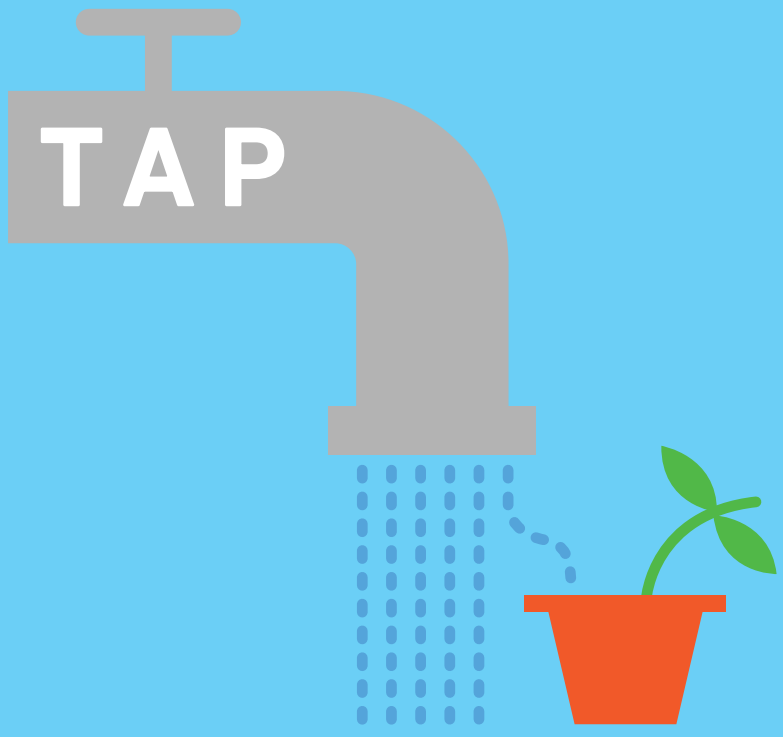
TURNING ON THE TAP:

How Returning Access to Tuition Assistance for Incarcerated People Improves the Health of New Yorkers



HUMAN IMPACT PARTNERS

May 2015
humanimpact.org

Human Impact Partners works to transform the policies and places people need to live healthy lives by increasing the consideration of health and equity in decision-making.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was authored by:

Human Impact Partners
- Holly Avey, Research Director
- Lili Farhang, Co-Director
- Marnie Purciel-Hill, Project Director
- Fabiola Santiago, Research Associate
- Sophia Simon-Ortiz, Intern
- Kim Gilhuly, Program Director

In partnership with:

Education from the Inside Out Coalition

JustLeadershipUSA
- Glenn Martin – Founder

College and Community Fellowship
- Vivian Nixon – Executive Director
- Mel Gagarin - Senior Associate of Public Affairs
- Dionna King - Community Organizer
- Erica Murphy – Tow Policy Advocacy Fellow
- Elizabeth Holliday – Communications Associate

Center for Community Alternatives
- Marsha Weissman - Executive Director
- Patricia Warth – Director, Justice Strategies

We wish to acknowledge and thank additional members of our Advisory Committee, who contributed to the guidance, direction, content, and framing of this report:

Correctional Association of New York
- Soffiyah Elijah – Executive Director

Fortune Society
- Ronald Day – Associate Vice President, David Rothenberg Center for Public Policy

New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene
- Jasmine Graves – Special Assistant, Office of the Commissioner

Syracuse University
- Sandy Lane – Professor of Public Health and Anthropology

Vera Institute of Justice
- Fred Patrick – Director, Center on Sentencing and Corrections

We also deeply appreciate the expertise and time of those who contributed to the findings of this report, including focus group participants, whose experiences as formerly incarcerated students only begin to reveal the depths of their talents and contributions:

Arlander Brown, formerly incarcerated student, Editorial Assistant at Skyhorse Publishing, currently enrolled at Hunter College as a Creative Writing major

Andre Centeno, formerly incarcerated student, Team Leader of Discharge Planners at Fortune Society; acquired a Master's degree in Social Work and certification in Family Development after release

Shanica Fogler, formerly incarcerated student, Residential Aid at Job Training Program

Sharlene Henry, formerly incarcerated student, Program Aid at Project Renewal; also provides hair braiding services

Patreese Johnson, formerly incarcerated student, currently enrolled at Essex County College majoring in Liberal Arts; an activist / Motivational Speaker for LGBTQ rights; currently on tour as an artist for the film Out In The Night.

Luther Jordan, formerly incarcerated student, Residential Aid at Project Renewal; currently enrolled at LaGuardia Community College

Devon Simmons, formerly incarcerated student, currently enrolled in Hostos Community College, majoring in Criminal Justice

2 participants in the children's focus group

and many esteemed subject matter experts who were interviewed:

Lois Davis – Senior Policy Researcher, RAND Corporation

Ronald Day – formerly incarcerated student, Associate Vice President of Public Policy, The Fortune Society; currently enrolled in the Criminal Justice PhD program at CUNY/John Jay College, also adjunct professor at John Jay College

Baz Dreisinger – Associate Professor, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York; Founder and Academic Director of John Jay's Prison-to-College Pipeline Program

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Michelle Fine – Professor, Ph.D. Program in Psychology, CUNY Graduate Center

Robert E. Fullilove – Senior Advisor, Bard Prison Initiative public health program; Associate Dean, Community and Minority Affairs and Professor, Clinical Sociomedical Sciences, Columbia University

Robert Hausrath – Director, Consortium of the Niagara Frontier, Daemen College

Siddiq Najee, formerly incarcerated student, Family Service Specialist at the Osborne Association

Sean Pica – Executive Director, Hudson Link for Higher Education in Prison

Laurie Scott – retired from New York State Department of Corrections; Alternatives to Violence Program; and Reentry Columbia

Staff of Senator Dean Skelos – New York State Senate Majority Leader

John Valverde – formerly incarcerated student, Associate Executive Director at the Osborne Association

Cheryl Wilkins – formerly incarcerated student, Senior Program Manager at Columbia University's Center for Justice

Staff of Senator Skelos – New York State Senate Majority Leader

Suggested citation:

Human Impact Partners. May 2015. Turning on the TAP: How Returning Access to Tuition Assistance for Incarcerated People Improves the Health of New Yorkers; Oakland, CA.

This report was designed and illustrated by Rosten Woo and Tiffanie Tran.

For more information, contact:

Holly Avey, Research Director
Human Impact Partners
havey@humanimpact.org
www.humanimpact.org
510-452-9442 ext 108

This report is supported by grants from the Health Impact Project, a collaboration of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts, and by the Kresge Foundation. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Health Impact Project, The Pew Charitable Trusts, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, or the Kresge Foundation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

We live in a time many scholars call "the era of mass imprisonment." But the unprecedented increase in incarceration rates in America has not been spread uniformly across the population. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that an African-American man living in the U.S. has a 1-in-3 lifetime probability of serving at least a year in prison.

The impacts of mass imprisonment are felt most acutely in a small number of urban communities – mostly communities of color – where families and individuals are already struggling with poor schools, inadequate housing, weak labor markets, and poor health care. People who are sent to prison are cut off from their families and communities and removed from the natural rhythms of life in a free society: working, raising families, building social capital, voting, and experiencing directly the joys and challenges of intimate relationships.

In virtually every measure of socio-economic well-being – work history, health, prior victimization and family functioning – incarcerated individuals fare poorly. The prison population has low levels of educational attainment and a high level of educational challenges. However, higher education can play an indispensable role in countering the forces in our society that are leading to the marginalization of millions. Educators believe firmly in the power of a college education to transform lives, unlock human potential, provide a ladder to the middle class, foster notions of citizenship, and promote individual responsibility. Unfortunately, in 1994 the State of New York banned Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) funding for people in prison. The results were dramatic, as the number of people in prison receiving post-secondary education dropped significantly. But evidence of the benefits of reinstating funding for incarcerated people is strong, and many studies show that the cost of such programs is modest.

This Health Impact Assessment shows an additional benefit. It shows that the relatively small investment in tuition assistance for incarcerated people will result in health benefits – not just for those who receive a college education while in prison, but for their families, communities and our society as a whole.

This perspective is of great value because it helps us understand how criminal justice and education policies shape people's health. It is a unique perspective that comes from looking at the intersection of research and correctional policy through a public health lens. It is imperative that policymakers understand that correctional education is an investment in public health that will also reduce crime and recidivism.

Our society benefits from an educated citizenry capable of making contributions to our economy and our democracy. Correctional education is an important part of ensuring that the opportunity to contribute to society is not denied to incarcerated people.

Jeremy Travis
President
John Jay College of Criminal Justice

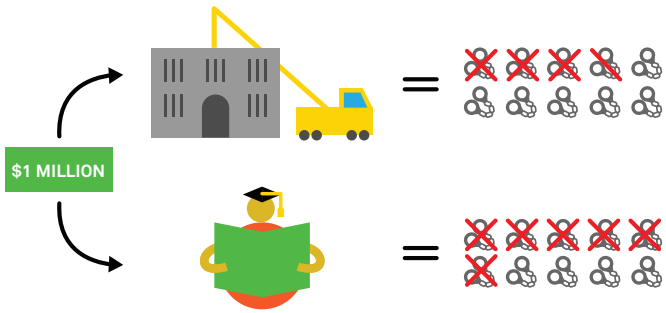
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Expanding access to college education for people in New York prisons would benefit the overall health and well-being of the communities that formerly incarcerated people return to, as well as the individuals who receive the education, and their families.

College education boosts self-respect and self-esteem, and improves judgment – factors that contribute to a safer and more engaged community, better parenting and home environment for children, and safer prison environments. These changes can foster better mental and physical health for all.

A Health Impact Assessment of the benefits of in-prison college education finds:

- **For New York**, in-prison college education is a cost-effective investment in reducing crime and recidivism. A study on crime control strategies found that every $1 million spent on building more prisons prevents about 350 crimes, but the same amount invested in correctional education prevents more than 600 crimes.
- **For communities**, benefits of in-prison college education mean that when students return to the community, they engage in lower rates of crime and have a higher level of civic engagement when compared to other formerly incarcerated people returning to the community.
- **For those who receive college education in prison**, college teaches critical thinking skills that help people better understand and take responsibility for the consequences of their actions. It also improves their chances of getting a job, reuniting with their families, finding their place in society, not committing new offenses, and not returning to prison.
- **For children**, benefits of in-prison college education include improved parenting behaviors, higher family income, increased likelihood that children and family members achieve higher levels of education, and reduced likelihood that children experience behavioral problems and get involved in the criminal justice system themselves.
- **For other people in prisons**, college education improves relationships and reduces conflicts, resulting in a safer prison environment.



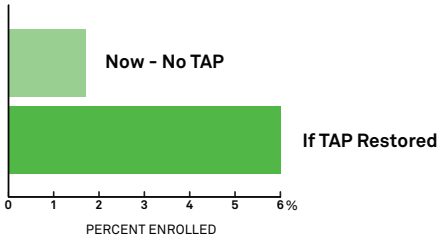
THE CONTEXT

The state's Tuition Assistance Program, or TAP, provides grants to low-income New York residents to help them afford college. The federal equivalent of the TAP grant is the Pell grant. TAP is one of the largest state student financial aid programs in the U.S. Until 1994, TAP and Pell grants helped incarcerated people in 45 New York prisons enroll in courses offered by 23 colleges. That year, about 3,500 students in prison received assistance, funded by a very small share of the total TAP budget (less than 1%).

Despite community concerns to the contrary, the Higher Education Services Corporation, which administers TAP, reported that TAP grants to students in prison did not take funds away from non-incarcerated students. Appropriations for TAP are established prior to the start of each school year, and any applicant who meets the requirements will receive the funding, irrespective of the number of other applicants and their income levels for any given year.

Despite evidence of the benefits of correctional education, in 1994, the federal government prohibited

Pell Grant eligibility for people in prison. The following year, New York Gov. George Pataki facilitated efforts to prohibit TAP grant eligibility for people in prison. After TAP and Pell funding was eliminated, in-prison college education programs in New York almost disappeared.



In the last decade, new leadership of the state corrections department promoted a model in which local colleges partner with prisons and seek funding from private foundations to provide college education in prison. Today there are college programs in 21 of the state's 54 prisons.

But foundation funding is limited and hard to secure. Before funding was cut, approximately 5% of the total prison population was receiving TAP funding. Current enrollment rates in college education programs are closer to 1.7% of the total prison population in New York State. A survey conducted for this report revealed that, on average, only one-third of those who apply for the programs are accepted, and one reason the college programs gave was lack of resources to increase capacity. Almost all of the programs said they could serve more students – up to four times as many – if tuition assistance was available. Restoring TAP eligibility could also attract other colleges to set up new prison programs.

HEALTH IMPACTS AND KEY FINDINGS

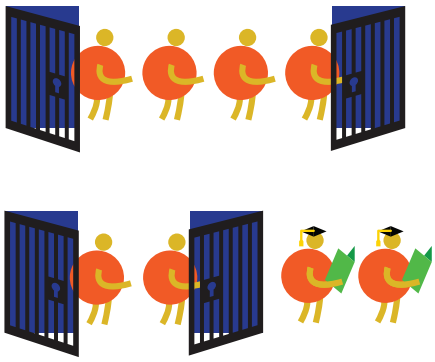
Health impacts: Communities that experience lower crime rates are likely to experience fewer crime-related injuries and traumas, and have better overall mental health. Communities that have more economically and civically engaged citizens are also likely to have better overall physical and mental health.

Education is an important factor in reducing crime in communities. In a meta-analysis of 19 studies, the RAND Corporation concluded that people who participate in college education in prison have 51% lower odds of returning to prison than those who did not participate in these programs.

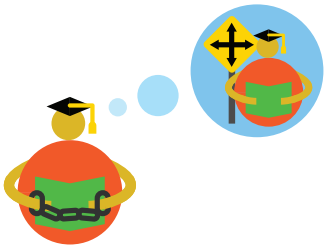
When students receive college education while in prison and then return to communities, the communities benefit because these students are more likely to find jobs and be engaged in civic life after they are released.

"People who are able to pursue college inside prison increase their chances of being employable upon release, thus becoming productive members within their families and society. Because I was able to get a job right away, I didn't have to rely on social service agencies to provide health care, food stamps, housing, etc. My friends told me, 'I've never seen somebody so happy to pay taxes.'"
—Cheryl Wilkins, formerly incarcerated student

Health impacts: Healthier individuals make healthier communities. In addition to being more effective citizens, students with improved self-esteem, critical thinking skills, and social engagement experience better mental health and behavioral health outcomes, such as better health-promoting behaviors, avoiding risky health behaviors, and improved longevity.



College education in prison allows a person to develop a positive self-concept. The prisoner role, where people are denied the opportunity to make decisions for themselves, is dehumanizing and can result in learned helplessness. In the student role, people are given choices, their perspectives are sought and heard, and they can see the results of their decisions. The student comes to think of himself or herself as someone who can achieve and succeed, increasing the chances they will make good behavioral choices.



"Yes, I'm an ex-offender, but I'm educated. I can say I'm a John Jay student. I have a 3.95 GPA."
—Devon Simmons, formerly incarcerated student

Prison study "supported self-introspection and reflection," said John Valverde, who was accepted to CUNY Law School while incarcerated at Sing Sing prison. Mr. Valverde went on to co-found Hudson Link, which helps facilitates programming and funding for courses at Sing Sing from five New York colleges. "It prevented people from just making excuses or justifying your actions; really made you think about your responsibility and who you were at the time you committed the crime."

Health impacts: Better employment opportunities for parents lead to higher family incomes – one of the strongest determinants of health and well-being – providing resources that can improve access to healthy foods, housing, and ongoing education. These attributes are then passed down to children, improving the health and well-being of the next generation. Improved parenting behaviors also lead to improved socio-emotional development of children.

These improvements in self-esteem and self-respect, judgment, and critical thinking skills also translate into better parenting behaviors. New York State is home to an estimated 105,000 children with a parent serving time in prison or jail. Having an incarcerated parent is a stressor that has long-term negative consequences for the health of a child. Having a parent participate in college education while in prison can re-shape that dynamic by improving the quality of parent-child interactions, increasing the parent's involvement in his or her child's education, and having the parent model the conflict resolution and critical thinking skills that the child can then learn and benefit from.

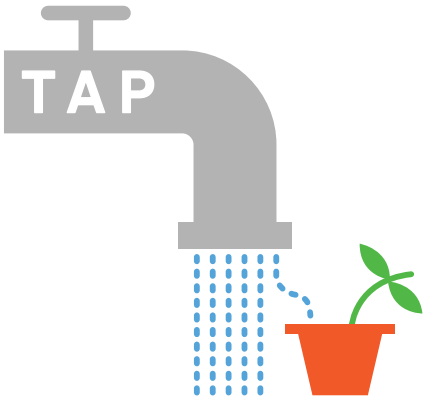
"You're not just educating prisoners. You're educating society. I'm a mom of four... I'm helping stop the cycle."
—Sharlene Henry, formerly incarcerated student

The benefits of college education are not limited to children. Other family members may also find inspiration, motivation, and enhanced quality of relationships.

"I was the first one to go to school in my family, to get a college education. After that – my niece has a BA from John Jay, my nephew has a PhD and teaches at Hunter, my younger brother got his AD. My mother, may she rest in peace, her thing was – 'Look what you started.' And it was from the penitentiary."
—Andre Centeno, formerly incarcerated student

Health impacts: Prison environments that offer better relationships and fewer conflicts experience better physical health through fewer injuries and better mental health through improved social connections and reduced stress.

The prison environment also benefits from college education programs that are offered in correctional facilities. The Correctional Association of New York, a non-profit authorized by the state to examine and report on prison conditions, credits college programs with "an incentive for good behavior; producing mature, well-spoken leaders who have a calming influence on other [incarcerated] people and on correction officers; and communicating the message that society has sufficient respect for the human potential of incarcerated people."



RECOMMENDATIONS

Legislators in New York State are considering S975/A2870 (2015), a bill that would repeal the ban on incarcerated people receiving financial aid for college education through TAP. The purpose of the legislation is to increase access to educational resources in prison and increase educational attainment for those who are incarcerated.

There are approximately 53,000 people in New York state prisons, 59% of whom have a verified high school diploma and could therefore be eligible for TAP funding. Based on data from programs we surveyed, current enrollment in college education programs in New York state prisons averages 924 students per year, with an average of 80 Associate's degrees and 32 Bachelor's degrees awarded each year. Lack of resources is one reason that only one-third of prison applicants are accepted for college study. If tuition assistance funding was restored, existing programs would be able to enroll up to 3,234 people a year.

This HIA finds that the proposed legislation would have positive health impacts for the communities that formerly incarcerated people return to, as well as the individuals who receive the education, and their families. To ensure these health benefits are accrued, we recommend the following:

- **To increase the availability of college programs in New York State prisons, eligibility for Tuition Assistance Program funding for qualified incarcerated people should be restored. Both public and private institutions of higher education should be eligible to receive TAP funds, and all students should be required to be earning course credit that can be applied towards an AA, BA, or MA degree.**
- **To demonstrate their systematic support for college programs, the Department of Corrections and Community Supervision should provide appropriate space, security, technology, and other resources necessary for the creation, operation, and maintenance of successful college education programs within the system.**
- **To provide stability for students and maintain their ability to participate in college programs, the Department of Corrections and Community Supervision should allow and honor educational holds to limit student transfers.**
- **To ensure the academic quality of college programs in prison, all college education providers and courses should meet rigorous academic standards.**

Finally, while it is important that education be provided in prisons, it is equally important to maintain that educational momentum upon release by emphasizing education as part of the re-entry process as well.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

Health Impact Assessment (HIA) is a public engagement and decision-support tool that can be used to assess policy proposals and make recommendations to improve health outcomes associated with those proposals. The fundamental goal of HIA is to ensure that health and health inequities are considered in decision-making processes using an objective and scientific approach, and engaging stakeholders in the process.

For this HIA, the following methods were employed:

- Extensive review of the scientific and grey literature
- Data collection from existing sources
- Focus groups
- Subject matter expert interviews

This project was conducted by Human Impact Partners of Oakland, CA in partnership with the Education from the Inside Out Coalition and advisory committee members from the Vera Institute of Justice, the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, the Fortune Society, Syracuse University, and the Correctional Association of New York.

This report is supported by grants from the Health Impact Project, a collaboration of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts, and by the Kresge Foundation. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Health Impact Project, The Pew Charitable Trusts, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, or the Kresge Foundation.

Visit: *www.turnonthetapny.org*

Human Impact Partners works to transform the policies and places people need to live healthy lives by increasing the consideration of health and equity in decision-making. For more about Human Impact Partners, visit: *www.humanimpact.org*.

I. INTRODUCTION

For several decades before the mid-1990's, federal and state funding was available for people in prison to pursue higher education while incarcerated. The 1972 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1965 established Pell Grants, to which incarcerated people could apply to finance college, and in 1974 the New York legislature created the Tuition Assistance Program (TAP), to which people in prison could also apply for supplementary grant funding. In 1994, college education programs flourished in New York State: there were 23 colleges awarding degrees to people in 45 state prisons.[1]

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, passed in 1994, barred the eligibility of people in prison from the Pell grant program. The following year Governor Pataki signed legislation that banned people in New York's state prisons from TAP. Soon thereafter, the number of college education programs offered in New York State prisons was reduced from 45 to 4 as funding to support student enrollment dried up.[1] Since that time, some private foundations have stepped up to fill the gap, but this funding mechanism is likely not a sustainable solution and at least one program is planning to close this year due to lack of funding. These privately funded college education programs in New York state prisons are serving far fewer people than when programs were publicly funded.

Today, legislators in New York State are considering S975/A2870 (2015), a bill that would repeal the ban on incarcerated people receiving financial aid for college education through TAP. There are approximately 53,000 people in New York prisons, 59% of whom have a high school or equivalency diploma and could therefore be eligible for TAP funding. The purpose of the legislation is to increase access to educational resources in prison and increase educational attainment for those who are incarcerated.

There is a strong need and demand for higher education programs. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, only 7% of the U.S. state prison population reported having participated in adult college education programs,[2] In New York State, far more people apply to the limited number of college education programs than the programs can actually accommodate. Directors of higher education programs in New York State prisons indicated that on average, only 10% of those eligible participate.[3]

Historically there is a precedent for government support for the rehabilitative, rather than the punitive, purpose of the prison system.[4] Upholding the goal of rehabilitation in incarceration means creating a system that gives people the support they need to leave prison better prepared to live a law-abiding life, which includes educational resources. Although the "rehabilitative ideal" became less of an emphasis among lawmakers and prison administrators starting in the mid-1970s, it had been an overarching rationale for incarceration for nearly a century prior.[4] College education programs in prison are an opportunity to revive the notion that prisons have a responsibility to rehabilitate people, not just punish them.

> *"There needs to be a culture shift... that Corrections is not going to be solely about punishment or an employment program or a job creator for a town that would otherwise not have jobs. That shouldn't be the sole role of a prison. An education focus will require a culture shift. All the other supports would have to shift with that to make it a success."*
> —John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

This report examines how the proposed legislation – should it be passed – would affect the health of communities that formerly incarcerated people are returning to, the health of people who receive college education in prison, and the health of their children. Specifically, we examine how college education in prison affects: community indicators of well-being such as public safety and civic engagement; individual outcomes among those who receive education, including social and psychological well-being, employment and income, and recidivism; and how these go on to affect parent-child relationships, child educational outcomes, and changes in the material conditions of families.

Existing evidence makes a compelling case that the provision of TAP funding for people in prison in New York – and the increased educational attainment that would accrue – would affect determinants known to affect health, including employment, income, recidivism, and self-esteem and critical thinking skills. Here, we build on this body of evidence to illustrate

that improvement of health and mental health for communities, people who receive college education in prison, and their families would also be expected should we witness the passage of S975/A2870 (2015).

ABOUT THIS REPORT

Health Impact Assessment (HIA) is a public engagement and decision-support tool that can be used to assess policy proposals and make recommendations to improve health outcomes associated with those proposals. The fundamental goal of HIA is to ensure that health and health inequities are considered in decision-making processes using an objective and scientific approach, and engaging stakeholders in the process.

For this HIA, the following methods were employed:

- Extensive review of the scientific (peer-reviewed) and grey (non peer-reviewed) literature;
- Data collection from existing sources, such as the Department of Corrections and from college education programs;
- Focus groups with adults who completed college education programs in prison and were then released and with children whose parents participated in college education while in prison; and
- Subject matter expert interviews with researchers, former college program participants, college counselors, college program faculty and administrators, a social worker who works with the children of incarcerated parents, and policy makers.

Visit www.turnonthetapNY.org or www.humanimpact.org for appendices to this report that provide more information on the HIA, stakeholder engagement, and methods used.

II. BACKGROUND

WHAT IS POSTSECONDARY CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION?

The Urban Institute defines postsecondary correctional education as: coursework, either academic or vocational, for which an incarcerated person may receive college credit that may be used toward a two-year, four-year, or graduate college degree.[5] As would be true for postsecondary education outside the prison system, our working definition, which is referred to as "college education" throughout this report, refers only to coursework that is offered to people in prison who hold a high school or equivalency diploma. Certificate programs were included only when the courses taken as part of the certificate program were provided by accredited institutions and could be transferred to, at minimum, an associate's or applied associate's degree.

WHAT IS TAP?

The Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) is a need-based grant program of New York State that gives money to low-income New York residents attending public or private postsecondary institutions in the State, to help them pay their school's tuition. TAP grants are based on the applicant's and their family's New York State taxable income. The federal equivalent of the TAP grant is the Pell Grant. TAP is one of the largest student financial aid programs in the country.

In order to be eligible for a TAP grant, the student must meet income requirements and be a U.S. citizen, or eligible noncitizen, and a resident of New York State. While we were not able to locate the average income of TAP grant recipients, Pell Grants are an indicator of this figure. Nearly 75% of Pell Grant recipients had an annual family income below $30,000 in 2012-2013.[6] TAP eligible students must have earned either a high school diploma or have passed the appropriate equivalency tests (e.g., Test Assessing Secondary Completion or GED). The grant requires full-time study (12 credits) at an approved postsecondary institution in New York (although there is a new part-time TAP program). The student must remain in good academic standing (at least a cumulative "C" average). Tuition must be at least $200 per year and the student must not be in default on any state or federal student loans or awards.

In the 2013-2014 academic year, TAP awarded a total of $935.6 million in grants to over 370,000 students in the state. The minimum award was $500 and the maximum was $5,000. The average annual grant is just over $2,500.[7]

TAP FOR PEOPLE IN PRISON BEFORE 1995

TAP grants were at one time available to people in prison. The availability of state and federal higher education grants for people in prison started at the federal level with Congress' reauthorization in 1972, of Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which allowed incarcerated people to apply for Pell Grants to finance college. State-level governments that provide financial aid for lower-income people, such as New York's TAP, created in 1974, offered supplementary grant programs open to people in prison as well. This funding facilitated the expansion of college programs in prison.

While government actions were facilitating access to higher education for people in need, developments in the prison system were also paving the way for the expansion of college programs in prison. The Attica uprising of 1971 is one example. This tragic event gave rise to some modest prison reforms intended to ensure the humane treatment of incarcerated people and included, among other changes, increased access to college in prison. Inhumane living conditions at New York's Attica prison, such as overcrowding, unsanitary conditions (one shower per week and one roll of toilet paper per month), no access to reading materials, and a lack of grievance procedures, among other concerns, sparked a rebellion in which incarcerated people took control of the prison for four days. After negotiations broke down over demands for better conditions and amnesty for violence that took place during the takeover, state troopers and police retook the facility, killing ten hostages and 29 incarcerated people.[8] The Attica uprising sparked various commissions and reports leading to some improvements. Access to high school equivalency and college level courses; family visits; and courts, law libraries, and grievance procedures were among the reforms enacted in prisons after this tragic event.[9]
In New York in 1994, before Pell and TAP funding was blocked for those in prison, 23 two- and four-year

colleges awarded associates and bachelor's degrees to people in 45 state prisons.[1] Schools offering college courses in prisons received TAP funding for eligible enrolled students to cover the costs of tuition and other education expenses. Although the student's financial need determined their eligibility, the grants were not given directly to students. TAP funding was provided to approved postsecondary institutions for academic, rather than vocational, credit-bearing courses taught in the correctional institution.

According to the Higher Education Services Corporation – the New York State agency that administers TAP – in the 1994-1995 school year there were approximately 69,000 people incarcerated in the state prison system with about 3,500 of these receiving TAP funding for college classes.[1] The awards totaled about $5 million dollars and the average award was about $1,430.1,[10] Of the 3,500 people receiving funding, about 900 would receive Associate's, Bachelor's or Master's degrees.[1] (The 2009-2010 State Budget eliminated TAP award eligibility for graduate students.[11])

For all college students in the state – not just those in prisons – in the same year (i.e., 1994-1995), a total of $630 million were awarded in TAP grants in the state. The maximum grant was $4,050 and the average was $2,050.1 Given these statistics, the total awarded to students in prison amounted to less than 1% (0.8%) of all TAP funding for the year.

> *"These kinds of initiatives have been opposed by upstate communities, corrections officers, [and] the general public who in many circumstances can't afford to send their own child to college."*
> —John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

Despite community concerns to the contrary, the Higher Education Services Corporation, which administers TAP, reported that TAP grants to students in prison did not take funds away from non-incarcerated students. Appropriations for TAP are established prior to the start of each school year, and any applicant who meets the requirements will receive the funding, irrespective of the number of other applicants and their income levels for any given year.[1 12] In addition, college programs in a prison setting have relatively low overhead costs, so TAP funds are a cost-effective way to provide an education to these students.

SHIFTING TIDES – THE REMOVAL OF TAP AND PELL FUNDING FOR PEOPLE IN PRISON

After increasing support for college in prison, the political tide shifted. The popularization of "tough on crime" rhetoric and policies prompted elected officials to begin to worry that supporting education in prisons would give the appearance of being "soft on crime." Some viewed the opportunity to earn a college degree in prison as a reward for bad behavior. As a result some legislators at both the federal and state level supported or initiated efforts to ban tuition assistance for incarcerated people.

As funding was threatened, college education program providers reacted by scrambling to demonstrate their effectiveness in an effort to keep the funding stream available. Providers focused on building a robust research base – much of which was absent while the programs were in operation – to show their value, and they hoped the evidence would speak for itself. There was little organizing or advocacy infrastructure nationally on which to draw to prevent the elimination of Pell grant eligibility for people in prison.

Despite opposition from policy experts and providers, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act was passed in 1994. This landmark crime bill included the federal assault weapons ban, more funding for police officers and prisons, an expanded death penalty statute, and other provisions. One of the provisions prohibited Pell Grant eligibility for higher education in prison. This had the effect of decimating college education programs in correctional settings across the country. The following year Governor Pataki signed legislation that banned people in New York's state prisons from TAP.

In the years after the ban on Pell and TAP grants, many education providers stopped offering courses in prison and the number of programs in the state was reduced from 45 to four.[13,1]

Two experts interviewed for this report, college counselor Laurie Scott and former student John Valverde, remember the exact day this event happened.

"I was working as a clerk in the college office and the education supervisor's office. I helped pack the boxes of books and materials and loaded them in a van. It was a heartbreaking, really sad day. Something that was clearly making a difference was no longer going to be available to anyone coming behind you."
—John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

"When TAP and Pell went out, I was at a conference waiting for word from the Feds on whether or not they were going to pull it. I was sitting with Eddie Ellis – he was at Attica during the uprising, he mentored other prisoners while he was there. I said to him, 'Now you have to speak at the last Greenhaven graduation.' ... We managed it. There was not a dry eye in the place."
—Laurie Scott, former college counselor in prison

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN NEW YORK PRISONS TODAY

Once Pell and TAP funding was eliminated, the spigot could not be easily turned back on. In response, a small group of people who cared about the issue lobbied Congress and advocated for Pell reinstatement. However, there was no clear organizing strategy or national network to support these efforts. The Education from the Inside Out Coalition was established to create a more robust national infrastructure to advance a longer-term strategy to make higher education accessible to currently and formerly incarcerated people. With representatives from every state in the nation, the Coalition initially focused on reinstatement of Pell grants as their first issue together. However, it was only a matter of time before there was a push to advance local efforts to reinstate TAP in New York State. For the past three years, the Education from the Inside Out Coalition has been advocating around specific legislation in New York State to repeal the ban on incarcerated people receiving financial aid through TAP.

Concurrently, Governor Cuomo was elected and a new Corrections Department Commissioner, Brian Fischer, was appointed. Both were supportive of college programs, which facilitated the development of a new model for providing college education in prison. Rather than relying on public funding, local colleges began partnering with geographically close correctional facilities to secure private foundation funding. Under this model, the number of facilities offering college courses has increased to 21 currently. But this model is challenging because private funding is limited and tenuous, resulting in the reduction of the number of programs available, the number of facilities where a program is offered, and the number of students that can be accommodated in the programs.

Again, experts Laurie Scott and John Valverde talk about their own efforts to cobble together options for college education to continue in the wake of the TAP funding being removed.

"We continued with a little pool of money from a consortium. Niagara Consortium did the same thing. Faculty came in to do lectures, just to keep that intellectual flow going."
—Laurie Scott, former college counselor in prison

"I enrolled in a master's program that was privately funded. Our class project at the end of the year was to create a certificate program that would offer college credit and fill some of the void, and utilize those of us who had graduated as instructors, to continue to provide a college-level education, as long as we could get a college to sponsor us."
—John Valverde, former college student in prison

The New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (referred to as "Department of Corrections" throughout this report) currently administers programs that offer college level credit-bearing courses in 21 State correctional facilities (out of 54) for those who possess a verified High School Equivalency or High School Diploma. The college programs at these facilities are privately funded and offer certificate, Associate and/or Bachelor degrees. The length of programs varies depending on the type of program and number of credits the student has prior to admission. Admission requirements and assessment also vary depending on the on-campus policies of each school administering the program.[1] These programs are all academic programs, not vocational programs. [14,15,16] (see Table 1).

Table 1. College Programs Currently Administered at Department of Corrections Facilities

FACILITY	COLLEGE PROGRAM PROVIDERS	COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
Albion	Medaille-Nazareth-Albion College Program	Medaille College Nazareth College
Attica	Attica-Genesee Teaching Project	Hamilton College through Genesee Community College
Auburn	College Prison Education Program	Cornell University through Cayuga Community College
Bedford Hills	The Bedford Hills College Program	Marymount Manhattan College Bank Street College of Education Barnard College Mercy College Pace University
Cape Vincent	Hope and Opportunity through Post-Secondary Education	Jefferson Community College
Cayuga	College Prison Education Program	Cornell University through Cayuga Community College
Coxsackie	Bard Prison Initiative	Bard College
Eastern	Bard Prison Initiative	Bard College
Fishkill	Hudson Link Bard Prison Initiative	Nyack College Bard College
Five Points	Educational Second Chances Program	Hobart & William Smith College
Green Haven	Bard Prison Initiative	Bard College
Greene	Husdon Link	Siena College
Mohawk	Mohawk Consortium College-in-Prison Program	Hamilton College and Colgate University through Mohawk Valley Community College
Otisville	Community Pipeline Program	John Jay College
Sing Sing	Hudson Link	Mercy College Nyack College
Sullivan	Hudson Link	Sullivan Community College
Taconic	Hudson Link Bard Prison Initiative	Vassar College Mercy College Nyack Colleges Bard College
Upstate	Inside/Outside Model Program	St. Lawrence University
Wallkill	NYU Prison Education Program	New York University
Wyoming	Consortium of the Niagara Frontier	Niagara University Canisius College Daemen College
Woodbourne	Bard Prison Initiative	Bard College

COLLEGE EDUCATION COSTS HAVE SKYROCKETED

Some of the resistance to offering grants to people who are incarcerated is due to the tension between the increasing importance of a college education for economic success and social mobility and the rising cost of a college education for non-incarcerated students in the face of decreasing federal and state financing of higher education institutions and student aid.

Nationally, over the past 30 years the cost of higher education has increased by 146% - 225% (1984-'85 to 2014-'15). The greatest increase over this period was seen for in-state students at public four-year institutions (225% increase), while private four-year institutions rose by 146% and public two-year colleges increased by 150%.[17] Higher tuition at public and private institutions means government financial aid, like Pell and TAP grants, are even more important for making college accessible for low- and middle-income students. Yet, these funding sources have covered smaller and smaller shares of the costs of private and public four-year institutions over time.[6] In New York, between the 1984-'85 and 2013-'14 school years the average TAP award increased by about 101% and the maximum award, which is reserved for students with the lowest incomes, increased by 85%.[12] New York's financial aid support has not kept pace with the increasing costs of tuition.

As a result, college costs are increasingly being financed through student loans. A report from 2004, estimates that, nationally, loans went from paying for 34% of the cost of college in 1987 to 70% in 2001.[18] And this has long-term impacts on the financial well-being of students over their lifetimes. In a 2013 report, economists estimated that the average debt burden ($53,000) for a dual-headed household with bachelors' degrees from four-year institutions would amount to a lifetime wealth loss of almost $208,000, in terms of lower retirement savings and home equity.[19] This loss will be much greater for students from low-income families, students of color who are disproportionately represented in low-income/low-wealth families, and students who attend private institutions.

College is out of reach for a large majority of low- and middle-income earners in this country and this can cause resentment about government support for college courses for people who are incarcerated.

PARTICIPATION IN NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Data on participation in Department of Corrections-approved college education programs is not publicly available. In the absence of this data, we made a direct request to the college education program providers operating in New York State prisons for data on program participation and costs and degrees awarded.

In New York State there are 13 college education program providers partnering with 27 colleges and universities to offer credit-bearing college courses in 21 correctional facilities. Because two facilities – Fishkill and Taconic - have two different providers – Hudson Link and Bard Prison Initiative – offering courses, there are a total of 23 different TAP-eligible college programs that are offered in these 21 facilities. We received data for 20 of these 23 college education programs (87%) (Visit www.turnonthetapNY.org or www.humanimpact.org for appendices to this report that include the program data request sheet). Not all providers that responded tracked all information requested. One new provider was not contacted, as their program came into existence during the course of this assessment, and we did not receive information for two programs, therefore this data does not represent all 23 existing college programs and likely underestimates actual program participation and outcomes.

Of the providers that shared program data for this report, an average of 924 people were enrolled and receiving course credit in college education programs in New York State correctional facilities per year between 2010-2014. The lowest enrollment reported in a program in a single year was 5 and highest enrollment in a program in a single year was 215. In that same time period, among the 20 programs that offered Associate's degrees, there were a total of 401 degrees conferred, with an average of 80 total conferred per year. Among the 18 programs that offered Bachelor's degrees, there were a total of 161 conferred, with an average of 32 total conferred per year. It should be noted that at least two of the programs were still too new to have conferred any degrees yet.

Table 2. New York State College Education Program Participation and Degrees Awarded, 2010-2014

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total	Average per year
DOCCS students enrolled and receiving course credit	759	865	836	1038	1122	**4,620**	**924**
Associate's degrees conferred	49	81	63	102	106	**401**	**80**
Bachelor's degrees conferred	29	37	15	61	19	**161**	**32**

The programs have differences in their acceptance requirements and processes beyond the baseline Department of Corrections requirement of a high school or equivalency diploma. For example, some programs require entrance exams or submission of essays. Most programs do not limit participation based on time to release, and there are no restrictions based on offense history.

For the most recent year data was available, among the 18 programs that tracked application and acceptance data, a total of 1,458 individuals applied to programs, and of those, 646 were accepted. Programs had an average per program acceptance rate of 30%, ranging from as low as 9% to as high as 100%.

Table 3. Program Acceptance

DOCCS students applied (total combined)	1,458
DOCCS students accepted (total combined)	646
Acceptance Rate Average (per program, %)	33%
Acceptance Rate Range (%)	9-100%
Data for 2014, or most recent year available	

Of the 19 programs that shared operational cost information, reported costs ranged from $82,500 to $258,750 per program, with an average of $215,019, or $4,405 per student per year. Costs depend on several factors, including program size and differences in operating costs (e.g. several programs rely heavily on volunteer labor of instructors and donated materials). Additionally, some academic institutions and program providers operate within multiple facilities but centrally coordinate programs. Ninety-five percent of the programs stated that they would be able to serve significantly more students if tuition assistance was available, and three providers specified they could do so by as much as four times current levels. One provider stated that program cost per pupil would go down if student enrollment increased: "*instead of classes with 12-13 students and 1 teacher, can have 25 students still with 1 instructor and therefore, the cost per pupil goes down.*"

Table 4. Program Costs

Total Program Cost Average (per program, per year)	$215,019
Per Student Program Cost Average (per student, per year)	$4,405
Per Student Program Cost Range (per student, per year)	$1,162-7,500
Data for 2014, or most recent year available	

Respondents stated that the primary factor that limited enrollment in college education programs in New York State prisons was lack of funding. Another widely-noted limitation was structural constraints within prisons, particularly related to limited space for classes and material storage, and correctional bans on technology use within classes (e.g. PowerPoint and calculators). One provider listed "administrative strain" as an additional limitation, in that expanded programming can require more work that only Department of Corrections officials can perform. Recruitment and retention of instructors was noted as a challenge by two programs, and long travel distance for instructors was also identified as a significant barrier by one program.

HOW MANY PEOPLE MIGHT BENEFIT IF TAP ELIGIBILITY WERE RESTORED?

Broadly speaking, anyone with a high school or equivalency diploma would meet the minimum admission criteria to participate in a college program. The Department of Corrections "Under Custody" report indicates that 59% of those in custody in 2014 had a verified high school diploma – which was the

equivalent of about 31,000 people under custody.[3] In contrast, our data indicate that approximately 924 appear to participate in college programs each year.

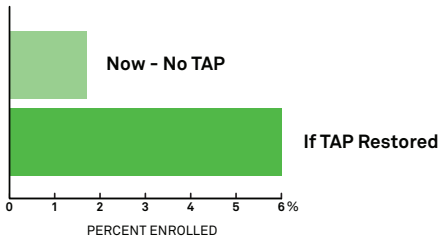
National data mirror this trend. As Crayton and Neusteter (2008) found, nationally, while 41% of people in prison were eligible to enroll in college correctional education programming, only 10% of those eligible participated. They go on to say that, "It is unclear whether choice or insufficient funding and/or capacity explain the disparity between eligibility and participation rates."[3]

A number of factors could be hypothesized to limit enrollment and eligibility in New York State. First, only 21 of the State's 54 facilities has a college program offered on site. Unless a person is assigned to one of these facilities, they would not have access to a program to take college-level courses, earn credits, or receive degrees.

Second, the approved programs are very limited in the number of spaces offered. DOCCS reports that there are waiting lists for all of its college programs, though they do not have that data readily available. Data collected for this report indicates an average per program acceptance rate of 30% - in other words, 70% of those who apply are unable to enroll. Of course, with increased funding, there would be more spaces. But even during the era of TAP funding for those in prison, only approximately 3,500 students[20] received funding for college education programs out of nearly 70,000 in NYS prisons, significantly more than are incarcerated today.[21]

Third, the programs are highly selective. For example, the Bard Prison Initiative states that, "Admission to BPI is highly competitive — typically there are ten applications for each available spot. Many gain admission after more than one application. The admissions process involves both a written exam and a personal interview."[22] Another program requires that potential participants pass a basic skills exam to be accepted into the program.

Our data indicate that current enrollment in college education programs in New York state prisons averages approximately 924 per year, or 3% of the 31,000 people currently under custody who would be eligible. Subject matter expert interviews suggest that with additional funding, current programs could increase their capacity by two to four times current enrollment. Three-and-a-half times current enrollment would be 3234, which would be roughly consistent with national trends of 10% of the 31,000 eligible. Additional funding would also likely extend the reach of the programs to other facilities, given the fact that programs were offered in every facility in the state before funding was cut.



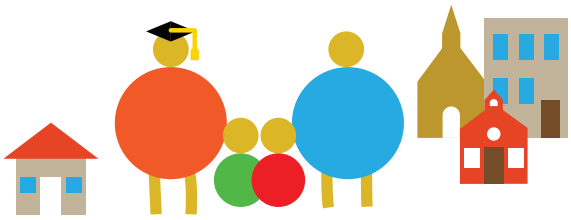
OUR PERSPECTIVE ON HEALTH

This project brings a public health perspective to the policy debate around providing funding for college education programs in prison. Given this, it is important to understand what is meant by "health" in this report. We use the World Health Organization's definition: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."[23]

While health is influenced by our genes and the personal choices we make, over 50% of our health and well-being is determined by social and environmental conditions, such as where we live, whether we have a job, and larger social and political forces like racism and sexism.[24] [25] The public health community calls these the social determinants of health, or the circumstances in which people are born, grow up, live, learn, work, and age and the systems in place to deal with illness. These circumstances are shaped by a wider set of economic and social policies, and there are many opportunities for such policies to promote health and build healthy communities.[26]

In this context, we recognize that the same community conditions that contribute to poor overall health and well-being – economic insecurity, low education, inadequate housing, and exposure to violence and environmental contaminants – also contribute to risk of contact with the criminal justice system and the over-incarceration of low-income communities and communities of color. Therefore, this report includes a discussion of the social and economic factors that determine our health.

III. COMMUNITY



SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY FINDINGS

There are numerous community-level benefits to the provision of college education programs in prison. States can decrease their justice system spending by reducing the population of people who are incarcerated, and one of the most effective methods of reducing the population of people in prison and reducing re-incarceration is through education.

Investment in education will reduce crimes and increase public safety, while investment in college education programs in prison will reduce recidivism. Higher college enrollment rates are associated with lower rates of crime. Participants in prison-based college education programs are less likely to re-offend.

Higher educational attainment in general is associated with a greater level of civic engagement activities like voting and volunteering. Students in college education programs in prison participate in and contribute more to their communities when they return home, out of a reported desire to give back. The more a person recently released from prison feels like an active, connected, and engaged member of their community, the less likely they are to commit a crime, and thus people who were formerly incarcerated who have higher levels of civic engagement have lower rates of recidivism. All this also speaks to how education can shift a socially disorganized community to a socially organized community where there is solidarity, cohesion, social integration, reduced crime rates and improved public safety.

HOW WOULD REINSTATEMENT OF TAP FUNDING FOR PEOPLE IN PRISON AFFECT COMMUNITIES?

If TAP funding eligibility were restored for people in prison in New York and more people in New York prisons participated in college education programs, communities and the State of New York would be impacted in the following ways:

- Crime rates would be reduced and public safety would increase, because fewer people released from prison would re-offend, due in part to an increased connection to their communities.
- Fewer people in the communities would return to prison.
- The State of New York could decrease prison spending because of fewer people in the prison system.
- People released from prison would have higher rates of voting, volunteering, and social engagement in their communities.
- Crime-related injuries and traumas would be reduced in the community when there are fewer crimes and thus fewer victims.
- Community life expectancy rates and overall health would improve, to the extent that the number of former college students in prison return to the community in sufficient numbers to impact overall community health.

In this section, we describe the community conditions at the intersection of education and incarceration. We discuss the risk factors for the communities that have been disproportionately impacted by the loss of individuals to incarceration, and we also review how education more broadly affects community health and well-being, the high community cost for public spending on prisons, and public safety and civic engagement in these communities.

COMMUNITY-LEVEL RISK FACTORS FOR INCARCERATION AND POOR HEALTH OCCUR IN THE SAME COMMUNITIES

The Justice Atlas of Sentencing and Corrections, created by The Justice Mapping Center, is an online tool for mapping the residential distribution of people involved in the criminal justice system. The Atlas allows us to identify high-incarceration communities by aggregating address data for people being admitted to prison. It provides data, albeit slightly outdated (2008), on community-level rates of admissions (count per 1,000 adults). For these areas, we characterize the communities by several factors that are relevant to a social determinants of health view of community health. It is important to note, however, that counties are very crude measures of a "community," as they are large areas and contain a great deal of population variation within them.

Table 5 lists New York counties that have high rates of prison admissions, or could be described as the communities that are disproportionately affected by incarceration, and also provides data to characterize the social determinants of health in New York State.

Table 5. Economic, Demographic, and Social Characteristics for High Prison Admission Counties in New York State

County	Prison Admission Rate (per 1,000 adults)[27]	% Household Income Under $25K[28]	% Non-White or Hispanic[29]	% Unemployed[30]	% Less than high school diploma[31]
Schenectady	3.86	22.5%	23.5%	6.9%	9.6%
Bronx	3.37	39.2%	89.3%	11.8%	30.1%
Chemung	3.23	27.4%	12.8%	8.2%	11.1%
Albany	3.14	20.7%	24.7%	6.3%	7.9%
Genesee	3.00	22.0%	8.7%	6.7%	9.6%
Monroe	2.77	23.7%	27.6%	7.0%	10.4%
New York	2.06	23.5%	52.3%	7.2%	14%
Kings	1.93	30.3%	64.2%	9.4%	21.5%
New York State Average	**1.72***	**23%**	**42.2%**	**7.7%**	**14.8%**

* Average admission rate of all counties of New York State.

Table 6. Economic, Demographic, and Social Characteristics for High Prison Admission Neighborhoods in New York City

District Public Health Office Neighborhoods	Admission Rate (per 1,000 adults)[27]	% Household Income Under $25K[28]	% Non-White or Hispanic[29]	% Unemployed[28]	% Less than high school diploma[31]	% Who rated their health fair or poor[32]
East and Central Harlem	6.61*	41.1%	89.2%	13.9%	23.2%	22.8%
South Bronx	6.18*	52.7%	98.3%	16.9%	41.6%	36.9%
North/Central Brooklyn	4.78*	41.7%	92.1%	14.9%	28.7	21.6%
New York City	**1.66****	**27.2%**	**66.9%**	**10.6%**	**20.3%**	**23.1%**

* Average admission rate of the ZIP Codes that overlap with the District Public Health Office Neighborhoods, which also rank highest in prison admissions for that county.
** Average of all ZIP Codes in the four boroughs of New York City.

Because nearly half (46%) of the prison population of the state comes from New York City, we also provide, in Table 6, characteristics for the aggregated areas in New York City that commit the most people.

The Justice Atlas reports the New York City ZIP codes, in 2008, with the highest rates of prison admissions. These ZIP codes overlap with areas designated by the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene as high risk areas and are indicated in the table below as "District Public Health Office Neighborhoods."

The admission rates data are from 2008 and the health determinant data are five-year averages from the American Community Survey of the U.S. Census for the years 2009-2013. Although the dates are different, trends in demographic, social, and economic factors have not changed significantly. In summary, these data indicate that among counties and neighborhoods with high rates of prison admissions, there are risk factors for poor health and contact with the criminal justice system – including lower income levels, lower levels of education, and higher rates of unemployment – that co-occur in the same communities.

Economic, demographic, and social factors also contribute to differences in life expectancy and premature mortality. In New York City, people living in wealthier neighborhoods live, on average, four more years compared to people living in the poorest neighborhoods and blacks in the poorest neighborhoods have the shortest life expectancy of all New Yorkers.[33] Moreover, black, Hispanic, and Asian New Yorkers are more likely to die prematurely compared to whites, regardless of neighborhood income.[33]

Much of the health risk in communities can be attributed to limited economic and educational opportunities, which also contributes to the disproportionate number of people who are incarcerated from these communities.[34] When formerly incarcerated people reenter communities already experiencing limited opportunities, they face an even greater challenge to securing basic needs such as housing, employment, and access to public assistance programs and governmental benefits.[35] These predicaments affect the individuals returning to their communities, however, they also affect their children, families, and communities at large.[34]

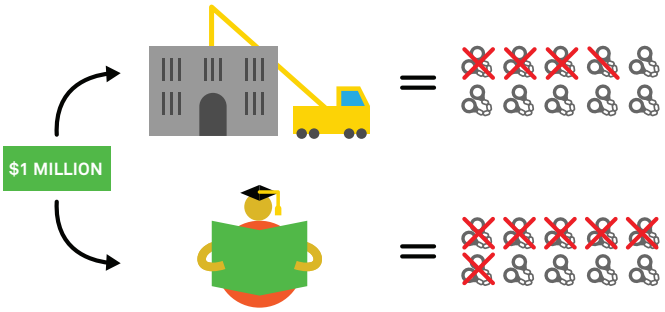
Formerly incarcerated people are also reentering their communities with little preparation to combat these challenges.[36] The combination of limited employment opportunities, poor physical and mental health, possible substance abuse problems, low educational attainment, and other issues present formidable challenges for their reintegration, often putting a strain on their families and communities.[36] Scholars note that the consequences of incarceration extend to include social, political, and economic consequences for families and communities.[34] These systems then subsequently affect community health and well-being.

EDUCATION BROADLY IMPROVES HEALTH AND WELL-BEING AT A COMMUNITY LEVEL

Education can have numerous influences on community-level factors associated with health and well-being. For example, education is a key factor that improves public safety by decreasing crime rates. Investments in education have been shown to decrease crime rates because it helps individuals avoid negative life outcomes and risk taking.[37] Communities with a better sense of public safety can expect to see improved community strength and overall health.[38] This can be achieved through college education because people's feelings of social belonging in a community can protect against negative experiences or life events,[39–42,43] and are associated with longer life expectancy and reduced levels of stress.[44] In low income communities, social support and community engagement have been found to be particularly strong protective factors against poor health.[42,45] Community group membership can be a means of exposure to health-promoting messages in a supportive community context, which can increase levels of uptake of health-promoting behaviors.[46] Connection to social networks, and the emotional support they provide, is also linked to longer life expectancy.[43,47] Volunteerism is similarly associated with longer life expectancy and overall better health, attributed to the sense of contribution and purpose helping others can bring.[48]

PUBLIC SPENDING ON PRISONS COMES AT A HIGH COST TO COMMUNITIES

New York State data show that prisons come at astonishing costs to taxpayers. The New York corrections department prison cost in 2010 was $3,558,711, including direct corrections costs and costs that were outside the department as well.[49] These figures arise from the average daily incarcerated person population of 59,237, which annually costs taxpayers about $60,076 per incarcerated person, one of the highest in the nation. This equates to New York taxpayers paying



about 87% more than other states per incarcerated person—the national average was about $32,142 per incarcerated person.[49]

States can decrease their prison budgets substantially by reducing the population of people who are incarcerated and specifically reducing the numbers of people who are re-incarcerated.[49] By cutting the national re-incarceration rate in half, $2.7 billion per year could be saved.[50] One of the most effective methods of reducing the population of people in prison and reducing re-incarceration is education. A one million dollar investment in incarceration will prevent about 350 crimes, while the same investment amount in education will prevent more than 600 crimes.[51] A million dollars on correctional education can prevent 26 future re-incarcerations.[51] Incarceration is pricey; it is costly for the individuals and communities at large. Education has been shown to be a more effective way of reducing crimes, reducing costs to taxpayers, and improving outcomes for individuals and communities affected by mass incarceration. The costs mentioned in this section do not include collateral costs, that is, social services, child welfare, and education costs that often come with the incarceration of a parent[49]—essentially, this means that education also has the potential to have more far reaching effects.

> *"There are so many people in the criminal justice system. This is not a couple of hundred people we're talking about – a large segment of society is going to be un- or under-educated, if we look at how that plays out. It's no wonder that people end up not doing well in so many areas, in health and so forth."*
> —Ronald Day, formerly incarcerated student

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON IMPROVES PUBLIC SAFETY IN COMMUNITIES

Crime and public safety are issues that communities with returning formerly incarcerated people have to contend with. High crime rates are oftentimes a result of barriers to educational opportunities,[37] that is, education is an important factor in crime reduction. In fact, research supports the notion that higher education can curb crime rates and increase public safety. One study found that a 5% increase in male high school graduation rates would produce an annual savings of almost $5 billion in crime-related expenses.[37] Further, states with higher college enrollment rates experienced lower violent crime rates than states with lower college enrollment rates.[37] In general, states that made bigger investment in higher education have better public safety outcomes.

People who live in high-crime environments are more likely to be victims of crime themselves.[52] This exposure heightens levels of stress, especially among children. High crime circumstances lead individuals to withdraw from their communities, live in isolation, and weaken community belongingness and cohesion, which impacts their mental health.[52] The physical and mental health of communities can improve by decreasing crime rates and improving public safety.[52]

Likewise, when incarcerated people participate in correctional education, it has the potential to reduce crimes. Once released, formerly incarcerated people are about 10-20% less likely to re-offend than those who do not participate in education programs.[51] Between 2000-2005, New York State spent 36% more on higher education and saw a decrease of 19.5% in violent crime rates.[37] A 5% increase in graduation rates resulted in an annual crime related savings of $286,896,473 and an additional annual earnings of $170,426,743.[37]

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON IMPROVES CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN COMMUNITIES

Civic engagement and social support are indicators of community belongingness; they are also protective factors against poor health.[42,45] Having a sense of connection with neighbors and being able to provide or receive emotional support from a person's community is also linked to longer life expectancy.[43,47] Communities that are plagued by mass incarceration suffer from a shortage of these social benefits. The theory of social disorganization states that poverty, residential mobility, racial/ethnic heterogeneity, and other ecological characteristics are strong influencing factors in social disorganization because they indirectly reduce formal social control.[53] Further, this points that social disorganization is linked

to neighborhood structure and not in individuals; essentially that it is rooted in the way a community is built, not a result of individual characteristic.[53] Communities that experience high rates of residential turnover, such as the incarceration and reentry of people, are more susceptible to crime because of the unavoidable weak social ties and minimal informal control within these communities. On the other hand, socially organized communities have a better sense of belongingness, which can range from more civic engagement, social support, solidarity, community cohesion, and integration.[53]

College education programs in prison positively influence formerly incarcerated people's participation and contribution in their communities upon their return home.[54] Higher educational attainment is associated with higher civic engagement (e.g. voting and volunteering)[55,56,] and higher civic engagement among people who were formerly incarcerated is associated with lower rates of recidivism.[57,58]

One commonly cited indicator of civic engagement is voting. In the state of New York, people with felony convictions cannot vote while still in prison or on parole, but immediately have the right to do so once their sentence has been completed.[59] People with previous felony convictions can also run for elected office within the state.[60]

Voting is, however, just one important indicator of civic engagement, which can also include participation in community organizations, churches, and advocacy work. There are many individual and community-level benefits of civic engagement post-prison. Opportunities for civic engagement through voting have positive implications for lowering neighborhood crime and recidivism rates. Research has shown that formerly incarcerated people who vote (where legally able to do so, including in New York state) are less likely to be arrested again.[55,58] Several studies have shown the more a person recently released from prison feels like an active, connected, and engaged member of their community, the less likely they are to commit a crime, and thus the lower their chances of recidivating. When asked, formerly incarcerated people have expressed the importance of feeling a sense of "giving back" to their communities and that their voice is heard,[61,62] feelings which Lindahl and Mukamal (2011) argue can counteract the cynicism and alienation (socially, and in relationship to civic institutions like law enforcement) formerly incarcerated people often feel when they return home.[62,63]

Several key informants remarked on how college education programs in prison have allowed them the opportunity, and provided the motivation, to give back to their community.

> *"It gave me ... the ability to give back ... I am one of the co-founders for Hudson Link."*
> —John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

> *"When my class graduated in '95, I started a certificate in Human Service and Ministry program at Green Haven Correctional Facility, along with other alumni. It turned into Rising Hope. Participants are able to earn 33 college credits that are transferrable. Now that program is offered in between 9 and 11 facilities throughout the state."*
> —Siddiq Najee, formerly incarcerated student
> *"Almost all of the graduates who are home are in the social service field – case workers, HIV work, many in grad school."*
> —Sean Pica, program administrator

> *"As people are released who have a new appreciation for the value of education this will diffuse into the communities to which people are returning. Communities will see an influx of individuals who are like them and who see the value of education. This helps to transform communities' perspectives on education as well."*
> —Bob Fullilove, faculty

Beyond individual and public safety benefits, on a community level, voting and other means of participating in civic decision-making by people with past criminal convictions can contribute to their communities' political power and representation, garnering needed resources for community development and giving voice to community needs.[55] Finally, children are more likely to vote later in life when raised by parents who vote and are actively engaged in their communities.[55]

> *"People who are able to pursue college inside prison increase their chances of being employable upon release, thus becoming productive members within their families and society. Because I was able to get a job right away, I didn't have to rely on social service agencies to provide health care, food stamps, housing, etc. My friends told me, 'I've never seen somebody so happy to pay taxes.'"*
> —Cheryl Wilkins, formerly incarcerated student

IV. PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FOR PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON

College education programs in prison – particularly those that teach liberal arts topics – support the development of a positive self-concept for students, re-framing from the dehumanized prisoner role to the successful and valued student role, and improving critical thinking skills, self-awareness, self-esteem, self-confidence, empowerment, and social competence. This positive self-concept is associated with positive outcomes in life, including higher job performance and satisfaction, stronger social connections, higher persistence in the face of adversity, and overall increased happiness.

College programs – through their contemporary and socially-relevant subject matter, structure of critique and inquiry, and cohort culture of peer support, tutoring, and mentoring – help students gain a social identity, a sense for their connection and responsibility to others and to a larger social context, and the ability to judge the consequences of and take responsibility for their actions. Findings suggest college program participants also go on to be leaders and mentors, engaged in helping others and changing society.

In part due to improvements in an individual's confidence and ability to navigate social situations and systemic barriers, college programs in prison increase an individual's chances of employment and higher wages after release. Participants are also more likely to successfully navigate and overcome common challenges such as homelessness and substance abuse that are faced by people returning from prison. Higher success rates in securing employment and avoiding homelessness and substance abuse, as well as continued benefits of navigating challenges, also contribute to participants in college education programs in prison having 51% lower odds of returning to prison after three years of release, compared to those who did not participate in college while in prison.

HOW WOULD REINSTATEMENT OF TAP FUNDING FOR PEOPLE IN PRISON AFFECT THEIR LIVES, INCLUDING THEIR SENSE OF THEMSELVES AND EMPLOYMENT AND RECIDIVISM OUTCOMES?

If TAP funding eligibility were restored for people in prison in New York and more people in New York prisons participated in college education programs, individuals would be impacted in the following ways:

- More people will have higher educational attainment in general, which will contribute to a longer life, better health knowledge and behaviors, improved self-rated health and mental health, and less physical impairment and risk of chronic disease.
- More people will also see intermediate outcomes of education which have been linked to health, including increased likelihood of being employed and better working conditions; improved problem solving, coping skills, and perseverance; the development of social networks and social support; and decreased likelihood of substance abuse and homelessness.

Related to college education in prison specifically, as well as physical and mental health outcomes,

- More people will have improved critical thinking and better self-esteem and self-efficacy.
- More people will take on leadership and mentoring roles in prison and after release, which will contribute to positive psychological and social outcomes for all involved.
- More people will have the benefit of social support and motivation networks, which will help counter the negative psychological and social effects of incarceration.

- More people will experience a successful reintegration into society in terms of finding employment, earning higher wages, finding a home and avoiding sustained homelessness, avoiding substance abuse, and staying away from crime. Improved reentry outcomes will bring the associated physical and mental health improvements mentioned previously.

In this section, we discuss the social, demographic and health characteristics for people in prison in New York State and how education broadly is good for individual health and well-being. We then go on to describe how college education in prison affects: critical thinking, self-esteem and self-efficacy, leadership and mentoring, employment, and recidivism.

SOCIAL AND HEALTH CONTEXT FOR PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON

To understand how participation in college education programs might improve the health of individuals who are incarcerated, it is helpful to understand who they are and their underlying health status. Table 7 highlights a number of demographic and social characteristics for people in prison.

The prison population, on average, has attained less education than the general population.[65] Nationally, as of 2004, 37% of people in state prisons had not graduated high school or earned a GED, compared to 19% in the U.S. population overall.3 In New York State, according to a profile of the population in custody as of January 2014, 59.1% of people in prison have a verified high school diploma.[64] However, a 2007 Department of Corrections report profiling the needs of the incarcerated population, states that in 2004, 67% of people were in need of academic programs, meaning they had not graduated high school or earned an equivalency diploma, or passed math, reading and writing achievement tests.[66]

Table 7. Demographic and Social Characteristics of People Incarcerated in New York State Prisons, January 2014[64]

	Under Custody
Population	53,565
Gender	
Male	95.6%
Female	4.4%
Average Age	37.8
Race/Ethnicity	
White	23.8%
African American	49.3%
Hispanic	24.1%
Region of Commitment	
New York City	45.8%
Suburban New York City	11.1%
Upstate	43.1%
Foreign Born	9.8%
Marital Status (Never married)	65.7%
Number of Living Children (One or more living children)	59.3%
Education (High school diploma)	59.1%
Crime	
Violent felony	65.5%
Drug offenses	12.0%
Property/other	12.7%

Finally, in terms of reasons for incarceration, 65.5% were in prison for violent felonies, 12% for drug offenses, and 12.7% for property or other offenses. Approximately 33% of people under custody had served a prior prison term, and those under custody had spent an average of 60 months in prison since their latest admission date. Sixty percent of the people in prison had less than two years to their earliest release dates.

Administrative data on the current health status of those incarcerated in New York State prisons are currently unavailable. However, a 2013 Correctional Association of New York summary that sampled a series of New York State prisons estimates that there are over 3,000 people in state prisons with HIV and approximately 6,000 infected with hepatitis C.[67] Furthermore, a 2004-2007 study identified many others suffering from chronic diseases such as hypertension (6,500), diabetes (2,500), and asthma (9,000).[67]

Studies of prison populations nationally corroborate these figures and provide greater detail. For example, a 2008 Urban Institute study examined the prevalence of health, mental health, and substance abuse issues among a sample during their pre- and post-reentry period. Specifically, nearly all people returning to prison—8 in 10 men and 9 in 10 women—had chronic health conditions requiring treatment or management. One-half of men and two-thirds of women had been diagnosed with chronic physical health conditions such as asthma, diabetes, hepatitis, or HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, 15% of men and over one-third of women reported having been diagnosed with depression or another mental illness, and about two-thirds reported active substance abuse in the six months before incarceration.[68]

An American Journal of Public Health study in 2009 reported on data analyzed from the 2004 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities. Authors found that nationally nearly 43% of people in state prisons reported having at least one chronic medical condition (e.g., HIV/AIDS, cancer, hypertension, heart disease). For every chronic health condition assessed, after standardizing by age, the prevalence of these conditions was higher for those in prison than for the general population.[69]

Limited data on mental health issues in New York State prisons was available through the Department of Corrections *Under Custody* report. The report states that the NYS Office of Mental Health provides mental health diagnostic and treatment services to people in New York State prisons, and classifies people in custody according to the mental health service level needed. According to their assessment, 16% of people under custody were classified as level 1 through level 4, which indicated some need for mental health treatment services.[64]

Data from the federal Bureau of Justice Statistics finds much higher rates of mental illness than either the Urban Institute study or Department of Corrections data. Specifically, the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that 56% of people in custody in any state prison had a history of mental health problems. Furthermore, an estimated 42% of people in custody in State prisons were found to have both a mental health problem and substance dependence or abuse. Slightly less than a quarter (24%) met the criteria for substance dependence or abuse only.[70]

EDUCATION BROADLY IS GOOD FOR INDIVIDUAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

People with more education are likely to live longer and healthier lives than their less educated peers.[71] Education can increase health knowledge and coping skills, enabling a person to make better-informed choices regarding medical care and adopting and maintaining healthy behaviors (e.g., smoking and exercise).[72 73]

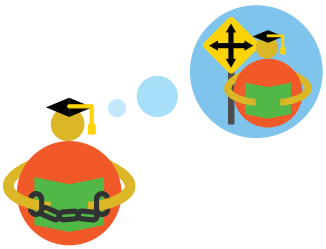
Education in any setting has been found to influence an individual's problem solving abilities, perseverance, and confidence; their sense of control over their lives; their position within the social hierarchy (social standing), and the level of social support they have.[72] These beliefs are associated with better self-rated health and less physical impairment and risk of chronic diseases. Higher educational attainment also contributes to the development of beneficial social networks and these are linked to better physical and mental health outcomes.[72]

Education leads to a greater likelihood of being employed; having better working conditions; and having better employer benefits such as health care, paid sick days and higher wages[72] One year of education, for example, leads to roughly an 8% increase in earnings.[71,74,75] Income is one of the strongest and most consistent predictors of health and disease in the public health research literature.76 Higher incomes afford a person and his or her family the benefit of economic security and wealth accumulation, which reduces stress, makes it easier to obtain health care when needed, healthy food, physical activity, and a home. [72]

Education may also reduce college participant's likelihood of substance abuse, which reduces the risk of overdose and death, mental health problems, heart and lung disease, violent behavior, unwanted pregnancies, transmission of HIV and other communicable diseases, unintentional injuries, and a host of social and family problems.[77,78] Education may also reduce the likelihood of homelessness and its associated health risks such as premature death and chronic illnesses such as seizures and lung disease.[79]

Below we elaborate on the specific ways that college education in prison can improve this range of factors known to affect health and well-being.

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON IMPROVES CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS



Research suggests that a liberal arts education, in contrast to vocational programs, helps students in prison develop new perceptions, thought structures, and values. While vocational programs may teach people a new skill, discipline, how to meet deadlines, and how to take criticism, these programs do not change the cognitive skills of the individual. Liberal arts education in prison with this emphasis "challenges incarcerated students to open their minds to new ideas and perceptions of the world, to assume responsibility for their own values, beliefs, and actions, and to embrace the risk of self-change."[80] It has been theorized that people with critical thinking skills have qualities such as an internal value system, integrity in behavior, and respect for others that are associated with avoiding unlawful behavior.[81]

Research conducted with a group of women education program participants and other stakeholders in college education programs at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility concluded that, "The core elements of education, such as self-reflection, critique and inquiry, enable a transformed sense of self... college enables students to move from seeing themselves as passive objects into seeing themselves as active subjects. Critical thinkers who actively participate in their lives and social surroundings, take responsibility for past and future actions, and view themselves as engaged in changing society and themselves."(pg. 25) Women cited that their college experiences helped them gain a sense of responsibility for their crime, to their victims and victims' families, to their children and families, and to the communities from which they came.[82]

Focus group participants for this project echoed these findings.

> *"It gave me tools to understand myself, you learn different ways to look at it, you can't take things out of context."*
> —Arlander Brown, formerly incarcerated student

> *"I'm able to think more critically. I look at things from a different paradigm... to be conscious and understand how your actions affect others."*
> —Devon Simmons, formerly incarcerated student

> *"They supported self-introspection, reflection ... examining lives and choices made.... Prevented people from just making excuses or justifying your actions. Really made you think about your responsibility and it made you think about who you were at the time you committed the crime. It's a tremendous value – still true today."*
> —John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

> *"You don't get to rethink your life with the vocational programs. College is an opportunity to rethink your crime and your life."*
> —Michelle Fine, researcher

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON IMPROVES SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-EFFICACY

College education in prison allows a person to develop a positive self-concept.[83] We develop our self-concept by making decisions and commitments and by our understanding of our different roles in society, such as "prisoner" or "student." The prisoner role – where someone is denied the opportunity to make decisions for him or herself – is a dehumanizing one, resulting in learned helplessness or a lack of self-efficacy. In the student role, a person is given choices, their perspective is sought and heard, and they can see the outcomes of their commitments. This allows the student to associate him or herself with positive characteristics, such as someone who can learn and achieve, is valued, and is successful and this increases the chances they will make choices that align with these characteristics and to believe they will be effective in seeking out or dealing with challenging experiences.[83]

Focus group participants who were in custody in four correctional facilities in New Mexico, Indiana, and Virginia reported that college classes influenced their sense of self; in particular they felt their participation had increased their self-esteem. College education participants also reported the following specific effects: "'learning that they could complete something', 'learning that they are more intelligent than they had previously believed', 'pride in being the first in their family to graduate from college', and 'having a renewed sense of confidence.'" (pg. 6)[5]

In addition, several researchers have found that self-awareness, self-esteem, self-confidence, and social competence are increased with more academic achievement and participation in educational programming in prison.[84,85,86] These findings are based on qualitative research conducted with 160-300 participants of college programs in prison. One researcher reported that 98% of survey respondents (N = 160) said taking college courses helped increase their self-awareness, self-confidence, and self-esteem. One group of researchers also examined self-efficacy, but found that educational attainment was not related to self-efficacy. In fact, time in prison was the most important factor for self-efficacy, where the more time the men spent in prison, the lower their self-efficacy.[84] This aligns with the theory of a 'learned helplessness' effect of prison, mentioned above, and points to potentially counteracting forces—prison serves to decrease a person's sense of their effectiveness and this may be more powerful than the influence of education in building it back up again.

"I hadn't been to school in over 20 years – I'm 50 years old... After getting past the anxiety, it made me feel human. The whole thing about being treated as a prisoner – it's dehumanizing.
—Luther Jordan, formerly incarcerated student

"Yes, I'm an ex-offender, but I'm educated. I can say I'm a John Jay student. I have a 3.95 GPA."
—Devon Simmons, formerly incarcerated student

"We live in a paper society. The more paper you have, you ... establish yourself as someone who not just has something to say, but someone who should be heard. [It is] extremely important to empower yourself... The more educated, the more empowered people are."
—Ronald Day, formerly incarcerated student

"What did education do for me? It afforded me the opportunity to access an undergraduate and graduate program... I was the first person to take the LSAT while still incarcerated and I was the first person to be accepted for law school while still incarcerated. It opened doors that never would have been possible... That's what education can do."
—John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON CONTRIBUTES TO A CULTURE OF LEADERSHIP, MENTORING, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

College education programs in prison create a cohort culture of peer supporwt, tutoring, and mentoring and it is through this that the students gain a sense for their connection to each other and to a larger social context. Researchers report that some participants go on to be mentors in other facilities and teach those in adult basic education and GED studies.[82] Formerly incarcerated individuals who participated in college programs while incarcerated and who are continuing to pursue higher education after serving their time report feeling an obligation to serve as role models, mentors, and tutors.[5,87] They are drawn to help others after gaining the perspective they did in prison and through their education.[87]

"The college program inside the prison that I was in had an 'each one teach one' philosophy. Women who were in college tutored the pre-college students, women who were in pre-college tutored women studying for their GED. Women who were bilingual helped with the ESL classes.... College brought people from different cultures together."
—Cheryl Wilkins, formerly incarcerated student

"[College students] ... usually took leadership roles. Administration expected them to spearhead a lot of stuff in the facility."
—Siddiq Najee, formerly incarcerated student

"[College students] also promote education and career goals among those who are not in the program. They become ambassadors for higher education and for their program. They end up putting the idea in other people's heads who are not in the program – that they can do it too. These guys are helping to carry out their program's larger mission - promoting higher education in this population."
—Baz Dresinger, faculty

"The value of someone like me, who came from that community, being able to be a credible messenger and inspire other people – show them you can make it, you can succeed, you can be a doctor or teacher or lawyer – I don't know that people understand that our communities desperately need these role models and leaders. If we have people coming home who can say, 'You can make it. I'm an example. You can be whatever you want to be.' It's a powerful message."
—John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

This culture of support and connection to others also contributed to stronger social networks. Many focus group participants mentioned the social connections they established with other college education students while they were in prison, and how this social network provided the peer support to help them navigate challenging situations.

"They become bonded to others in the program. Participation in the program creates relationships. They have and talk about similar goals regarding their dreams, college, and education. Guys act as support for each other."
—Baz Dreisinger, faculty

"Your mindframe has changed. You get this new family. It's so fulfilling."
—Shanica Fogler, formerly incarcerated student

"Two weeks [after starting classes] my mom died. Had I been younger and had I not had Bard, that could have derailed me. Having the guys who I came with, and the others I met through BPI, knowing I had something, I put my energy into my education."
—Arlander Brown, formerly incarcerated student

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON IMPROVES EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES

College programs in prison have the potential to increase an individual's chances of employment post release – which is significant challenge for those who have spent time in prison. Nationally, about two-thirds of this population worked before being incarcerated,[88] but less than half of those exiting prison and jails find employment following their release. Surveys conducted with employers found they were more averse to hiring people who were formerly incarcerated than other disadvantaged groups.[89]

People released from prison face numerous structural employment barriers.[90–93] In New York state alone, there are a total of 988 exclusions and restrictions related to employment and business licensure for formerly incarcerated people.[94] These additional punishments, also referred to as the "collateral consequences" of incarceration, include permanent or temporary exclusion from positions in a broad range of fields such as healthcare, childcare, residential care, social services, finance and insurance, agricultural work, and construction.[94] While four municipalities in New York State have adopted policies requiring some employers to remove the criminal conviction 'check box' from the initial job application, background checks and the required disclosure of criminal convictions is still common practice for nearly all employers.[95]

And yet, employment is one of the most important factors for successful reentry,[96] as well as a key determinant of health. Those who find jobs after release are half as likely to return to prison,[97,98] less likely to use drugs or alcohol, more likely to reunite with their families, and less likely to have mental or physical health conditions.[96,99,100] Economic projections suggest that by 2020, 65% of all jobs in the economy will require education and training beyond the high school level.[101]

Given this challenging context, college programs in prison have the potential to increase employment outcomes post release. The social and psychological transformations – described above – that take place in the course of college in prison likely play a role in an individual's likelihood of employment post-release. A recent comprehensive review of the literature and meta-analysis commissioned by the Department of Justice and conducted by researchers from the RAND Corporation explored the effectiveness of correctional education programs in improving employment and recidivism outcomes. This study pooled effects from a set of 58 studies published over a 30-year timespan to come up with one effect estimate (a meta-analysis).[2] This review is the most recent and comprehensive to date, and includes only the highest quality studies, thus providing the strongest (yet perhaps most conservative) scientific evidence to date of the effectiveness of education programs.

Although a strong focus of this Davis et al. (2013) study is on recidivism, their meta-analysis included 18 studies that focused on employment. They conclude that correctional education would be expected to improve the employment rate of those getting released from prison by 0.9%.[2] The researchers offered several reasons why this may be an undercount, including limited data available and differences in the way the topic is measured. There was only one study included in the meta-analysis that looked specifically at employment effects of college-level education, and it confirmed that college in prison significantly increased an individual's odds of employment.[102]

> *"I was able to get a job immediately upon release based on my education..."*
> —Siddiq Najee, formerly incarcerated student

> *"My very first [job] interview [after being released from prison] – I remember being asked what was the nature of my crime. Of course, you expect that. She looked at my education, she said, 'Vassar College?' 'Yes.' 'Bard?' 'Yes.' Before she could get back to the crime I asked, 'Would you like to hear about the school?' ... When she told me the job would be $9 an hour, I told her based on my credentials I expected more and I wished her luck. Because of the credentials I got while I was in prison, I was able to say that."*
> —Sharlene Henry, formerly incarcerated student

> *"Three weeks after I came home, I started working for a publishing company. If I didn't have an Associate's Degree from Bard, I wouldn't have gotten that, got promoted, raises... I'm 32 sitting next to 22 year olds doing the same job. But I got a job. It's a job that looks good on a resume. These kids all got a BA or a master's, I got a AD. I'm doing good."*
> —Arlander Brown, formerly incarcerated student

Many of the skills shown to already be fostered in college education programs in prison, such as group collaboration and reflection on one's social and economic circumstances, can lead to entrepreneurial endeavors within the communities to which incarcerated people will return. Given persisting social and sometimes legal barriers to gaining employment in traditional professional positions, some existing college education programs in prison have already incorporated entrepreneurial principles into their curriculum and partnerships with re-entry organizations as a way to support viable employment options and increase employability post-release.[63]

There are few studies that allow us to understand the extent to which college education in prison contributes to higher wages and thus more income. However, there are a few studies that find education program participants more generally earn higher wages compared to non-participants.[103,104] The most notable study compared post release outcomes for 3,170 participants and non-participants of education programs and includes a large set of variables that could be related to post release success. Their employment and recidivism findings are included in the Davis et al. (2013) findings described above, but in terms of wage differentials they find that participation in education programs is associated with an increase in average wages for three consecutive years post release.[103] Armstrong et al. (2012) also found that education program participants earned higher wages compared to non-participants.[104] These results apply to participants of all types of education programs (Adult Basic Education, GED, Life Skills, Vocational Training).

While there is some support for a positive effect of college program participation, additional research is necessary to fully understand this potential benefit to wages.

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON REDUCES RECIDIVISM

In New York State, the number of people in custody has been going down over the last 5 years. Between 2009 and 2013 (most recent year available), an average of 25,517 people were released from custody. Therefore, about 46% of the population in Department of Corrections custody is released each year.[105]

Assuming individuals return to the place where they lived before going to prison, about 46% of those released will return to New York City, 43% will return to upstate New York and 11% will return to the suburban New York area.

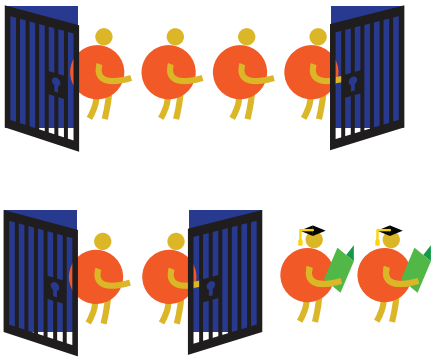
A recent national survey of state recidivism rates estimates that 43.3% of people released from state prisons will be reincarcerated within three years of their release.[106] According to the New York State Department of Corrections, 41.5% of people released from the state's prisons in 2010 (most recent post-release follow up) returned to custody within

three years. The rate of return in New York State has remained relatively stable around 40% in recent years.[105]

There are a variety of factors influencing an individual's successful reentry, including overcoming barriers due to prior criminal and substance use histories, and a range of education, job training, and employment, and housing needs, according to a large, multi-site evaluation of state and local reentry initiatives done for the National Institute of Justice.[107]

Given this backdrop, college programs in prison are a promising solution from the perspective of preventing an individual from committing new crimes and returning to prison. As reported above, college can improve psychological and social factors that are important for effective decision making and can increase an individual's ability to deal with the myriad challenges of community reintegration. Some researchers have found direct connections between self-esteem and other personal distress factors (such as anxiety) and recidivism.[108]

Focus group participants in one study reported that they anticipated returning to the community more accomplished and able to establish credibility after having made mistakes, having a more positive outlook due to relationships formed with other program participants, feeling like they would be able to set a good example in the community, being better able to plan for the future and set goals, and an understanding that without the program they would have likely returned to prison in the future.[5]



Supporting these qualitative findings, Davis et al. (2013) provide strong quantitative evidence of the effectiveness of college programs in prison in reducing recidivism, which they define as reincarceration (rather than reoffending, rearrest, or reconviction) within three years of release from prison.

Findings from their meta-analysis, which pooled recidivism effects from 19 studies, estimate that the odds of recidivating for those who took part in college education are 51% lower than the odds for those who did not participate in these programs. Translating these odds to a more intuitive figure, participation in college education in prison would be expected to reduce three-year reincarceration rates by 16.1%.[2,106,10]

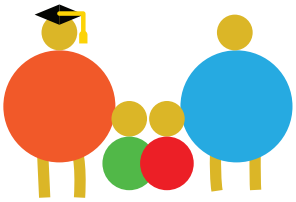
"Education ... lowers recidivism... Education is the main factor that gives [families] hope about transition and employment."
—Siddiq Najee, formerly incarcerated student

"When you open up my mind to think that I could do more, it makes me see that there are possibilities other than slinging a mop. [Without that], there's a possibility of going back to the same thing."
—Luther Jordan, formerly incarcerated student

"Measure success in terms of how the students use their learned skills and values to stay out of prison. They just make a decision that they want to lead a life where they are free to give the gifts of their learning - and I view that as success. These programs help men and women get he patience and determination to take it one day at time, if we can do this for all our students we are doing a lot."
—Bob Hausrath, program administrator

"We didn't have a single student come back to prison – once they get out they're so ingrained in the program. They tell me 'Sean, none of us wants to be that first guy'."
—Sean Pica, program administrator

V. CHILDREN OF PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE COLLEGE EDUCATION



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS FOR CHILDREN OF PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PRISON

Parents with a college education display positive parenting behaviors, influence child educational status and aspirations, and are able to supply better material resources for their children.[109] An enriching learning environment paired with close parent-child relations subsequently impact children's education attainment,[109] which leads to improved employment opportunities for children.[110] Providing financial assistance for incarcerated people to attain college education can increase the likelihood of having this population's children attain a higher education. This inheritance has both proximal and distal advantages for future generations as their higher levels of education yield better employment opportunities and higher incomes in the long-term.

HOW WOULD REINSTATEMENT OF TAP FUNDING FOR PEOPLE IN PRISON AFFECT THEIR CHILDREN?

If TAP funding eligibility were restored for people in prison in New York and more people in New York prisons participated in college education programs, the children of participants would be impacted in the following ways:

- Children would experience more involved parents in their education, which in effect improves child educational status and aspirations
- Children would experience an increase in material resources available to them due to their parents' increase interest in their education and building an enhanced learning environment
- A college education provides higher income for parents, which allows them to provide better living conditions, access to healthy foods, and other resources that directly impact the physical and mental health of children
- An increase in parent-child relationships, which also aids in the healthy socio-emotional development of children and helps build positive coping mechanisms
- These improvements in the family can expect to spill over future years and improve the employment prospects of children

"Yes, I do plan on following my mom's footsteps... but I'll leave the prison part out."
—Children's focus group participant

This section summarizes how child health and well-being are at risk due to parental incarceration, and how the education of parents affects the health of their children generally. As the impacts of college education in prison for the children of those who receive that education has not been well researched, our discussion below has limited data to draw from. Therefore, we primarily focus on describing the relationship between parents' level of education, parenting behaviors, and child socio-emotional coping, educational aspirations, and material resources. Our qualitative research illuminates how college education in prison, more specifically, affects these outcomes in greater depth.

CHILD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING ARE AT RISK DUE TO PARENTAL INCARCERATION

Children bear some of the hardest punishments when a parent is incarcerated. By age 14 25% of African American children will experience some period of parental incarceration, compared to 4% of Whites.[111] Cumulatively this translates to one in 28 children

having at least one parent behind bars.[112] [113] New York State is home to an estimated 105,000 children with a parent serving time in prison or jail.[114]

Parent incarceration is considered a stressor, and research substantiates that such experiences can lead to long-term negative health outcomes.[115] For example, children of incarcerated parents may experience two-fold risk in mental health problems and higher rates of major depression and attention disorders.[115] Absence of a parent can lead to feelings of shame, guilt, stress,[116] [115] sadness, fear[117] worry, confusion, loneliness, anger, often result in sleeping problems, or even developmental aggression[111]. Parental absence may disrupt financial stability that a parent might have provided prior to incarceration[118] [117] and put children at risk of relocation from the home, school or neighborhood.[111] In terms of education, parent incarceration increases children's antisocial behavior;[119] children are prone to isolation, peer hostility, and rejection[119] and may experience a decline in school performance, increased truancy and drug or alcohol use.[116] Further, experiencing incarceration of a parent by age 9 is associated with lower cognitive skills and can lead to an increase in family and student disengagement from school.[111] [120]

PARENT EDUCATION IMPROVES THE HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF CHILDREN

The effects of education on health are passed down through generations, as the educational attainment of adults is connected to the health of their children. Parents' educational attainment has been found to be one of the most critical influences on children's mortality and well-being[72] and development.[121] Lower educational attainment for parents limits their ability—because of knowledge, skills, time, money, and other resources—to create healthy environments for their children and behaviors that kids can model.[122] [72] On the other hand, higher education generates employment opportunities with higher incomes. This increased income directly impacts the health of children through the affordability of quality housing in safe neighborhoods, access to quality healthy foods, access to recreational activities and material resources.[72] All of this translates to the adoption of better health behaviors and the maintenance thereof.[72]

Higher levels of parent education also results in better parent-child relations which impacts the mental, socio-emotional, and behavioral health of children. That is, parents with higher levels of education spend more time with their children and on school related activities.[123] When parents place high importance on their children's education, children in turn place high value on their education and sway away from behavioral problems that can lead to criminal activity and delinquency.[110] Further, higher levels of education are a protective factor for future children's employment aspirations.[110]

PARENT EDUCATION IMPACTS PARENTING BEHAVIORS AND CHILD SOCIO-EMOTIONAL COPING

Parents' levels of education influence how they structure their home environment and interact with their children.[109] When parents have higher levels of education, they are more proactive in their children's education; they communicate with their children's teachers; are involved in their children's education institutions; utilize teaching styles that promote their children's development; engage in verbal interaction; and provide cognitively stimulating environments at home.[124]

> *"There's this website on my school where parents can check your grades ... My mom is always on it; if I'm late to class she'll text me and ask why I'm late... She doesn't want me to miss school for any reason... She's really about me having an education."*
> —Children's focus group participant

> *"Now college is being spoken about at our house. My parents were borderline illiterate. That circle has been broken. There's a new circle being drawn up, with education."*
> —Andre Centeno, formerly incarcerated student

Parents with higher levels of education also spend more time on children's activities. For example, mothers with a bachelor's degree spend 51% more time with their children than high school graduates; this translates to 113 and 75 minutes per day, respectively.[123]

> *"Since my mother's released she wants to play board games, she wants us to do everything together, she wants to have family conversations."*
> —Children's focus group participant

Research on parenting also notes that parent education is related to a positive social climate in

the home.[109] Parental expectations are more likely to affect their children when parent-child relationships are characterized by closeness and warmth.[125] Moreover, achievement is valued when parents mirror an achievement model behavior and provide achievement-oriented opportunities to their children.[110]

> *"[My son] now takes my advice. He didn't respect my opinion [before I went to college in prison]. The way I'm talking to him has changed. He'll ask my opinion, because of the way that I'm delivering the answers."*
> —Luther Jordan, formerly incarcerated student

> *"Their families take pride in what they are doing. Some of the men feel like they have failed in some way, so this is about reclaiming their sense of dignity with their families. The experience is a big healer for rifts in relationships. The experience facilitates bonding with family and helps families and individuals get back respect for the individual."*
> —Baz Dreisinger, faculty

Better parent-child interactions and relationships are a precursor to children's behaviors with others outside the home.[120] Children who must contend with an incarcerated parent are at risk of several behavioral problems. Their trauma, stress, sadness, anxiety, and isolation can lead to a lack of coping mechanisms, which can develop into long-term emotional and behavioral challenges such as depression, problems in school, and destructive coping patterns such as drug use, delinquency, and criminal activity.[119] One study suggests that for every one unit increase in parental education there is a decrease in odds of a child participating in violent delinquency by 16%.[126]

> *"You're not just educating prisoners. You're educating society. I'm a mom of four… I'm helping stop the cycle."*
> —Sharlene Henry, formerly incarcerated student

The benefits of college education are not limited just to children. Other family members may also find inspiration, motivation, and enhanced quality of relationships.

> *"I was the first one to go to school in my family, to get a college education. After that – my niece has a BA from John Jay, my nephew has a PhD and teaches at Hunter, my younger brother got his AD. My mother, may she rest in peace, her thing was – 'Look what you started.' And it was from the penitentiary."*
> —Andre Centeno, formerly incarcerated student

> *"Instead of me calling [my mom] and saying, 'Nothing going on,' now I could call her and I could say, 'I'm reading this, I'm learning about all of these scholars' and now I can share this with my mom, and she can share that with her friends or family."*
> —Arlander Brown, formerly incarcerated student

PARENT EDUCATION IMPACTS CHILD EDUCATIONAL STATUS AND ASPIRATIONS

Students whose parents did not attend college are at a disadvantage in terms of their own educational success.[127] This is because a parent's education is linked to their children's academic success. Increased parent education is associated with increased student education[127] and achievement.[109] For example, students whose parents have a bachelor's degree have a much higher chance of enrolling in college immediately after high school. Conversely, students whose parents do not have a high school diploma are less likely to enroll in college after high school.[127]

In a sample of low-income families, those with higher education had higher expectations for their children's academic achievement and these expectations were related to children's achievement in school.[125] More positive beliefs and expectations predicted higher achievement-related behaviors by mothers in the home as well as more positive expectations of achievement by children.[109] A parent's level of education is a strong indicator of their children's prospective educational endeavors.

In a study conducted at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York, researchers found that college in prison leads to transformative outcomes. A college education gives children pride in their parents, parents also encounter new opportunities, and the parent-child connections are solidified; parents are able to help their children with homework and support them in their educational endeavors.[18]

"I talked to my son about education... If I couldn't share the topic with him, it still was about [how] education is important, how are you doing in school, etc. It helped generate discussion."
—Ronald Day, formerly incarcerated student

"They all talk about being role models for their kids. They tell their kids about how important school has been for them. The context in which they are getting their education adds weight to this message."
—Bob Fullilove, faculty

These higher aspirations may contribute to the fact that parents with college education display higher levels of involvement in their children's education, though their ability to do so is still limited until their release.[127]

PARENT EDUCATION IMPACTS CHILD MATERIAL RESOURCES

Households where parents do not have a college education may often times have monetary constraints[122] which prevent them from affording basic materials needs. As described above, the literature is clear that individuals with higher levels of education earn more and are less likely to be unemployed compared to those with lower education status.[123]

Research indicates that of adults who grew up with the lowest family incomes in the bottom quintile, 47% of those without a bachelor's degree remained there, while the 10% who received a four-year degree moved up to the top quintile.[123] In contrast, of the adults who grew up in the top family income quintile, 51% of those with a bachelor's degree remained in the top, compared to 25% of those without a college degree.[123] These numbers indicate that education is a strong indicator of family income and social mobility is highly influenced by level of education.

Given this, providing education opportunities to incarcerated parents can have spillover benefits for their children, which can improve their economic and health outcomes.

"But when my mom came out, the first thing she did was start working ... My mom saves money to make sure we have the things we need and have certain things that we want."
—Children's focus group participant

Students with high educational aspirations are more likely to do well in school, attain higher education degrees, and reap the economic rewards of higher education degrees in the labor market.[128] These benefits of education are impactful; first generation graduates have the same labor-market outcomes as their non-first generation counterparts.[127]

"[My son] graduated from high school and talked about going to college. Ultimately he decided he didn't want to. He works and has a job. He belongs to a union. It certainly influenced his decision to stay in school."
—Ronald Day, formerly incarcerated student

VI. THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

The provision of college education programs in prison has positive effects on the overall prison environment, specifically by improving the relationships between staff and incarcerated people and by reducing prison conflicts and disciplinary infractions.

HOW WOULD REINSTATEMENT OF TAP FUNDING FOR PEOPLE IN PRISON AFFECT THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT?

- Increased access to a college education in prison will mean a safer prison environment.
- These benefits will accrue to participants in programs and those around them who are not in the program.

This section describes how provision of college education programs in prison would affect the overall prison environment through improving safety and the experiences of others who are incarcerated.

PRISON SAFETY

In terms of prison conditions and the level of violence experienced, a national study suggests that correctional institutions are less turbulent and deadly violent than they were in previous decades. This conclusion comes from a fairly recent and comprehensive summary of the current state of prisons in the U.S. that was based on the witness testimonies of a broad range of stakeholders to the corrections system, including community agencies, citizen's groups, academic and legal experts, and other government representatives.[4] Although the assessment found fewer riots and homicides, authors also state that these measures of the level of violence do not provide the full picture, as they "do not tell us about the much larger universe of less-than-deadly violence" or the "other serious problems that put lives at risk and cause immeasurable suffering" (p. 170).[4]

A Department of Corrections report offers a different view for the safety of prisons in the State. The report details "unusual incidents" that occur within the corrections system in New York – events that disrupt or affect facility operations, such as contraband, assaults on other incarcerated people, assaults on staff by those who are incarcerated, accidents, suicide, death, general disruptive behavior, and other types.[105] From 2009 to 2013, there were on average 6,167 unusual incidents reported, or an average of 110 incidents per 1,000 incarcerated people. This rate has been increasing each year, from a 98.4 incidents per 1,000 in 2009 to 128.5 per 1,000 in 2013. The earliest report available through the Department of Correction's web site lists a rate of 79.6 incidents per 1,000 people in 2006.[105] This suggests a steady rate of increasing incidents over the last nine years.

Thus, though a national assessment suggests that there might be some improvement in prison safety, this is not the case for New York prisons. Prison safety has long been and remains a significant concern.

COLLEGE EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN PRISON ARE A WAY TO IMPROVE SAFETY

Improvements in the conduct of participants in college programs and the effect these improvements have on others will decrease the incidence of prison violence, which may reduce injuries.

Research related to the social and psychological benefits of college education in prison extends to the prison environment. Researchers commonly report that education program participation has a significant positive impact on the relationships between staff and incarcerated people and on prison conflicts.[5,82,13,129]

For example, a survey of students at an Indiana facility found enrollees received a quarter of the

disciplinary infractions.[129] College programs are credited with creating an incentive to avoid behavior that warrants a disciplinary infraction.[82,13]

"Everybody is focused on a goal. The goal is to get a degree. People are much more focused. You don't want to get in trouble."
—Ronald Day, formerly incarcerated student

Individuals in one study explained that being involved in education programs was more important to them than the need to defend themselves and get involved in disputes with others.[5] In fact, being involved in the education program allowed them to stay positive, not focus on the fact that they were 'doing time,' and even set goals for themselves while incarcerated.[5]

"You were working toward being a model prisoner. You're not being a problem to them. You have a goal – conducting yourself in a social society to achieve your goal."
—Luther Jordan, formerly incarcerated student

"College in prison absolutely has a positive impact on their behavior. 'An idle mind is the devil's workshop.' This is especially problematic in prison – having nothing to be engaged in or to structure the passage of time. I have students engaged in study – otherwise they would be ticking time bombs inside."
—Bob Fullilove, faculty

"I see transformations happening in people within the first week of class. The way they carry themselves is transformed. There is less defensiveness, more humbleness, more confidence, and more dignity and a sense of pride. These changes manifest within weeks of starting the program and grow the longer they are in the program. I see a huge transformation in the first 4 weeks."
—Baz Dreisinger, faculty

Education program and facility stakeholders also report benefits to the prison environment,[82] as this quote from one study illustrates, "The most common benefit to the facilities was that students have fewer conduct issues, and the program is subsequently seen as positively affecting inmate behavior and creating a safer prison environment." (pg. 9)[5]

The Correctional Association of New York finds that "the prison officials have often recommended reinstating college programs because of their multiple effects: providing an incentive for good behavior; producing mature, well-spoken leaders who have a calming influence on other [incarcerated] people and on correction officers; and communicating the message that society has sufficient respect for the human potential of incarcerated people."[130]

"Superintendents and other staff at the facilities feel ... that the program is a very positive thing."
—Bob Fullilove, faculty

"Superintendents say people in college make the prisons safer than it ordinarily would be. Correction guards would rather interact with these individuals. Stuff that is counterproductive is often reduced."
—Ronald Day, formerly incarcerated student

"They have all said they have learned to be better communicators through the class discourse and essay writing. They are able to express themselves clearly and forcefully. They can address conflict in a verbal way. They can better articulate their emotional response to things."
—Baz Dreisinger, faculty

IMPACTS ON EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND EDUCATORS

Though not a principal focus of this assessment, our research also found that the benefits of providing college education programs in prison extended to the educators themselves. Many faculty describe the experience as being deeply rewarding.

> *"BPI students come to class and question and do the work. I get challenged by folks on the inside. They critique and push an understanding of the material in a way that is really different from my students at Columbia. Their approach and engagement fundamentally changes the learning environment... The experience has dramatically improved my outlook on life"*
> —Bob Fullilove, faculty

> *"I called the experience of teaching in the program "pedagogical heaven." You have your dream students. They are smart, driven, want to go above and beyond. They want you to double mark their papers. It is invigorating as an educator."*
> —Baz Dreisinger, faculty

Teaching college education programs in prison is not only rewarding, it is also a learning experience for the faculty.

> *"The experience is transformative for faculty. Most haven't had the experience of teaching in prison and this changes their conception of who is in prison, who this population is, and what they are capable of."*
> —Baz Dreisinger, faculty

Many of the participants in these college education programs choose to continue their education after their release, contributing their unique perspectives to the educational institutions as well.

> *"I'm home now. I continue to study liberal arts education... It feels good to be around other scholars."*
> —Patreese Johnson, formerly incarcerated student

> *"Now that I'm in school, when professors ask, I have no problem saying I just got home after doing 13 years in prison. I'm confident I'm going to be one of the best students in class."*
> —Arlander Brown, formerly incarcerated student

> *"Many have been released and they flood the universities when they get out."*
> —Michelle Fine, researcher

> *"Some of my students are applying to Mailman [Columbia's school of public health] to get more education and they are getting in."*
> —Bob Fullilove, faculty

VII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our report highlights the overwhelmingly positive impacts of providing college education programs in New York State prisons. The communities formerly incarcerated people return to, as well as the individuals who receive education and their children and families, all experience very real and measurable improvements to their health and well-being as a result of such programs. If TAP funding for those in prison was reinstated, we would expect to see thousands more incarcerated people experiencing these benefits each year.

While the provision of college education programs in prison is a controversial issue in New York State, there is bipartisan support nationally to end the epidemic of over-incarceration. Our ability to accomplish this goal is based on the successful reentry of formerly incarcerated people into our communities. The provision of educational supports in prison is part of the solution. And while it is important that education be provided in prisons, it is equally important to maintain that educational momentum upon release – especially when so many post-prison opportunities lack a strong emphasis on education as part of the reentry process. Given this reality, Education from the Inside Out's work also focuses on providing access to college following release and for people with a history of conviction.

> *"The prison communities are representative of our most disadvantaged communities... [Education] needs to be in prison, in our communities, in organizations... It can't be siloed out, it has to be everywhere."*
> —John Valverde, formerly incarcerated student

Nonetheless, the demand for college education in prison in New York State is high – less than a third of those who apply to current programs are able to enroll – and programs are willing to expand to accommodate the need. In this context, and based on the findings in this report, we propose a series of recommendations to accommodate this demand.

Specifically, we propose:

- **To increase the availability of college programs in New York State prisons, eligibility for Tuition Assistance Program funding for qualified incarcerated people should be restored. Both public and private institutions of higher education should be eligible to receive TAP funds, and all students should be required to be earning course credit that can be applied towards an AA, BA, or MA degree.**
- **To demonstrate their systematic support for college programs, the Department of Corrections should provide appropriate space, security, technology, and other reasonable resources necessary for the creation, operation, and maintenance of successful college education programs within the system.**
- **To provide stability for students and maintain their ability to participate in college programs, the Department of Corrections should allow and honor educational holds to limit student transfers.**
- **To ensure the academic quality of college programs in prison, all college education providers and courses should meet rigorous academic standards.**

Let us not assume these recommendations will solve all our problems, however, as a larger social context drives both education and incarceration outcomes more broadly. For example, racial segregation, unequal school resources, differential teacher quality, and differential discipline reflect educational barriers that lead to poor achievement levels in low-income communities and communities of color, and must still be contended with. And racial profiling and discrimination in housing, employment and voting rights among formerly incarcerated people reflect an environment that poses immense challenges for people coming out of prison to successfully re-enter our communities. Fundamentally, the lack of access to educational resources in prison – for example, TAP – is only one manifestation of a wider set of discriminatory practices and policies that permeate all aspects of the education and incarceration systems. These wider systems must continue to be addressed by all of us.

REFERENCES

1. Audeh T. For Inmates, Class of '95 Is Last to Get Tuition From State. *Times Union*. June 21, 1995:A14.

2. Davis LM, Bozick R, Steele JL, Saunders J, Miles JNV. *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education: A Meta-Analysis of Programs That Provide Education to Incarcerated Adults*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation Justice, Infrastructure, and Environment Division; 2013.

3. Crayton A, Neusteter SR. The Current State of Correctional Education. In: New York, NY: John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Urban Institute; 2008. http://www.urban.org/projects/reentry-roundtable/upload/Crayton.pdf. Accessed December 9, 2014.

4. National Research Council. *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. (Travis J, Western B, eds.). Washington, DC: National Academies Press; 2014. http://www.nap.edu/catalog.php?record_id=18613.

5. Winterfield L, Coggeshall M, Burke-Storer M, Correa V, Tidd S. *The Effects of Postsecondary Correctional Education Final Report*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center; 2009. http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/411952_PSE_FINAL%205_29_09_webedited.pdf. Accessed December 9, 2014.

6. Institute for Higher Education Policy, Lumina Foundation. *Pell Grant: Building Block of Student-Based Aid*. Washington, DC; ND. http://www.luminafoundation.org/files/advantage/document/S6/Financial_Aid_Film_Series/Pell_viewing_guide.pdf. Accessed February 23, 2015.

7. New York State Higher Education Services Corporation. *New York State Tuition Assistance Program, 2013-2014 Annual Report*. Albany, NY: New York State Higher Education Services Corporation http://www.hesc.ny.gov/hesc-news.html.

8. Bandele A. After the Attica Uprising. *The Nation*. http://www.thenation.com/article/163270/after-attica-uprising. Published September 9, 2011. Accessed February 23, 2015.

9. Chinlund S. After Attica: Hope For Prisons? *The Nation*. http://www.thenation.com/article/163297/after-attica-hope-prisons#. Published September 9, 2011. Accessed February 23, 2015.

10. Brennan T, Gagarin M. Pre-1995 TAP Inquiry. 2014.

11. New York State Division of the Budget. 2009-2010 Executive Budget Agency Appropriations, Higher Education Services Corporation, New York State. http://www.budget.ny.gov/pubs/archive/fy0910archive/eBudget0910/agencyPresentations/appropData/higherEducationServicesCorporationNewYorkState.html. Accessed March 3, 2015.

12. New York State Higher Education Services Corporation. Appendix E: New York's Tuition Assistance Program - A History. http://www.hesc.ny.gov/partner-access/financial-aid-professionals/programs-policies-and-procedures-guide-to-grants-and-scholarship-programs/appendix-e-new-york-s-tuition-assistance-program-a-history.html. Accessed March 3, 2015.

13. Ross J, Gangi R. *Education from the Inside, Out: The Multiple Benefits of College Programs in Prison*. New York, NY: The Correctional Association of New York; 2009. http://www.correctionalassociation.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Higher_Education_Full_Report_2009.pdf. Accessed December 9, 2014.

14. New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision. New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision: Education (Academic) Programs. http://www.doccs.ny.gov/ProgramServices/academic.html. Accessed December 4, 2014.

15. Prison Studies Project. Prison Studies Project, National Directory of Prison Education Programs: New York. http://prisonstudiesproject.org/category/new-york/. Accessed December 4, 2014.

16. New York State Higher Education Services Corporation. *New York State Tuition Assistance Program (TAP)*. TAP School Codes. http://www.hesc.ny.gov/pay-for-college/financial-aid/types-of-financial-aid/grants/tap-school-codes.html. Accessed January 21, 2015.

17. Baum S, Ma J. *Trends in College Pricing 2014*. New York, NY: The College Board; 2014.

18. Institute for Higher Education Policy. I*nvesting in America's Future: Why Student Aid Pays Off for Society and Individuals*. Washington, DC: Institute for Higher Education Policy; 2004.

19. Hiltonsmith R. A*t What Cost? How Student Debt Reduces Lifetime Wealth*. New York, NY; 2013. http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/imce/AtWhatCostFinal.pdf. Accessed March 3, 2015.

20. Audeh T. For Inmates, Class of '95 is Last to Get Tuition From State. *New York Times.* June 21, 1995:A14.

21. Prison Policy Initiative. *State Prison Population in New York*.; 2015. http://www.prisonpolicy.org/graphs/incsize/NY.html.

22. Bard Prison Initiative. *Bard Prison Initiative Website*. http://bpi.bard.edu/faqs/.

23. World Health Organization. P*reamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as Adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19-22 June, 1946; Signed on 22 July 1946 by the Representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the World Health Organization, No. 2, P. 100) and Entered into Force on 7 April 1948. The Definition Has Not Been Amended since 1948*.; 1948.

24. McGinnis JM, Williams-Russo P, Knickman JR. The case for more active policy attention to health promotion. *Health Aff (Millwood)*. 2002;21(2):78-93. http://content.healthaffairs.org/content/21/2/78.short. Accessed March 15, 2013.

25. University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute. *2014 County Health Rankings - Ranking System*. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; 2014. http://www.countyhealthrankings.org/ranking-methods/ranking-system.

26. Commission on Social Determinants of Health. *Closing the Gap in a Generation: Health Equity through Action on the Social Determinants of Health. Final Report of the Commission on Social Determinants of Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2008.

27. Justice Mapping Center. Justice Atlas of Sentencing and Corrections. 2008. http://www.justiceatlas.org/. Accessed March 12, 2015.

28. U.S. Census Bureau. 5-year 2009-13 American Community Survey, Selected Economic Characteristics, Table DP03. *Am FactFinder*. 2015. http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_13_5YR_DP03&prodType=table. Accessed March 13, 2015.

29. U.S. Census Bureau. 5-year 2009-13 American Community Survey, ACS Demographic Estimates, Table DP05. *Am FactFinder*. 2015. http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_13_5YR_DP05&prodType=table. Accessed March 13, 2015.

30. New York State Department of Health. Percentage of labor force unemployed. 2013. https://www.health.ny.gov/statistics/chac/general/g97.htm. Accessed March 16, 2015.

31. U.S. Census Bureau. 5-year 2009-13 American Community Survey, Selected Social Characteristics, Table DP02. *Am FactFinder*. 2015. http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_13_5YR_DP02&prodType=table. Accessed March 13, 2015.

32. New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. Self-reported health status, 2013 (Age-adjusted). 2013. https://a816-healthpsi.nyc.gov/SASStoredProcess/guest?RO-GRAM=%2FEpiQuery%2FCHS%2FchsX-&year=2013&strat1=none&strat2=none&qtype=univar&var=genhlt4&crude=no.

33. Myers C, Olson C, Kerker B, Thorpe L, Greene C, Farley T. *Reducing Health Disparities in New York City: Health Disparities in Life Expectancy and Death*. New York, NY: New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene; 2010.

34. Petersilia J. *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. Oxford University Press; 2003. http://global.oup.com/academic/product/when-prisoners-come-home-9780195160864;jsessionid=EE1BC7452A8F7B260ACDD4FAE9591E4A?cc=us&lang=en&. Accessed August 1, 2014.

35. Travis J, Waul M, eds. *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities*. Urban Inst Pr; 2004.

36. Travis J, Waul M. *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities*. The Urban Insitute; 2003.

37. Justice Policy Institute. Education and Public Safety. 2007. http://www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/07-08_rep_educationandpublicsafety_ps-ac.pdf. Accessed January 29, 2015.

38. Fact Sheet: Restoring Pell Grant Eligibility in Prison. 2014. http://ssdp.org/Pell%20Grant%20Fact%20Sheet.pdf. Accessed January 29, 2015.

39. Brenda Major, O"Brien LT. The Social Psychology of Stigma. *Annu Rev Psychol*. 2005;56:393-421.

40. Stuber J, Meyer I, Link B. Stigma, Prejudice, Discrimination and Health. *Soc Sci Med*. 2008;67:351-357.

41. Steele C, Spencer SJ, Aronson J. Contending With Group Image: The Psychology of Stereotype and Social Identity Threat. *Adv Exp Soc Psychol*. 2002;34:379-440.

42. Kawachi I. Social capital and community effects on population and individual health. *Ann N Y Acad Sci*. 1999;896:120-130.

43. Hawthorne G. Perceived social isolation in a community sample: its prevalence and correlates with aspects of peoples' lives. *Soc Psychiatry Psychiatr Epidemiol*. 2008;43(2):140-150.

44. Kreuter MW, Lezin N. Social capital theory: Implications for community-based health promotion. In: DiClemente RJ, Crosby RA, Kegler MC, eds. *Emerging Theories in Health Promotion Practice and Research*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers; 2002.

45. Lahelma E, Martikainen P, Laaksonen M, Aittomäki A. Pathways between socioeconomic determinants of health. *J Epidemiol Community Health*. 2004;58(4):327-332. doi:10.1136/jech.2003.011148.

46. Viswanath K, Steele W, Finnegan J. Social capital and health: Civic engagement, community size, and recall of health messages. *Am J Public Health*. 2006;96(8):1456-1461.

47. HSU H. Does social participation by the elderly reduce mortality and cognitive impairment? *Aging Ment Health*. 2007;11(6):699-707.

48. Gottileb BH, Gillespie A. Volunteerism, Health, and Civic Engagement among Older Adults. *Can J Aging*. 2008;27(4):3990406.

49. Henrichson C, Delaney R. *The Price of Prisons: What Incarceration Costs Taxpayers*. Vera Institute of Justice; 2012:24. http://www.vera.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/price-of-prisons-updated-version-021914.pdf. Accessed January 30, 2015.

50. College Behind Bars: How Educating Prisoners Pays Off. *Forbes*. http://

www.forbes.com/sites/college-prose/2013/03/25/college-behind-bars-how-educating-prisoners-pays-off/. Accessed January 30, 2015.

51. Bazos A, Hausman J. *Correctional Education as a Crime Control Program*. UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research; 2004:33. http://www.ceana-tional.net/PDFs/ed-as-crime-control.pdf. Accessed January 30, 2015.

52. Investing In What Works for America's Communities » Crime and Community Development. http://www.whatworks-foramerica.org/ideas/crime-and-com-munity-development/#.VRBhk5PF9Mo. Accessed March 23, 2015.

53. Kubrin CE. Social Disorganization Theory: Then, Now, and in the Future. In: Krohn MD, Lizotte AJ, Hall GP, eds. *Handbook on Crime and Deviance*. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. Springer New York; 2009:225-236. http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-4419-0245-0_12. Accessed March 17, 2015.

54. Gaes GG. The Impact of Prison Educa-tion on Post-Release Outcomes. In; 2008.

55. Vera Institute. Pathways from Prison Postsecondary Education Project. http://www.vera.org/project/pathways-pris-on-postsecondary-education-project.

56. Dee TS. *Are There Civic Returns to Education?* Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research; 2003. http://www.nber.org/papers/w9588.pdf.

57. Leong N. *Felon Reenfranchisement: Political Implications and Potential for Individual Rehabilitative Benefits*. Stanford Criminal Justice Center, Stanford Law School; n.d.

58. Petersilla J. Prisoner Reentry: Public Safety and Reintegration Challenges. *Prison J*. 2001;81(3):360-375. doi:10.1177/0032885501081003004.

59. *Voting While Incarcerated: A Toolkit for Advocates Seeking to Register, and Facilitate Voting By, Eligible People in Jail*. American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); 2005.

60. Voting and Civic Participation (Re-Entry NY). http://www.reentry.net/ny/help/item.2918-Voting_Rights_and_Civic_Participation.

61. Drucker E, Barreras R. *Studies of Voting Behavior and Felony Disenfranchisement Among Individuals in the Criminal Justice System in New York, Connecticut, and Ohio*. The Sentencing Project; 2005.

62. Travis J, Solomon AL, Waul M. *From Prison to Home: The Dimensions and Consequences of Prisoner Reentry*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; 2001:1-64. www.urban.org/pdfs/from_prison_to_home.pdf.

63. Lindahl N, Mukamal DA. *Venturing Beyond the Gates: Facilitating Successful Reentry with Entrepreneurship*. John Jay College of Criminal Justice, The City University of New York; 2007:1-95.

64. Bernstein D, Dworakowski K. *Under Custody Report: Profile of Under Custody Population as of January 1, 2014*. Albany, NY: State of New York Department of Correctional Services and Community Supervision; 2014.

65. MacKenzie DL. Structure and Components of Successful Educational Programs. In: New York, NY: John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Urban Institute; 2008.

66. Kellam L. *Targeted Programs: An Analysis of the Impact of Prison Program Participation on Community Success.* Albany, NY: State of New York Department of Correctional Services and Community Supervision; 2007.

67. Correctional Association of New York. *2013 Summary of HIA and Hepatitis C Care in NYS Prisons*.; 2013. http://www.correctionalassociation.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/CA-Memo-2013-Comments-DOH-Oversight-Law-Final-Draft.pdf.

68. Mallik-Kane K, Visher C. *Health and Prisoner Reentry: How Physical, Mental, and Substance Abuse Conditions Shape the Process of Reintegration.* Urban Institute; 2008.

69. Wilper AP, Woolhandler S, Boyd JW, et al. The health and health care of US prisoners: Results of a nationwide survey. *Am J Public Health*. 2009;99(4):666-672. http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.2008.144279.

70. James D, Glaze L. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report. Mental Health Problems of Prison and Jail Inmates*.; 2006. http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/mhppji.pdf.

71. Cutler DM, Lleras-Muney A. *Education and Health: Evaluating Theories and Evidence*. National Bureau of Economic Research; 2006. http://www.nber.org/papers/w12352. Accessed March 22, 2013.

72. Egerter S, Braveman P, Sadegh-Nobari T, Grossman-Kahn R, Dekker M. *Education Matters for Health*. San Francisco, CA: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; 2009:1-15. http://www.commissiononhealth.org/PDF/c270deb3-ba42-4fbd-baeb-2cd65956f00e/Issue%20Brief%206%20Sept%2009%20-%20Education%20and%20Health.pdf.

73. Freudenberg N, Ruglis J. Reframing School Dropout as a Public Health Issue. *Prev Chronic Dis*. 2007;4(4):1-11.

74. Day JC, Newburger EC. *The Big Payoff: Educational Attainment and Synthetic Estimates of Work-Life Earnings*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau; 2002. http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p23-210.pdf.

75. Ross CE, Wu C. The links between education and health. *Am Sociol Rev*. 1995:719-745. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2096319. Accessed March 22, 2013.

76. Yen IH, Bhatia R. *How Increasing the Minimum Wage Might Affect the Health Status of San Francisco Residents: A Discussion of the Links Between Income and Health*. San Francisco, CA; 2002.

77. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill School of Medicine. Bowles Center for Alcohol Studies. http://www.med.unc.edu/alcohol/. Accessed February 5, 2015.

78. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Alcohol and Public Health: Fact Sheets - Alcohol Use and Your Health. 2014. http://www.cdc.gov/alcohol/fact-sheets/alcohol-use.htm. Accessed February 5, 2015.

79. Hwang SW. Homelessness and health. *Can Med Assoc J*. 2001;164(1):229-233. http://www.cmaj.ca/content/164/2/229.full.pdf.

80. Barker EJ. The Liberal Arts in the Correctional Setting: Education Befitting Free Men"--for Those Who Presently Are Not Free. In: Cincinnati, OH; 1986. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED270574.pdf.

81. Farnsworth D. Social Value in College and University. *Daedalus*. 1974;Fall.

82. Fine M, Torre ME, Bowen I, et al. *Changing Minds, The Impact of College in a Maximum-Security Prison: Effects on Women in Prison, the Prison Environment, Reincarceration Rates and Post-Release Outcomes*. New York, NY: The Graduate Center of the City University of New York & Women in Prison at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility; 2001.

83. Nemecek PJ. The Effects of Incarceration and Education on Self-Concept: Creating a Positive Role - Person Merger. In: Cincinnati, OH; 1986. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED270574.pdf. Accessed January 10, 2012.

84. Parker EA. The Social-Psychological Impact of a College Education on the Prison Inmate. *J Correct Educ*. 1990;41(3):140-146. doi:10.2307/41971811.

85. Roundtree G. The Effects of Education on Self-Esteem of Male Prison Inmates. *J Correct Educ* 1974. 1982;32(4):12.

86. Tootoonchi A. College education in prisons: The inmates' perspectives. *Fed Probat*. 1993;57(4):34. http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=9406030270&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

87. Halkovic A, Fine M, Bae J, et al. *Higher Education and Reentry: The Gifts They Bring*. New York, NY: John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Prisoner Reetry Institute; 2013.

88. Visher CA, Travis J. Characteristics of Prisoners Returning Home and Reentry Effectiveness. In: *The Oxford Handbook of Sentencing and Corrections, Editors Joan Petersilia and Kevin R. Reitz*. Oxford Handbooks Online; 2012. http://www.reentryeducationnetwork.org/uploads/1/2/5/3/12534585/the_characteristics_of_prisoners_returning_home_and_effective_reentry_programs_and_policies.pdf.

89. Holzer HJ, Raphael S, Stoll MA. Employment Barriers Facing Ex-Offenders. In: New York, NY; 2003.

90. Torre ME, Fine M. Bar None: Extending Affirmative Action to Higher Education in Prison. *J Soc Issues*. 2005;61(3):569-594. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00421.x.

91. Visher C, Debus S, Yahner J. *Employment after Prison: A Longitudinal Study of Releasees in Three States*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute: Justice Policy Center; 2008.

92. Gerald G. Gaes. The Impact of Prison Education Programs on Post-Release Outcomes. In: New York, NY: John Jay College of Criminal Justice and The Urban Institute; 2008. http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/gaestheeffectivenessofprisoneducationprograms.pdf.

93. Patzelt H, Williams T, Shephard D. Overcoming the Walls that Constrain Us: The Role of Entrepreneurship Education Programs in Prison. *Acad Manag Learn Educ*. 2014;13(4):587-620. doi:dx.doi.org/10.5465/amle.2013.0094.

94. American Bar Association. *National Inventory of the Collateral Consequences of Conviction*. American Bar Association; 2013. http://www.abacollateralconsequences.org/.

95. Gebreselassie *T. Hearing on the New York City Fair Chance Act*. New York, NY; 2014.

96. Visher CA, Debus-Sherrill SA, Yahner J. Employment After Prison: A Longitudinal Study of Former Prisoners. *Justice Q*. 2011;28(5):698-718. doi:10.1080/07418825.2010.535553.

97. Berg MT, Huebner BM. Reentry and the Ties that Bind: An Examination of Social Ties, Employment, and Recidivism. *Justice Q*. 2011;28(2):382-410. doi:10.1080/07418825.2010.498383.

98. NELP. *"Ban the Box" Research Summary*. New York, NY: National Employment Law Project; :7. http://nelp.3cdn.net/5a46a52e15014e5a4b_23m6b0k40.pdf. Accessed July 31, 2014.

99. Visher CA, Kachnowski V, La Vigne NG, Travis J. *Baltimore Prisoners' Experiences Returning Home*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute; 2004. http://research.urban.org/UploadedPDF/310946_Baltimore Prisoners.pdf. Accessed August 1, 2014.

100. Harer MD. *Prison Education Program Participation and Recidivism: A Test of the Normalization Hypothesis*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Prisons Office of Research and Evaluation; 1995. http://www.bop.gov/resources/research_projects/published_reports/recidivism/orepredprg.pdf. Accessed December 9, 2014.

101. Carnavale AP, Smith N, Strohl J. *Recovery: Job Growth and Educational Requirements through 2020*. Georgetown Public Policy Institute, Center on Education and the Workforce, Georgetown University; 2013. https://cew.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Recovery2020.FR_.Web_.pdf.

102. Batiuk ME, Moke P, Rountree PW. Crime and Rehabilitation: Correctional Education as an Agent of Change. *Justice Q*. 1997;14:167-180.

103. Steurer, Stephen J., Smith LG. *Education Reduces Crime: Three-State Recidivism Study Executive Summary*. Lanham, MD: Correctional Education Association and Management & Training Corporation Institute; 2003.

104. Armstrong, Gaylene, Giever, Dennis, Lee, Daniel. *Evaluation of the Windham School District Correctional Education Programs*. Huntsville, TX: Sam Houston State University; 2012. http://www.windhamschooldistrict.org/images/PDF/83rd/WSD_Rider6_Response.pdf.

105. New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision. Annotated Listing: Research Studies and Legislative Reports. 2015. http://www.doccs.ny.gov/Research/annotate.asp. Accessed January 12, 2015.

106. Pew Center on the States. *State of Recidivism: The Revolving Door of*

America's Prisons. Washington, D.C.: Pew Charitable Trusts; 2011.

107. Lattimore P, Barrick K, Cowell A, et al. Prisoner Reentry Services: *What Worked for SVORI Evaluation Participants?* Washington DC: National Institute of Justice; 2012.

108. GENDREAU P, LITTLE T, GOGGIN C. A META-ANALYSIS OF THE PREDICTORS OF ADULT OFFENDER RECIDIVISM: WHAT WORKS!*. *Criminology.* 1996;34(4):575-608. doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.1996.tb01220.x.

109. Davis-kean PE. Influence of parent education and family income on child achievement: The indirect role of parent expectations and the home environment. *J Fam Psychol*. 2005:294-304.

110. Dubow EF, Boxer P, Huesmann LR. Long-term Effects of Parents' Education on Children's Educational and Occupational Success: Mediation by Family Interactions, Child Aggression, and Teenage Aspirations. *Merrill-Palmer Q Wayne State Univ Press*. 2009;55(3):224-249. doi:10.1353/mpq.0.0030.

111. Haskins AR. *Mass Imprisonment and the Intergenerational Transmission of Disadvantage: Paternal Incarceration and Children's Cognitive Skill Development*. New York, NY: Columbia University; 2013:62. http://crcw.princeton.edu/workingpapers/WP13-15-FF.pdf. Accessed January 20, 2015.

112. Tregaskis S. *Prison Pandemic: Public Health Confronts the Incarceration Epidemic*. Columbia School of Public Health; 2014. http://www.mailman.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/CPHmag2014web-PrisonPandemic.pdf.

113. GANDANA N. Pathway to Opportunities for Ex-Offenders. *Plicy Results*. 2013. http://policyforresults.blogspot.com/2013/08/pathways-to-opportunities-for-ex.html. Accessed December 10, 2014.

114. The Osborne Association. Children on Incarcerated Parents Fact Sheet. 2012. http://www.osborneny.org/images/uploads/printMedia/Initiative%20CIP%20Stats_Fact%20Sheet.pdf.

115. The Osborne Association. Parental Incarceration's Impact on Children's Health. 2012. http://www.osborneny.org/images/uploads/printMedia/Parental%20Incarceration%27s%20Impact%20on%20Children%27s%20Health%20Fact%20Sheet_Osborne.pdf. Accessed January 20, 2015.

116. Coley RJ, Barton PE. *Locked Up and Locked Out: An Educational Perspective on the U.S. Prison Population*. Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service; 2006. http://www.ets.org/Media/Research/pdf/PIC-LOCKEDUP.pdf.

117. La Vigne NG, Davies E, Brazzell D. *Broken Bonds: Understanding and Addressing the Needs of Children withIncarcerated Parents*.; 2008:21.

118. Graham S. *Income, Education, and Obesity*. Denver, CO: The Colorado Health Foundation; 2008:16. file:///Users/apple-owner/Documents/TCHFobesity5_I.pdf. Accessed January 22, 2015.

119. Murray J, Farrington DP, Sekol I. Children's antisocial behavior, mental health, drug use, and educational performance after parental incarceration: A systematic review and meta-analysis. Psychol Bull. 2012;138(2):175-210. doi:10.1037/a0026407.

120. Hagan J, Foster H. Intergenerational Educational Effects of Mass Imprisonment in America. *Sociol Educ*. 2012:0038040711431587. doi:10.1177/0038040711431587.

121. Chen E, Martin AD, Matthews KA. Socioeconomic status and health: do gradients differ within childhood and adolescence? *Soc Sci Med*. 2006;62(9):2161-2170.

122. Goodman JS, Currie J. *Parental Socioeconomic Status, Child Health, and Human Capital*. Harvard University OpenScholar; 2010. http://econpapers.repec.org/paper/qshwpaper/95991.htm. Accessed January 23, 2015.

123. Baum S, Ma J, Payea K. *Education Pays 2013: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society*. College Board; 2013:48. http://trends.collegeboard.org/sites/default/files/education-pays-2013-full-report.pdf. Accessed December 10, 2014.

124. Davis-kean P, Sexton HR. *Educational Influences on Parenting and Achievement*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan; 2005:30. http://www.psidonline.isr.umich.edu/Publications/Workshops/CDS2ER/Papers/DavisKean.pdf. Accessed January 15, 2015.

125. *Child Trends Databank*. Parental Expectations for Their Children's Academic Attainment. Child Trends Data Bank. 2012. http://www.childtrends.org/?indicators=parental-expectations-for-their-childrens-academic-attainment#sthash.QcN10j5v.dpuf.

126. Parks A. The Effects of Family Structure on Juvenile Delinquency. *Electron Theses Diss*. 2013. http://dc.etsu.edu/etd/2279.

127. US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. *Students Whose Parents Did Not Go to College*. Washington DC: US Department of Education; 2001:38. http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2001/2001126.pdf. Accessed January 20, 2015.

128. Executive Office of the President. *Increasing College Opportunity for Low-Income Students*. Washington DC; 2014:47. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/white_house_report_on_increasing_college_opportunity_for_low-income_students_1-16-2014_final.pdf.

129. Taylor JM. Should Prisoners Have Access to Collegiate Education? A Policy Issue. *Educ Policy*. 1994;8(3):315-338. doi:10.1177/0895904894008003004.

130. Why Prison Education? *Reforming Arts*. http://www.reformingarts.org/arts-education/outreach. Accessed January 30, 2015.

131. Cohen D, Crabtree B. *Qualitative Research Guidelines Project*. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; 2006. http://www.qualres.org/HomeSamp-3702.html.

132. Miles M, Huberman *A. Qualitative Data Analysis*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1994.

133. Strauss A. *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 1987.

Human Impact Partners works to transform the policies and places people need to live healthy lives by increasing the consideration of health and equity in decision-making.

For more about Human Impact Partners, please see *www.humanimpact.org*.