ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN & FAMILIES
Office on Trafficking in Persons

NATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTER

Reentry: Application and Lessons Learned for the Human Trafficking Field

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INTRODUCTION

In 2016, more than 1.5 million adults were incarcerated in prisons (Kaeble & Cowhig, 2018); 1,000 juveniles were incarcerated in adult prisons; and 45,457 juveniles were housed in residential facilities (Carson, 2018; Hockenberry & Sladky, 2018). Most incarcerated adults and juveniles are eventually released from correctional facilities (Muhlhausen, 2018), and the term *offender reentry* is used to describe the process of returning to the community after incarceration (Travis & Visher, 2005). This report focuses on adult prisoner reentry and juvenile reentry. Since most juveniles are housed in residential facilities rather than incarcerated in prisons, this report uses the term *offender reentry* to refer to both adult prisoner reentry and juvenile reentry processes, services, and programs (unless otherwise specified).

Offender reentry often occurs in three phases, with the goal of preparing the incarcerated adult or juvenile for community reintegration and preventing reoffending. The first phase of reentry begins while the individual is incarcerated. Adults and juveniles may undergo risk and needs assessments to determine which services and programming are needed while incarcerated (e.g., health, education, substance use). Phase two is a transitional process that begins prior to incarceration and ends after release. During this time, incarcerated adults and juveniles begin preparing for their transition back into the community approximately 6 months prior to their release from the correctional facility. This typically includes the development of a comprehensive plan for addressing basic needs (e.g., housing, clothing, food), employment, education, health care, and social support (Taxman, 2004). The 30-day period immediately following release focuses on stabilizing the formerly incarcerated individual in the community and providing connections to community-based programs that will help address their needs. During the third phase of reentry, the formerly incarcerated individual continues the long-term process of reintegrating into the community and building self-sufficiency. This often includes continued participation in community-based programs and, in some cases, community supervision through parole (e.g., Lattimore & Visher, 2010; Taxman, 2004).

Individuals who have experienced trafficking may be incarcerated for crimes they were forced to commit by their trafficker. Although the individual would be considered a victim in this situation, rather than an offender, they would still go through the same process of reentry as incarcerated individuals who have not experienced trafficking. Decades of research and evaluation on offender reentry have led to the development of evidence-based practices that could be used to help incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking achieve self-sufficiency, avoid re-victimization, and successfully reintegrate into society. Additional research is needed to better understand the intersection between trafficking and prisons as well as how reentry programs can use more trauma-informed, culturally competent, and victim-centered approaches.

Incarcerated Trafficking Survivors

Although there are no estimates of the number of incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking, there is evidence that individuals who have experienced trafficking are being incarcerated. Individuals who experience trafficking are often arrested, convicted, and incarcerated for illegal activities they were coerced or forced to commit by their traffickers (e.g., prostitution, drug possession, unauthorized work) (Emerson & Aminzadeh, 2016; Phillips et al., 2014; United Nations, 2014). For example, Shivley, Smith, Jalbert, & Drucker (2017) interviewed six women incarcerated for committing human trafficking who reported that they were victims either before or during the period that they assisted their traffickers. In a survey of 130 survivors of trafficking, the National Survivor Network (2016) found that 91 percent of respondents had been arrested at least once in their life, more than 39 percent had been arrested four times or less, and 40 percent had been

arrested nine times or more. Respondents reported being arrested for prostitution (65.3 percent), solicitation (42.7 percent), intent to solicit (25.3 percent), drug possession (40 percent), drug sales (18.7 percent), and other crimes (60 percent). More than half of respondents stated that their arrests, charges, or convictions "were directly related to their trafficking experience" (p. 5). Although 25 percent of respondents believed their criminal justice involvement was not associated with their trafficking experience, their responses may reflect the belief that their arrest was their fault. For example, one respondent stated that their trafficker told them to lie to the police about their identity, and that lie was the reason they were taken into custody (National Survivor Network, 2016).

Studies have also shown that children who are sexually or physically abused are more likely to exchange sex for money, food, shelter, or drugs[1] (e.g., Choi, 2015; Reid & Piquero, 2014; Ulloa, Salazar, & Monjaras, 2016). Although the exact pathway between abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) is unclear, risky behaviors such as early substance use and running away due to abuse may expose children to CSEC (Reid, 2011). Sexually exploited youth are then often arrested for prostitution, despite being victims of exploitation rather than perpetrators of a crime. Youth who are charged with prostitution are considered to have the adult capacity to decide whether to engage in commercial sex and are thus arrested and prosecuted (e.g., Annitto, 2011; Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolack, 2010; Saar, Epstein, Rosenthal, & Vafa, 2015).

Trafficking and Forced Labor in Prisons

Trafficking in prisons is beginning to receive attention. Very little research has been conducted on the topic, but correctional officers have provided anecdotal descriptions of their experiences with trafficking in correctional facilities. For example, correctional officers have reported that some female prisoners continue to have a coercive relationship with their trafficker while incarcerated. This sometimes leads to female prisoners recruiting other incarcerated individuals who are being released from correctional facilities for traffickers who are not incarcerated. Websites like www.arrests.org post mugshots, charges, and other information on inmates that traffickers can use to identify potential victims for recruitment. Recruiters and traffickers may communicate through letters about the types and number of women that should be recruited as well as payment for recruitment services. Once a trafficker has identified a specific inmate that they want to for recruitment, they can also reach out directly through letters to begin establishing a relationship. Inmates who are vulnerable to trafficking are promised financial support while they are incarcerated (e.g., deposits in commissary accounts) and offers of housing or employment after they are released from the correctional facility (e.g., Meekins, 2016; Mohr, 2017). An individual who is meeting with multiple incarcerated individuals during one visit may also be a red flag that trafficking is occurring (Schoenly, 2018).

Some journalists and scholars argue that forced labor is occurring in prisons. Incarcerated individuals often participate in work programs (e.g., carpentry, janitorial, laundry, food services, administrative) while incarcerated (Nasr, 2017). Policymakers argue that the purpose of in-prison work programs is to occupy incarcerated individuals' time as well as have incarcerated individuals repay their debt to society by assisting in operating the prison and generating revenue (Bushway, 2003). Incarcerated individuals are paid $0.12 to $0.40 per hour for their work (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2017). Some journalists have argued that work programs are exploitative because incarcerated individuals are paid less than $2 per day; are not given the choice to decline participation in work programs; are penalized for refusing to work; do not receive sick time, overtime

[1] We use the language "exchange sex for money, food, shelter, or drugs" (rather than human trafficking or commercial sexual exploitation of children) to ensure accurate representation of the original author's work.

pay, or worker's compensation; and often work in hazardous conditions (e.g., Benns, 2015; Schwartzapfel, 2014). Some scholars argue that prison labor in public correctional facilities is technically legal, but prison labor in private correctional facilities is not because private correctional facilities are for profit and not supervised or controlled by public authorities (see Kang, 2009 for a review).

Reentry Needs of Trafficking Survivors

Survivors of trafficking who have been incarcerated require services to address a wide range of immediate, ongoing, and long-term needs (Macy & Johns, 2011). These needs parallel the needs of individuals who are reentering society after incarceration. The importance of a coordinated approach to comprehensive case management services that address survivors' needs (e.g., stable and safe housing; food and clothing; physical health, mental health, and substance use treatment; family and social support; job training and employment; education; legal services) is well documented (e.g., Hardison Walters et al., 2017; Macy & Johns, 2011; Reichert & Sylwestrzak, 2013). Meeting these needs is vital for establishing and maintaining survivors' long-term stability and self-sufficiency in the community but can be difficult to achieve due to the added complexity of having a criminal record. Survivors of trafficking may experience a variety of challenges with achieving successful reentry and self-sufficiency. For example, a survivor may suffer from psychological trauma that prevents them from searching for, applying to, and interviewing for jobs; sustaining employment; and finding housing (e.g., Bloom, Loprest, & Zedlweski, 2011; Polaris, 2015; Surtees, 2013). Some survivors may lack the necessary skills for independent living (e.g., language barriers, financial management, using public transportation) (Polaris, 2015; Shigekane, 2007). Survivors who have a criminal record may experience barriers to obtaining safe and stable housing, employment, keeping custody of their children, and obtaining loans and other lines of credit (National Survivor Network, 2016).

Evidence-based practices and programs in offender reentry could provide valuable insight for addressing these challenges and helping survivors of trafficking reintegrate into society. The purpose of this report is to provide an overview of offender reentry; explore the intersection between trafficking and prisons; explore how programs and services for offender reentry can support survivor reentry; discuss ways reentry programs can support self-sufficiency; and discuss recommendations for leveraging best practices from offender reentry programs to assist the reintegration of survivors of trafficking. It is important to reiterate that individuals who were incarcerated for crimes they were coerced or forced to commit while being trafficked are survivors—not offenders. It is critical therefore to understand how reentry programs and services can help survivors avoid re-victimization (rather than reoffending).

Organization of This Report

This report is organized to include:

- An introduction to offender reentry
- A discussion of the differences between adult reentry and juvenile reentry
- Multidisciplinary research on evidence-based practices and programs for offender reentry and how those practices can be used to better support survivors of trafficking
- A discussion of the challenges to offender reentry and survivor reentry
- A summary and recommendations

Summary of the Literature Review Approach

The goal of this literature review is to explore how research, resources, and programs about offender reentry can inform efforts to support survivors of trafficking who have been incarcerated. The research questions to be addressed in this literature review are:

- What is offender reentry?
- What is the nexus between trafficking and prisons?
- What is the nexus between offender reentry and reintegration of survivors of trafficking?
- What are the intersections between self-sufficiency and reentry programs?
- What are the evidence-based practices and programs in offender reentry?
- What are the different types of adult and juvenile offender reentry programs?
- What barriers do formerly incarcerated individuals face upon reentry? What barriers do survivors of trafficking face upon reintegration?
- What are best practices for juvenile reentry? How do these lessons apply to youth trafficking survivors?
- How can offender reentry programs and services inform the reintegration of survivors of trafficking who have been incarcerated?

Searches for peer-reviewed and trade journal articles, reports, and news articles were conducted via Google Scholar and EBSCOhost. Web content was also reviewed from a variety of sources, including federal and state agencies and nongovernmental organizations. Searches included the following key terms:

- Adult prison reentry
- Juvenile reentry
- Evidence-based practices in reentry
- Human trafficking and survivor reintegration
- Human trafficking and prisons
- Reentry and self-sufficiency
- Reentry and survivor reintegration needs (e.g., employment, job training, education, housing, physical health, mental health, substance use, family and social support)
- Barriers to offender reentry and human trafficking survivor reintegration
- Best practices for offender reentry and human trafficking survivor reintegration

OFFENDER REENTRY AND TRAFFICKING

The majority of incarcerated individuals are eventually released from prison (Muhlhausen, 2018), and the process of reentering the community—*offender reentry*—begins as soon as incarceration ends (Travis & Visher, 2005). Reentry programs provide services to individuals who have recently been released from correctional facilities, with the goal of preparing formerly incarcerated individuals for reintegration into the community and preventing reoffending (Muhlhausen, 2018; Petersilia, 2003). Individuals who have been incarcerated for crimes they were forced to commit while being trafficked may benefit from participation in reentry programs that focus on preventing re-victimization (rather than reoffending).

Reentry Needs

- Stable housing
- Job training
- Employment
- Education
- Financial management
- Physical and mental health treatment
- Substance use treatment
- Health insurance
- Family and social support
- Positive peer groups

(Lattimore & Visher, 2010)

Developing successful reentry programs hinges on understanding the unique circumstances of each individual as well as the process and challenges of transitioning to life in the community after incarceration (Petersilia, 2005; Muhlhausen, 2018). Formerly incarcerated individuals reentering society have a variety of needs associated with successful reintegration (e.g., Lattimore & Visher, 2010). Reentry programs aim to address these needs (Travis & Visher, 2005). The same needs addressed in reentry programs are also the foundation of achieving self-sufficiency, which is defined as the ability of an adult to support themselves and their dependents without long-term dependence on public assistance (Dion et al., 2013). Achieving self-sufficiency is a process that is multidimensional, evolving, and impacted by a continuum of economic, psychological, and social factors (Hong, Choi, & Key, 2018; Weigensberg et al., 2014). Thus, reentry programs can improve self-sufficiency by helping formerly incarcerated individuals treat physical health, mental health, and substance use problems; obtain health insurance; form strong familial and social bonds; obtain stable employment and housing; and improve educational attainment.

Evidence-Based Practices in Offender Reentry

Decades of research on corrections and reentry have established evidence-based practices[2] for effective offender reentry intervention. The Crime and Justice Institute at Community Resources for Justice (CJI) describes eight principles that provide a framework for using and understanding these evidence-based practices. These eight principles should occur repeatedly throughout the reentry process rather than at one point in time (CJI, 2009).

[2] Evidence-based practice is defined as "the objective, balanced, and responsible use of current research and the best available data to guide policy and practice decisions, such that outcomes for consumers are improved" (CJI, 2009, p. 3). To be considered evidence based, practices and programs must be implemented according to program or model protocols, include definable and measurable outcomes, demonstrate effectiveness through rigorous research and evaluation methods (e.g., randomized control trials, quasi-experimental design), and be replicable (CJI, 2009).

1. Risk and Needs Assessment

Risk and needs assessment[3] should be an iterative and ongoing process to collect and synthesize information about the individualized needs and factors that may increase or decrease the risk of recidivism and increase self-sufficiency for incarcerated adults and juveniles (Vincent, Guy, & Grisso, 2012). These assessments inform case planning decisions and type of out-of-home placement for incarcerated juveniles and create treatment or service plans. Best practices in both adult and juvenile reentry include using standardized, reliable, and validated tools and training and correctional officers, parole officers, and service providers to administer those assessments (Altschuler & Bilchik, 2014; CJI, 2009). A variety of standardized risk and needs assessment tools are available in different stages of validation (e.g., Desmarais & Singh, 2013).

Evidence-Based Practices in Reentry

Using validated risk and needs assessments for incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking is critical because of their complex needs and experiences of trauma. It is important to note that risk assessments for individuals who have experienced trafficking would assess risk of re-victimization rather than risk of recidivism. To our knowledge, risk and needs assessments tailored to incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking do not exist. To conduct a needs assessment, however, individuals who have experienced trafficking in correctional facilities must first be identified. Identification could be accomplished by widespread use of trafficking screening tools throughout the criminal justice system. For example, correctional facilities in Ohio include screening questions to identify trafficking in state-run prisons, juvenile correctional facilities, and mental health hospitals. In 2017 and 2018, the Ohio Department of Youth Services screened 751 youth in correctional facilities for indicators of human trafficking. Eighteen potential victims were identified. An evaluation of the screening tool is currently being conducted to identify strengths and weaknesses of the screening tool as well as implementation by participating agencies (Ohio Human Trafficking Task Force, 2019). Researchers and practitioners should consider examining existing validated reentry

[3] Although this section merges the discussion of risk and needs assessments, screening, and intake, each of these tools serves a different purpose. The purpose of this discussion is to highlight that using these tools throughout the reentry process is an evidence-based practice. It is beyond the scope of this literature review to define the differences between each tool.

risk and needs assessment tools to determine whether and how these tools can be adapted to serve trafficking populations.

A variety of intake and screening tools have been developed for community-based service providers to administer to individuals who have experienced trafficking who are not currently incarcerated. These tools typically collect client information such as demographics, how the client was referred to the program, trafficking experiences, immediate needs (e.g., safety, food, childcare, emergency housing, health), and long-term needs (e.g., long-term housing, employment, education). Practitioners can apply trauma-informed approaches during intake and assessment processes such as engaging in a conversation rather than reading checklist items, avoiding immediately asking direct questions about trafficking experiences, and informing clients that they do not have to answer questions that make them uncomfortable (Hardison Walters et al., 2017). Although a variety of screening tools exist, few have been validated (e.g., Simich, Goyen, Powell, & Mallozzi, 2014). Thus, future research and evaluation should focus on continuing to test and validate screening, risk, and needs assessment tools for individuals who have experienced trafficking, including those who are incarcerated. A wide variety of validated reentry tools already exist, which could potentially be adapted to better serve trafficking populations.

2. Intrinsic Motivation

Intrinsic motivation is defined as the internal drive to engage in behavior that is personally rewarding throughout the reentry process. This can help the individual avoid committing new crimes upon reentry into the community. Correctional and reentry service providers can enhance intrinsic motivation through motivational interviewing and respectful and constructive interaction with the incarcerated or formerly incarcerated individual (CJI, 2009).

It is important to recognize that the goal of reentry for individuals who were incarcerated for crimes that they were forced to commit while being trafficked is to prevent re-victimization (rather than reoffending). For incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking, fostering intrinsic motivation to achieve self-sufficiency and prevent revictimization can be facilitated by correctional officers who engage in respectful and constructive interactions. This can be achieved by providing trauma-informed and culturally competent services. Recognizing the signs, symptoms, and impacts of trauma can help correctional officers and service providers avoid re-traumatization, interact constructively and respectfully with individuals who have experienced trafficking, understand their motivations and behaviors, and respond appropriately (Office for Victims of Crime, 2016). Other trauma-informed practices that can be used in correctional facilities include emphasizing safety of the individual, trustworthiness, and transparency; empowering the individual; and involving them in the decision-making process (Hardison Walters et al., 2017). Correctional officers can provide culturally competent care in correctional facilities by recognizing and understanding the impacts of cultural norms, race, ethnicity, immigration status, and language on the individual. Correctional officers and service providers should listen to the individual, ask questions, provide choices, and make appropriate referrals. The National Center for Cultural Competence (2019) provides a variety of general resources on cultural competence such as online self-assessments, tools, guides, trainings, and technical assistance. Motivational interviewing is a practice regularly used when working with individuals with a history of trauma, including human trafficking exploitation and could be further explored to inform programming, but is outside the scope of this literature review.

3. Target Interventions

The *target interventions* principle is based on the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) Model for

assessment and rehabilitation of incarcerated individuals (CJI, 2009). To provide relevant services, the RNR Model focuses on assessing the incarcerated adults' and juveniles' needs and level of risk of reoffending. The goal is to maximize the outcomes of rehabilitative interventions through a combination of cognitive behavioral therapy and interventions tailored to the unique learning styles and abilities of the incarcerated individual. Supervision and treatment resources can then be prioritized based on the incarcerated individual's risk level (Bonta & Andrews, 2007). Incarcerated individuals considered high risk typically receive intensive treatment, services, and resources that are responsive to their individual characteristics (e.g., gender, culture, developmental stage, learning style, motivational stage) and proven effective for that specific population. Research indicates that high-risk incarcerated individuals should have highly structured free time and receive intensive services for 3–9 months after release. During this period, 40–70 percent of the incarcerated individual's time should be framed around routine activities and service provision (e.g., job training, education, employment, mental health counseling) (CJI, 2009).

Individuals who experience trafficking benefit from intensive, structured services both in prison and after release to increase self-sufficiency and prevent re-victimization. This is especially critical for individuals who are at high risk of re-victimization. In an analysis of the Per Capita Reimbursement Program[4] case management information database, Gozdziak and Lowell (2016) found that foreign-born individuals who have experienced trafficking engaged in services ranging between 1 and 21 months. In the evaluation of Domestic Victims of Human Trafficking (DVHT) Demonstration Projects, Hardison Walters et al. (2017) found that nonincarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking were provided services ranging from approximately 2 to 10 months. Hardison Walters et al. (2017) also calculated the number of times individuals who have experienced trafficking receiving services through the DVHT program were in contact with their case managers, which was an average of 3.5–12 times over a 2.5-month period (depending on the program). The number of hours each individual was engaged in services was not reported. Future research could examine the number of structured hours that individuals who have experienced trafficking have each week following victimization and/or incarceration through service provision and routine activities to determine whether structured time helps them achieve self-sufficiency.

4. Skills Training

Skills training should be provided through evidence-based programming that includes cognitive behavioral therapy and role-playing. This can be achieved through a variety of programs, including job training; employment; physical, mental, and behavioral health; family and social supports; and education. Providers who implement skills training programs with incarcerated individuals should be trained to deliver cognitive behavioral therapy; incorporate effective social learning, communication, problem solving, and goal setting techniques; and positively reinforce pro-social attitudes and behaviors (CJI, 2009). Specific types of evidence-based reentry programming are discussed in the following section.

5. Positive Reinforcement

Positive reinforcement is a form of extrinsic motivation that can help begin the process of changing behavior. Sustained behavioral change is best achieved when positive reinforcements are applied more often than negative reinforcements. Positive reinforcement should include setting reasonable

[4] This program is currently funded by OTIP and called the Trafficking Victim Assistance Program.

and reliable boundaries, establishing clear rules, and consistently and swiftly enforcing rules (CJI, 2009).

Individuals who have experienced trafficking are often incarcerated for illegal activities they were forced to commit by their traffickers (Emerson & Aminzadeh, 2016). Correctional staff, parole officers, and service providers could consider using positive reinforcement to encourage participating in programs that promote self-sufficiency and prevent re-victimization through in-prison programming. For example, incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking could be provided small rewards for actively participating in programs and services (e.g., education, job training, cognitive behavioral therapy, group counseling). Small rewards could include snacks during program activities or additional phone privileges. Correctional staff, parole officers, and service providers can also provide positive reinforcement by celebrating successes like finding housing or employment. In the development of programming, consideration should be given to support building the autonomy of the individual and how boundary setting, clear rules, and consequences should take into consideration a history of exploitation where the same personal autonomy was controlled by a trafficker.

6. Engaging Ongoing Support in Natural Communities

Engaging ongoing support in natural communities is a critical part of offender reentry. Family members, spouses, and others who are supportive of the offender are recruited to provide positive reinforcement and pro-social supports in the community and participate in case planning. Services should continue to be provided in the community after the incarcerated individual is released from the correctional facility (CJI, 2009). In some prisons, incarcerated individuals receive in-prison services from community-based organizations (known as in-reach care). Formerly incarcerated individuals who received in-reach care often begin to feel more comfortable with and trust the service provider and may therefore be more willing to continue using services in the community with the same community-based service provider (Warwick, Dodd, & Neuster, 2012). This process can be facilitated by using a comprehensive case management system that begins during incarceration and continues upon the incarcerated individual's release into the community to ensure a continuity of care (e.g., Rossman, Willison, Lindquist, Hardison, & Lattimore, 2016; Warwick et al., 2012). Elements of effective coordinated case management include developing and exchanging reentry plans based on risk and needs assessments, sharing updates on participants' and programs' progress, receiving and making referrals, and frequently following up to make sure that clients received services (Rossman et al., 2016).

Many service providers who assist individuals who have experienced trafficking who are not incarcerated already use similar practices. The same evidence-based practices should be used with incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking. These service providers often use trauma-informed and victim-centered strategies that empower the trafficked individual to become more self-sufficient. These strategies include discussing short- and long-term goals, personal priorities and desires, timelines for achieving goals, client strengths and potential barriers, and skills development. Case managers who collaborate and coordinate services with other agencies may be able to leverage existing resources without creating new programs or services, address service gaps, and reduce the burden on the individual who has experienced trafficking (Hardison Walters et al., 2017). Future research should conduct process and outcome evaluations of programs that serve incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking to provide recommendations for best practices.

7. Measuring Relevant Processes and Practices

Measuring relevant processes and practices includes providing accurate and detailed documentation of case information, developing a formal and valid procedure for measuring outcomes (e.g., employment, housing stability), assessing change in the incarcerated individual's cognitive and skill development, and evaluating service provider performance to ensure that programs and services are provided as designed (CJI, 2009).

8. Providing Measurement Feedback

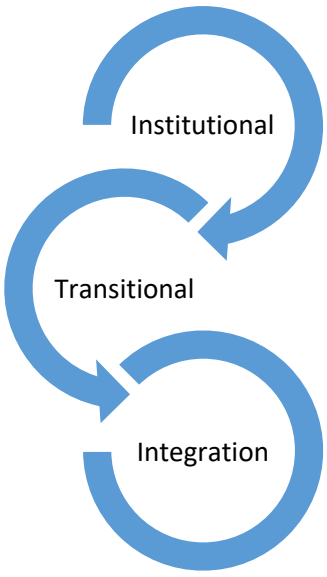
Research has shown that *providing measurement feedback* to the incarcerated individual is associated with increased personal accountability and motivation, decreased treatment attrition, and improved outcomes. Conducting monitoring and evaluation of service delivery and then sharing feedback with service providers can lead to greater organizational accountability, reinforcement of the use of evidence-based practices, and improved outcomes for incarcerated individuals (CJI, 2009). Measuring relevant processes and providing measurement feedback are critical evidence-based practices for increasing self-sufficiency of incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking and decreasing their risk of re-victimization.

These eight principles of evidence-based practices provide a framework for providing effective offender reentry services and programs and has been supported by a wide range of empirical research (e.g., Duwe, 2017; Fontaine, Taxy, Peterson, Breaux, & Rossman, 2015; Lattimore & Visher, 2010; Rossman et al., 2016). Practitioners and researchers emphasize the importance of providing a holistic approach to offender reentry that addresses the challenges individuals experience during the reentry process, the impact of reentry on the family and community, and public safety. The following section provides an overview of the three phrases of adult and juvenile reentry and the ways that evidence-based practices can be used in each phase.

Phases of Reentry

Offender reentry is conceptualized as a three-stage process that begins with pre-release institutional programming followed by a transitional period of structured reentry programming and long-term programs that promote community integration (e.g., Altschuler & Bilchik, 2014; Brock, O'Cummings, & Milligan, 2008; Development Services Group, 2017; James, 2015; Taxman, Young, & Byrne, 2002; Taxman, Young, Byrne, Holsinger, & Anspach, 2003). These phases are generally the same for both incarcerated adults and juveniles. Any differences between adult and juvenile reentry are specifically stated.

Phases of Reentry



Phase 1: Institutional Programs

While incarcerated, individuals should be empowered to set individualized goals and make decisions that will support successful reentry (Taxman, 2004). This process typically includes assessments to determine specific incarcerated adult and juvenile risks and needs (e.g., physical and mental health, substance use, employment), the provision of services, and interventions (Altschuler & Bilchik, 2014; Lattimore & Visher, 2010; Taxman, 2004). Programs in correctional settings often

include employment (e.g., job training, work-release, prison labor opportunities), education (e.g., GED prep, college), life skills, physical and mental health, substance use, and family visitation services (Duwe, 2017; Lattimore & Visher, 2010). Interventions like cognitive behavioral therapy and motivational interviewing are also common and recommended as best practices (CJI, 2009). An indepth discussion of program outcomes is provided in the "Reentry Programs" section, starting on page 16 of this literature review.

For incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking, the goal of reentry is to prevent re-victimization (rather than reoffending). Adult correctional facilities in Ohio have begun offering these individuals the opportunity to take courses about trafficking (e.g., "Human Trafficking 101, The Traffickers, The Johns, Ethical Sex, Shame and Guilt") to increase their awareness about trafficking and process their trafficking experiences (Mohr, 2017, p. 24). Adult incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking in Ohio correctional facilities can also participate in a human trafficking aftercare support group, trauma-specific counseling, and other mental health services (Mohr, 2017). Youth correctional facilities in Ohio have hosted human trafficking awareness days and shown a video that focuses on deterring exploitation and empowering victims to report trafficking. The impact of these programs has not yet been evaluated (Ohio Human Trafficking Task Force, 2019). The focus of programs and services in correctional facilities should be on improving self-sufficiency so that incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking can successfully address the risk factors that made them vulnerable to human trafficking (e.g., lack of housing or homelessness; lack of stable employment; limited educational attainment; history of childhood abuse).

Phase 2: Transitional Structured Reentry

The transitional structured reentry phase establishes pathways to successful reintegration upon release from prison, beginning up to 6 months prior to release and extending 30 days after release for incarcerated adults (Taxman, 2004). For incarcerated juveniles, the transitional period typically occurs from 1 month prior to release to 6 months after release (Altschuler & Brash, 2004).

A comprehensive plan for reentry should draw on the results of individualized risk and needs assessments and typically includes housing, food, clothing, finances, employment, physical and mental health care, health insurance, identification (e.g., a driver's license, Social Security card); social support, and plans for community supervision (La Vigne, Davies, Palmer, & Halberstadt, 2008; Taxman, 2004).

Best Practices for Permanency Planning in Juvenile Reentry

- Give youth a central role in planning.
- Prepare youth for participation in team planning.
- Include multiple members with varied roles in planning.
- Assess an adult's commitment in the permanency process.
- Develop a customized plan for a child's safety, permanence, and well-being.

(Frey, Greenblatt, & Brown, 2005)

Youth who are exiting juvenile facilities typically also have to consider plans for continuity of care, education (e.g., school reenrollment, attendance, and success), school conflict, peer associations, and permanency planning (e.g., finding stable housing; ensuring strong and sustained connections between juvenile-justice involved youth and nurturing adults and peers) (Altschuler & Bilchik, 2014; Altschuler & Brash, 2004; Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2019; Nellis & Wayman, 2009).

A comprehensive plan should also reflect the resources in the community that the individual is returning home to as well as recognize the cultural and socioeconomic reality of the individual and the community to maximize coordination of care. Transitional planners should ensure that referral

organizations provide services that are respectful of the diverse languages, cultural backgrounds, and gender/sexual orientations among the population (Baron et al., 2008). During the 30 days following the release of incarcerated adults, reentry programs typically focus on stabilizing the formerly incarcerated individual, monitoring their adjustment to reentering the community, and reassessing immediate needs (Taxman, 2004). The New York State Transitional Services Program provides an example of reentry programming that takes place within a correctional facility for adults (see box below).

New York State Transitional Services Program

1. *Introductory*
   - Required for all inmates upon entry to the correctional facility (approximately 3 weeks)
   - Includes courses on decision making, relationships and community ties, goal setting, time management, socializion skills
2. *Cognitive Behavioral Treatment*
   - Thinking for a Change: cognitive behavioral change program
     - 22 lessons delivered by trained staff in groups of 12–15 participants
     - Focuses on cognitive self change, development of social and problem solving skills, and goal setting
   - Moving On: evidence-based intervention program using cognitive behavioral therapy and motivational interviewing
     - 26 sessions delivered by trained staff in groups of 10–12 participants
     - Focuses on increasing self-awareness, learning new skills, building on existing strengths and competencies, and practicing self-efficacy
3. *Reentry Planning*
   - Minimum of 60 hours, including:
     - Developing a release portfolio of vital documents (e.g., birth certificates, Social Security cards, education and vocational certificates, resume)
     - Developing a written plan for addressing anticipated barriers to family relationships
     - Participating in a mock job interview, learning interview etiquette and appropriate attire, and developing a resume
     - Preparing a a realistic 6-month job search plan
     - Preparing a recreation plan that addresses personal wellness and family reintegration

(New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision, 2019)

Phase 3: Community Integration

The integration phase begins after the transitional phase ends and can be conceptualized as a maintenance period. The focus is on continuing to stabilize the formerly incarcerated individual and empowering reintegration (Taxman, 2004). This may include the continued participation in job training, employment, job placement, education, literacy, housing assistance, mentoring, and financial literacy programs; physical health, mental health, and substance treatment; family integration; and community supervision (James, 2015).

Incarcerated individuals who have been released prior to the completion of their sentence (e.g., for good behavior; mandatory release by statute) will serve the remainder of their sentence in the community under the supervision of a parole officer. Most formerly incarcerated individuals are required to regularly report to a parole officer during this time. While they are living in the community, formerly incarcerated individuals must follow certain rules and meet certain conditions. Violating

these rules and conditions may result in reincarceration (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2019). Parole officers help facilitate a transition from prison to the community. Their work entails monitoring the formerly incarcerated individual's compliance with rules and conditions, conducting risk and needs assessments, revising comprehensive reentry plans that balance surveillance and treatment, connecting offenders to services, and engaging family and social support in the reentry process (Janetta et al., 2010).

Roe-Sepowitz, Bayless, Agliano, Hall, and Cimino (2015) developed a training brochure to assist probation officers with identifying and assisting survivors of sex trafficking. The same concepts apply for parole officers and mirror evidence-based practices in reentry such as conducting risk and needs assessments, focusing on the paroled survivor's strengths, using motivational interviewing to develop goals, including the survivor in the decision-making process, and celebrating small successes. Roe-Sepowitz et al. (2015) also recommend that parole officers consider the history of the parolee and look for red flags to determine whether the parolee is a survivor of trafficking. Once a survivor has been identified, parole officers can help the survivor achieve self-sufficiency by finding employment, safe housing, educational opportunities, transportation, and childcare (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2015).

History

- Age of first criminal justice involvment
- Multiple prostitution arrests
- Family history of prostitution
- Third party facilitator (e.g., pimp)
- Domestic violence/Order of protection
- Child welfare system-involvement as a child or parent
- Substance use

(Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2015)

Red Flags

- Living in a hotel
- Erratic work hours
- Lack of identification or loss of documents
- A controlling third party accompanies the parolee to scheduled visits
- Signs that the parolee has been abused or restrained
- Tattoos or branding marks

(Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2015)

Offender reentry programs may serve as a model for successfully reintegrating formerly incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking back into society. The following sections provide a detailed discussion of the different elements of reentry programs, including workforce development, family and social supports, health, education, housing, and mentoring. A discussion of legal advocacy and postconviction relief for trafficking survivors is also provided. In general, few programs focus on every element of reentry; however, a variety of services and programs encourage self-sufficiency and mitigate barriers to successful reentry.

REENTRY PROGRAMS

Reentry programs are designed to assist individuals to successfully reintegrate into society following a period of incarceration. To improve the chances of a successful transition, reentry programs offer a variety of supports, including workforce development, education, familial and social supports (e.g. mentoring), health, housing, and legal advocacy. In doing so, these reentry programs help the formerly incarcerated compete for a job, attain stable housing, support their children and their families, and contribute to their communities. These programs are discussed below, for both adults

and youth. Distinctions between reentry programming for adult and youth and male and female are discussed separately when necessary.

Workforce Development

Workforce development, an approach to improve economic stability, provides a holistic approach to job placement and fosters skill sets by accounting for and mitigating barriers faced by individuals reentering a community after incarceration. Workforce development is critical because formerly incarcerated individuals commonly have limited work experience. Research suggests that more than half of the offenders reentering the community have been fired from at least one prior job, relied on illegal income, or held low-paying jobs prior to incarceration (Muhlhausen, 2018; Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2008). Moreover, based on data from the National Former Prisoner Survey, the average unemployment rate for formerly incarcerated people is 27 percent with the highest rate of 32 percent occurring within 2 years of release (Couloute & Kopf, 2018).

Formerly incarcerated individuals face a number of barriers to employment specific to their conviction, including competing demands from parole and requirements from treatment programs, curfews, suspended license, restrictions on mobility, gap in work history during the prison term, and employer unwillingness to hire individuals with a criminal record (Jonson & Cullen, 2015). The jobs available for formerly incarcerated individuals often are low paying or present unfair, nonsustainable working conditions (Reardon, 2017). The majority of employed formerly incarcerated individuals receive an income that puts them below the poverty line (Looney & Turner, 2018).

These barriers may affect men and women in different ways. For example, research suggests that men with a criminal record are more likely than women to receive a negative response related to hiring from employers (Decker, Spohn, Ortiz, & Hedberg, 2014). Research by the Prison Policy Initiative suggests these gender differences might be moderated by race. In their 2018 study, Couloute and Kopf (2018) found unemployment rates of formerly incarcerated individuals to be lowest for white men (18 percent), followed by white women (23 percent), black men (35 percent), and black women (44 percent).

The limited prospect of job placement is compounded by the burden of financial debt associated with legal and criminal justice obligations. Individuals in the criminal justice system face an extensive array of fees at every stage of the process, including fees for public defenders, jail fees, prison fees, court administrative fees, prosecution fees, probation fees, and parole fees (Patel & Philip, 2012). Many justice-involved individuals also face debt related to child support. Visher and colleagues (2008) found that two-thirds of formerly incarcerated adults had financial obligations related to child support (Visher, LaVigne, & Travis, 2008). More recently, Roman and Link (2015) found that 92 percent of their sample of adult men with children under the age of 18 were delinquent in child support payments with many cases owing more than $5,000. It is difficult for formerly incarcerated employees to obtain employment that enables them to repay their financial debt incurred during incarceration. This debt can incentivize criminal behaviors as people try to meet payment amounts and discourage people from contact with authorities, including obtaining necessary medical assistance and reporting to the police when they themselves are victimized (Duran, Plotkin, Potter, & Rosen, 2013; Patel & Philip, 2012).

These studies highlight the critical need for in-prison job training and postrelease employment services. In-prison job training is intended to provide a pathway to support a living wage upon reentry to increase self-sufficiency and reduce risk factors associated with future criminal activities. These in-prison workforce development programs promote job readiness through education and training,

soft/cognitive skills development, and nonskills related interventions. Postrelease employment services promote workforce development through transitional job placements, nontransitional subsidized employment, job development and coaching, retention and advancement services, and financial work incentives (Duran et al., 2013).

Employment for formerly incarcerated individuals is associated with better housing conditions, improved relationships with family members, improved access to health services and a sense of community connectedness. Examples of reentry programs that focus on workforce development are discussed below.

Example Reentry Programs

Several models are related to in-prison and post-release job training for incarcerated and formerly incarcerated individuals, including (1) **partnerships with trade unions** for vocational skills trainings; (2) **one-on-one coaching** in prison with community-based followup with a job training specialist and job development specialist; (3) a **work release** model that encourages developing pro-social connections while remaining under close supervision to repay debts and establish financial independence through savings; and (4) **sector-based employment**.

Partnerships With Trade Unions

According to the most comprehensive meta-analysis of correctional educational studies to date, the research overwhelmingly demonstrates a positive correlation between vocational trainings and successful reentry, defined both in terms of finding employment after incarceration and reduction in returning to prison (Davis, Bozick, Steele, Saunders, & Miles, 2013). More specifically, the authors found that people who participated in vocational programs while incarcerated had a 28 percent greater chance of finding employment on release than their counterparts who did not participate. Trade unions are a resource to help create and support pathways for incarcerated individuals as they transition from incarceration back into the community given their longstanding expertise in the workplace and workforce development and a well-defined infrastructure of local, regional, and national networks (National Employment Law Project, 2016).

The Washington Correctional Facility's Trades Related Apprenticeship Coaching program includes a partnership between three construction trades unions—the Ironworkers, the Carpenters, and the Laborers—and prison officials to ensure that incarcerated women are trained in areas with viable career opportunities (National Employment Law Project, 2016). This program provides technical skills in sectors that offer living wages and opportunities for career development, supports the transition from in-prison training to out-of-prison training, and capitalizes on an industry that has generally been receptive to formerly incarcerated individuals. Although it has not yet been rated by CrimeSolutions.gov,[5] a recent outcome evaluation found results to be promising in several areas. Since its launch in 2013, there have been 102 graduates with more than 40,000 hours of work and $1 million in earned wages (Washington State Correctional Industries, 2018).

One-on-One Coaching With Community Based Followup

The lack of work experience and skills, particularly when combined with low education levels and difficulties in obtaining employment upon release, can contribute to a cycle of unemployment that decreases successful reentry into the community after incarceration. Thus, best practice is to begin

[5] CrimeSolutions.gov provides a central, reliable resource to help practitioners and policymakers understand what works in justice-related programs and practice. It does not endorse programs but instead provides an overall rating based on systematic criteria.

workforce development opportunities while incarcerated and continue intensive services while in the community.

One example of this type of workforce reentry programming is Minnesota's EMPLOY program, which offers participants intensive pre-release and followup services during their first year following reintegration into the community. Prior to release, participants meet with a job training specialist to focus on soft skills like such as interviewing and resume writing. Once in the community, each participant is assigned a retention specialist (Minnesota Department of Corrections, 2011). The results are promising: Participation in EMPLOY reduced the likelihood of reconviction by 32 percent and reduced the likelihood of a technical violation revocation by 63 percent (Duwe, 2015). Participation increased the chances of securing employment within the first 12 months after release by 72 percent and increased the number of hours worked per quarter; EMPLOY participants worked 53 more hours per quarter than nonparticipants in the comparison group. However, Duwe (2015) did not find a significant difference in the hourly wage of EMPLOY participants compared to the comparison group.

Work Release Programs

Work release programs began in the 1950s and, because of the Prisoners Rehabilitation Act in 1965, nearly every state has adopted a work release policy (Berk, 2007). Since work release facilities work in conjunction with correctional facilities in each state, the processes, guidelines, and eligibility for work release programs vary by state. However, the underlying structure and purpose remains the same: to provide structured reentry into the mainstream labor market after incarceration. As incarcerated individuals are nearing the end of their sentence, they are transferred to a less secure facility so they can hold regular jobs in the community and return to the center during nonworking hours (Berk, 2007). Work release programs support participants by encouraging the development of social capital, work skills (both technical skills and soft skills such as accountability), and a source of income and savings upon release.

The Florida Department of Corrections is the third largest state prison system in the country and operates 13 work release centers and 16 private work release centers (Florida Department of Corrections, n.d.). More than 3,000 incarcerated offenders participate in Florida's work release program annually, with approximately 3 percent of the incarcerated population enrolled at any given time (Florida Department of Corrections, n.d.). The most recent outcome evaluation of Florida's work release program demonstrated positive outcomes related to recidivism, employment, and wages (Berk, 2007). Work release participants were more likely to have employment after release, they had wages 40 percent higher than nonparticipants in the year following release, and they had lower recidivism rates (for a subset of offenders).

Sector-Based Employment

Sector-Based Partnership Definition

Industry-specific, regional partnership that addresses employers' human resource needs and workers' needs for good jobs as well as pathways to them

(National Reentry Resource Center, 2017)

Formerly incarcerated individuals may be linked with sector-based employment opportunities through sector-based partnerships or connect with a socially focused job partner. The National Network of Sector Partners began in 1999 as an initiative of the Insight Center for Community Economic Development. These partners advocate and work toward increasing economic security for low-income and hard to employ populations. Characteristics of successful sector-based partnerships include (1) focuses on an industry in a regional labor market with multiple employers in the industry partnering together for a sustained period of time; (2) creates pathways from two angles—first pathways into the industry for

low-wage workers and then pathways up to good jobs and careers; and (3) focuses on achievement of systemic changes that benefit the employers, workers, and community (National Reentry Resource Center, 2017). These partnerships received further support with the Congressional passage of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act in 2014. While these partnerships have not been empirically tested with the formerly incarcerated population, the results are promising with other low-income populations in areas of access to services, positive employment results, and increased earnings (National Reentry Resource Center, 2017).

Tips to Hire People With Barriers to Employment

1. Partner with the local workforce development agency.
2. Be patient with the difficult life challenges potential hires are facing; meet hires "where they are."
3. Provide a job opportunity on a trial period, making sure to set new hires up for success.
4. Hire full time after the sucessful trial period.

(B the Change. 2018)

Partnering with businesses dedicated specifically to hiring formerly incarcerated individuals is another sector-based employment approach to support workforce development for formerly incarcerated individuals. Examples of businesses include Rubicon Bakers in Richmond, CA; CORE foods in Oakland CA; and Greyston Bakery in New York City (B the Change, 2018). Other examples, including Spring Back Mattress Recycling and Homeboy Electronics Recycling, have a dual mission related to environmental and social justice. By tapping into the green jobs sector, they have been able to create jobs specifically for formerly incarcerated individuals.

Youth Reentry and Workforce Development

Researchers and practitioners have identified workforce development programs as an overarching need for youth during reentry, but research on the role of workforce/vocational programs for juvenile reentry is minimal (Development Services Group, 2017). Research on juvenile reentry identifies employment as a predictor for successful reintegration (Chung, Schubert, & Mulvey, 2007; Nellis & Wayman, 2009). Securing employment often is used as an outcome variable in studies examining the effectiveness of juvenile reentry programs. Juvenile reentry programs that include targeted employment or vocational opportunities often combine employment and educational programs. Also, researchers are exploring the interplay between education and employment attainment on juvenile reentry. For example, Monahan, Steinberg, & Cauffman (2013) explored reoffending among 1,300 juveniles who participated in the Pathways for Desistance project. Compared to unemployed youth, the study identified the largest positive effects related to antisocial behavior among youth who regularly attended school and worked at least a part-time job. In other words, reoffending occurred less frequently for youth when they attended school regularly and were employed.

Programs focused exclusively on employment typically fail to demonstrate a long-term impact on employment rates; by only addressing employment, workforce development programs fail to account for urgent, confounding issues related to family relations, housing, health or substance abuse, and trauma which make sustaining employment difficult (Cook, Kang, Braga, Ludwig, & O'Brien, 2015). Without an adequate income, individuals face challenges related to safe housing, repaying debts, or contributing to other financial responsibilities such as child support or regaining custody. Individuals who cannot be economically self-sufficient, even while employed, may be drawn back to the situations that resulted in their incarceration. Therefore, workforce development programs must take a holistic approach to ensure successful reentry and self-sufficiency addressing barriers to maintaining employment prior to beginning a job. In order to develop financial self-sufficiency among trafficking victims, they may benefit from similar models of

workforce development, which includes vocational job training to build skills that align with industries that support sustainable incomes and opportunities for career development. Labor unions, in particular, are seen as pathways for historically hard to employ individuals. In addition, for those who have limited exposure to the legal job market, they may benefit from supportive mentorship and counseling from job training specialists or career coaches (or however else these roles may be defined).

In recommendations for improving positive outcomes for youth in the juvenile justice system, Seigle, Walsh, & Weber (2014) suggest that juvenile justice systems could experiment with comprehensive approaches that have shown promise with helping at-risk youth by addressing dynamic risk factors such as Job Corps (U.S. Department of Labor, 2019) and the YouthBuild program (YouthBuild, 2019). These programs focus on improving a broad set of factors interrelated to workforce development, including educational attainment, skills development, behavioral health improvements, and better family functioning. These positive youth outcomes are critical to ensuring successful reintegration after a period incarceration.

Job Corps	YouthBuild
Job Corps is a free **education** and **vocational training** program.	YouthBuild offers **education** and **employment training** opportunities to **unemployed** youth.
It is administered by the U.S. **Department of Labor**.	It is a nonprofit organization that offers services to **youth aged 16–24**.
Its purpose is to **empower youth aged 16–24** to improve their quality of life to secure **employment** and be more **independent**.	Its program focuses on the **core components** of empowerment, education, building affordable housing, community service, and advocacy.

Education

Many individuals returning from incarceration have educational deficits; approximately 30 percent of formerly incarcerated adults have less than a high school diploma or equivalent compared to 14 percent of adults in the general population (Rampey et al., 2016). Only 6 percent reported having an associate degree or higher. Using the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies, Rampey and colleagues (2016) also found that 52 percent of incarcerated adults scored below Level 2 on the numeracy skills, and 29 percent scored below Level 2 on literacy skills. Among youth, more than half of incarcerated youth test below their grade level in math and reading skills and have been suspended or expelled from traditional public schools (Sedlak & McPherson, 2010). In the most recent Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) Survey of Youth in Residential Placement (2010), more than half of the youth have not completed eighth grade (Federal Interagency Reentry Council, 2017). Moreover, the majority of youth—66 percent—do not return to school after release, even though more than two-thirds of youth in custody report aspirations of higher education (Federal Interagency Reentry Council, 2017). These gaps in educational attainment support the need to provide education programing to individuals while incarcerated and provide continuing education opportunities during reentry to support a successful return to their communities.

In-Prison Educational Services

In-prison education is generally categorized as adult basic education (e.g., arithmetic, reading, writing); adult secondary education (preparation for high school equivalency); postsecondary

education (college level instruction); special education (education designed for individuals with learning disabilities); and life skills education (e.g., goal setting, decision making, financial management) (Crayton & Neusteter, 2008). Education programming also includes vocational or career and technical education programs, which are designed to meet the requirements of specific certification or licensure for professions. Vocational education may be offered in industries such as barbering, maintenance and construction, electrical trades, carpentry, painting, plumbing, horticulture, masonry, and many other trade skills. While more than 80 percent of adult state prisons and nearly all federal prisons offer some type of education program (Brazzell, Crayton, Mukamal, Solomon, & Lindahl, 2009), it is estimated that only 20–30 percent of prisoners have access to adult secondary education and vocation and life skills trainings; less than 2 percent receive basic education; and 9 percent of incarcerated individuals complete a postsecondary program while in prison (Oakford et al., 2019).

Characteristics of In-Prison Educational Programming

- Comprehensive assessment of goals, skill level and needs and place students accordingly
- Well-trained and qualified teachers with access to professional development, ongoing supportive services, technology, and effective incentives
  - Incentives may include good time credits or additional access to commissary
- Emphasis on a range of needs from basic literacy to postsecondary education
- Include opportunities for computing and computer skills in recognition of the importance of computing skills to secure employment

(Brazzell et al., 2009; Davis et al. 2013)

In-prison education opportunities are linked with a greater likelihood of finding employment after release, lower rates of recidivism (Davis et al., 2013), increased wages (Runell, 2015), and system-level cost savings (Vera Institute of Justice, 2017). A meta-analysis of 58 empirical studies of correction-based educational and vocational programs found that incarcerated individuals who participated in these programs were more likely to find employment upon release compared to those who did not participate (Davis et al., 2013). When this relationship was differentiated by vocational training and educational training, vocational training was more adept at imparting labor market skills. Participants of vocational training had odds of obtaining employment 28 percent higher than individuals who did not participate. In comparison, individuals who participated in academic programming had 8 percent higher odds of obtaining employment upon release relative to those who did not participate in academic programs while incarcerated (Davis et al., 2013). In prison, educational programming has also been found to be cost effective. For example, one study found that an investment in an in-prison postsecondary education produced a 400 percent return on investment—every $1 invested in prison-based education resulted in $4 to $5 in savings for taxpayers in reduced incarceration costs (Vera Institute of Justice, 2017). The Bard Prison Initiative is one successful example of educational programming that has been successful in the prison setting.

In-Prison Educational Programming Spotlight: Bard Prison Initiative

Description
Since 2001, the Bard Prison Initiative (BPI) has enrolled more than 300 incarcerated students full time in college courses that results in a degree from Bard College. More than 165 courses are offered each year, and 97 percent of BPI graduates never return to prison. In 2009, BPI expanded its capacity nationwide as part of the Consortium for the Liberal Arts in Prison, which is responsible for supporting other colleges and universities to develop and sustain similar programs.

Principles

- Create in-prison college through the leadership and independence of colleges and universities.
- Integrate students into the intellectual, creative, and political life of the main campus.
- Make rigorous liberal arts education and degrees the foundation of all institutional partnerships.
- Make full-time college engagement the dominant feature of incarceration from the moment of matriculation to release.
- Require identical academic standards as on the main campus.
- Do not remake curricula based on questionable assumptions about the deficits, ambitions, or potential of people who are incarcerated.
- Challenge traditional notions that recidivism rates are the primary markers of success for in-prison college.

(Bard Prison Initiative, 2019)

Continuity of Education Services from In-Prison Into the Community

Access to higher education beyond prison has long-term benefits for formerly incarcerated individuals related to improving employability and promoting positive social connections and networks (Runell, 2015). Based on interviews with 34 formerly incarcerated men, they described access to higher education as “a glimmer of hope” and “the opportunity to be able to progress” (Runell, 2015, p. 11). The Higher Education Act and organizations such as the Prisoner Reentry Institute and the College and Community Fellowship based in New York and the Underground Scholars initiative in California have spearheaded efforts to improve access to higher education for formerly incarcerated individuals.

The Higher Education Act, passed in 1965, made incarcerated people eligible for Pell grants; this was overturned in 1994 as part of the omnibus crime bill. In 2016, under President Obama, the Second Chance Pell pilot program was reinstituted, and 68 colleges and universities were selected to provide college-level courses to incarcerated individuals. Colleges and prisons across the nation have formed important partnerships to provide college-level courses to incarcerated individuals. Two examples highlight the successes providing education to incarcerated and formerly incarcerated individuals: Prisoner Reentry Institute’s Prison-to-College Pipeline (P2CP) and Corrections to College.

The Prisoner Reentry Institute’s P2CP program funnels students from prison to college—students who maintain a passing GPA are guaranteed a seat in a CUNY institution upon release. This pipeline operates in several ways: It provides liberal arts courses inside the prison, wraparound service workshops and learning exchanges, pre-release academic counseling, and mentoring and college placement (Prisoner Reentry Institute, n.d.). Evaluations of P2CP are not available; however, anecdotal evidence from P2CP students and faculty suggests it is a personally and professionally rewarding program with wide-reaching benefits and a prominent factor in students’ rehabilitation.

The Corrections to College Initiative in California is another example of providing face-to-face education and correspondence courses to incarcerated individuals and continuing the educational programming upon reentry into the community (Mukamai & Silbert, 2018). In the 4 years since implementation, this initiative has demonstrated success. Enrollment in face-to-face courses increased from 0 in 2014 to 4,443 in 2018 (Mukamai & Silbert, 2018). Courses are now offered in 34 out of the 35 prisons (in 2014, courses were only offered in 1 prison). Corrections to College also provides continuity in its educational programming after incarceration by maximizing the community college network in the state. It also developed an Underground Scholars initiative to support students impacted by incarceration by providing peer support, scholarship information, and networking opportunities on campus.

Organizations and businesses are also establishing partnerships and providing educational services to formerly incarcerated individuals. College & Community Fellowship (CCF) is a nonprofit organization that provides direct services, technical assistance, and policy/advocacy work to support formerly incarcerated women securing a college degree. In 2017–2018, CCF successfully helped students earn 338 degrees with graduation rates as high as 93 percent (College & Community Fellowship, n.d.).

Recommendations to Increase Access to Education for Formerly Incarcerated Individuals

- Provide in-prison education opportunities. including GED courses and higher education opportunities (Couloute, 2018).
- "Ban the box" on applications for postsecondary education to increase access (Couloute, 2018).
- Restore and expand Pell grants and other opportunities for financial aid for formerly incarcerated individuals (Couloute, 2018).

  In 2015, the DOE announced a Second Chance Pell Experimental Site initiative, including 65 colleges and universities across 27 states. As of August 2018, nearly 5,000 individuals were enrolled, and there were more than 578 graduates in prison and 34 graduates in the community (Vera Institute of Justice, 2017).
- Develop synergies between higher education institutes and prisons to support the "prison-to-college pipeline." This may include providing workshops in the facility, peer mentoring, or ongoing academic counseling.

(John Jay College of Criminal Justice Prisoner Reentry Institute, 2019)

Youth Reentry and Education

For youth, important components of successful reentry include continuing education while in the juvenile justice system and transitioning back into their communities. Research (e.g., Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2015; Federal Interagency Reentry Council, 2017) on the educational needs of youth in the juvenile justice system highlights the importance of offering quality educational opportunities. For incarcerated youth who have learning disabilities, the need is even greater, and they can experience additional obstacles with continuing education while in the juvenile justice system and after transitioning back into their communities. Researchers have noted that youth with disabilities are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system (Clark, Mathur, & Helding, 2011; Cortiella & Horowitz, 2014; Mathur & Clark, 2014).

In an informational brief on ways to improve educational and vocational opportunities for incarcerated youth, the Council of State Governments Justice Center (2015) summarized a study that found that one in three incarcerated youth need or receive special education services; more than half are grade levels behind their cohorts; and a majority of youth were suspended, expelled, or dropped out of school. To gather additional data on educational and vocational opportunities for youth in the juvenile justice system, the Council of Juvenile Correctional Administrators distributed an electronic survey to state juvenile correctional agencies across the United States. The findings highlighted that most youth did not have access to the same education and vocational opportunities as their peers in the community, and the educational programs offered to them did not have the same rigor as traditional public schools (Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2015). The study offered the following recommendations related to these findings:

Findings on Educational and Vocational Programs in State Juvenile Justice Facilities

- Thirteen states (26 percent) offered equivalent educational programs, including credit recovery programs, GED preparation, and postsecondary courses.
- Nine states (18 percent) provided vocational services, including work-based learning, career and technical education courses, and vocational certifications.

(Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2015)

- Require that juvenile justice facilities offer the same education and vocational opportunities to incarcerated youth.
- Improve accountability for juvenile justice facilities to ensure they are held to the same student performance and vocational readiness standards as public schools.
- Ensure juvenile justice facilities receive national accreditation for their education programs (Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2015).

In addition, the findings noted that state facilities are not universally collecting and tracking student outcome data at all facility schools. Specifically linked to a youth's reentry into the community, the findings highlighted potential challenges for youth with reenrolling in school with nearly half of states lacking a single government agency to assist youth with the process. The survey findings and study recommendations emphasize a need for improved educational and vocational opportunities for incarcerated youth to help them achieve the goal of successful reentry.

Best Practices in Youth's Transition Back to School

According to a 2017 report related to New Jersey School Reentry, the best practices to support a youth's transition back to school should include:
Smooth transitions, including building relationships between the juvenile justice system and schools to begin a youth's re-enrollment quickly

- Appropriate placement that comprehensively meets the youth's needs
- Therapeutic support, which can include mental health or mentoring support
- Multisystem collaboration with an identified transition coordinator
- Ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the reintegration progress

(New Jersey Department of Education, 2017)

Building on the challenges that youth experience with reenrolling in school, the New Jersey Department of Education developed best practices for youth's transition back to school. They note that many youth experience challenges when returning to school. Youth may face barriers to reenrolling in schools, including delays in transferring records, differences in credit transfer policies, and reluctance on the part of school staff to welcome youth back into the school (New Jersey Department of Education, 2017). Research is needed to determine whether these best practices correlate with increased rates and other positive outcomes related to reenrollment.

Opportunities for continuing education in prison and in the community allow participants to increase educational attainment, establish pro-social networking opportunities, and find viable employment opportunities upon release. Individuals who have experienced traumatic events, including trafficking, are more likely to have a decreased reading ability, lower grade-point average, more days of school absence, and decreased rates of high school graduation (Delaney-Black et al., 2002). The strong correlation between educational levels and economic self-sufficiency—which is necessary for successful reentry after a period of incarceration—has been well documented (e.g., Berger & Fisher, 2013). While a number of programs have preliminary evidence of addressing educational and vocational needs of formerly incarcerated individuals, these programs are not available to all incarcerated individuals. Also, it is unknown how well these programs are addressing formerly incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking.

Family and Social Supports

There are more than 5 million children with a parent incarcerated at some point in their lives (The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2016), with an average incarceration length of greater than 1 year (Carson, 2014). It is estimated that about 45 percent of men aged 24 or younger in prison are fathers, and about 48 percent of women in federal prison and 55 percent in state facilitates are mothers (The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2016). More than half of incarcerated individuals were the primary financial support for their children prior to incarceration (Carson, 2014), and almost half of incarcerated parents lived with their children in the month prior to their arrest or incarceration (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Parents often are incarcerated far from their family and social supports. Schirmer, Nellis, and Mauer (2009) found that more than 60 percent of parents in state prisons and 80 percent of parents in federal prisons are incarcerated more than 100 miles from their last place of residence.

Incarceration is correlated with many negative outcomes for family members and loved ones, including poverty, poor academic performance, aggression, depression, delinquency, and substance use. It can destabilize the family unit by placing emotional and financial burdens on the remaining family members, especially children (Morsy & Rothstein, 2016). The research also suggests incarceration has negative aggregate effects at the community level. Incarceration is concentrated in specific places, and communities with high rates of incarcerated individuals are more likely to have high rates of poverty and unemployment (Sampson & Loeffler, 2010). Additionally, the cycle of incarceration generates residential instability (Clear, 2008). It disrupts a community's stability by weakening the collective ability to informally enforce conformity to rules, values, and norms, thereby disrupting the social networks and supports at the community level. These impacts of incarceration at the family and community levels are important because reestablishing positive social support may be critical to access protective factors such as housing, financial assistance, and a sense of empowerment/accountability for work obligations. Those with strong family and community ties are less likely to recidivate (Bales & Mears, 2008). Thus, it is important for in-prison programming and reentry programs to foster and encourage familial and pro-social networking.

In-Prison Family Support Services

In-prison family support services aim to foster protective factors and strengths in clients to reestablish safe and trusting relationships and pro-social connections after release. Parents who have continuous contact with their children during incarceration have been found to have reductions in recidivism (Bales & Mears, 2008). Similarly, incarcerated youth who maintain contact with family members have better outcomes after release (Children and Family Justice Center, 2018). Relationship building efforts during incarceration typically include (1) **in-prison counseling and**

group therapy; (2) opportunities to support **family visitation;** (3) **community-based programs for youth;** and (4) support related to the **child welfare system/foster families.**

Counseling and Group Therapy

Counseling and group therapies may focus on identifying safe physical boundaries and emotional needs, anger management, or specific parenting information. Parent skill building aims to foster positive communication between the child and parent related to nonviolent discipline, using positive reinforcement, and problem solving (KM Research and Consulting, 2014). Two programs that illustrate this type of in-prison programming are the Family Preservation Project and Parenting Inside Out.

The Family Preservation Project is funded through the Oregon Department of Corrections and Portland Community College and addresses the impact of incarceration on mothers and their families through direct services, which begin while the women are incarcerated and continues after release. The Family Preservation Project includes supervised visitation, coaching for mothers to learn healthy ways to interact with children, intensive case management, and enrichment activities for children (YWCA of Greater Portland, 2017). This includes support to participate in their children's education (i.e., communicating with their children's teachers or attending individualized education plan meetings via phone) (KM Research and Consulting, 2014). An outcome evaluation of Family Preservation Project participants found that more than 90 percent of participating mothers met their educational goals, 80 percent participated in work programs, 90 percent completed a certificate program, and 93 percent lived in stable housing with their children and/or significant other after release (KM Research and Consulting, 2014).

Parents who are incarcerated, on probation, or on parole can participate in Parenting Inside Out, an evidence-based therapeutic intervention that focuses on problem solving, communication, parenting styles and values, nonviolent discipline, co-parenting, and positive reinforcement (Parenting Inside Out, 2019). Criminal justice-involved parents who participated in Parents Inside Out reported positive outcomes such as fewer symptoms of depression prior to release from prison, no substance use-related problems 6 months after release, and fewer arrests 1 year after release than participants who did not participate in the program (Eddy, Martinez, & Burraston, 2013).

Family Visitation

To maintain the connection with loved ones, prisons offer opportunities for quality visitation while in prison. This includes family/child-friendly visiting rooms and removing excessive restrictions for family visitation. This may also include other strategies such as videoconferencing and adequate phone service.

Children of Inmates in Florida includes bonding visits to create or reestablish a bond between the child and parent (Schirmer et al., 2009). Since more than 60 percent of parents in state prisons and 80 percent of parents in federal prison are incarcerated more than 100 miles from their last place of residence (Schirmer et al., 2009), Children of Inmates also offers videoconference visitations for families (Children of Inmates, 2008). Youth participants in the bonding visits reported positive outcomes—90 percent of children report stronger bonds with their parent or caregiver, and 70 percent reported engagement in pro-social behaviors.

Community-Based Programming for Youth With Incarcerated Parents

The psychological, emotional, and financial burdens of incarceration on children is immense. Community- and peer-based activities such as youth leadership initiatives, afterschool programs,

camps, and group therapy/discussion groups provide a safe space for youth impacted by incarceration to openly discuss their experiences.

Two New York City-based organizations provide examples of the different types of programs available to youth with incarcerated parents. The Osborne Association's Children, Youth and Family Services program offers individualized service planning and monthly activities (e.g., fields trips to ice skating, bowling). Youth aged 15–18 may participate in a 28-session after-school leadership development program as part of a youth action council (YAC). Members of the YAC focus on leadership development, advocacy, awareness building, and community outreach. Hour Children, a New York City-based nonprofit, offers the Hour Friends in Deed Mentoring Program. Through Hour Friends in Deed, children with incarcerated parents are matched with mentors who spend time with the child (e.g., playing sports, doing homework, going to the movies), serve as a positive role model, and help the child develop strong social skills (Hour Children, 2018). We are not aware of research on or evaluations of these programs and suggest exploring the process and outcomes associated with program implementation.

Postrelease Family Support Services

Upon release, victims and their families should continue to identify opportunities to promote family self-sufficiency related to child support, custody, or community-based programs such as parenting classes to promote healthy relationships.

Child Support

Incarcerated parents are faced with logistical and financial considerations to establish family self-sufficiency both while incarcerated and upon release. Paying child support is especially challenging for incarcerated parents. Rules for repaying child support vary from state to state but child support orders generally require parents to make regular payments to the custodian of their children. Child support orders often remain in effect while the noncustodial parent is incarcerated, which can result in the accrual of outstanding payments (Link & Roman, 2017). Upon release, many formerly incarcerated parents are immediately expected to pay large sums of unpaid child support (Roman & Link, 2015). Studies have found child support payments ranging from $552 to $70,305 after incarceration in Maryland (Ovwigho, Saunders, & Born, 2005) and a median of $10,000 in Massachusetts (Pearson, 2004). Roman and Link (2015) found that 60 percent of individuals who were in the process of being released from incarceration owed child support totaling more than $5,000. Formerly incarcerated individuals who fail to pay their child support may be arrested and re-incarcerated for nonpayment (Harris, Evans, & Beckett, 2010), despite the unrealistic sums often owed at the time of release (Link & Roman, 2017). Child support payments often are not determined on a sliding scale based on income (Bannon, Nagrecha, & Diller, 2010), and substantial debt can negatively affect an individual's ability to obtain stable housing, employment, and credit (Levingston & Turetsky, 2007). Thus, the strain of making child support payments can negatively affect the incarcerated individual's ability to reintegrate into society and achieve family self-sufficiency. Individuals who receive child support-related and other debt-related services while incarcerated may be better prepared to meet child support obligations after release and successfully reintegrate into the community (Roman & Link, 2015).

Mentoring

For many, relationships that existed prior to incarceration may be predominantly negative and a contributing factor to incarceration. For formerly incarcerated individuals who lack positive familial and social supports, mentoring may be a way to develop positive social connections. The benefits of mentoring—particularly with peer mentoring, which pairs a mentee with a mentor with similar experiences—are far reaching. Generally, formerly incarcerated individuals who are provided

mentorship have higher rates of securing a job, better job retention, and were 35 percent less likely to recidivate compared with participants who did not have a mentor (Bauldry, Korom-Djakovic, McClanahan, McMaken, & Kotloff, 2009).

According to a Council of State Governments Justice Center (2017) report, mentorship programs should focus on integrating mentorship into the broader reentry services, for example, using one-on-one mentoring, group mentoring, and/or virtual mentoring for peer support or case management; collaborating with parole/probation; and identifying risks and needs by using validated risk and need assessment tools. While criteria for who should be mentors was not provided, the authors stressed the importance of training mentors on skills that support case management and relationship building. This training should occur before mentoring and continue throughout the mentorship process. One training program highlighted by the authors is MENTOR, a nonprofit that focuses on mentorship, advocacy, and training (Council of State Governments Justice Center (2017). The authors also provide a relationship-building questionnaire that organizations can use to formalize mentorship programs with correctional facilities and other stakeholders.

In 2003, the U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration, The Annie E. Casey Foundation, and the Ford Foundation engaged with Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) and launched the Ready4Work Initiative to reduce recidivism by (1) increasing employment rates, (2) providing intensive case management and, (3) strengthening social networks through mentoring (Bauldry, et al., 2009). Of the 11 sites participating in the initiatives, 6 focused on group mentoring, while the others focused on one-on-one mentoring. Nine of the sites offered pre-release mentoring. Across the sites, they successfully recruited more than 1,000 volunteers. More than half of the mentors learned about the mentoring opportunity through their religious congregation (faith-based organizations were specifically targeted for recruiting mentors). Mentors offered emotional support and practical advice to help formerly incarcerated individuals navigate possible barriers to self-sufficiency such as securing housing and employment. Thus, the Ready4Work Initiative is a unique program in that it is one of the first to provide mentoring to formerly incarcerated adults in conjunction with case management and job placement services (Bauldry & McClanahan, 2008). Participation in mentorship was voluntary, but more than half of the formerly incarcerated met with a mentor at least once during the initiative. Preliminary findings suggest that those with a mentor had more positive outcomes compared to those without a mentor. More specifically, participants who never met with a mentor spent an average of 7 months in the program while participants who met with a mentor spent an average of 10 months in the program. However, since the mentor component was voluntary, some of this difference is likely due to individual motivation where those who are more motivated are probably more likely to stay in the program and take advantage of the mentoring component. Additional research is needed with an adequate comparison group before the effect of mentoring on outcomes for the formerly incarcerated is known.

Ready4Work Initiative

Aims to reduce recidivism among formerly incarcerated individuals by:

- Increasing employment rates
- Providing intesive case management
- Strengthening social networks through group and one-on-one mentoring

(Bauldry et al., 2009)

Connections to Faith-Based Organizations

Faith-based organizations have a long history of serving disadvantaged individuals, including formerly incarcerated individuals. In one national survey of faith-based organizations, 53 percent of respondents stated they provide reentry services in correctional facilities and in the community after release, 27 percent provide reentry services only in the community, and 10 percent provide services only in correctional facilities. These faith-based organizations reported providing a variety of services

such as prayer groups, parenting classes, educational programming, job readiness services, life skills training, substance use treatment, and spiritual development (Buck Willison, Brazell, & Kim, 2011). Through an evaluation of the Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative, 53 percent of grantees reported partnering with faith-based organizations to provide mentoring services after release from the correctional facility, 42 percent to provide housing services, 40 percent to provide substance use services, and 37 percent for parenting programs (Lindquist & Brumbaugh, 2005).

One faith-based reentry initiative that has gained national recognition is the InnerChange Freedom Initiative (Buck Willison et al., 2011). The InnerChange Initiative (now called the Prison Fellowship Academy) was established in Texas in 1997, then expanded to Minnesota and a few other sites, and plans to continue expanding to all 50 states by 2026. This Christian-faith program is open to both Christian and non-Christian incarcerated individuals. The InnerChange program houses incarcerated individuals together and provides programming that focuses on improving cognitive and moral skills, accepting responsibility for their actions, addressing addiction, working with a mentor, and improving pro-social relationships for 18 to 24 months prior to release from the correctional facility. The program continues for 12 months after release, with a focus on housing and employment assistance (Crime Solutions.gov, 2014). An evaluation of the InnerChange Freedom Initiative in Minnesota showed improved outcomes for program participants. For example, 42 percent of program participants were rearrested compared to 59 percent of nonprogram participants; 25 percent of program participants were reconvicted compared to 44 percent of nonprogram participants; and 8 percent of program participants were reincarcerated compared to 22 percent of nonprogram participants (Duwe & Johnson, 2013). Additional research is needed to understand the role of faith and faith-based organizations on recidivism and establishing positive social networks for individuals going through reentry as well as program effectiveness.

Youth Reentry and Family and Social Supports

For youth in the juvenile justice system, maintaining connections with family and social supports are important components of reentry and show numerous benefits and led to positive outcomes for youth throughout reentry (Seigle et al., 2014; Shanahan & diZerega, 2016). Within the context of juvenile justice, researchers and practitioners frequently use the term *family engagement*, which is broadly defined as a collaborative relationship between juvenile justice agencies or systems and families (Rozzell, 2013). Research shows that programs that use family- and community-centric approaches have demonstrated success with improving positive youth outcomes such as improving decision-making skills, strengthening youth-family interactions, and connecting youth to positive school and community activities (Seigle et al., 2014). Youth's families are influential in their lives, and family-centric interactions encourage families to maintain contact, sustain a connection with one another, and support one another during incarceration and during reentry. In the 2014 update of the Juvenile Detention Facility Assessment, The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2014) incorporated evidence-based standards for family engagement that emphasize the importance of building relationships with families and providing avenues for communication throughout the youth's incarceration. For many youth, they will likely return to their families after incarceration; and, as a result, maintaining and building relationships with the families is a key component to successful reentry.

Looking specifically at how juvenile justice professionals can incorporate family engagement, Shanahan & diZerega (2016) developed a three-part model that involves identification, engagement, and empowerment. The model recommends implementing mechanisms for identifying the familial and social supports in a youth's life, engaging family through respectful interactions and encouragement, and empowering families to play an active role in motivating youth to succeed by creating opportunities for the family to actively participate in the design and implementation of their

children's treatment plan. Overall, the model provides a framework for the juvenile justice system to illustrate the importance of family relationships in an incarcerated youth's journey.

In a guide for implementing family engagement and involvement practices, the Council of State Governments (2019) identified strategies to engage and provide support to families with incarcerated youth. Some of the strategies included the following:

- Maintain a broad definition of family to reflect different family dynamics and loving caregivers.
- Create a cultural shift within the juvenile justice system to recognize that families are critical.
- Provide peer support/family engagement specialists/family advocates to support families with incarcerated youth.
- Gather input from families to incorporate into policies and protocols and provide opportunities for meaningful familial contact.

The Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services in Washington, DC, offers a one-on-one parent/guardian orientation with a family engagement specialist who provides an overview of the stages of commitment and their rights as guardians/expectations during incarceration. In addition, the parent/guardian receives a resource packet and contact information for relevant staff. The youth is assigned a case manager who is in regular contact with the family. Family members are invited to participate in a youth family team meeting, which supports creation of an individual development plan for the youth (Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services, 2019).

Promising Practices in Supporting Youth and Families

- Functional Family Therapy (FFT) is a short-term intervention program for youth that typically lasts 3–5 months.
- FFT can be provided in clinical and home settings.
- FFT uses a strengths-based model rooted in acceptance and respect.
- The five major components of FFT include engagement, motivation, relational assessment, behavior change, and generalization.
- The purpose of the FFT intervention is to promote positive change in the family's perceptions and improve interactions.
- A quasi-experimental outcome evaluation found improvements in life domain functioning, child strengths, caregiver strengths, child behavioral/emotional needs, and child risk behaviors but the difference was not signficantly different than youth who received individual therapy or mentoring (Celinska, Sung, Kim, & Valdimarsdottir, 2018).

(Alexander, Waldron, Robbins, & Neeb, 2013)

Rozzell (2013) provides a framework for understanding the role of family engagement in creating trauma-informed juvenile justice systems. Family engagement supports a trauma-informed environment on not only an individual level, but also a systemic level. A collaborative relationship between system staff, youth, and families encourages open communication and sharing about how trauma has potentially impacted the youth and offers opportunities for transforming systems by incorporating the unique perspectives of families.

Traffickers prey on individuals who lack supportive, pro-social networks. For individuals who have experienced trafficking, their reliance on their trafficker may have been a major source of emotional/ social connection. Unfortunately, these social support systems often are key indicators in predicting post-incarceration outcomes. Upon reentry, individuals who have experienced trafficking must reestablish or identify networks to support pro-social relationships with peers and family. For trafficked individuals who are able to reunify with family members, it is beneficial to educate relatives about issues associated with trafficking and trauma. For trafficked individuals who do not have healthy or supportive relationships with peers and family, alternative social networks such as faith-based communities or mentorship may be even more important.

Fostering and nurturing social support systems, particularly for family members, includes several best practices: (1) transition support/planning for success; (2) parenting skill building; (3) parent-child contact; (4) enrichment activities for children; and (5) support to caregivers.

Health

Individuals in the criminal justice system have extensive behavioral health and physical health needs. Sixty percent of people in prisons meet the criteria for drug dependence or use (Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2017). Rates of trauma exposure among incarcerated men range from 62 to 100 percent, and one-third have severe posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms (Wolff, Chugo, Shi, Huening, & Frueh, 2015). Compared to the general population, individuals who are incarcerated or formerly incarcerated have higher rates of high blood pressure, asthma, cancer, arthritis, and infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, hepatitis C, and HIV (Binswanger, Krueger, & Steiner, 2009; Dumont, Brockmann, Dickman, Alexander, & Rich, 2012; Maruschak & Beavers, 2009). In addition, research suggests women with a history of incarceration face a greater burden of health issues compared to incarcerated men (Braithwaite, Treadwell, & Arriola, 2008).

These behavioral health and physical health issues mirror those of individuals who have experienced trafficking. The health conditions identified for the general criminal justice population may be intensified for trafficking victims who face several health issues resulting from lack of food, sleep, stress, hazardous living or travel conditions, violence, and prolonged physical and/or sexual abuse. Infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, hepatitis, malaria, and pneumonia are prevalent among individuals who have experienced trafficking as a result of unsanitary and dangerous housing conditions, use of needles, and inadequate access to health care (Deshpande & Nour, 2013). Without regular health care, these health problems and other existing health conditions, such as diabetes and HIV/AIDs, can become extreme. Given the high rates of sexual assault among individuals who have experienced trafficking, they are at heightened risk for HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections such as gonorrhea, syphilis, urinary tract infections, and pubic lice (Deshpande & Nour, 2013).

Providing support for health issues is critical to maintaining prison safety and supporting successful reentry. From a public health perspective, prison health services may be a cost-effective approach to improving population health related to the spread of communicable diseases such as sexually transmitted infections, HIV, and tuberculosis given the high rates of individuals cycling into communities with limited routine preventive care (Lee, Fordyce, & Rich, 2007). From a reentry standpoint, successful reintegration requires good health. In one study exploring barriers to employment after incarceration, for example, Visher and colleagues (2008) found that 32 percent of the formerly incarcerated who were unable to secure employment cited personal challenges, including health problems, as the reason. Programming in prison may lay the foundation for access to treatment and services for formerly incarcerated individuals upon release.

In-Prison Health Services

Health screenings in prison vary by facility and is a major hurdle to providing quality health care to offenders (Black, Arndt, Hale, & Rogerson, 2004). Nonetheless, it is critically important to identify health needs while incarcerated. In recognition of their importance, national organizations such as the American Public Health Association, American Psychiatric Association, and the National

Commission on Correctional Health Care (NCCHC) have developed standards for a correctional health care system.

In-Prison Health Screening

- A health screening should be conducted for all inmates as soon as possible but before leaving the intake area (NCCHC, 2011).
- Medical professionals in prison/jail should be aware of **past sexual history**, and should screen for unwanted pregnancy resulting from rape and prostitution, sterility, miscarriage, menstrual problems, mutilations, and forced or coerced abortions (Dovydaitis, 2010).
- In addition to screening for physical health needs, prison **screenings must include mental health, substance use, and trauma screening.**

Once health care needs are identified, or access to health care is requested by incarcerated individuals, authorities are required by law to provide access. Since there is a high prevalence of trauma and history of victimization among the incarcerated population (Reichert & Bostwick, 2010) and the correctional setting can further contribute to or be the source of trauma (Haney, 2002), the delivery of health care programming should be reflective of this reality by including the components shown in the table below (Kubiak, Covington, & Hillier, 2017).

Recommended Components of Health Care Programming	
Component	Rationale
Trauma-informed practices	Trauma-informed practices reflect an understanding of the diverse ways people cope with trauma, recognize power dynamics and vulnerability among inmates, and treat inmates in a manner that demonstrates they are safe from physical harm. Correctional practices, such as strip searches, and the physical structures and policies of prisons may trigger previous trauma, especially for those with a history of sexual assault or human trafficking.
Screening for complete trauma history	Trauma instruments should be used to identify mental health, substance use, and psychiatric disorders that may interfere with an individual's ability to successfully participate in counseling or other prison programming.
Tailored interventions	Targeting the specific health needs of an offender includes recognition of an individual's history of trauma, understanding their responses to trauma, and recognizing the pathways in navigating recovery.
	(Kubiak, Covington, & Hillier, 2017)

In recognition of the number of incarcerated individuals who have experienced trauma, prison facilities have developed programs to provide support and counseling specifically for these individuals to address the isolation and trauma. By providing counseling and services during incarceration, incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking may be better positioned for mental health counseling upon release. There is a strong need to provide gender-sensitive, trauma-informed treatment to reduce the risk of further trauma. Efforts to support incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking should expand and consider a broad definition of trafficking and victimization. To better serve this population, in-prison medical staff should be trained on issues pertaining specifically to individuals who have experienced trafficking. This includes trainings related to identify victimization and treating physical and mental health needs resulting from their trafficking.

Trauma-Informed Care for Incarcerated Individuals Who Have Experienced Trafficking

Through These Doors' Incarcerated Women's Program in the Maine Correctional Center addresses the impact of sexual exploitation and sex trafficking by offering support groups, reading groups, and art therapy. The "Stories from the Life" curriculum is specifically designed to address the impact of sexual exploitation and sex trafficking. There are no evaluation reports or participant outcomes for this program.

(Through These Doors, 2014)

Ohio Reformatory for Women offers a comprehensive course for survivors of sex trafficking designed to "empower survivors and combat the societal epidemic of trafficking." Courses include Human Trafficking 101, The Traffickers, The Johns, Ethical Sex, and Shame and Guilt. Following the course, participants can engage with a trafficking aftercare group to continue the process of healing. Upon release into the community, mental health staff focus on locating secure and safe housing and developing connections to community providers to continue providing mental health counseling and support. There are no evaluation reports or participant outcomes for this program.

(Mohr, 2017)

Continuity of Health Care From In-Prison Into the Community

Sustained access to health care services is critical during the reentry process because formerly incarcerated individuals are at continued risk for health issues upon release from prison. For example, Dumont and colleagues (2012) found that the formerly incarcerated are 129 times more likely than the general public to die of a drug overdose within 2 weeks following their release. Research also suggests the formerly incarcerated are also at higher risk of suicide (Pratt, Appleby, Webb, & Shaw, 2006). Prior to release from the correctional setting, correctional officials and individuals can follow these steps to ensure continuity of care:

- Establish relationships with a variety of community-based health care providers (e.g., mental health, substance use, primary care, dental).
- Schedule appointments with community-based providers to ensure individuals continue to receive care after release.
- Secure several weeks of medication prior to release.
- Transfer medical records to community providers.
- Initiate the process to secure health insurance.

Once in the community, justice-involved individuals must be successfully linked to community-based health care to promote successfully reentry, self-sufficiency, and resiliency. Initiating, coordinating, and maintaining relationships among diverse state and community organizations is not without difficulty. Nonetheless, several models have been particularly effective in linking justice-

Continuity of Care Program Example: Forever Free

Description:
Forever Free is the first comprehensive in-prison residential substance use treatment program for incarcerated women. Programming includes intensive in-prison services (6 months of 4 hours per day, 5 days a week related to substance use), followed by 6 months in community-based residential treatment. Group and individual counseling sessions focus on self-esteem, anger management, assertiveness training, healthy relationships, abuse, posttraumatic stress disorder, codependency, parenting, and sex and health.

Outcomes:
Forever Free participants reported significantly less drug use compared to nonparticipants at 30-day and 12-month followup.

(Hall, Prendergast, Wellisch, Patten, & Cao, 2004)

involved individuals to community-based care upon release from correctional settings (see Patel, Boutwell, Brockmann, & Rich, 2014 for an overview). Collectively, these models suggest three unifying themes. First, the models were clinically effective in engaging individuals in sustained care in the community. Second, they illustrated that increased access to substance use treatment could be cost-effective. Third, engaging the formerly incarcerated—particularly those with behavioral health care needs—can increase chances of successful reentry (Patel et al., 2014).
Examples of successful care models for linking formerly incarcerated individuals to community-based health care include the Muskegon Community Health Project, Transition Clinics, and Reentry Education Project. Each are briefly discussed below.

The **Muskegon Community Health Project** participates in the local implementation of the Michigan Prisoner Reentry Initiative—a statewide initiative to help released prisoners access services needed to facilitate successful reentry into the community. The Muskegon Community Health Project uses a medical navigator to assist formerly incarcerated individuals with their medical needs, including obtaining their medical records, locating a doctor, and accessing primary care or specialty services. There are a number of key elements, including (1) identification of soon-to-be-released individuals; (2) prison "in-reach" sessions to individuals who will be released within 6 months for health screenings; (3) medical navigators who meet with each individual one-on-one to conduct a personal health assessment; (4) facilitated access to health services for 1 year following release (e.g., arrangement for prescription drug coverage, link to needed medical services, assistance with copayments). Preliminary outcome evaluation of this program is promising. The program has assisted more than 2,500 formerly incarcerated individuals in accessing and receiving health care who would have otherwise been released from incarceration without access to health care.

Another promising approach to postrelease medical care are **transition clinics**—these clinics provide transitional, primary care and case management for formerly incarcerated individuals with chronic health conditions. The Transitions Clinic Program includes linkages to community care, access to primary care, patient-centered medical services, peer navigators, and partnerships with local reentry organizations (Transitions Clinic, 2014). Based on a study of 751 transition clinic patients, patients referred by correctional partners, had fewer emergency department visits and hospitalizations compared to patients referred by community partners (those who were engaged within 1 month of release). These findings indicate that improved coordination between correctional and community health care, and avoiding any lapses in care, may result in improved health outcomes for those reentering after incarceration (Shavit, Aminawung, Birnbaum, et al., 2017).

Since 2013, the **Reentry Education Project (REP)** out of The Fortune Society, has facilitated trainings with health care providers to educate them on the health care needs of people impacted by the criminal justice system. Its toolkit includes several modules related to harm reduction, supporting justice-involved women, and HIV and hepatitis C. The Reentry Education Project has trained more than 1,000 health care providers and clinic staff in New York City. Research is needed to determine how this training has improved care for patients.

Youth Reentry and Health

Research on the prevalence of mental health and substance use disorders among incarcerated youth highlights that these issues are widespread among the population (Teplin et al., 2013; Teplin et al., 2015; Wasserman et al., 2010). Youth in the juvenile justice system face many disorders, including substance use as well as disruptive, anxiety, and mood disorders. Approximately 40–80 percent of incarcerated youth experience multiple mental or co-occurring mental and substance use disorders (Meservey & Skowyra, 2015; Kanary, Shepler, & Fox, 2014). As with adults in reentry, youth can also face a lack of health-related resources in many facilities, and they can experience

lapses in health coverage during and after confinement that disrupt access to medication and treatment (Gupta, Kelleher, Pajer, Stevens, & Cuellar, 2005).

The number of youth in confinement has dropped over recent years for several reasons, including the high cost of confinement, constrained state budgets, and a better understanding of youth brain development. These factors, coupled with greater discretion of police and juvenile court judges to divert youth to a growing number of evidence-based alternatives in the community, has helped shrink detention populations (National Juvenile Justice Network and Texas Public Policy Foundation, 2013). For youth with co-occurring mental health and substance use issues, treatment programs that address both substance use and mental health—such as the **Integrated Co-Occurring Treatment model, functional family therapy,** and **multidimensional family therapy** delivered in home and community environments—hold the most promise in reducing juvenile recidivism (Kanary et al., 2014). For example, a 5-year followup study found that less than 10 percent of youth receiving functional family therapy compared to 60 percent of nontreated youth seen in juvenile court had subsequent arrests (Shelton, 2005).

Co-Occurring Treatment Models for Substance Use and Mental Health

Treatment	Description	Target Population	Environment	Outcomes
Integrated Co-Occurring Treatment Model	This is an integrated treatment program that provides substance use services and mental health services in home to youth with co-occurring disorders and their families. Services are provided by a multidisciplinary team across psychological, educational, and social systems.	Youth with co-occurring mental health and substance use disorders and their family	Home-based treatment	• Decreased substance use • Decreased mental health issues • Decreased juvenile justice charges • Improved school functioning • Improved family functioning • Improved community involvement
Functional Family Therapy	Trained therapists use a five-phase intervention program to engage family and manage treatment expectations and provide behavioral change treatment to high-risk youth.	High-risk youth demonstrating serious disruptive behaviors such as conduct disorder, violent acting out, and substance use	Clinic out-patient therapy and in-home treatment available	• Cost savings through reductions in felony recidivism • Decreased likelihood of rearrest
Multidimensional Family Therapy	Trained therapists address risk factors across family, peer, school, and community contexts, and promote positive behavior change in the youth's natural environment.	Youth experiencing substance use, delinquency, antisocial and aggressive behaviors, school and family problems, and emotional difficulties	Outpatient, in-home, intensive outpatient, day treatment, and residential facility treatments available	• Decrease substance use • Decrease disruptive school behaviors • Reduction in family conflict • Improved parenting skills

(Kanary et al., 2014)

Example of a Trauma-Focused, Evidence-Based Practice

Trauma Affect Regulation: Guide for Education and Treatment (TARGET) is a versatile program model. The program is aimed at trauma survivors and includes a seven-step process with the goal of helping the participants gain control of their PTSD symptoms. Research has demonstrated its effectiveness with juvenile justice-involved youth. Studies have shown a reduction in PTSD symptoms and an increase in self-efficacy and self-integrity.

(Adams, Kolnik, & Reichert, 2017)

According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Model Programs Guide (n.d.), a promising initiative for incarcerated youth who are experiencing co-occurring mental health and substance use issues is **multisystemic therapy–family integrated transitions (MST–FIT).** MST–FIT occurs when a youth is in placement and continues throughout transition back into the community. MST-FIT is a combination of two prior approaches to service delivery: (1) services delivered in the residential treatment setting (ITM), and (2) an MST-based aftercare program to facilitate an easier transition back into the community. As previously highlighted, families play an important role in a youth's successful reentry. The program offers individual and family services and intends to connect families to community support, promote youth's abstinence to substances, improve youth's mental health, and increase pro-social behavior. A meta-analysis of multisystemic therapy identified its significant effect on delinquency (van der Stouwe, Asscher, Stams, Dekovic, & van der Laan, 2014).

In-prison health services are most effective when linked with a post-release support system, particularly for formerly incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking. Research has documented numerous physical and mental health consequences associated with trafficking, including chronic pain, dental problems, depression, and PTSD. Models for continuity of care for formerly incarcerated individuals should establish clear pathways to health care providers (linkages to care) and eliminate barriers such as lack of health insurance while being trauma informed and client centered. Organizations serving high-risk/high-need individuals should establish linkages and coordination between organizations to encourage ease of referrals and data sharing. An intensive case management model or the use of a patient navigator/community health worker/peer navigator may support the use of health care services among formerly incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking who face similar barriers to navigating health care services such as limited previous experience with health care providers, challenges with literacy, or fear or distrust of medical professionals.

Physical and Mental Health Consequences of Human Trafficking

Physical Health

- Headaches
- Chronic pain from injuries
- Memory loss
- Sleep disturbances
- Fatigue
- Malnutrition
- Dental problems
- Asthma
- Substance use issues
- HIV
- Sexually transmitted infections

Mental Health

- Depression
- Anxiety
- PTSD
- Severe stress
- Adjustment disorders
- Affective disorders
- Psychosis
- Suicidal ideation

Housing

Successful reentry depends on whether formerly incarcerated individuals' full spectrum of needs are met, including housing. Incarcerated individuals are 4 to 6 times more likely to become homeless than the general population (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008). Securing housing is important as a

lack of stable housing can increase the likelihood of criminal behavior, substance use, social stigma, victimization, and interaction with antisocial peers (Lee, Tyler, & Wright, 2010). Instability in housing can also prevent a formerly incarcerated individual from addressing other concerns such as employment, education, and mental health (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008; Lutze & Kigerl, 2013; Pew Center on the States, 2009; Tsai & Rosenheck, 2012).

Housing for formerly incarcerated individuals should be tailored to their unique needs and based on their level of self-sufficiency. There are six main housing options available: living with family or friends, private market, federally subsidized housing, supportive housing programs, community correctional facilities, and homeless shelters. While these housing options are technically available, formerly incarcerated individuals face unique barriers when trying to access them. Living with family or friends may not be an option to all justice-involved individuals due to strained relationships, safety concerns, or conditions of parole. Private market housing would involve individuals renting or buying property by their own means. Some barriers formerly incarcerated individuals face in taking this route include a lack of funds to cover initial rent and security deposits (e.g., Geller & Curtis, 2011; Lutze, Rosky, & Hamilton, 2014; Roman & Travis, 2006), a shortage of affordable housing (Pelletiere, 2009), and resistance of landlords to rent to justice-involved individuals (Roman & Travis, 2006). Supportive housing programs are transitional or permanent housing programs that use a coordinated case management approach to include a variety of services such as health and mental health services and employment services and training (Fontaine & Biess, 2012). Community correctional facilities, also referred to as halfway houses, are more structured housing environments often run by corrections departments as work-release centers though some do provide supportive services. These options are also affected by limited availability due to resistance from the communities where they are to be located. The final housing option is a homeless shelter or emergency housing which have limited space available (Fontaine & Biess, 2012). Federally subsidized housing such as housing choice vouchers offers access to housing in the private market; however, there is a shortage of subsidized housing units, and federal and state policies prohibit renters with a criminal record (Geller & Curtis, 2011; Lutze et al., 2014; Roman & Travis, 2006). Expunging, sealing, or vacating criminal records may provide solutions to this challenge (see the section on “Legal Advocacy” for an in depth discussion).

While formerly incarcerated individuals face numerous barriers, it is vital that they secure stable housing to reduce the risk of reoffending or retrafficking/re-victimization and promote wellness and successful reintegration. There is little research to pinpoint the exact benefits housing can have on formerly incarcerated individuals; however, based on research on the negative impacts of homelessness, one can theorize the benefits of stable housing (Fontaine & Biess, 2012). Secure housing can influence positive reentry by not only providing safety, but by addressing the vital need for shelter. It allows the formerly incarcerated individual to focus on finding and maintaining employment and building a social support network (Burt & Anderson, 2005; Shaw, 2004). For formerly incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking, this is particularly important as it provides them with control over their routines.

There are some successful housing reentry models implemented. One model targeted toward individuals with substance use is called the Oxford House model. This model uses self-governance and mutual support to allow 12 residents to cohabitate in a house without professional staff. As a group, the residents pay rent, maintain the property, and refrain from substance use and disruptive behavior. Individuals can reside at the property for an indefinite amount of time. In an evaluation of this peer-led model, 31.1 percent of participants reported substance use 24 months after discharge compared to 64.8 percent of individuals who did not participate in the program, and 76.1 percent of program participants reported finding employment compared to 48.6 percent of nonprogram participants (Jason & Ferrari, 2010). These models work by providing stable housing and positive

peer networks; however, based on current research, they are appropriate only for justice-involved individuals who suffer from substance use (Fontaine & Biess, 2012).

Another housing reentry model implemented in Washington state, Reentry Housing Pilot Program, targeted high-risk, high-need incarcerated individuals who were facing homelessness at the time of release. This program focused on addressing multiple needs by providing up to 12 months of housing assistance and included a case management plan, treatment, accountability strategies, self-sufficiency plans, renter's rights courses, and safety plans. Those who participated in the program were less likely to commit new crimes (22 percent of program participants versus 36 percent of nonprogram participants) or become reincarcerated (37 percent of program participants versus 56 percent of nonprogram participants). This study highlights the idea that having a housing plan combined with access to services can assist in a successful reentry into society by giving the participant the stability necessary to address their other needs (Lutze et al., 2014).

A New York City program, Frequent Users Services Enhancement (FUSE), was implemented as a collaboration between housing and social services to address the risks of incarceration and its relation to homelessness. This program was designed for individuals who frequently were jailed and homeless, had behavioral and physical health issues, and may have experienced significant trauma. This program recruited individuals through jails, shelters, and hospitals and connected them with supportive housing, case management, medical and mental health services, and other services as needed. This supportive housing program led to a reduction in the use of public systems, jail time, shelter use, and crisis health services. Participants of this program and its second generation (FUSE II) had lower screenings of stress and higher scores of family and social supports (Aidala, McAllister, Yomogida, & Shubert, 2014).

Youth Reentry and Housing

Most formerly incarcerated youth return to family or relatives after release (Altschuler & Brash, 2004). Reunification services may be necessary to strengthen the relationships between youth and their families and to foster stable living environments; however, strained relationships, overcrowding, or an insufficient environment to meet the needs of a youth may make this transition difficult (De Nike, Shelden, Macallair, & Menart, 2019). Additionally, justice-involved youth (or families they are returning to) often face restrictions in public and private housing due to the youth's criminal history (Coalition for Juvenile Justice, 2016).

As residential facilities tailored to youth who have experienced trafficking are limited, one option for youth who are unable to be reunited with their families is placement in state foster care (Fong & Cardoso, 2010). However, youth entering or returning to foster care following incarceration may struggle to find placement because older youth experience fewer opportunities for placement (Coalition for Juvenile Justice, 2016). Ensuring stability in "dual-system youth" is particularly important as one study found that youth in foster care who are involved with the justice system 24 months prior to aging out of care were approximately "four times as likely to be arrested or jailed" the year after leaving care (Henzel, Mayfield, Soriano, Marshall, & Felver, 2016). Homelessness following incarceration is also frequently noted. Among interviews with 654 runaway and homeless youth, many reported justice involvement: 44 percent had been in jail, prison, or a juvenile detention facility; 78 percent had at least one incidence of contact with law enforcement; and 62 percent had been arrested (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016).

Given the lack of stable housing for individuals who have experienced trafficking before incarceration, housing instability upon reentry places them at heightened risk of reengaging in illegal activity (McKernan, 2019). Youth experiencing homelessness may commit "survival crimes" in order

to obtain food (e.g., theft or robbery), shelter (e.g., trespassing), or protection (e.g., physical altercations) (Coalition for Juvenile Justice, 2016). And it is estimated that more than 10 percent of those coming in and out of prisons and jails report homelessness in months before their incarceration; for those with mental illness, the rates are about 20 percent (McKernan, 2019). As such, transitional and supportive housing programs for individuals who have experienced trafficking should consider ways to remove barriers to housing for justice-involved youth. Efforts to overcome this obstacle includes the Juvenile Reentry Assistance Program (JRAP), a program funded by the US. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. JRAP provides funding to support juvenile record expungement, sealing, and/or correction and providing youth services to mitigate the poor outcomes associated with a juvenile and/or criminal record (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017).

Survivors of trafficking frequently experience homelessness and a lack of stable housing (Polaris, 2015). Youth with a prior history of child welfare system involvement and experiences with trafficking are more likely to experience out of home placement and congregate care (Gibbs, Henninger, Tueller, & Kluckman, 2018; Wolfe, Greeson, Wasch, & Treglia 2018). Immediate access to emergency and transitional care is a critical need for trafficking survivors (U.S. Advisory Council on Human Trafficking, 2018), yet it is extremely challenging to find safe and affordable housing (Owens et al., 2014). Without housing, individuals who have experienced trafficking are at a higher risk of being re-trafficked, remaining in exploitative situations, or being unable to meet basic needs because their entire income is spent on housing (President's Interagency Taskforce to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2014). Few residential programs dedicated exclusively to individuals who have experienced trafficking exist (Reichert & Sylwestrzak, 2013) and these individuals often are denied admission to shelters serving other types of victim populations for perceived safety concerns (McCann, 2018). Individuals who have experienced trafficking and who have a history of substance use or criminal activity may be excluded from certain types of housing (Alimchandani & Lemma, 2017). New federal initiatives through the U.S. Advisory Council on Human Trafficking, Office for Victims of Crime, OTIP, National Institute of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development have begun to explore options for supporting the housing needs of individuals who have experienced trafficking through research, program evaluation, and training and technical assistance (National Institute of Justice, 2017; Office for Victims of Crime, 2018; U.S. Advisory Council on Human Trafficking, 2018). Findings from these efforts will continue to provide the information necessary to address housing barriers and improve housing outcomes for individuals who have experienced trafficking.

Legal Advocacy

The stigma and collateral consequences of justice-involvement often impedes the successful reintegration of offenders into society, thereby making it difficult for them to obtain self-sufficiency. For example, formerly incarcerated individuals face difficulty in obtaining stable housing (Fontaine, 2013), have health needs (Binswanger et al., 2009; Dumont et al., 2012; Wolff et al., 2015), have limited education (Rampey et al., 2016), experience high levels of unemployment (Western & Pettit, 2010), and have parental rights terminated (Hager & Flagg, 2018).

In recognition of the impact employment has on one's ability to successfully reintegrate and be self-sufficient after a period of incarceration, 34 states, the District of Columbia, and more than 150 cities and counties have adopted what is widely known as Ban the Box or "fair chance policies" (Avery, 2019). This movement calls for employers to delay inquiring about an applicant's criminal record until

late in the hiring process. Advocates of Ban the Box believe that if employers cannot tell who has a criminal record, job-ready formerly incarcerated individuals will have a better chance at getting an interview and gainful employment (Doleac & Hansen, 2018). Although there is variability across jurisdictions in the timing of the background check in the application process, there are several best practices for requiring and administering criminal background checks (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2012). While this represents an important step in addressing post-incarceration barriers to employment, it is important to note that some research finds ban the box policies increase discrimination against demographic groups that include the formerly incarcerated (Agan & Star, 2018; Doleac & Hansen, 2018). Moreover, it does not address the need for job-readiness services for the formerly incarcerated. Additional research is needed to disentangle these findings and determine how to best implement Ban the Box to improve the employment rates of the formerly incarcerated.

Best Practices:
Conducting Criminal Background Checks

- Develop a narrowly tailored written policy and procedure for screening applicants and employees for criminal conduct.
- Identify essential job requirements and the actual circumstances under which the jobs are performed.
- Determine the specific offenses that may demonstrate unfitness for performing such jobs.
- Identify the criminal offenses based on all available evidence.
- Determine the duration of exclusions for criminal conduct based on all available evidence.
- Include an individualized assessment.
- Record the justification for policy and procedures.
- Note and keep a record of consultations and research considered in crafting the policy and procedures.
- Train managers, hiring officials, and decision makers on how to implement the policy and procedures consistent with Title VII.
- When asking questions about criminal records, limit inquiries to records for which exclusion would be job related for the position in question and consistent with business necessity.
- Keep information about applicants' and employees' criminal records confidential. Only use it for the purpose for which it was intended.

(U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2012)

Individuals who are incarcerated as a result of criminal activities committed as a direct result of their trafficking have additional legal advocacy needs. In a recent study conducted by the National Survivor Network, approximately 90 percent of its members reported being arrested, and 40 percent were arrested 9 times or more (National Survivor Network, 2016). Moreover, 75 percent believed their arrest was directly related to their trafficking. Criminal justice-involved survivors then reported difficulty finding housing and employment, accessing public assistance programs like food stamps, obtaining loans and lines of credit, and keeping custody of their children (National Survivor Network, 2016).

Thus, legal advocacy and vacatur laws recognized the harmful impact of criminalization of trafficking victims by expunging, sealing, or vacating criminal records related to being trafficked (McCann, 2018). Expunged records are physically destroyed while sealed records are filed separately from other criminal records. Records are expunged or sealed to prevent others from accessing the record. Expungement laws and procedures differ by state and typically include provisions for whose records and which types of criminal offenses can be considered for expungement (American Bar Association, 2018). A criminal record is considered vacated if the guilty verdict is withdrawn and the case is dismissed (American Civil Liberties Union, 2013).
In 2010, New York became the first state to allow individuals who have experienced trafficking to clear their criminal record of select charges. Over the next 8 years, nearly all states enacted laws that offer criminal record relief for individuals who have criminal charges associated with their trafficking experience (Marsh, Anthony, Emerson, & Mogulescu, 2019). However, the type of legal remedies available to trafficked individuals with criminal records varies from sealing of records,

expungement, and full vacatur of records (Center for Law & Policy, 2017; Marsh et al., 2019) and varies on the types of eligible crimes. Polaris and partners recently released a report that analyzes existing state criminal record relief laws for individuals who have experienced trafficking. States were assigned a score on a scale from 1 to 100, with points given for range of relief, arrests and adjudication relief, offenses covered, judicial discretion, nexus to trafficking, time limits and wait times, burden of proof, official documentation, confidentiality, and additional restrictive conditions in relief. The highest score, from the state of Nebraska, was an 81. Maryland had the lowest score, 26 (Marsh et al., 2019). Across all states, the authors highlight the limitations of existing legislation and how it is limited in scope or is not accessible. For example, some states only provide relief for prostitution or sex-related crimes, crimes committed in response to the immediate threat of death or harm or crimes committed within a certain time frame (e.g., the last 6 years), Despite these challenges, the research suggests individuals who have experienced trafficking and have criminal records are seeking relief. The Amara Legal Center, a law firm in Washington, DC, that provides free legal services, received 40 requests for record sealing or expungement services in 2017 alone (Amara Legal Center, 2018). The 2017 Trafficking in Persons Report indicates that only 36 states have passed vacatur laws, which allow trafficked individuals to obtain a court order vacating or expunging criminal convictions for offenses they were forced to commit while in their trafficking situations.

Considerations for a Strong Vacatur Law

- Not limited to vacating only certain prostitution offenses
- Not require the survivor to present official documentation certifying them as a victim of trafficking
- Not require the survivor to prove that s/he has left the sex industry or been “rehabilitated”
- Offer confidentiality provisions to protect the client’s identity
- Be the most complete remedy possible under the law
- State that the Court *must* vacate the convictions and dismiss the accusatory instrument if an individual meets the elements
- Allow the Court to take additional appropriate action (beyond the mandate of the statute)
- Be retroactive and inclusive of those with older convictions
- Ensure availability of the remedy by funding legal services attorneys to bring these motions
- Those truly concerned with limiting the devastating impact of criminal convictions should consider a remedy that includes all individuals with prostitution records.

(Emerson, Kroman, Mogulescu, & Sartor, 2014)

Youth Reentry and Legal Advocacy

The juvenile justice system was designed to rehabilitate, protect, and supervise youth (Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, 2019). Juveniles who commit crimes are supposed to be treated differently by the courts to avoid the stigma and consequences associated with a criminal conviction (e.g., restrictions on obtaining housing, employment, education). In most cases, this means placing juveniles who have committed crimes in residential facilities until they reach adulthood (rather than in prison) and keeping juvenile justice records confidential (Gowen, Thurau, & Wood, 2011; Radice, 2018). Juvenile records can be kept confidential in two different ways.

Confidentiality statutes limit who can access juvenile arrest and court records. These statutes define which types of records will be kept confidential and who can access those records differently by state. Recording and distributing juvenile justice records varies widely by state. Very few state confidentiality statutes specifically mandate that juvenile records may not be shared publicly in police, probation, or court-related documents. Most state confidentiality statutes include language that records should remain confidential and not be share publicly but also include exceptions to this rule. For example, some states allow access to the youth’s parent, the youth’s accuser, schools, and

probation officers or allow certain types of records to be publicly available, like juveniles who were charged with sex offenses or violent offenses. A few states provide very limited confidentiality protection, allowing juvenile records to be accessed publicly like adult criminal records (Radice, 2018).

Extinguishing statutes allow juvenile records to be expunged or sealed. Expunged records provide the greatest level of protection for juvenile records. Sealed records are filed separately from other juvenile records; remain accessible to law enforcement, prosecutors, and judges; and are not made publicly available. Nine states have extinguishing statutes that include the expungement of records, but most of those states have exceptions (e.g., records can be expunged only for certain types of cases, after a certain age). Twenty-seven states have extinguishing statutes that only include provisions for sealing juvenile records. Many of these states automatically seal all juvenile records after a specific period of time, with exceptions for violent or sexual offenses. Fifteen states have statutes for both sealing and expunging criminal records, which may be the most effective method of protecting juvenile records by first sealing the record and then providing opportunities for expungement after certain criteria have been met (Radice, 2018).

In practice, juvenile records are rarely kept completely confidential, expunged, or sealed. Juvenile justice-involved youth typically are not informed that there are short- and long-term collateral consequences of pleading guilty or being found guilty; their records may not be kept confidential; or that there are processes and requirements for having a juvenile record sealed or expunged (Gowen et al., 2011). The American Bar Association (2015) passed the Model Act Governing the Confidentiality and Expungement of Juvenile Delinquency Records (Model Act) to prevent the unauthorized use or disclosure of confidential records with the ultimate goal of preventing the stigma and consequences associated with having a juvenile criminal record. The Model Act states that all juvenile legal, law enforcement, state juvenile/criminal justice information system, and social (e.g., probation, Department of Children Services, medical, psychiatric, detention, education) records should be kept confidential. This can be accomplished by:

- Storing juvenile records separately from other court files and records
- Prohibiting the public sharing of records
- Specifying which individuals can access juvenile records under specific circumstances (e.g., by probation officers who are serving the juvenile, a public or private agency that has custody of the juvenile in accordance with a court order, a parent or legal guardian of the juvenile)
- Requiring a written petition to release juvenile records or information, which includes providing notice to the juvenile or their attorney so they have the opportunity to object; holding a hearing if requested by the juvenile or their attorney; an explanation for why the juvenile's record is being requested, how the information will be used, and the names of each person who will have access to their information; and a discussion in juvenile court about whether there is a compelling reason for releasing this information and, if so, the imposition of restrictions on using and re-disclosing the juvenile's record and information
- Assigning penalties such as a misdemeanor charge or a fine for the unlawful sharing of confidential information
- Automatically expunging juvenile justice records:
    - That were not adjudicated immediately after the court discharged the case
    - Within 2 years after adjudicated cases are closed if there are no pending court proceedings (unless the charge was first-degree murder or aggravated rape)
- Allowing expungement upon application after the juvenile's case has been closed

- Having the juvenile's attorney, judge, and court clerk notify the juvenile that expungement is an option (American Bar Association, 2015)

If states adopt the Model Act, then juvenile justice-involved youth can avoid the stigma and consequences associated with having a delinquent or criminal record. This is especially critical for justice-involved youth who have experienced trafficking. Youth who were sexually or physically abused are more likely to experience sexual exploitation (e.g., Choi, 2015; Reid & Piquero, 2014; Ulloa et al., 2016). This could be because youth with histories of sexual and physical abuse may engage in risky behaviors like substance use or running away as a result of their abuse, which may expose youth to sexual exploitation (Reid, 2011) and labor exploitation (Murphy, 2016; Walts, 2017). Despite being victims of exploitation rather than perpetrators of a crime, sexually exploited youth are often arrested and prosecuted for prostitution (e.g., Annitto, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2010; Saar et al., 2015). Although research is limited on labor trafficking among youth, illegal forms of labor such as forced drug dealing may also lead to arrest (Murphy, 2016). Justice-involved youth who do not have to disclose their juvenile record will be better able to secure stable employment, find safe and affordable housing, and go to college—all of which can lead to greater self-sufficiency and successful reintegration into society.

States have broadened the definition of *trafficking victims* to include crimes other than prostitution such as forced labor and other forms of forced criminality—a positive step toward recognizing the complexity of human trafficking and the ways victims may be used to facilitate criminal behavior (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2018). However, this expansion in definition does not translate to vacatur or expungement on labor trafficking. Because these statutes vary at the state level, practitioners must become familiar with the specific statutory requirements of their jurisdiction (American Bar Association, 2016). Legal professionals and service providers should receive regular training related to the legal rights and options for expungement for trafficking victims. The American Bar Association's Survivor Reentry Project provides training and technical assistance on "vacatur, expungement and other criminal record remedies for trafficking survivors, public defenders, legal service lawyers, pro bono attorneys, victims' advocates, law students, judges, and prosecutors" (American Bar Association, 2019). Practitioners and legal professionals working with trafficking victims also advocate that a similar expungement and vacatur law should be instituted at the federal level to truly remedy the prosecution of victims of trafficking (Emerson & Aminzadeh, 2016).

Survivor Reentry Project

The Survivor Reentry Project provides:

- Technical assistance to survivors of human trafficking who have a criminal record due to their trafficking experience, including obtaining their criminal history, determining whether laws provide a remedy in the state they have been arrested, and, where possible, help locate lawyers to represent individuals
- Training and technical assistance to attorneys, advocates, judges, prosecutors, law enforcement, universities, and legislators on the vacatur of criminal convictions for survivors of human trafficking
- State-specific resources

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this literature review is to begin exploring the ways that evidence-based practices used in offender reentry programs can be leveraged to help individuals who have experienced trafficking (both with and without a criminal history) successfully reenter society, establish self-sufficiency, and avoid revictimization. Evidence suggests that individuals who have experienced trafficking are incarcerated for crimes they were forced to commit while they were being trafficked

(e.g., prostitution, drug possession, unauthorized work) (Emerson & Aminzadeh, 2016; Phillips et al., 2014; United Nations, 2014). Incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking have a variety of short- and long-term needs both within and once they are released from correctional facilities: safe and stable housing; food and clothing; physical health, mental health, and substance use treatment; family and social support; job training and employment; legal advocacy, and education (Hardison Walters et al., 2017; Macy & Johns, 2011; Reichert & Sylwestrzak, 2013).

Adult and juvenile offender reentry is the process of reentering the community after incarceration (Travis & Visher, 2005). Offender reentry often occurs in three phases to gradually prepare adult and juvenile offenders for successful reintegration into the community (e.g., Lattimore & Visher, 2010; Taxman, 2004). This phased approach begins with 1) services and programming provided in the correctional facility, 2) the development of a comprehensive plan for transitioning back into the community and then stabilizing the formerly incarcerated individual once they reenter the community, and 3) long-term community reintegration through community supervision and continued participation in community-based programs (La Vigne et al., 2008; Taxman, 2004). Offender reentry programs often focus on job training, employment, education, financial management, housing, family and social support, physical and mental health, and substance use (Lattimore & Visher, 2010). Each of these factors contribute to self-sufficiency and stabilization in the community.

Evidence-Based Reentry Practices

- Use standardized and validated screening, needs, and risk assessment tools.
- Use cognitive behavioral therapy and motivational interviewing to help achieve self-sufficiency.
- Provide intensive and structured services both in correctional settings and in the community.
- Engage supportive family members, friends, and other social supports.
- Use coordinated case management strategies within and postrelease.
- Implement processes and practices for measuring outcomes, assessing change, and evaluating service provider performance.
- Provide measurement feedback to incarcerated and formely incarcerated individuals (as well as service providers) to increase accountability and motivation, decrease treatment attrition, and improve outcomes.

Recommendations for leveraging evidence-based practices in offender reentry to support the complex needs and self-sufficiency of incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking and are reentering the community have been discussed in detail throughout this literature review. Evidence-based practices provide a framework for a holistic approach to reentry that addresses the self-sufficiency of the individual, challenges to reentry, and impact that reentry has on the family and community. The following recommendations for supporting incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking and are reentering the community should also be considered:

1. **Address criminal history-related barriers to achieving self-sufficiency during the reentry process:** Formerly incarcerated individuals experience difficulty obtaining stable housing (Fontaine, 2013) and employment (Western & Pettit, 2010) due to their criminal history. A variety of remedies can be considered to alleviate the collateral consequences of having a criminal history:
    a. Policymakers and business owners can consider “fair chance policies” (Avery, 2019) such as asking about criminal history later in the hiring process (rather than on the job application), determining which which specific offenses preclude hiring for specific types of employment, and developing a timeframe for excluding applicants with a criminal history from consideration.

b. State and federal policymakers can consider allowing individuals who have experienced trafficking to seal, expunge, or vacate criminal records associated with their trafficking. Special attention should be paid to strengthening confidentiality and extinguishing statutes for juveniles, including adoption of the Model Act Governing the Confidentiality and Expungement of Juvenile Delinquency Records. Both adults and juveniles should be informed of their rights and options to seal, expunge, or vacate their criminal records during criminal proceedings.
c. Vacatur laws can be strengthened by expanding eligible offenses beyond prostitution, avoiding requiring individuals who have experienced trafficking to provide official documents certifying that they are a victim of trafficking or proof that they have been "rehabilitated," providing greater confidentiality, and including older convictions (Emerson, Kroman, Mogulescu, & Sartor (2014).
d. Legal professionals and service providers should receive regular training on the legal rights of trafficking victims as well as options for sealing, expunging, and vacating criminal records.

2. **Train correctional staff and parole officers:** Potential trainings could focus on how to interact with individuals who have experienced trafficking in sensitive and constructive ways; provide trauma-informed and culturally competant care; identify individuals experiencing trafficking, as well as those at risk; recognize indicators of trafficking occurring in the facility; and facilitate increased self-sufficiency.

3. **Improve methods of identifying individuals who have experienced trafficking:** The prevalence of incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking is currently unknown. Part of the problem is that correctional facilities do not track this information. Correctional facilities should adapt existing tools at all three phases of reentry to screen inmates for indicators of trafficking, entering screening results into a database, and using that information to inform the delivery of in-prison services and development of comprehensive reentry plans that include connections to appropriate community resources. A wide variety of validated reentry tools already exist. Researchers and practitioners should consider determining whether these existing validated tools can be adapted for conducting screening, risk and needs assessment, and case management for trafficking populations.

4. **Raise understanding and knowledge of trafficking within prisons and their role in response:** The National Institute of Corrections (n.d.) has established the Correctional Anti-Trafficking Initiative (CAHTI) to raise staff and incarcerated individual's understanding and knowledge about trafficking within correctional facilities. A CAHTI brochure provides links to resources that assist with learning about and responding to trafficking, but it is unclear what further steps CAHTI will take to address human trafficking in correctional facilities (National Institute of Corrections, n.d.). Correctional employees have anecdotally reported attempting to raise understanding and knowledge by hanging posters with the telephone numbers for the the National Human Trafficking Hotline in booking areas and housing units as well as information for how to report trafficking to prison authorities (Binzer, 2016; Schoenly, 2018). Correctional facility administrators should consider implementing formal and consistent procedures to raise understanding and knowledge of trafficking in prisons and jails to help incarcerated individuals identify trafficking among others and themselves. Correctional staff should be trained to identify trafficking victimization through intake screening tools and recognize indicators of trafficking during their daily interaction with incarcerated individuals.

5. **Establish partnerships:** Studies have shown that formerly incarcerated individuals who receive in-prison services from community-based organizations and then continue to receive services with the same provider after release establish a sense of trust and comfort with the service provider (e.g., Warwick et al., 2012). Formerly incarcerated individuals may thus be more likely to continue receiving services once they reenter the community, which could lead to increased self-sufficiency. Researchers and program evaluators have consistently shown community-based service providers are already using a variety of effective practices to serve individuals who have experienced trafficking.

    a. Correctional facilities should consider partnering with these service providers to better serve individuals who have experienced trafficking beginning in-prison and then continuing after release. For example, community-based service providers could provide recommendations for survivor-specific, trauma-informed, and culturally competent services while survivors are incarcerated as well as provide services in the correctional facility.
    b. Community-based service providers and correctional facilities could collaborate on developing comprehensive reentry plans, providing referrals for services, and providing services once the trafficked individual reenters the community.
    c. Evidence-based reentry practices and programming could also inform service provision for survivors without a criminal history who are reentering the community after having been trafficked. Areas of focus may include reentry programming for workforce development, physical and mental health treatment, mentoring, and family support.
    d. Achieving self-sufficiency requires time, and service providers should keep in mind that individuals who have experienced trafficking will move at their own individual pace, set and achieve different types of goals, and experience success in different ways (Hardison Walters et al., 2017).

6. **Conduct research and evaluation:** Little is known about the nexus between human trafficking, prisons, and reentry. Decades of research and evaluation on evidence-based reentry practices and programming can be used to inform service provision for survivors of trafficking who have a criminal history (and may have been incarcerated) as well as survivors who do not have a criminal history but are reentering society after having experienced trafficking. Future research and evaluation could explore:

    a. Prevalence of adult and juvenile trafficking victims who are incarcerated
    b. Best practices for identifying survivors in correctional facilites
    c. Adapting existing or developing new reentry tools for human trafficking screening and assessment in correctional facilities; tools should then be tested and validated
    d. Effectiveness of reentry programs serving individuals who have experienced trafficking, including the effect that providing more structure to their time after release has on improved outcomes for self-sufficiency
    e. Prevalence, processes, and experiences of trafficking that occurs within correctional faciltiies
    f. Outcome evaluations for reentry programs serving adult and juvenile trafficking victims with a focus on outcomes related to self-sufficiency (e.g., housing, employment, education, mental and physical health)

Evidence-based offender reentry practices and programs can be leveraged to better serve formerly incarcerated individuals who have experienced trafficking as well as survivors who do not have a criminal history but are reentering society after experiencing trafficking. Trauma-informed, culturally

competent, and comprehensive care can help these individuals successfully reenter the community, achieve self-sufficiency, and decrease their likelihood of revictimization.

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