are described in Appendix C.

⁶⁶ Douglas S. Lipton, “Prison-Based Therapeutic Communities: Their Success with Drug-Abusing Offenders,” *National Institute of Justice Journal*, February 1996.

Thirty therapeutic community graduates at a time receive three months of intensive outpatient treatment upon release. Focusing primarily on wellness, relapse prevention, and family issues, this program is available only to Davidson County residents.⁶⁷

Project NewStart

TPW contracts with YWCA's Project NewStart for prerelease services at a cost of \$122,000. A \$35,000 grant from the Center on Crime, Communities and Culture funds a statewide job development coordinator position for the program. The Board of Probation and Parole mandates NewStart participation before any woman can be paroled.

The program serves women who are within six months of their release eligibility dates by offering employment and life skills workshops to help the transition back to the free world.

Workshop modules include:

- self-advocacy
- nutrition
- personal health
- child management
- money management
- community resources
- legal rights
- assertiveness
- coping with crisis
- job readiness (interviewing, resume preparation, and basic application skills)

In addition to the classroom setting, project staff provide counseling and career assessments along with help to secure housing and job placements. In FY97-98, Project NewStart served 178 prerelease inmates by providing a variety of self-help and informational classes; placing approximately 40 inmates with various halfway houses across the state; providing clothing for 92 women; establishing a network of more than 60 employers across the state; and following-up clients for six months after their release from TPW.⁶⁸

Family Issues

Criminal justice professionals are beginning to acknowledge the importance of the family's role in rehabilitation and reintegration efforts, especially for female offenders. In recent years, the number of women inmates has dramatically increased. More than 75,000 women are serving prison terms in the United States, over 1,200 of them in Tennessee.

Inmate mothers look forward to reuniting with their children, but often encounter turmoil when they return home. Years of separation make women uncertain about how they will be received since they do not have the opportunity to participate in a parenting capacity

⁶⁷ Contract between Tennessee Department of Correction and Correctional Counseling, Inc.

⁶⁸ Annual Summary Report from Alexis Lewis, NewStart Program Director, to Earline Guida, TPW Warden, July 9, 1998.

during their incarceration. Children may feel apprehensive, angry, and resentful at their mother's sudden reappearance in their lives.⁶⁹

The State of Florida has recently relocated its female inmates to different prisons across the state in an effort to place mothers closer to their children. This change resulted from a critical report from the state House Corrections Committee that said that Florida prisons ignore inmates' families, making it difficult for families to keep in touch with those behind bars.⁷⁰ In Tennessee, the Department of Correction has converted the Mark Luttrell Reception Center in Memphis from a male to a female facility that houses 440 women. As well as relieving the overcrowded women's facility in Nashville, this action will allow the Department to place west Tennessee female offenders closer to their homes and families.

Additionally, the Tennessee Prison for Women located in Nashville allows children to spend weekends with their mothers if the mother meets eligibility criteria for this privilege. Presently, the children stay in the cells occupied by their mothers and their mothers' cell mates. The Department of Correction is constructing an addition to TPW especially for mother-child weekend visits.

Reconciliation Ministries, Inc., a Tennessee nonprofit agency with chapters statewide, has provided education, fellowship, and support to family members of inmates since 1984. While the agency does not work directly with inmates, it recognizes the difficulties inherently experienced by newly released inmates and their families. The agency believes that strengthening family bonds is a key to successfully overcoming the obstacles faced by both inmates and their relatives.⁷¹

Post-release Services

Releasees receive little transition assistance in the community. Former inmates, whether parolees or those whose sentences have expired, face many barriers when they leave prison. Not only must they cope with social ostracism, but they must adjust to a life without the structure in prisons; in other words, they find themselves in a position of having to make decisions for themselves and attend to daily living activities such as securing employment, food, housing, and clothing. One former inmate related the difficulty he encountered when trying to cash a check because he had no identification. He could not obtain a driver's license, a birth certificate, or a social security card because he did not have any of these documents necessary to get the others. As he said, "You have to have identification to get identification."⁷²

Tennessee's statutes give the Commissioner of Correction discretion to furnish clothing and money to offenders being released. Generally, the Department gives \$30 to inmates having less than \$75 in their trust accounts who are released to parole and \$75 to inmates discharged without further supervision. Offenders released to parole are given a ticket for the cheapest means of transportation to the inmate's approved residence when private

⁶⁹ Catherine Conly, "The Women's Prison Association: Supporting Women Offenders and Their Families," *National Institute of Justice Program Focus*, December 1998.

⁷⁰ Lesley Clark, "Female Inmates Moved Near Families," *Miami Herald*, August 12, 1999.

⁷¹ Interview with Vetrel Smith, Executive Director of Reconciliation Ministries, Inc., July 7, 1999.

⁷² Interview with former inmate, September 21, 1999.

transportation is not available, but no transportation provisions are made for releasees whose sentences expire.⁷³

Other states vary in the support they give inmates upon release. States generally give a combination of small dollar amounts, bus tickets, and/or a change of clothing.

The Department of Correction's responsibility for inmates ends once they are released. The Board of Probation and Parole assumes authority and responsibility only for parolees and has no involvement with releasees whose sentences have expired. Several interviewees believe that most parole officers do not help them enough to overcome the many obstacles they face and adjust to the lack of structure they were accustomed to in the prisons.

Private organizations supplement state agencies in providing services to help clients successfully reintegrate, including meeting the Board requirement to secure employment and housing prior to release.

One example is Dismas, Inc., the parent organization for a network of nine facilities across the country, four of which are located in Nashville, Knoxville, Cookeville, and Memphis. Dismas has capacity to serve 44 residents at any given time in Tennessee. Residents are college students and former inmates who have no families or fear that a return to their former environments might lead to a repetition of lawbreaking. Dismas staff interview inmates awaiting their release to determine their suitability for community living, as evidenced by their commitment to the principles of the Dismas philosophy. Volunteers and the student residents help the former prisoners develop social skills and otherwise adjust to living outside prison walls. Each resident is expected to help with chores, attend weekly house meetings, participate in evening meals, and pay program fees. Residents must also obtain employment within two weeks of entering the program.

The General Assembly provides funding of approximately \$117,000 to Dismas House through a miscellaneous appropriation, which is administered by the Board of Probation and Parole. Grants, contributions, fundraisers, and program fees paid by residents generate the remainder of Dismas funding.⁷⁴

Another agency, Project Return, Inc. assists adults and youth who are incarcerated, coming out of incarceration, or are assigned to alternatives to incarceration such as community corrections or probation. Services provided to these individuals include assistance with obtaining employment, housing, food, clothing, social security cards, driver licenses, and other daily living needs.

Project Return counselors also prepare inmates for employment through a job readiness training curriculum at all state and county correctional facilities in Davidson County and at the South Central Correctional Facility in Clifton. The Executive Director is looking to expand the service area statewide.

⁷³ Tennessee Department of Correction Policy #511.03.

⁷⁴ Interview with Barbara Futter, Executive Director of Dismas, Inc., July 1, 1999.

A state miscellaneous appropriation of \$200,000 administered by the Board of Probation and Parole is the largest source of revenue for the agency, with the United Way, Memorial Foundation, Predators Foundation, Frist Foundation, and donations supplying the remainder of funding.⁷⁵

The Board of Probation and Parole is taking advantage of its recent reorganization to explore ways to improve its practices and operations. The Board recognizes that certain populations of parolees need additional assistance to succeed in the community. For example, more juveniles are being sentenced in criminal, rather than juvenile, courts and have never lived as adults in the community. When released on parole, most of these offenders will not have established previous connections with employers nor are they likely to know how to meet daily living needs without the structure of a prison. The chairman of the Board has indicated a need to provide more social services to this population as well as to the increasing number of women being supervised on parole.⁷⁶

The Board may revoke the parole of individuals violating the terms and conditions of their release. The Board has developed a procedure, called administrative case review, to deal with parolees who do not follow instructions or otherwise commit non-criminal infractions of their parole conditions. Administrative case review allows the Board an option to revoking parole and general results in recommendations for more stringent supervision or additional referrals for treatment.

One parole initiative underway in Tennessee entails a public safety collaborative that began in Knoxville in 1991. The Board wishes to expand this program statewide and has begun implementation of the project in Memphis.

The Knoxville Police Department, through a Community Policing Demonstration Center grant from the U.S. Department of Justice, partnered with the Board of Probation and Parole, the Metropolitan Drug Commission, the University of Tennessee School of Social Work, Criminal Justice Associates (consultants to the project), and social services agencies in Knoxville to address public safety issues through meeting offenders' needs.

The grant application stated: "The City of Knoxville Police Department believes that the successful reintegration and supervision of high-risk offenders must be undertaken not only by correctional authorities, but also by the police, human service providers, and the community in a comprehensive partnership to promote public safety. The proposed demonstration center will enable Knoxville to strengthen and enhance the approach to offender reintegration and demonstrate its philosophy to other jurisdictions."

The key components that make the project work are interagency agreements to insure that offenders receive services as well as team supervision. The Collaborative has begun efforts to organize the social service providers in ways to strengthen and coordinate the delivery of services. Service providers have reviewed case files to determine what services are currently being used by parolees, how those services are funded, what services are needed but not available, and how grants may be used to fund service needs. The Collaborative

⁷⁵ Interview with Linda Thomas, Executive Director of Project Return, Inc., June 14, 1999.

⁷⁶ Interview with Charles Traughber, Chairman, Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole, June 4, 1999.

also continually refines its assessment and case management process to better serve parolees.⁷⁷

Elements of Effective Programs

Although academic research on recidivism has largely focused on variables such as age, gender, race, type of offense and the number of prior arrests, these types of variables cannot be addressed by rehabilitative interventions. Nonetheless, other research studies and program evaluations indicate that a variety of external factors can also influence whether an individual reoffends.

The most frequently mentioned conditions include drug and alcohol abuse, low educational level/ability, unemployment/underemployment, mental health issues, lack of family/social support, and lack of desire to conform to societal norms and values.

The National Institute of Corrections cites the following as considerations for effective programming:

- a. Interagency effort – The multiple social and human service needs of these clients may require the participation of a wide variety of agencies including parole, mental health, police, social services, health, child protective services, mental retardation and/or developmental disabilities, substance abuse, adult education, and vocational rehabilitation.
- b. Interagency cooperation and commitment—Service agreements among the primary agencies need to be developed as a first step in creating a responsive program for parolees. The role of the critical providers also needs to be clear to ensure interagency commitment for even the most difficult to serve parolees. Cross-agency training is necessary to encourage communication and mutual understanding.
- c. Clear targeting of services and the population to be served – Programs that attempt to serve every difficult parolee and do not identify the special service needs of this population are likely to fail.
- d. Cultural appropriateness – Young men and women of color who grow up poor, witnessing or experiencing violence, with no hope, may need a very different type of human service provider than white, middle-class young people who grow up believing that the system works for them. In addition, many people are reluctant to reveal personal issues to someone they perceive as quite different from themselves. Ideally, many of the case managers should come from the same cultures as the parolees. If this is not possible, then at the very least, managers must receive extensive training in the culturally competent provision of services.
- e. Use of progressive sanctions – Clients are likely to refuse treatment. The goal of programs is not to increase recidivism, so treatment resistance or relapses should not automatically result in revocation. Less dire consequences should be developed ahead of time, in conjunction with treatment providers, as part of contingency planning.

⁷⁷ Knoxville Public Safety Collaborative, *Quarterly Progress Report.*, January 1, 1999 through March 31, 1999.

- f. A focus on residential stability – Homelessness can disrupt every aspect of a person’s life, increasing the likelihood of arrest and making successful treatment more difficult. Advocacy efforts need to be targeted at obtaining and maintaining stable housing for parolees.
- g. A focus on prevention of substance abuse relapse – Prevention of substance abuse relapse may be the single most important feature of the treatment plan of a person with this disability. Stable housing, good nutrition, sober friends, and a job are valuable in supporting these clients.
- h. Boundary spanners – Interagency collaboration relies heavily on staff who have familiarity, skill, and credibility. Although such staff often have little authority and receive little acknowledgement, their contributions are essential. Case managers must have the organizational authority to convene periodic meetings around individual clients or groups of clients served by a team of providers from various agencies.
- i. Effective parole officers – The role of parole officers is crucial. They can provide external structure for parolees, which may increase the chance that an individual will participate in treatment. This structure need not be coercive, but can come in the form of positive reinforcement, encouragement, or simple reminders of appointments.⁷⁸

Some studies on reducing recidivism through treatment show that interventions are effective as long as they adhere to the following principles:

- Interventions should focus on individual risk. More intensive interventions should be targeted to individuals who present a higher risk. Targeting intensive service to low-risk offenders can increase recidivism.
- Interventions should address criminogenic needs. Interventions should target changeable personal characteristics related to antisocial conduct. Appropriate targets include social skills and interpersonal problem-solving ability; pro-criminal values and attitudes; antisocial peer groups; family cohesion and supervision; and substance abuse. Inappropriate targets for intervention include self-esteem and other vague forces or conflicts.
- Interventions should be responsive. The style of service must match the learning style of offenders. Appropriate therapeutic styles for most offenders include behavioral, cognitive-behavioral, and psycho-educational techniques. Harsher penalties, getting tough, manipulation of criminal sanctions, shock incarceration, the “scared straight” approach, boot camps, psychodynamic therapy, emotionally evocative treatment, and non-specific counseling are all among the styles of service that may not be effective for most offenders.⁷⁹

Model Programs

States implement various programs to address barriers to inmate/parolee success. They provide opportunities for inmates to develop skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed to overcome criminal lifestyles. Some programs are offered while the inmate is still

⁷⁸ Joel A. Dvoskin, C. Terence McCormick, and Judith Cox, *Mentally Ill Offenders in the Community: Services for Parolees with Serious Mental Illnesses*, The National Institute of Corrections, 1994.

⁷⁹ Grant T. Harris and Marnie Rice, *Mentally Ill Offenders in the Community: What the Research Says about Effective Services*. The National Institute of Corrections, 1994.

incarcerated and others take place once the inmate is released. Described below are some programs that have been recognized by various national criminal justice professional organizations for their accomplishments.

Tennessee

The Tennessee General Assembly established the Rehabilitative Initiative in Correction Board (TRICOR)⁸⁰ to govern prison industries. Prison industries is an inmate program that provides manufacturing, business service, or agricultural jobs for inmates; training and skill development necessary for inmate employment in these jobs; and the marketing and sale of prison industry products and services. The agency was administratively attached to the Department of Correction until 1999 when legislation separated the entities. The governor appoints TRICOR's board members.

The purpose of prison industries is to:

- offset the cost of incarceration through the sale of products or business services;
- develop work opportunities that minimize the impact on free-world jobs;
- integrate work opportunities with education and vocational training;
- develop good work habits and marketable skills; and
- develop and operate a post-release placement system.

A post-release job placement program, called the Free-Enterprise Program, was created only for inmates who have worked in prison industries and not the prison population at large.

The TRICOR budget for FY1999-2000 is \$24.8 million with \$279,300 coming from state appropriations, \$2.2 million from current services, and \$22.3 million coming from interdepartmental revenue. The Free-Enterprise budget is \$250,000.

With a current workforce of 912 inmates and 145 state employees, TRICOR operates 22 industrial/business service operations and four farms at 11 prisons. See Appendix D for specific locations and industries.

The manufactured products include office furniture, institutional furniture and bedding, custom wood and metal fabrication uniforms, textiles, institutional clothing, license plates, decals, building signs, highway regulatory signs, highway paint, latex paint, office panel refurbishing, and furniture refurbishing. Agricultural products are field crops, beef, vegetables, milk products, eggs, timber products, and fire wood. Services include data processing, printing, janitorial, TennCare Information Line, and office relocation.

The American Correctional Association selected TRICOR to receive a Best Practices Award in 1998. The ACA invited professionals from across the nation and Canada to submit programs and practices that exhibit positive results. TRICOR was honored because of its advancements in industries management and product lines.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Tennessee Code Annotated* Title 41, Chapter 22, Part 4.

⁸¹ Interview with Pat Weiland, Executive Director of TRICOR, June 10, 1999.

The Free-Enterprise Program was established by statute in 1994⁸² for skilled workers who have served their sentences and can no longer work for TRICOR industries.

These workers must meet the following eligibility criteria:

- complete at least one year of successful training in a TRICOR Program within three years of release
- be within six weeks of release if the sentence does not involve parole
- be approved for release by the Board of Probation and Parole and the employment requirement is the only factor that prevents release
- have high school diploma or G.E.D.
- have completed a TRICOR Life Skills Program prior to release
- have completed a TRICOR Data Sheet and Resume indicating skills acquired and the number of years in training
- agree to communicate with TRICOR staff regarding employment status after release for a period not to exceed three years.

The Free-Enterprise Program matches former inmates' skills with businesses in the community and offers incentives to businesses for hiring its workers. Qualifying businesses can obtain a tax credit of 40 percent up to \$6,000 of the first year's wages paid to each ex-inmate hired. The Federal Bonding Program provides fidelity bond insurance for the first year of employment at no cost to the business. TRICOR staff include job placement coordinators covering the entire state.

Going beyond its statutory mandates, TRICOR has initiated new efforts to assist inmates working in their industries. TRICOR inmates now can benefit from a life skills program, receive training to improve interviewing skills, and acquire certificates for completion of training or job achievement. TRICOR is currently developing a job performance evaluation program.

Since the inception of the Free-Enterprise Program in 1994, TRICOR has placed 37 former inmates in free-world jobs. All placements were in fields consistent with training the inmates received while employed by TRICOR. Five individuals have been recommitted to prison. The FY99-2000 budget for Free-Enterprise is \$250,000, all derived from state appropriations.⁸³

Delaware

The Delaware Department of Correction Life Skills Program serves 300 minimum and medium security inmates who live in a therapeutic community, concentrating on academics, violence reduction, and applied life skills. The program uses Moral Reconciliation Therapy, a non-traditional treatment for individuals with resistant personalities. (See Appendix C). Program activities, including academics and life skills, are geared toward MRT exercises and principles.

The curriculum includes:

1. Academics

⁸² *Tennessee Code Annotated* §41-22-403(2)(F).

⁸³ Interview with Fred Barker, Free-Enterprise Director, TRICOR, September 1, 1999.

- Reading comprehension
- Mathematics
- Language expression
- 2. Violence Reduction
 - Therapy sessions
 - Anger management
 - Conflict resolution training
- 3. Applied Life Skills
 - Credit and banking
 - Job search
 - Legal responsibilities
 - Family responsibilities
 - Health issues
 - Social services
 - Cultural differences
 - Government and law

The Life Skills Program was established through a three-year \$916,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Correctional Education. The state now funds the program at approximately \$145,300 a year.

Between June 1994 and November 1996, 826 inmates enrolled in the program with 699 (85 percent) graduating. Of the 127 inmates not completing the program, 64 left because they moved to another prison, 44 dropped out, and 19 were expelled because of behavior problems.

In an outside evaluation of the program in four prisons, a researcher concluded, through pre-tests and post-tests, that inmates showed significant improvements in self-esteem, more appropriate expressions of anger, and constructive attitudes toward finding jobs after release. The evaluator also determined that those participating in the program showed an overall eight percent lower recidivism rate than a control group. However, the study showed that at one of the four prisons, the recidivism rate was higher for the participants than the control group. The inmates in that prison remained incarcerated longer after finishing the program than participants in the other prisons, leading one to conclude that the program may be less effective when too much time passes between graduation and release.⁸⁴

Oklahoma

Oklahoma's Department of Correction implemented Moral Reconciliation Therapy statewide in 1993. Although programs have not been thoroughly analyzed, Oklahoma officials associate the implementation of MRT with reductions in misconduct among its prison population.⁸⁵ In addition to implementing MRT throughout its jurisdiction, Oklahoma

⁸⁴ Peter Finn, Delaware Department of Correction Life Skills Program, *National Institute of Justice Program Focus*, August 1998.

⁸⁵ Robert Brame, Doris Layton McKenzie, et.al., "Moral Reconciliation Therapy and Problem Behavior in the Oklahoma Department of Corrections," *Journal of the Oklahoma Justice Research Consortium*, Vol. 3, August 1996. Available 2/29/00 at www.doc.state.ok.us/DOCS/OCJRC/Ocjrc96/Ocjrc63.htm .

offers statewide mental health and substance abuse programs including Rational Behavior Training, Substance Abuse Education, Stress Management Training, and Treatment Alternative for Drinking-Drivers.

One Oklahoma goal is to provide offenders with consistent programming that can be continued from one security level or facility to another. In the past, offenders who were transferred among prisons were unable to continue treatment programs because the services were not offered at every facility. Statewide implementation of programs has eliminated this interruption.⁸⁶

Although Oklahoma officials embrace the idea of rehabilitative programs and believe that individuals can change if enough treatment or discipline is provided, they have not conducted assessments to determine who would benefit from participation in treatment programs. The state legislature recently passed legislation mandating increased information gathering and assessment of inmate programs.⁸⁷

Florida

The Department of Corrections contracts with several businesses or other private agencies to implement various transitional services. One award-winning example is Florida PRIDE (Prison Rehabilitation Industries and Diversified Enterprises), a nonprofit prison industries organization similar to Tennessee's TRICOR. Although PRIDE is not a state agency and does not receive state funding, the legislature authorized the agency to operate the program in 1981.

Currently operating 51 industries in 22 correctional facilities. PRIDE offers job training and referral, job readiness courses, and assistance with housing, transportation, and clothing. In 1998, inmate workers generated \$81.2 million in sales, contributed over \$1.2 million to the Department of Corrections, and paid \$277,300 to the state's victim restitution fund.⁸⁸

A 1994-95 evaluation of PRIDE shows that only 78 (12.6 percent) of 619 former PRIDE workers who had worked for PRIDE six months or more returned to prison for a new offense within 24 months of release. The state decided to limit the amount of time it tracked offenders because of past studies showing that ex-offenders tend to commit new crimes within the first two years after release.⁸⁹

Washington

The Corrections Clearinghouse (CCH) established within the Employment Security Department, provides job search and placement assistance for ex-offenders. CCH staff and correctional officials work together in a variety of programs to motivate and enable

⁸⁶ From the Oklahoma Department of Corrections website, Classification and Programs, Program Information, Program Description. Available 2/29/00 at www.doc.state.ok.us/DOCS/booklet.htm.

⁸⁷ Mary L. Livers, Project Coordinator, "Self Assessment For Future Directions in Strategic Planning by and for the Oklahoma Department of Corrections," 1999.

⁸⁸ Florida Department of Corrections, 1997-98 Annual Report, The Guidebook to Corrections in Florida, PRIDE of Florida. Available 2/29/00 at www.dc.state.fl.us/pub/annual/9798.

⁸⁹ Florida Department of Corrections, 1995-96 Annual Report, The Guidebook to Corrections in Florida, PRIDE of Florida. Available 2/29/00 at www.dc.state.fl.us/pub/annual/9596.

inmates and releasees in the community to obtain and keep employment instead of returning to criminal activity. The Employment Security Department gives inmates access to its computerized job databank, affording them an opportunity to get job leads while still in prison. Moreover, they assist individuals with promotions and inform clients when better jobs come available.

One program, the Ex-O project, involves contracts with six community-based organizations and one employment security job service center to provide individual vocational assessments, job counseling, resume-writing, interviewing techniques, job search assistance, and placement services.

In another program, CCH brokered a college program for ex-offenders in recovery for chemical dependence. Called Vocational Opportunity Training and Education (VOTE), the program consists of a seven-week return-to-work workshop along with counseling to address alcohol/drug abuse recovery issues. Begun as a pilot program, CCH matched contributions from a local college and the State Division of Alcohol and Substance Abuse. When the program proved a success, the college and division made it permanent.

In FY97-98, 3,082 inmates completed at least one of CCH's programs. The seven Ex-O contractors enrolled 1,312 ex-offenders, 59 percent of whom found work. Of these, 68 percent were still employed after 45 days. A 1994 study compared the recidivism rates of 500 Ex-O clients who found employment with the historical recidivism rate among all department releasees. The rate for the Ex-O clients after 1 year was 3 percent, compared with 10 percent for all releasees. After 5 years, the recidivism rate was 15 percent for the Ex-O clients and 30 percent for all releasees. The study did not control for the possibility that the Ex-O clients might have been lower risk or more motivated than other releasees.

The CCH budget for FY97-98 was \$3,209,131. The program receives slightly more than half its funds from the Employment Security Department's Penalty and Interest Fund. The Division of Alcohol and Substance Abuse provides \$144,992 for the VOTE program. In FY96-97, CCH paid \$361,500 to Ex-O contractors. In helping 766 ex-offenders to secure jobs through Ex-O contractors, CCH's cost per placement was \$465; with an enrollment of 1,312 ex-offenders, its cost per enrollee was \$276.⁹⁰

Georgia

Georgia's Board of Pardons and Paroles has taken several steps to implement effective rehabilitation/transition services. Georgia not only assists parolees' reintegration efforts, but also addresses long-term deficiencies.

Previously, parole officers were only required to make a certain number of contacts with each parolee in one month, similar to the approach taken by the Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole. However, since 1997 the Parole Board has practiced a results-driven approach to supervision by targeting education, substance abuse, thinking skills, and employment.

⁹⁰ Peter Finn, "Washington State's Corrections Clearinghouse: A Comprehensive Approach to Offender Employment," *National Institute of Justice Program Focus*, July 1999.

The results-driven model requires parole officers to assess each parolee's needs and create individualized supervision plans incorporating the programming tracks described below:

- Education—Parolees not having a high school diploma or GED may be placed in the education track to pursue a GED. Some classes are held in parole offices, allowing officers to have additional contact with the parolees and reducing feelings of threat in parole offices.
- Cognitive Skills—Parolees exhibiting behavior problems are placed in a Reasoning and Rehabilitation cognitive skills program. The parolees attend 36 two-hour sessions, meeting in groups of eight to 10 offenders, to discuss situations and problem solving.
- Employment—Parolees must work a minimum of 35 hours a week and may attend classes offered by the Department of Labor. This track is designed for individuals who don't want to work or who cannot hold onto their jobs.
- Substance Abuse—This track addresses the needs of alcohol and drug dependent parolees by helping them obtain the appropriate assistance.

The results-driven supervision model places emphasis on outcomes rather than processes. The Board met the following outcomes in FY98:

- The percentage of parolees successfully completing parole increased from 68 percent to 70 percent,
- The percentage of parolees maintaining employment increased from 86 percent to 88 percent,
- The number of parolees involved in substance abuse treatment met or exceeded 5,000,
- Through effective intervention measures, the number of positive drug tests did not exceed 14 percent of total tests administered, and
- The number and percent of parolees completing GED or vocational training was measured to establish a baseline for FY99 outcomes.

The Board requires 95 percent of offenders entering the prison system to complete a diagnostic battery that evaluates work history, vocational interests, cognitive and intellectual functioning, education level, substance abuse history, response to treatment, and general medical and mental health. The results of this diagnostic battery as well as the inmate's legal and social history are forwarded to the parole officer for intervention planning.

Each officer has received a lap top computer connected to the mainframe, allowing "real time" access to information on each parolee. The computers allow parole officers more time in the community, rather than the office, to serve parolees.⁹¹ The Board developed its information system because parole officers needed both a case management system to work with clients and a means to see how well they were doing. Having this computer system has allowed the Board to eliminate its paper records totally.⁹²

⁹¹ Interview with Joe McAdoo, Director of Training and Employment, Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles, July 12, 1999.

⁹² Interview with John Provost, Assistant Director of Criminal Justice Research, Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles, October 14, 1999.

The Georgia Department of Labor works in conjunction with the Board of Pardons and Paroles to provide transition services. The Department of Labor compiles job development packages for each inmate awaiting release. The packages include a social security card, an official copy of his/her birth certificate, a resume, certifications and certificates received while incarcerated, and a Department of Labor screening application. The Department mails the packages to parole officers who consider the contents when scheduling appointments and job interviews with potential employers.

Texas

Texas' Project RIO (Reintegration of Offenders) is a state-funded program that prepares and transitions offenders from the prison system to gainful employment as soon as possible after release. The project's goal is to reduce recidivism.⁹³

First funded in 1985, a unique collaboration between the Texas Workforce Commission and the Texas Department of Criminal Justice gives Project RIO access to resources available in each agency.

Project RIO works with offenders both before and following release. In prison, Project RIO helps inmates develop skills and attitudes to assist them in finding and keeping employment. Upon entering prison, each inmate receives an individual treatment plan that includes an evaluation of his/her educational level, skills and training, and an aptitude test. Two years before release, inmates begin to concentrate on vocational training and meet with a job readiness specialist every 90 days.

CHANGES (Changing Habits and Achieving New Goals to Empower Success) is a 65-day life-skills program component of Project RIO. Modules addressing self-concept, family relationships, civic and legal responsibilities, victim awareness, personal health and hygiene, and job preparation are taught to participants who are within six months of release.

Other support offered by Project RIO to released inmates includes training and education courses, job search workshops, job-hunting tips, job referrals, and job development. More than 100 staff work in 62 Project RIO offices, serving nearly 16,000 parolees each year.⁹⁴ Employment specialists with the Texas Workforce Commission are designated to work with ex-offender populations.⁹⁵

A 1992 evaluation of Project RIO indicated that during one year following release, 69 percent of Project RIO participants found employment, compared with 36 percent for non-Project RIO releasees.⁹⁶ The study also indicated that Project RIO benefited high-risk offenders in need of close supervision. Exhibit 11 illustrates the rearrest and reincarceration rates of High-risk Project RIO participants and nonparticipants.

⁹³ Project RIO Memorandum of Understanding between the Texas Workforce Commission, Texas Department of Criminal Justice, and Texas Youth Commission.

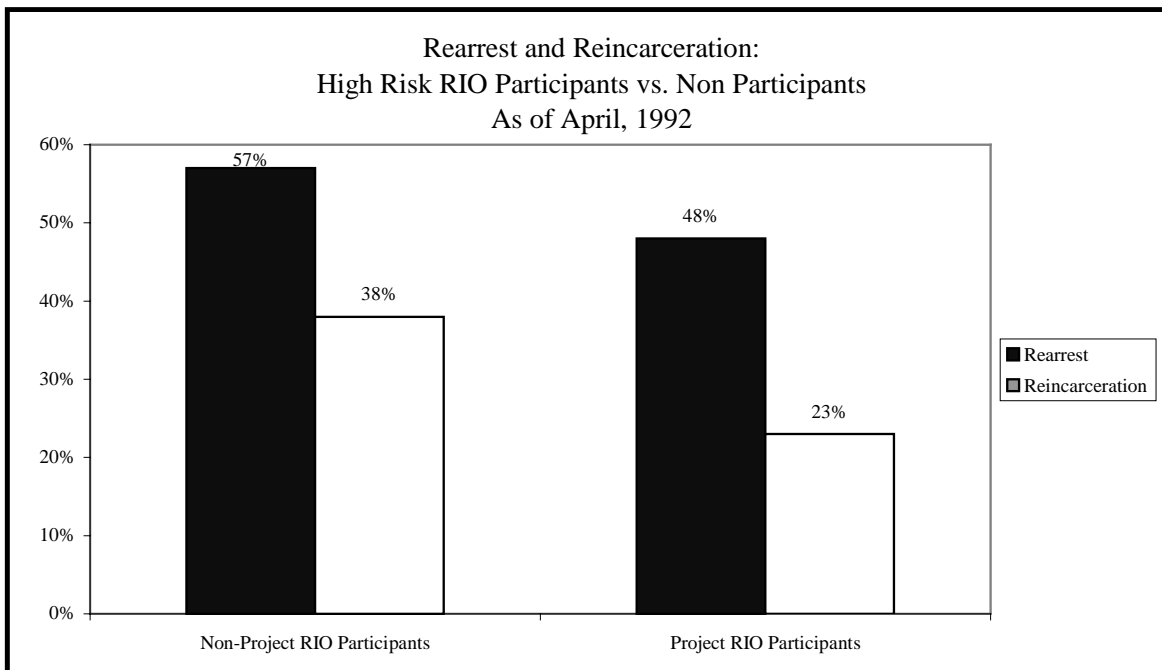
⁹⁴ National Institute of Justice, "Texas' Project RIO," *Program Focus*, June 1998.

⁹⁵ Interview with Joan Goodwin, Information Specialist, Project RIO, July 14, 1999.

⁹⁶ Public Policy Resources Laboratory, *An Evaluation of Project RIO Outcomes: An Evaluative Report*, July 1992.

Texas officials estimate that Project RIO saves the state \$16 million per year in reincarceration expenses, taking into account the cost of incarceration (\$24,000 - \$40,000 per year to incarcerate an inmate), and the cost of serving each individual in Project RIO (less than \$300 per client).⁹⁷

Exhibit 11⁹⁸



Another Texas program, the InnerChange Freedom Initiative, is a pilot Christian-centered prerelease program operated since 1997 by Prison Fellowship Ministries at a minimum security facility. An 18-month, 24-hour a day program, InnerChange supports inmates through “spiritual and moral transformation.” Features of the 200-bed program include teaching faith-based life skills using biblical teachings, family counseling, intensive service work, a strong aftercare program, and use of volunteers in all stages of the program. The program began serving 25 volunteer inmates, adding 25 inmates every three months, with a goal to serve 100 by the end of the first year, and 200 by the end of the second year.⁹⁹

The InnerChange budget is \$650,000 a year. Prison Fellowship Ministries pays for eight to nine full-time staff members, learning materials, and other administrative costs. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice supplies only the facility, meals, security, and housing expenses.

Currently, 179 inmates are participating in the program. A formal evaluation of the program has not yet been completed, but is scheduled to begin when 100 releases have

⁹⁷ Texas Workforce Commission, *1998 Annual Report*.

⁹⁸ Public Policy Resources Laboratory, *An Evaluation of Project RIO Outcomes: An Evaluative Report*, July 1992.

⁹⁹ The InnerChange Freedom Initiative website. Available 2/29/00 at www.ifiprison.org.

been on the streets for at least three years. However, one-year statistics indicate that of the 80 inmates released, 10 percent have been rearrested.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Don Keil, Special Projects Administrator, Texas Department of Criminal Justice, Programs and Services Division,

Alternatives and Recommendations

Legislative Alternative

The General Assembly may wish to consider whether the Department of Correction should implement a mandated program of offender rehabilitation. Despite the provisions of the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970, the Department's central office no longer includes a division to plan for and implement prisoner rehabilitation programs. For the most part, each individual prison's management decides what services are provided for inmates. The Central Office, however, decides which major programs each prison will offer. With the exception of education for certain offenders, jobs, or programs mandated as a condition for parole, inmates volunteer to participate in self-help and other social services.

If the General Assembly determines that rehabilitation efforts need more attention, it should encourage the Department to aggressively pursue the establishment of model programs shown to be successful in other jurisdictions. Outside resources such as the National Institute of Justice and the National Institute of Corrections collect information, evaluate programs, and offer technical assistance to state agencies.

On the other hand, if the General Assembly concludes that offender rehabilitation should not be the public policy of this state, it may wish to consider abolishing the act.

Administrative Recommendations

If the General Assembly decides not to repeal the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970, the Department of Correction should execute its provisions. The Department can increase its emphasis on offender services without decreasing its focus on agency management. The Department should design system-wide treatment services, such as therapeutic communities, to be offered uniformly in each facility to all eligible offenders or, alternatively, classify offenders to facilities offering specialized services to meet identified needs. The Department should consider establishing therapeutic communities in each prison. Programs should be uninterrupted and of sufficient length to be beneficial. The Department should seek technical assistance from the National Institute of Justice or the National Institute of Corrections and should seek whatever additional grant funds are available for treatment services, which will require new expenditures.

The Department of Correction should collect and compile data for program evaluation purposes. TOMIS captures program participation information on individual offenders, but the Department does not compile this information to evaluate the effectiveness of its efforts. Therefore, it is not known what impact participation in currently offered programs and services has on inmate success or failure.

Differing offender needs necessitate various services. By compiling information, the Department could identify the diverse offender characteristics to match them with appropriate interventions. Currently, the Department has no automated means to determine suitable program placement other than for custody level.

Note: The Department of Correction reports a plan to conduct a review/analysis of current programs and their effect on recidivism.

The Department of Correction should participate in the living document being proposed by the Board. The document would record pre-sentence investigations, assessments, program participation, and progress, regardless of which agency has responsibility for the individual. It would be useful to both agencies in planning for and delivering services to their clients as well as maintaining a record of program participation and effect.

The Department of Correction should reinstate furlough privileges. If an offender has been granted parole by the parole board, he/she should be trustworthy enough to receive a furlough for the purpose of seeking employment and housing to ensure that his/her release plan will be approved. If the offender returns to prison after the furlough intoxicated on alcohol or drugs or if the offender violates the law, the parole grant should be rescinded.

The Board of Probation and Parole should expand the concepts behind the Knoxville community policing project across the state. Cooperation and agreements among law enforcement, parole, and community human service agencies are necessary for the successful reintegration of offenders into the community.

Note: The Director of Probation and Parole told Office of Research staff that the Board has targeted Memphis as the next site for its expansion plans and intends to implement the program statewide within 10 months.

The Board of Probation and Parole should proceed with its plans to develop an information system. As is true for the Department of Correction, the Board needs an adequate system both to assist with offender management and to evaluate the services of the field staff division. The Board should consult with the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles before developing any software.

The Board of Probation and Parole should consider a results-driven supervision model as it continues its strategic planning process. Results driven supervision focuses on services to improve skills and behavior rather than mere compliance with the standards of supervision, such as mandated contacts between the parolees and the officers.

The Board of Probation and Parole and the Department of Correction should revise their mission statements, goals, and performance measures to include language related to treatment/rehabilitative services to inmates. These statements establish the agencies' values for staff and clarify their priorities. The agencies should develop performance measures based on client outcomes as well as agency management.

The Board of Probation and Parole and the Department of Correction should work with other government agencies to enhance rehabilitation and transitional services. Both agencies should take advantage of the resources of other entities by establishing statewide formal agreements or contracts. Currently, most collaborative efforts are established at the local level and are informal in nature.

For example, the Department and the Board could enlist the assistance of the Department of Labor and Work Force Development for job training and placement services similar to Project RIO in Texas. The Department of Labor and Work Force Development could provide assessment and testing of inmates for job compatibility and could be more active in seeking employment for releasees. Perhaps Community Services Agencies or other local agencies could assign counselors to help newly released offenders address social service needs such as clothing, housing, food stamps, drivers' licenses or other photo identification, and social security cards. Local Boards of Education or higher education could provide ABE/GED classes.

Appendix A
Letter from the Governor's Office to the Department of Correction and the Board of Probation and Parole

STATE OF TENNESSEE

May 14, 1999

DON SUNDQUIST
GOVERNOR

The Honorable Donal Campbell
Commissioner, Department of Correction
4th Floor, Rachel Jackson Building
320 6th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0465

The Honorable Charles Traughber
Chairman, Board of Probation and Parole
Suite 130, Parkway Towers
404 James Robertson Parkway
Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0850

Dear Commissioner Campbell and Chairman Traughber:

Representative Phillip Pinion and I have been sharing ideas to improve the working relationship between the Select Oversight Committee on Corrections, the Department of Correction, and the Board of Probation and Parole. One area that we both agreed on concerns baseline information about program operations and performance, including facility conditions and security. If we all start with the same facts, we are more likely to reach common conclusions about what should be done.

We are, therefore, asking you to assign appropriate staff to develop a periodic (probably bi-annual) performance report that includes objective measures concerning important areas of operation. For the correctional facilities, you should include measures of security, staff recruiting and retention, training, prisoner program and work activities, rates of significant incidents, and operational efficiency. We envision that the reporting should include facilities operated by the Department as well as facilities under private management contract to the Department. For probation and parole regions, similar measures should be included that reflect community-based decision making, supervision, and service delivery. To the extent possible, the report should be based on information that is already maintained by your Departments.

Representative Pinion has agreed to make Don Stroughton and Claire Drowota available on an advisory basis, and I have asked Ned Benton to participate.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions or comments.

Sincerely,

Brian K. Ferrell
Assistant to the Governor
for Legislation

State Capitol, Nashville, Tennessee 37243-0001
Telephone No. (615)741-2001

NOTE: Original letter not reproducible.

Appendix B

Mission Statements of Other States and Canada

Georgia

Department of Corrections

The mission of the Georgia Department of Corrections is to protect the public and staff by managing offenders in a safe and secure environment or through effective community supervision to their needs and risks. In collaboration with the community and other agencies, we provide programs which offer offenders the opportunity to become responsible, productive, law-abiding citizens.

Board of Pardons and Paroles

The mission of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles is to:

- Protect the public by thoroughly investigating and processing inmate cases and making responsible, just, and equitable parole decisions while balancing punishment and rehabilitation;
- Respond to the needs and concerns of crime victims and their families;
- Use agency and community resources as a bridge to help parolees reach self-sufficiency and stable citizenship;
- Supervise parolees skillfully and return to prison those who demonstrate they will not by choice abide by their release conditions.

Texas

Department of Criminal Justice

The mission of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice is to provide public safety, promote positive change in offender behavior, reintegrate offenders into society, and assist victims of crime.

Parole Division

The mission of the Parole Division is to promote public safety and positive offender change through effective supervision, programs, and services.

Delaware

Department of Correction

The Department is committed to:

- Provision of programs, policies and services which at all times place public safety as our top priority whether the offender is in prison or supervised in the community.
- Provision of safe and humane services, programs, and facilities.
- Enhancement of long term public safety through holding offenders accountable for their behavior after release.
- Encouragement of an environment that supports full recognition of victims rights.
- Promotion on recognizing the value of human resources as represented by volunteers, offenders, their families, and community members.

Canada

Correctional Service of Canada

The Correctional Service of Canada, as part of the criminal justice system and respecting the rule of law, contributes to the protection of society by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law-abiding citizens, while exercising reasonable, safe, secure and humane control.

Canada's Core Values

1. We respect the dignity of individuals, the rights of all members of society, and the potential for human growth and development
2. We recognize that the offender has the potential to live as a law-abiding citizen
3. We believe that our strength and our major resource in achieving our objectives is our staff and that human relationships are the cornerstone of our endeavour
4. We believe that the sharing of ideas, knowledge, values and experience, nationally and internationally, is essential to the achievement of our Mission
5. We believe in managing the Service with openness and integrity and we are accountable to the Solicitor General.

Appendix C

Cognitive Behavior Training

Leaders in the corrections field recommend cognitive behavior training (CBT) as being the most effective programming for changing the behavior of offenders and maintaining a crime-free life after release.¹⁰¹ Studies of inmates who participated in cognitive behavior training compared with inmates who did not participate in CBT show that those who completed the program were less likely to recidivate. In addition to lowering rates of recidivism, CBT shows to have had a positive impact on attitudinal and cognitive behaviors.¹⁰² Several cognitive behavior programs exist, including Moral Reconciliation Therapy, Reasoning and Rehabilitation, and LifeLine.

Moral Reconciliation Therapy (MRT)

Moral Reconciliation Therapy is a systematic treatment aimed at altering how offenders make decisions and how they think. It improves reasoning and fosters social and moral growth of offenders so they can make better decisions about what they should or should not do in a given situation. MRT consists of twelve to sixteen steps, depending upon the treatment population, and takes about thirty-six sessions to complete. Correctional Counseling, Inc., a company headquartered in Memphis dedicated to developing treatment and rehabilitation programs for inmate populations, developed MRT. Forty states, including statewide implementation in Oklahoma and Washington, currently use the program. CCI currently contracts with the Tennessee Prison for Women, where MRT is used in the Therapeutic Community.

Because disinterested parties have not conducted the research, the majority of research found on MRT may be slanted. However, Oklahoma Department of Corrections research indicates that reductions in misconduct and recidivism are related to participation in MRT. An explicit goal of MRT programming is to induce a shift in an individual's set of priorities so they became committed to behavioral change.¹⁰³

Reasoning and Rehabilitation (R&R)

The basic premise of Reasoning and Rehabilitation is that offenders lack cognitive skills and attitudes necessary for social competence. By acquiring such skills, offenders will be better able to achieve legitimate goals and resist pressures toward criminal behavior. The main goals of R&R are to modify offenders' impulsive, rigid, and illogical thinking patterns in favor of thinking before action and considering the consequences of criminal behavioral.

¹⁰¹ Michelle Gasseau, "Moral Reconciliation Therapy: How is it Different? Why does it Work?" Available 2/29/00 at www.corrections.com/news/education/031599.html.

¹⁰² Research and Statistics Branch, Correctional Service of Canada, *Effectiveness of the Cognitive skills Training Program: From Pilot to National Implementation*, May 1991.

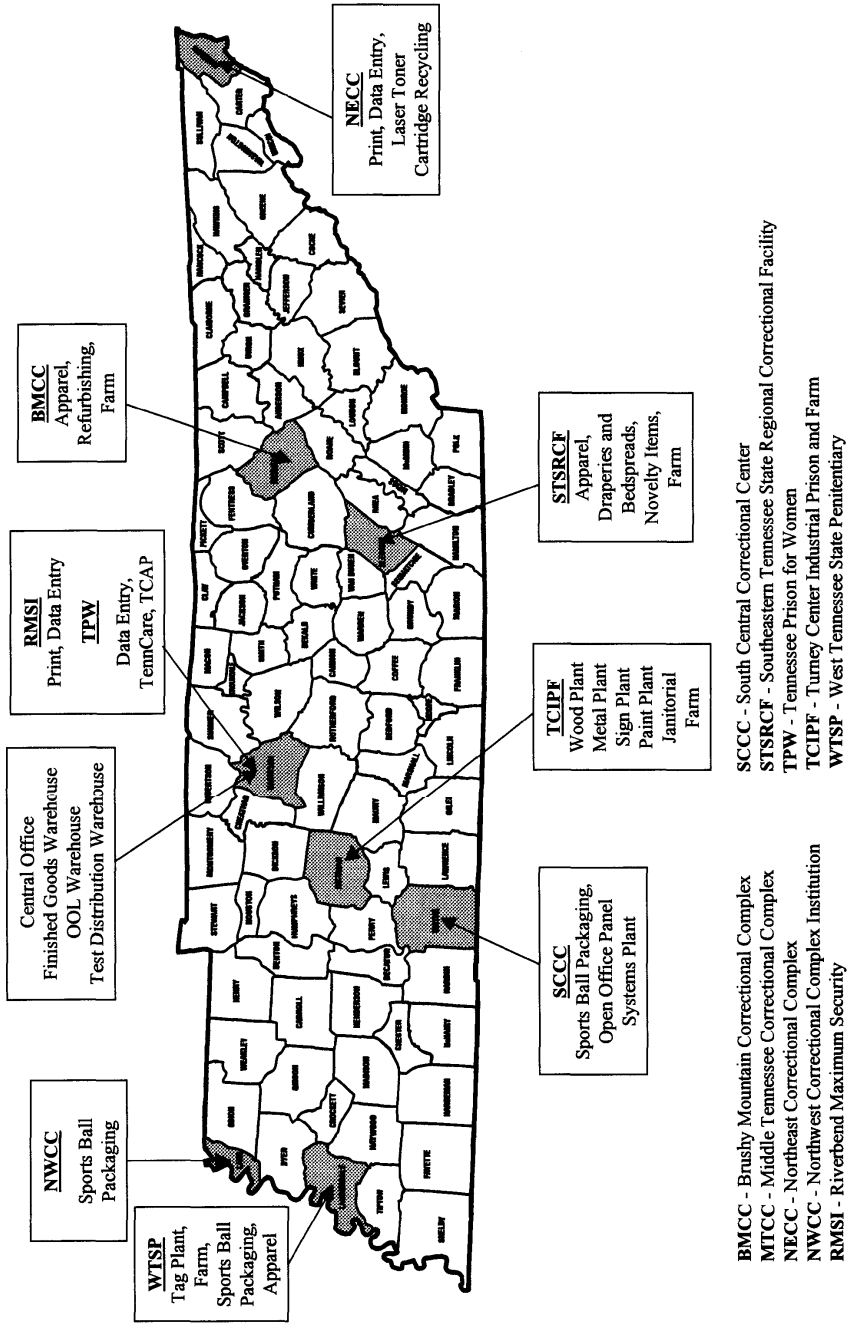
¹⁰³ Robert Brame, Doris Layton McKenzie, et.al., "Moral Reconciliation Therapy and Problem Behavior in the Oklahoma Department of Corrections," *Journal of the Oklahoma Justice Research Consortium*, Vol. 3, August 1996. Available 2/29/00 at www.doc.state.ok.us/DOCS/OCJRC/Ocjrc96/Ocjrc63.htm.

LifeLine

Corrections Corporation of America developed LifeLine, a long-term therapeutic community approach to eliminate drug addiction. The program purpose is to change attitudes and modify behaviors. Like therapeutic communities, the highly structured program separates participants from the rest of the inmate population. After completing the LifeLine program, graduates remain active in the program by working as aides and tutors until they are released. Staff then work with inmates and local social service agencies to provide after-care and follow-up treatment.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Found at www.correctionscorp.com/newservice.htm.

Appendix D TRICOR



- BMCC - Brushy Mountain Correctional Complex
- MTCC - Middle Tennessee Correctional Complex
- NECC - Northeast Correctional Complex
- NWCC - Northwest Correctional Complex Institution
- RMSI - Riverbend Maximum Security
- SCCC - South Central Correctional Center
- STSRCF - Southeastern Tennessee State Regional Correctional Facility
- TPW - Tennessee Prison for Women
- TICPF - Turney Center Industrial Prison and Farm
- WTSP - West Tennessee State Penitentiary

Appendix E
Prison Population Growth in the Southern States*
1997-1998

State	Total 1997	Total 1998	Percent Change
Alabama	22,290	23,326	4.6
Arkansas	10,021	10,638	6.2
Florida	64,626	67,224	4.0
Georgia	36,505	39,262	7.6
Kentucky	14,600	14,987	2.7
Louisiana	29,265	32,227	10.1
Maryland	22,232	22,572	1.5
Mississippi	14,296	16,678	16.7
Missouri	23,998	24,974	4.1
North Carolina	31,612	31,811	.6
Oklahoma	20,542	20,892	1.7
South Carolina	21,173	22,115	4.4
Tennessee	16,659	17,738	6.5
Texas	140,351	144,510	3.0
Virginia	28,385	28,560	.6
West Virginia	3,148	3,478	10.5
Southern States	499,703	520,992	4.3
United States	1,242,153	1,302,019	4.8

Source: "Prison, Probation, Parole, and Crime: National and Southern Statistics, Year-end 1998," Council of State Governments, October 1999.

*Prisoners under the jurisdiction of state or federal authorities

Appendix F
Letters of Response from Board of Probation and Parole
and the Department of Correction



DON SUNDQUIST
GOVERNOR

DONAL CAMPBELL
COMMISSIONER

STATE OF TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION
FOURTH FLOOR, RACHEL JACKSON BUILDING
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37243-0465
(615)741 1000 Ext. 4000 Office (615) 532-8281 Fax

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ethel Detch – Office of Research
Office of Education and Accountability
Comptroller's Office

FROM: Donal Campbell, Commissioner
Department of Correction

DATE: February 16, 2000

SUBJECT: Review of Tennessee's Programs and Services for Helping Prisoners
Transition Back to Society after Release

I have reviewed the report regarding the Comptroller's staff review of the state's programs and services for prisoner transition back to society following incarceration and submit the following response.

SUMMARY

Tennessee shares a concern for the number of offenders that re-offend following their period of incarceration. The FY 1998-99 data for admissions to the Department of Correction shows that there were a total of 8,021 admissions to TDOC, which represents a 7.5% decrease from the previous year. Of that number, 3,344 were probation and parole violators who re-entered the department due to a violation of supervision conditions or the commitment of a new offense. Although the number of violators for FY 98-99 is a decrease from the previous fiscal year, the numbers continue to raise concerns.

TDOC houses more than 17,000 offenders in fourteen different locations. The costs associated with providing basic needs, i.e., housing, food, staffing and programming, are high. The average cost per inmate day is \$45.01 for FY 98-99.

It is not disputed that inmates are in need of multiple services and programs that may have an impact on the recidivism rate. However, the primary mission of TDOC is to assure the safety and security of the public. Thus, the immediate security needs of an institution are of utmost concern and take precedence in budget considerations.

Tennessee statute is specific about the safety mandates of this department. Statute only addresses the rehabilitative aspects in the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970, which is directed toward a specific group of offenders. The number of offenders that meet the criteria has diminished in the last several years. There is no Tennessee statute that provides for or mandates the provision of rehabilitation programs systemwide.

Although there are neither specific statutes nor public policy relating to the provision of rehabilitation programs, TDOC does provide programming and services as budgetary considerations will allow. TDOC also has included plans for the further development of programs and services in its strategic plan.

TDOC does provide pre-release programming to prepare the inmates for release. The impact of this program is not known; however, the department is in the process of developing a system whereby program efficacy can be assessed. The department does recognize that the existing pre-release program is in need of revision, and a more intensive program has been developed and is currently in the review stages.

The ideal budget would allow the department to provide a greater array of programs and services than currently offered, as well as allow the programs to be more tailored to each inmate's individual needs. The resources, however, are not currently available in the department's budget.

The analysis and conclusion portion of the report addressed specific issues relating to offender rehabilitation. This report will respond to those portions, which are applicable to TDOC in the following paragraphs.

Tennessee has not adopted offender rehabilitation as public policy.

Management concurs.

It should be noted that absent any public policy, the department does not ignore the need for rehabilitative programs and services. The department's strategic plan addresses numerous goals related to inmate programming, and as noted in the report, there are programs in existence.

The Department of Correction no longer complies with the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970.

Management does not concur.

TDOC does have work release programs available and inmates are participating in this program. The number of inmates eligible for this program is limited, thus there is no justification for a unit dedicated solely for the management of this program.

TDOC policies provide procedures for this program: policy #505.07, Inmate Jobs details the criteria for placement in work release; policy #208.02, Room and Board for Work Release Inmates provides procedures for the collection of room and board; policy \$504.04, Inmate Pay and establishes the regulations relative to the pay scale.

Office of Research Response: The Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970 allows, but is not limited to, work release programs. The statute specifies that the director of the division of rehabilitative services is to formulate an overall plan for the rehabilitation of the eligible inmates and to coordinate individual rehabilitative programs carried out by counselors. The statute further lists various methods of rehabilitation to be included in the rehabilitative programs and allows the Department to make the rehabilitative programs available to other inmates. The Department of Correction should develop a coordinated plan that includes various methods of rehabilitation to address inmates' negative behavior patterns as well as deficits that impede their abilities to succeed.

Except for inmates meeting criteria for the DeBerry Special Needs Facility, the Department of Correction emphasizes security and custody considerations rather than inmate need when assigning inmates to facilities.

Management concurs in part.

TDOC does place a higher priority on security and custody considerations, as its primary mission is the protection of public safety through effective incarceration of convicted felons. Even at DSNF, security and custody are primary goals. However, program and inmate needs availability are the next priorities examined when making inmate institutional assignments.

The department does want to clarify that the placement of jobs is not a duty of the unit management teams, although they may make recommendations; the job coordinator and the supervisor of the position available make the placement decisions.

The report correctly states that inmates volunteer for treatment programs rather than being assigned by prison management according to their needs. It should be noted that phase two of the Sex Offender Program, as well as Title I educational placements, are referred to specific institutions where these programs exist, thus placement is based upon need.

The implication in the report is that it is preferable for management to determine assignments according to needs. The philosophy of the department is that forced treatment is not effective treatment. The outcomes are generally not positive if the inmate does not recognize the need and make a conscious decision about their programs/treatment needs. The academic programs are an excellent example of this philosophy. An inmate will not necessarily learn simply by being placed in a classroom. Learning and change take place only when they have the desire. Placement by "behavioral teams" is much more appropriate in the juvenile setting, or where mental abilities are limited.

With few exceptions, the Department of Correction has halted inmate furloughs, making it difficult for potential releasees to obtain employment.

Management concurs in part.

Inmate furloughs have been limited for the reasons cited in the report. In an analysis of the length of time expired between the parole grant date and the parole plan submittal, data from FY 98-99 were compared to data from FY 93-94, the period prior to furloughs being limited. The mean length of time between parole grant date and plan submittal in FY 93-94 was 40 days; in FY 98-99 it was 42 days. We do not consider this difference to be significant enough to justify the expansion of furloughs.

Despite encouragement by the General Assembly, the Department of Correction did not pursue a plan to establish halfway houses.

Management concurs.

This encouragement was made during a time when the state was in the midst of the *Grubbs* lawsuit. Multiple issues were being negotiated and taken before the court for approval. The state spent millions of dollars to correct the court mandates, which were a much higher priority than the establishment of halfway houses, as this issue did not fall within the mandates of the court.

The Department of Correction does not know whether its interventions impact recidivism.

Management concurs.

The Department of Correction does not uniformly apply its programs throughout the system, resulting in inequitable access to services.

Management does not concur.

Inmates involved in treatment programs are not routinely transferred except for good reason, i.e., change in custody level, as a result of a discipline problem, move to pre-release program upon being granted parole, etc.

It is fiscally and logistically impossible to have all programs and services offered at all locations. There are some programs that require staff with special skills who are difficult to hire and retain, especially in some areas of the state. Space for programs in institutions is limited. Additionally, the costs to provide programs at each location are prohibitive. Finally, selective location of various programs serves as an incentive to inmates to improve their behavior in order to be assigned to a location where more programs and services are available.

With the exception of treatment for sex offenders, Tennessee law does not specify any rehabilitative treatment approaches except work and education.

Management concurs.

Obviously, the department does pursue other approaches to recognized needs, despite the fact that law does not specifically mandate them. A range of programs, including pre-release, anger management, substance abuse education and treatment, violent offender treatment, parenting programs and others are provided throughout the department by a variety of means (i.e., state funding, federal grant funding, volunteers, etc.).

The Commissioner of Education has not developed a plan to increase educational and vocational opportunities for inmates as directed by Public Chapter 730 of 1994.

Management concurs.

Pre-release and other treatment programs for male inmates may be of insufficient content and/or duration to be beneficial.

Management concurs.

The department realizes the pre-release programming is in need of revision. The department has developed a group of alternate pre-release programs that are more extensive and intensive and vastly different from the current program. Research was conducted of programs offered at correctional facilities in many states to assist in the development of this proposal. The proposed pre-release programs cover a variety of subjects and include participation from other agencies. This proposal is in the process of being reviewed by the department's management staff.

Programs for females appear to be more intensive than those for males.

Management concurs.

This is due at least in part to the fact that female offenders are housed (permanently) at only two locations (TPW and MLCC) in the state, which allows the department to focus its available resources for female inmates in a more concentrated manner.

The department does anticipate receiving additional federal funding for substance abuse programs, and plans are (as indicated in the department's strategic plan) to initiate therapeutic communities that are of similar intensity as that in the female facility in four institutions housing male offenders.

Alternatives and Recommendations - Administrative Recommendations:

If the General Assembly decides not to repeal the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970, the Department of Correction should execute its provisions.

Management does not concur.

It should be emphasized that the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1970 mandates programming for first and second term offenders, thus limiting the pool of inmates to which the Act applies. Despite the limited pool of eligible inmates, the department does

provide programming mandated in this Act and has related procedures incorporated into departmental policies. The portions of the Act that are not specifically followed are related to the establishment of a division to carry out the provisions of this Act and the staffing issues. These portions may be considered for review.

The department does agree that additional programs and services are needed. However, the implementation of the recommendations in the report would potentially require changes to the existing classification system, require a substantial increase in staffing, drive a need for building renovations and expansions and a much larger budget.

The department does take advantage of grant funds that are available, i.e., VOI/TIS and RSAT funds, as well as frequently seeking technical assistance from agencies, such as the National Institute of Corrections.

The Department of Correction should collect and compile data for program evaluation purposes.

Management concurs.

The Department of Correction should participate in the living document being proposed by the Board.

Management may concur after further review.

The department would be open to learning more about the living document and working with the Board of Probation and Parole in this effort.

The Department of Correction should reinstate furlough privileges.

Management does not concur.

The department does not wish to expand any program that could compromise the safety and security of the public. Furloughs are still granted on a limited basis for the purpose of securing employment and housing plans once parole has been granted. Escorted visits are also utilized on a limited basis. Ideally, as your report indicates, inmates who have been granted parole would be trustworthy enough to take and return from furloughs responsibly; unfortunately, that has not historically been the case. The escape rate in 1992-93, when pre-release furloughs were granted routinely, was 124. In FY 98-99, the rate was 27. Of the escapes in FY 92-93, 48 were specifically for failure to return from furlough.

The Board of Probation and Parole and the Department of Correction should revise their mission statements, goals, and performance measures to include language related to treatment/rehabilitative services to inmates.

Management concurs in part.

The department's strategic plan already contains goals related to programs and services. When the mission statement is revised, consideration will be given to this addition.

The Board of Probation and Parole and the Department of Correction should work with other government agencies to enhance rehabilitation and transitional services.

Management concurs.

The proposals in the pre-release program do incorporate the Board of Probation and Parole as well as many other agencies to provide a full array of services and information.

The department agrees that more programs are needed to better meet the needs of the offender population that could potentially enhance their adjustment upon release. Budgetary matters continue to be a factor. The department will continue to seek federal funding when available to help to fill this need, as well as explore methods of providing programs in an economical fashion.

DC:SM



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BOARD OF PROBATION AND PAROLE
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NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37243-0850 (615)741-1673

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RESEARCH & EDUCATION
ACCOUNTABILITY

January 6, 2000

Margaret Rose
Senior Legislative Analyst
Comptroller of the State of Tennessee
5th Floor, James K. Polk Building
Nashville, TN 37243

Dear Ms. Rose,

The Chairman and I wanted to convey the following comments to you about your draft report:

1. It is our agency's intent to try to devote more supervision fee resources to services for clients. The F & A budget office has been encouraging us to earmark fees for specific usage, and offender treatment/services is an area we agree needs funding.
2. It is a priority for BOPP to expand community policing statewide and to work with other agencies to enhance transitional services.

Thank you for a very thorough and accurate review of our agency. It has been a pleasure working with you on this matter.

Sincerely,

Donna Blackburn /cc

Donna Blackburn
Executive Director

DRB/fcb

cc: David Chaffin
Eydie Cloyd
Jim Cosby
George Little

Appendix G Persons Interviewed

Gayle Barbee
Director of Board Operations
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Donna Blackburn
Executive Director
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Jim Boyd
Volunteer
Tennessee Department of Correction

Jack Bursack
Parole Officer II
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Eydie Cloyd
Assistant to the Executive Director
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Howard Cook
Director of Classification
Tennessee Department of Correction

Deborah Copeland
Director of Education
Tennessee Department of Correction

Jim Cosby
Director of Probation and Parole
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Malcolm Davis
Warden
Wayne County Boot Camp

Linda Dodson
Deputy Commissioner
Tennessee Department of Correction

Claire Drowota
Executive Director
Select Oversight Committee on Corrections
Tennessee General Assembly

Barbara Futter
Executive Director
Dismas, Inc.

Alexis Lewis
NewStart Program Director
YWCA

George Little
Assistant to the Executive Director
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Robert Mayers
Director of Pre-Release
Middle Tennessee Correctional Complex - Annex

Colis Newble
Director of Parole Hearings
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Representative Phillip Pinion
Chairman
Select Oversight Committee on Correction
Tennessee General Assembly

Theresa Schweizer
Correctional Program Support Coordinator
Tennessee Department of Correction

Charles Simmons
Assistant Warden
Tennessee Prison for Women

Vetrel Smith
Executive Director
Reconciliation, Inc.

Linda Thomas
Executive Director
Project Return

Charles Traughber
Chairman
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Larry Turner
Parole Supervisor 3
Tennessee Board of Probation and Paroles

Pat Weiland
Executive Director
Tennessee Rehabilitative Initiative in Corrections