The Prison Paradox: More Incarceration Will Not Make Us Safer

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July 2017

Summary*

Despite two decades of declining crime rates and a decade of efforts to reduce mass incarceration, some policymakers continue to call for tougher sentences and greater use of incarceration to reduce crime. It may seem intuitive that increasing incarceration would further reduce crime: incarceration not only prevents future crimes by taking people who commit crime “out of circulation” (incapacitation), but it also may dissuade people from committing future crimes out of fear of punishment (deterrence). In reality, however, increasing incarceration rates has a minimal impact on reducing crime and entails significant costs:

- Increases in incarceration rates have a small impact on crime rates and each additional increase in incarceration rates has a smaller impact on crime rates than previous increases.
- Any crime reduction benefits of incarceration are limited to property crime. Research consistently shows that higher incarceration rates are not associated with lower violent crime rates.
- Incarceration may increase crime in certain circumstances. In states with high incarceration rates and neighborhoods with concentrated incarceration, the increased use of incarceration may be associated with increased crime.
- Incarceration is expensive. The United States is spending heavily on jails and prisons and under-investing in less expensive, more effective ways to reduce and prevent crime.

* This brief uses the broad term “incarceration,” which can encompass confinement in both prisons and jails. Much of the research conducted to date, however, examines imprisonment only, and not incarceration in America’s jails.

Why won’t more incarceration reduce crime?

Incarceration has a marginal impact on crime

There is a very weak relationship between higher incarceration rates and lower crime rates. Although studies differ somewhat, most of the literature shows that between 1980 and 2000, each 10 percent increase in incarceration rates was associated with just a 2 to 4 percent lower crime rate. Since then, only one empirical analysis (a study that requires corroboration) has examined the relationship between incarceration and crime. Overall, the increased use of incarceration through the 1990s accounted for between 6 and 25 percent of the total reduction in crime rates. Since 2000, however, the increased use of incarceration accounted for nearly zero percent of the overall reduction in crime. This means that somewhere between 75 and 100 percent of
the reduction in crime rates since the 1990s is explained by other factors. Research has shown that the aging population, increased wages, increased employment, increased graduation rates, increased consumer confidence, increased law enforcement personnel, and changes in policing strategies were associated with lower crime rates and, collectively, explain more of the overall reduction in crime rates than does incarceration.11

Incarceration has a diminishing impact on crime

The relationship between higher incarceration rates and lower crime rates is weak, and is getting weaker.12 Research shows that each additional increase in incarceration rates will be associated with a smaller and smaller reduction in crime rates.13 This is because individuals convicted of serious or repeat offenses receive prison sentences even when overall rates of incarceration are low. To continue to increase incarceration rates requires that prisons be used for individuals convicted of lower-level or infrequent offenses as well. Thus, since the early 1990s, the crime reduction benefits of additional prison expansion have been smaller and more expensive to achieve.14 This diminishing impact of incarceration also explains the lack of crime reduction benefits of higher incarceration rates through the 2000s. Increases in correctional populations when incarceration rates are already high have less impact on crime than increases in populations when incarceration rates are low.15

Incarceration has little to no effect on violent crime

The weak association between higher incarceration rates and lower crime rates applies almost entirely to property crime.16 Research consistently shows that higher incarceration rates are not associated with lower violent crime rates.17 This is because the expansion of incarceration primarily means that larger numbers of individuals convicted of nonviolent, “marginal” offenses—drug offenses and low-level property offenses, as well as those who are convicted of “infrequent” offenses—are imprisoned.18 Those convicted of violent and repeat offenses are likely to receive prison sentences regardless of the incarceration rate. Thus, increasing incarceration rates for those convicted of nonviolent, marginal offenses does nothing to impact the violent crime rate.19

Incarceration will increase crime in states and communities with already high incarceration rates

Although it may seem counterintuitive, research has shown that incarceration may actually increase crime. At the state level, there may be an “inflection point” where increases in state incarceration rates are associated with higher crime rates.20 This state-level phenomenon mirrors a similar occurrence in specific neighborhoods, where communities may reach an incarceration “tipping point” after which future increases in incarceration lead to higher crime rates.21 The argument is that high rates of imprisonment break down the social and family bonds that guide individuals away from crime, remove adults who would otherwise nurture children, deprive communities of income, reduce future income potential, and engender a deep resentment toward the legal system; thus, as high incarceration becomes concentrated in certain neighborhoods, any potential public safety benefits are outweighed by the disruption to families and social groups that would help keep crime rates low.22

At the individual level, there is also some evidence that incarceration itself is criminogenic, meaning that spending time in jail or prison actually increases a person’s risk of engaging in crime in the future.23 This may be because people learn criminal habits or develop criminal networks while incarcerated, but it may also be because of the collateral consequences that derive from even short periods of incarceration, such as loss of employment, loss of stable housing, or disruption of family ties.24

Incarceration is an expensive way to achieve little public safety

The United States incarcerated 1.2 million more people in prison in 2000 than in 1975 to achieve little public safety benefit. By 2000, the incarceration rate was 270 percent higher than in 1975, but the violent crime rate was nearly identical to the rate in 1975 and the property crime rate was nearly 20 percent lower than in 1975. Put another way, the United States was spending roughly $33 billion on incarceration in 2000 for essentially the same level of public safety it achieved in 1975 for $7.4 billion—nearly a quarter of the cost.25 But the costs of high incarceration rates go well beyond the financial costs to government. Mass incarceration also imposes significant social, cultural, and political costs on individuals, families, and communities.26 Incarceration reduces employment opportunities, reduces earnings, limits
economic mobility and, perhaps more importantly, has an intergenerational impact that increases the chances that children of incarcerated parents will live in poverty and engage in delinquent behavior.27

What can policymakers do to reduce crime without the use of incarceration?

Prior research indicates several factors associated with lower crime rates: aging population, increased wages, increased employment, increased graduation rates, increased consumer confidence, increased law enforcement personnel, and changes in policing strategies.28 Policymakers have many tools at their disposal to address crime rates based on these factors in the long term. They can implement policies that require investment outside the criminal justice system to increase graduation rates, employment, income, or consumer confidence. But there are short-term solutions to reducing crime as well. Research points to several criminal justice practices that policymakers can adopt that are more effective and less expensive than incarceration at reducing crime.

Use community crime prevention strategies

Several policing and community-engagement strategies can reduce the incidence of crime in local jurisdictions.29 Place-based problem-oriented policing approaches, for example, significantly reduce crime rates; such approaches involve carefully analyzing crime and disorder in small geographic areas and addressing such problems through tailor-made solutions, such as situational crime prevention measures (repairing fences, improving lighting, erecting road barriers) and community improvements (removing graffiti, nuisance abatement).30 Similarly, several jurisdictions also have renewed efforts to implement and improve community policing approaches—such as working with business owners to identify neighborhood problems, conducting citizen surveys and outreach, and improving recreational opportunities for youth—in order to engage more closely with communities to identify and solve crime problems. Evaluations show that such programs can reduce both violent and property crimes.31

To address violent crime, several jurisdictions have implemented focused deterrence strategies that 1) identify high-risk individuals who are responsible for a disproportionate share of violent crime, 2) advise such individuals that they will be subjected to intensified enforcement if they continue to engage in violence, and 3) provide targeted individuals with access to social services. Evaluations of such programs have shown significant reductions in violent crime, including homicides and gun-related offenses.32 Finally, several studies also have shown that jurisdictions working with residents to increase collective crime prevention techniques or to implement situational crime prevention techniques can reduce property crimes in targeted neighborhoods.33

Increase the availability and use of alternative-to-incarceration programs

Several types of alternative-to-incarceration programs that offer supportive services (like mental health, substance abuse, employment, housing, Medicaid, public benefits, and community health centers) can reduce criminal activity among participants.34 For example, law enforcement-led diversion programs that divert individuals at the point of arrest and prosecution-led diversion programs that divert individuals either pre-charge or defer prosecution post-charge have been shown to reduce future criminal activity of program participants.35 Several meta-analyses show that participation in drug courts—specialized courts that combine drug treatment with supervision to reduce drug use and drug-related crime—can significantly reduce recidivism among participants.36 Research also suggests that other specialty courts may reduce criminal activity of targeted groups. Mental health courts, for example, combine treatment-oriented and problem-solving strategies to reduce recidivism and contact with the criminal justice system among individuals with mental health issues.37 Juvenile diversion programs divert youth out of traditional criminal case processing and into a variety of alternatives, including restorative justice programs, community service, substance abuse treatment, skills-building programs, or family treatment.38

Employ community corrections approaches

Several community corrections approaches, which provide supervision and services to individuals in the community post-conviction, can reduce criminal activity among participants without the use of incarceration.39 Reducing caseloads for probation officers and focusing on evidence-based practices like risk/needs assessments, separate specialized caseloads, intensive wraparound services, and comprehensive case management can significantly reduce re-arrest rates
among high-risk probationers. In addition, community supervision programs that target moderate- and high-risk adults and incorporate cognitive behavioral therapy have been shown to reduce recidivism rates among program participants. Investment in reentry programs for those already incarcerated, such as pre-release programming and aftercare services, in-prison therapeutic communities, and transitional planning, can significantly reduce criminal activity of those released from incarceration.

It is possible to reduce incarceration and crime

Experiences in several states offer evidence that policymakers can reduce crime without increasing imprisonment. In fact, 19 states reduced both imprisonment and crime rates over the last 15 years. (See Figure 1 below.) These states represent a diverse cross-section of the United States, including large states like Texas and small states like Alaska; Northeastern states like Connecticut and Midwestern states like Michigan; Southern states like Louisiana and Western states like Hawaii. Socially liberal states like New York,

Figure 1
wealthy states like Maryland, and states with low crime rates like Vermont simultaneously reduced incarceration and crime rates, but so did socially conservative states like Utah, economically distressed states like Mississippi, and states with high crime rates like Nevada.

The experiences across states also indicate that the relationship between incarceration and crime is neither predictable nor consistent. The state with the largest decrease in incarceration rates—New Jersey (with a 37 percent decrease between 2000 and 2015)—also experienced a 30 percent decrease in crime rates during the same period. The state with the largest increase in incarceration rates—West Virginia (with an 83 percent increase between 2000 and 2015)—also experienced a 4 percent increase in crime rates. Among the 10 states with the largest decreases in crime rates between 2000 and 2015, five also reduced incarceration rates.44 Indeed, the state with the largest decrease in crime rates—Vermont—also reduced incarceration rates. Between 2000 and 2015, only four states—Arkansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, and West Virginia—experienced increases in crime rates, and all four also experienced increased incarceration rates.

The practices and programs adopted at the state and local levels in many of these states—community-based crime prevention, innovative policing strategies, diversion, and community corrections programs—likely explain these disparate trends in incarceration rates and crime rates over the last 15 years. As national policymakers call for increased incarceration and many state and local policymakers feel pressure to introduce measures to keep crime rates low, officials would do well to look toward states that have reduced both incarceration and crime for examples of innovation.

### Conclusion

After 25 years of consistently declining crime rates, policymakers continue to feel pressure to introduce measures to address even small upticks in crime. This is understandable—policymakers should seek solutions to the problems of violence and embrace practices and policies that can keep crime rates low. Filling the nation’s prisons is not one of them. The impact of incarceration on crime is limited and has been diminishing for several years. Increased incarceration has no effect on violent crime and may actually lead to higher crime rates when incarceration is concentrated in certain communities. Instead, policymakers can reduce crime without continuing to increase the social, cultural, and political costs of mass incarceration by investing in more effective and efficient crime reduction strategies that seek to engage the community, provide needed services to those who are criminally involved, and begin to address the underlying causes of crime.

### Resources

- **Clear, Todd R.** “The Effects of High Imprisonment Rates on Communities.” *Crime and Justice* 37, no. 1 (2008), 97-132.
- **National Institute of Justice.** [CrimeSolutions.gov](https://www.crimesolutions.gov).


The incarceration rate is defined as the number of sentenced persons in prison per 100,000 people. Analysts use either the national incarceration rate (the number of sentenced persons in state or federal prison per 100,000 U.S. population) or state incarceration rates (the number of sentenced persons in a particular state’s prisons per 100,000 state population). By definition, this figure does not include the nation’s jail populations. For more information about the U.S. jail population, see Bureau of Justice Statistics, “Data Collection: Annual Survey of Jails,” https://perma.cc/D7QZ-CM46. For the impact of increased incarceration rates on crime rates, see, generally, James Austin and Tony Fabelo, The Diminishing Returns of Increased Incarceration: A Blueprint to Improve Public Safety and Reduce Costs (Washington, DC: JFA Institute, 2004), https://perma.cc/N9K7; Jenni Gainsborough and Marc Mauer, Diminishing Returns: Crime and Incarceration in the 1990s (Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project, 2000), https://perma.cc/HV5E-J4YQ; Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll, A New Approach to Reducing Incarceration While Maintaining Low Rates of Crime (Washington, DC: The Hamilton Project, 2014), https://perma.cc/46B2-6G4M.


For a review of research on the effects of incarceration at the local level, see Todd R. Clear, “The Effects of High Imprisonment Rates on Communities,” Crime and Justice 37, no. 1 (2008), 97-132 (describing several studies that find high incarceration rates associated with higher crime rates at the neighborhood level), https://perma.cc/SL73-2DGT; see also Raymond V. Liedka, Anne Morrison Piehl, and...

6 John J. Donohue III, “Assessing the Relative Benefits of Incarceration: The Overall Change over the Previous Decades and the Benefits on the Margin,” in Do Prisons Make Us Safer? The Benefits and Costs of the Prison Boom, edited by Steven Raphael and Michael Stoll (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009) [arguing that “social spending” on programs such as preschool and early-childhood education, family therapy, programs for juvenile delinquents, and labor-market interventions could generate greater reductions in crime at a lower social cost than incarceration].

7 See Don Stemen, Reconsidering Incarceration (2007); and Oliver Roeder, Lauren-Brook Eisen, and Julia Bowling, What Caused the Crime Decline? (2017).


9 William Spelman, “The Limited Importance of Prison Expansion,” in The Crime Drop in America, edited by Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000) (arguing that once the diminishing returns of incarceration are accounted for, only 6 percent of the decrease in property crime rates and 0 percent of the decrease in violent crime rates in the 1990s were explained by higher incarceration rates); in contrast, see Oliver Roeder, Lauren-Brook Eisen, and Julia Bowling, What Caused the Crime Decline? (2017), 23 (arguing that even for property crime, higher incarceration could account for anywhere from 0 to 12 percent of the decline).

10 Ibid. Roeder, Eisen, and Bowling, 2017, 23 (stating that “increased incarceration accounted for less than one one-hundredth of the decline of property crime in the 2000s...[and] had no observable effect on the violent crime decline ... in the 2000s”).

11 For reviews of studies examining the relationship between these factors and crime, see Don Stemen, Reconsidering Incarceration (2007). For a review and reanalysis of these factors see Oliver Roeder, Lauren-Brook Eisen, and Julia Bowling, What Caused the Crime Decline? (2017) (finding that lower unemployment rates, higher per capita income, higher consumer confidence, lower alcohol consumption, aging population, and the introduction of COMPSTAT were associated with lower crime rates). For the results of specific studies, see, e.g., Hope Corman and H. Naci Mocan, “A Time-Series Analysis of Crime, Deterrence, and Drug Abuse in New York City,” American Economic Review 90, no. 3 (2000), 584-604 (finding a significant effect of increased numbers of law enforcement officers on lower burglary and robbery rates); Steven D. Levitt, “Using Electoral Cycles in Police Hiring to Estimate the Effect of Police on Crime: Reply,” American Economic Review 92, no. 4 (2002), 1244-50 [finding a significant effect of increased numbers of law enforcement officers on property and violent crime rates], https://perma.cc/XZ87-5849; Steven Raphael and Rudolf Winter-Ebmer, “Identifying the Effect of Unemployment on Crime,” Journal of Law and Economics 44, no. 1 (2001), 259-83 [finding that higher unemployment rates were associated with higher property crime rates and that higher per capita income was associated with lower violent crime rates]; Steven D. Levitt, “Alternative Strategies for Identifying the Link between Unemployment and Crime,” Journal of Quantitative Criminology 17, no. 4 (2001), 377-90 [finding that higher unemployment rates were associated with higher property crime rates]; Raymond V. Liedka, Anne Morrison Piehl, and Bert Useem, “The Crime-Control Effect of Incarceration” (2006) [finding that higher per capita income was associated with lower crime rates]; Richard Rosenfeld and Robert Fornango, “The Impact of Economic Conditions on Robbery and Property Crime: The Role of Consumer Sentiment,” Criminology 45, no. 4 (2007), 735-69 [finding that increased consumer confidence was associated with lower rates of robbery, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft rates]; Sara Markowitz, An Economic Analysis of Alcohol, Drugs, and Violent Crime in the National Crime Victimization Survey (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2000) [finding that increases in the number of alcohol distribution outlets is associated with increased probability of assault], https://perma.cc/4XUB-L3A4; Lance Lochner and Enrico Moretti, “The Effect of Education on Crime: Evidence from Prison Inmates, Arrests, and Self-Reports,” American Economic Review 94, no. 1 (2004), 155-89 [finding that increases in individuals’ education levels are associated with lower crime rates].


15 Raymond V. Liedka, Anne Morrison Piehl, and Bert Useem, The Crime-Control Effect of Incarceration (2006) [finding that increases in prison populations in states with already large prison populations have less impact on crime than increases in states with smaller prison populations; states experience “accelerating declining marginal returns”—meaning that the percent reduction in crime gets ever smaller with larger prison populations. The authors concluded that increases in incarceration rates are associated with lower crime rates at low levels of imprisonment, but the size of that association shrinks as incarceration rates get bigger].

16 See, e.g., Oliver Roeder, Lauren-Brook Eisen, and Julia Bowling, What Caused the Crime Decline? (2017) [re-analyzing data from previous studies and analyzing data from 2000 to 2015; finding either no relationship between incarceration rates and violent crime rates or a very small relationship].


18 See, e.g., Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins, Crime Is Not the Problem (1997). Zimring and Hawkins argue that by the late 1980s U.S. prisons already housed those convicted of the most serious, violent offenses and did not need to expand to get more such individuals off the streets; the prison expansion since the 1980s resulted in nothing more than the imprisonment of large numbers of people convicted of nonviolent, “marginal” offenses. Thus, the authors argue that increasing incarceration rates does nothing to impact the crime rate since those convicted of the most serious offenses were already incarcerated.

19 Ibid.

20 Raymond V. Liedka, Anne Morrison Piehl, and Bert Useem, “The Crime-Control Effect of Incarceration” (2006). Liedka, Piehl, and Useem argue that there is an “inflection point” where increases in incarceration rates are associated with higher crime rates. According to the authors, this inflection point occurs when a state’s incarceration rate reaches some point between 325 and 429 inmates per 100,000 people. In other words, states with incarceration rates above this range can expect to experience higher crime rates with future increases in incarceration rates.


23 See, e.g., José Cid, “Is Imprisonment Criminogenic? A Comparative Study of Recidivism Rates between Prison and Suspended Prison Sanctions,” European Journal of Criminology 6, no. 6 (2009), 459-80 (finding that individuals given suspended sentences had a lower risk of reconviction than those given custodial sentences); Cassia Spohn and David Holleran, “The Effect of Imprisonment on Recidivism Rates of Felony Offenders: A Focus on Drug Offenders,” Criminology 40, no. 2 (2002), 329-68 (finding that individuals sentenced to prison had higher recidivism rates and recidivated more quickly than individuals sentenced to probation); Lynne M. Vieraitis, Tomislav V. Kovandzic, and Thomas B. Marvell, “The Criminogenic Effects of Imprisonment: Evidence from State Panel Data, 1974-2002,” Criminology & Public Policy 6, no. 3 (2007), 589-622 (finding that increased prison releases are associated with higher crime rates and arguing that this is due to the criminogenic effects of prison). Some research suggests that even short terms of incarceration in jail can increase an individual’s likelihood of engaging in future criminal activity. See, e.g., Paul S. Heaton, Sandra G. Mayson, and Megan Stevenson, “The Downstream Consequences of Misdemeanor Pretrial Detention,” Stanford Law Review 69, no. 3 (2017), 711-96 (finding those individuals detained pretrial were more likely than individuals not detained to commit future crime, suggesting that detention may have a criminogenic effect); Arpit Gupta, Christopher Hansman, and Ethan Frenchman, “The Heavy Costs of High Bail: Evidence from Judge Randomization,” Journal of Legal Studies 45, no. 2 (2016), 471-505 (finding that pretrial detention increases the likelihood of recidivism); and Christopher T. Lowenkamp, Marie VanNostrand, and Alexander Holsinger, The Hidden Costs of Pretrial Detention (New York: Laura and John Arnold Foundation, 2013) (finding that pretrial detention increases the likelihood of future criminal activity for low- and moderate-risk individuals), https://perma.cc/PP44-T5CN.

24 For a discussion of the criminogenic effects of incarceration, see, e.g., Bruce Western, Punishment and Inequality in America (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 16f; and Lynne M. Vieraitis, Tomislav V. Kovandzic, and Thomas B. Marvell, “The Criminogenic Effects of Imprisonment” (2007). For a discussion of collateral factors affecting recidivism, see, e.g., Christy Visher, Jennifer Yahner, and Nancy La Vigne, Life After Prison: Tracking the Experiences of Male Prisoners Returning to Chicago, Cleveland, and Houston (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2010) [finding that those individuals with employment, stable housing, and strong family ties were less likely to recidivate after release from prison], https://perma.cc/82OC-UNVW.


27 Ibid.

28 For reviews of studies examining the relationship between these factors and crime, see Don Stemen, Reconsidering Incarceration (2007); and Oliver Roeder, Lauren-Brook Eisen, and Julia Bowling, What Caused the Crime Decline? (2017).

29 For a list of community crime prevention programs that have been evaluated and reviewed to be effective, see National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, CrimeSolutions.gov, https://www.crimesolutions.gov.

30 Such approaches fall under the general category of “hot spots” or place-based policing. However, place-based policing can involve either traditional policing strategies, such as increased patrols and aggressive enforcement, or problem-oriented policing approaches, which involve efforts by police to address the underlying causes of crime in targeted areas by relying on non-traditional problem-solving policing strategies. Research indicates that place-based problem-oriented approaches are much more effective than place-based traditional policing approaches. For a meta-analysis of 10 hot spot policing programs, see, Anthony A. Braga, Andrew V. Papachristos, and David M. Hureau, “The Effects of Hot Spots Policing on Crime: An Updated Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis,” Justice Quarterly 31, no. 4 (2014), 633-63. Braga et al., found that problem-oriented policing approaches [police-led efforts to change the underlying conditions at hot spots that lead
to recurring crime problems and involve non-traditional strategies for addressing crime problems] were twice as effective at reducing crime than traditional policing approaches [such as vehicle patrols, foot patrols, or crackdowns]. See also Bruce Taylor, Christopher S. Koper, and Daniel J. Woods, “A randomized controlled trial of different policing strategies at hot spots of violent crime,” Journal of Experimental Criminology 7, no. 2 (2011), 149-81 (finding that problem-oriented policing strategies were associated with a 33 percent decrease in violent crime).

31 See, e.g., Nicholas Corsaro et al., “The Impact of Drug Market Pulling Levers Policing on Neighborhood Violence: An Evaluation of the High Point Drug Market Intervention,” Criminology & Public Policy 11, no. 2 (2012), 167-99 (finding that a community policing approach to address open air drug markets in High Point, North Carolina reduced violent incidents in target areas; although violent crime decreased in the target areas, it increased city-wide, suggesting limitations with the approach).

32 See, e.g., Nicholas Corsaro and Robin S. Engel, “Most Challenging of Contexts,” Criminology & Public Policy 14, no. 3 (2015), 471-505 (finding that a focused deterrence program in New Orleans that identified high-risk individuals and targeted them for enforcement and services reduced violent crime rates).


34 For a list of diversion programs that have been evaluated and reviewed to be effective, see National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, CrimeSolutions.gov.

35 For an analysis of one law enforcement-led diversion program, see, e.g., Susan E. Collins, Heather S. Lonczak, and Seema L. Clifasefi, LEAD Program Evaluation: Recidivism Report [Seattle, WA: University of Washington, 2015], (finding that Seattle’s law enforcement-led diversion program [LEAD] reduced both short-term and long-term recidivism among participants) https://perma.cc/RHU-VLD4. The LEAD program in Seattle was established in 2011 to divert individuals suspected of low-level drug and prostitution offenses at arrest into case management and supportive services instead of jail and prosecution. For a description of other law enforcement-led diversion programs, see Center for Health and Justice at TASC, No Entry: A National Survey of Criminal Justice Diversion Programs and Initiatives [Chicago: Center for Health and Justice at TASC, 2013], https://perma.cc/XV5U-VAG2. For more on prosecutor-led diversion programs, see, e.g., Kit R. Van Stelle, Janae Goodrich, and Stephanie Kroll, Treatment Alternatives and Diversion (TAD) Program: Participant Outcome Evaluation and Cost-Benefit Report [2007-2013] [Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute, 2014], 11, [finding that participation in prosecutorial diversion reduced recidivism rates among program participants] https://perma.cc/7FNS-8738; Paul Dynia and Hung-En Sung, “The Safety and Effectiveness of Diverting Felony Drug Offenders to Residential Treatment as Measured by Recidivism,” Criminal Justice Policy Review 11, no. 4 (2000), 299-311 (finding lower recidivism rates among Drug Treatment Alternative-to-Prison (DTAP) program participants); and Steven Belenko et al., “Recidivism Among High-Risk Drug Felons: A Longitudinal Analysis Following Residential Treatment,” Journal of Offender Rehabilitation 40, no. 1/2 (2004), 105-32 (finding that participants in DTAP had lower recidivism rates and delayed time to recidivism). Although few evaluations of either prosecutorial diversion or deferral programs exist, such programs are promising alternatives to traditional prosecution. For a description of other prosecution-led diversion programs, see Center for Health and Justice at TASC, No Entry (2013).

36 See, e.g., Steve Aos et al., The Comparative Costs and Benefits of Programs to Reduce Crime (Olympia, WA: Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2001) [reviewing 26 studies and finding lower recidivism rates among drug court participants compared to individuals not in drug court], https://perma.cc/ZXY3-YWTT; Elizabeth Drake, Chemical Dependency: A Review of the Evidence

See, e.g., Holly A. Wilson and Robert D. Hoge, “The Effect of Youth Diversion Programs on Recidivism: A Meta-Analytic Review,” *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 40, no. 5 (2013), 497-518 (reviewing 46 studies and finding that youth diverted out of the system had lower recidivism rates than youth prosecuted through traditional prosecution); in contrast, see, e.g., Craig S. Schwalbe et al., “A Meta-Analysis of Experimental Studies of Diversion Programs for Juvenile Offenders,” *Clinical Psychology Review* 32, no. 1 (2012), 26-33 (reviewing 28 studies and finding no significant difference in recidivism rates of youth participating in diversion compared to youth not participating in diversion).

39 For a list of community corrections programs that have been evaluated and reviewed to be effective, see National Institute of Justice, *Office of Justice Programs, CrimeSolutions.gov*.

40 See, e.g., Sarah Kuck Jalbert et al., *A Multisite Evaluation of Reduced Probation Caseload Size in an Evidence-Based Practice Setting* (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, Inc., 2011) (evaluating programs in Iowa and Oklahoma and finding that reduced caseloads, when combined with other evidence-based supervision practices, can lead to improved recidivism outcomes), https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/234596.pdf. For a list of such evidence-based practices, see ibid. at 21.

41 Stephanie Lee et al., *Return on Investment* (2012) (reviewing 32 studies and finding that moderate- and high-risk adults under supervision who received cognitive behavioral therapy were significantly less likely to commit crime, compared with those who did not receive cognitive behavioral therapy); and Washington State Institute for Public Policy, *Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (high and moderate risk adult offenders)* (Olympia, WA: Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2012), https://perma.cc/7DB3-KPK8.

42 For more on pre-release programming and aftercare services, see, e.g., Janeen Buck Willison, Sam G. Bieler, and KiDeuk Kim, *Evaluation of the Allegheny County Jail Collaborative Reentry Programs: Findings and Recommendations* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2014) (finding that in-jail programming and services to prepare jail inmates for release combined with up to 12 months of supportive services in the community significantly reduced recidivism among program participants), https://perma.cc/7BL9-63BU. For in-prison therapeutic communities, Michael L. Prendergast et al., “Amity Prison-Based Therapeutic Community: 5-Year Outcomes,” The *Prison Journal* 84, no. 1 (2004), 36-60 (finding that participation in an in-prison therapeutic community program reduced the likelihood of reincarceration after release). For transitional planning, see Anthony A. Braga, Anne M. Piehl, and David Hureau, “Controlling Violent Offenders Released to the Community: An Evaluation of the Boston Reentry Initiative,” *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 46, no. 4 (2009), 411-36 (finding that participation in an inter-agency program targeting high-risk violent individuals with in-jail programming, transitional...
planning, and post-release services reduced re-arrest rates for participants).


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