Introduction

Re-entering society after incarceration presents a formidable set of challenges. In addition to reconnecting with family and community, successful transition after imprisonment requires a person not only to avoid criminal activity, but also to obtain and sustain employment—or continue along an education pathway. Those best able to navigate this process have developed skills and credentials while incarcerated that are valued by potential employers, training programs, and colleges. In fact, a substantial body of evidence also indicates that formerly incarcerated individuals—sometimes referred to as returning citizens—who receive high-quality educational services and supports re-enter their communities, obtain jobs, and become contributing members of society.

As a group, incarcerated individuals represent one of the least academically credentialed groups in society. The Program for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) recently studied the education levels of prison inmates in the United States. The evidence showed that approximately 30 percent of prison inmates had not completed high school or its equivalent. Approximately 64 percent had either a high school diploma or its equivalent. Approximately 4 percent of the prison population had an associate degree and 1 percent had a bachelor’s or graduate/professional degree. In general, incarcerated individuals performed significantly below non-incarcerated individuals on standardized measures of numeracy and literacy. Low levels of education and limited skill development are associated with a host of social ills, not the least of which is re-offending and returning to prison.

However, well-designed prison education programs have the potential to reduce recidivism, create safer communities, and provide financial benefits to states that struggle with the high financial and social costs of incarceration. This report examines correctional education with an emphasis on opportunities and challenges for prison education throughout Maryland. In state prisons, the Department of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation (DLLR) operates most education programs. Several colleges offer postsecondary education courses.

In researching this report, we examined education programs in the state prisons
operated by the Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services (DPSCS). We reviewed annual reports and attended quarterly meetings of the Correctional Education Council, an advisory group that includes staff members from both DLLR and DPSCS, as well as members of the community. Unfortunately, we did not receive permission to visit any DPSCS facilities. Multiple attempts—including two research applications submitted to DPSCS, a request through the office of public affairs, and meetings with DLLR and DPSCS staff—were not sufficient to gain access. However, we visited correctional facilities operated by Montgomery and Prince George’s counties, the two most populous jurisdictions in the state.

Prison education also includes vocational education, sometimes referred to as career and technical education (CTE). Courses and CTE programs are often tailored to the requirements for certification or licensure in a particular profession or industry such as culinary arts, barbering, or welding. Options for postsecondary education in prison involve college-level instruction provided online or in person. However, very few students in prison have access to the internet. Consequently, inmates do not have the opportunity to develop 21st-century technology skills that are essential for seeking and maintaining employment.

We begin our report by discussing the costs of incarceration and the benefits of well-designed prison education and work programs. We then describe elements of Maryland’s prison education programs, examine barriers to developing high-quality education programs in the state, and describe practices in other jurisdictions. We then offer recommendations to strengthen prison education in the state and improve the odds that inmates leaving prison will become productive members of the community.

Costs of Incarceration and Benefits of Education

Costs of Incarceration

A report from the Vera Institute of Justice showed that in 2010, Maryland held nearly 21,000 inmates in state prisons and spent approximately $836 million; this represents an average cost of $38,383 per year for each prisoner. More recent budget data
from the Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services showed that for FY 2016, the state spent approximately $1.056 billion for prison operations. These costs did not include administrative and related services such as community supervision. During the past few years, the U.S. prison population has declined slightly, with a current national average of 471 incarcerated individuals per 100,000. Although Maryland ranks below this average with 346 per 100,000, the state ranks much higher than other developed countries in the world.

While the costs of incarceration are substantial, a long-standing problem has been the failure of those released from prison to stay out of prison. Nationally, the most recent data show that approximately two-thirds of those released from prison reoffend and are returned to prison within three years of their release. Maryland’s recidivism rate is 40.5 percent. One interpretation of this high rate of recidivism is that those released are unprepared for transition back to the community. Too frequently, those released have low levels of literacy and few marketable job skills. High rates of reoffending and returning to prison contribute to overall high rates of incarceration, thus stretching fiscal resources to maintain costly state prison systems.

**Benefits of Education**

There is mounting evidence that both academic and vocational education programs are among the most cost-effective and efficient ways to reduce recidivism and improve outcomes as inmates return to their communities and enter the workforce or continue their education. Several recent studies have highlighted the effect of prison education in reducing recidivism and public costs associated with imprisonment.

The Rand Corporation published a meta-analysis that examined the effectiveness of correctional programs, and provided an overview of programs and coursework available in correctional facilities across the country. The Rand study found that inmates who participated in a correctional
education program had 43 percent lower odds of recidivating than those who did not. In addition, the odds of securing employment post release were higher for those who participated in a correctional education program.

For more than 25 years, the Washington State Institute for Public Policy has examined widely adopted programs in juvenile and adult corrections, and has generated periodic reports on research-based practices. Its meta-analyses have carefully examined program benefits in relation to program costs. The most recent analyses from August, September, and October 2015 found that for education and work-related programs, benefits far outweighed the cost of the programs. For example, rigorous evaluations have found that pre-and postsecondary academic programs and vocational education programs for prison inmates return, on average, approximately $18 and $12, respectively, in benefits to the state for each dollar of program cost. Employment and job-training assistance programs returned $75 in benefits to the state for each dollar spent. Benefits to the state included decreased costs associated with new crimes and recidivism as well as increased revenues, as formerly incarcerated individuals found employment and became taxpayers. While correctional education is not the only factor that affects recidivism, it has been consistently associated with positive outcomes for post-release employment.

Maintaining jails and prisons is costly. With the highest rate of incarceration in the world, the United States spends an inordinate amount of tax revenue to build, maintain, and provide security at its prisons. While public safety is a primary concern for policymakers, legislators, and citizens, another function of correctional systems is the rehabilitation of those incarcerated in its jails and prisons. DPSCS describes its mission as protecting the public, and identifies one of its primary objectives as “...supplying offenders and former-offenders [with] the tools necessary to stay out of the criminal justice system.” But how adequately is DPSCS doing its job? Are offenders and former offenders returning to the community, obtaining employment, and remaining crime-free?

### An Overview of Correctional Education in Maryland

DLLR operates the academic and vocational programs at 21 institutions in Maryland’s state prisons. The FY 2017 state budget for correctional education—$15.8 million—

### Table 1. Benefit-Cost Analysis of Prisons Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Name</th>
<th>Date of Last Literature Review</th>
<th>Total Benefits</th>
<th>Taxpayer Benefits</th>
<th>Non-Taxpayer Benefits</th>
<th>Costs</th>
<th>Benefits Minus Costs (Net Present)</th>
<th>Benefits to Cost Ratio</th>
<th>Chance Benefits Will Exceed Costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment &amp; job training assistance during incarceration</td>
<td>Sep. 2015</td>
<td>$34,860</td>
<td>$10,092</td>
<td>$24,768</td>
<td>$(465)</td>
<td>$34,396</td>
<td>$75.04</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correctional education (basic or post-secondary) in prison</td>
<td>Oct. 2015</td>
<td>$21,788</td>
<td>$6,449</td>
<td>$15,339</td>
<td>$(1,187)</td>
<td>$20,601</td>
<td>$18.36</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational education in prison</td>
<td>Aug. 2015</td>
<td>$20,064</td>
<td>$6,017</td>
<td>$14,048</td>
<td>$(1,653)</td>
<td>$18,411</td>
<td>$12.13</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Excerpt from the Washington State Institute for Public Policy benefit-cost tables

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10. Excerpt from the Washington State Institute for Public Policy benefit-cost tables

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provides adult basic education, GED preparation, and career and technical education. Additional support comes from several federal grant programs and DPSCS contracts for some additional education services. DLLR also provides courses and services for English language learners and special education students. All inmates with more than 18 months to serve on their sentences who do not have a high school diploma are required to enroll in adult basic education programs.

The Correctional Education Council (CEC)—an advisory board comprised of representatives from DPSCS, DLLR, and several other constituencies—provides oversight to the correctional education program and makes recommendations to the governor. The most recent report from the CEC showed that during the 2015-2016 academic year, more than 2,500 inmates were enrolled in academic programs, and approximately 2,000 inmates were enrolled in 41 occupational classes. Options in the vocational programs included pre-apprentice coursework and programs such as sheet metal work, plumbing, and facilities maintenance. Other programs included graphic arts and design, automotive maintenance, and roofing. In 2015, 916 students graduated from the vocational programs (DLLR, 2015).

In conjunction with occupational programming, DLLR and DPSCS operate Job Skills Training Partnership Programs, which provide links to apprenticeship programs and jobs in the community. Programs include Associated Builders and Contractors, which provides inmates with training while incarcerated and connections to employers when inmates are paroled, and the Jane Addams Resource Corporation, which provides training in welding and computer-controlled tool machining. Others include Uptown Press, a Baltimore-based printing company that serves as an employment site for inmates upon their release, and Vehicles for Change (VFC), a nonprofit organization that provides inmates with training to repair donated cars through paid internships. Currently, VFC is developing a diesel mechanic training program and a partnership with the Maryland Transit Administration (MTA) for post-release training and employment.

Inmates in several state prisons have the opportunity to enroll in courses offered through community colleges and four-year colleges. Although postsecondary enrollment in Maryland and other states has been suppressed since the 1990s when inmates became ineligible for federal Pell Grants for college tuition, a recent temporary expansion of Pell Grants has increased the accessibility and affordability of college to prisoners. In 2016, Anne Arundel Community College, Goucher College, the University of Baltimore, and War-Wic Community College were selected as part of the Second Chance Pell Grant Experimental Sites pilot program launched by the U.S. Department of Education. This pilot program will enable Anne Arundel Community College and Goucher College to increase the number of students they serve in existing programs, and will allow the University of Baltimore and War-Wic Community College to develop new programs. The most recent report from the CEC indicates that during the 2015-2016 academic year, approximately 83 students at DPSCS institutions enrolled in postsecondary education. With the addition of the Second Chance Pell Grant Experimental Sites pilot program, an estimated 200 inmates in the state will be able to enroll in college-level coursework leading to certificate and bachelor’s programs.

While the CEC provides enrollment and graduation numbers for academic and CTE programs in its annual reports, there is no information about the participation rate at state prisons. There is also no information about the number of inmates in the Job Skills Training Partnership Programs, programs and courses not offered because of vacant teaching positions, and incentives for inmate participation or completion of education or vocational programs. In general, the CEC annual reports provide minimal detail.
Barriers to High-Quality Education in Maryland Prisons

There are a number of significant challenges to the development of high-quality education programs in Maryland prisons. Thirty years ago, the state provided much greater support for correctional education than it currently does. The current system suffers from its inability to attract and retain teachers, an insufficient number of programs and courses, and a lack of web-based instructional technology. There are also insufficient incentives for inmates to participate in correctional education. Our interviews with formerly incarcerated citizens shed some light on these problems. While all of those we interviewed believe that the education they received was valuable—several spoke of education as a turning point in their lives—they also discussed the difficulty of attending school while locked up. In addition to long waiting lists for course enrollment and the lack of programs at some prisons, several described hostility toward education among correctional officers. Ironically, none of the inmates we interviewed was employed in the areas in which they were trained while incarcerated.

Former staff we interviewed described a correctional education program that, at one time, received much greater support for operations and served a much larger percentage of prison inmates. One major problem is that large numbers of instructional personnel vacancies contribute to programs without teachers, which lead to stagnant enrollment in correctional education.

What is the reason for the educator shortage? One factor is that, in DPSCS facilities, teacher salaries used to be linked to the salary schedules of the public school systems where the prisons were located. However, now compensation for teachers in adult corrections lags behind their public school counterparts. Another factor that has inhibited DLLR’s ability to fully staff their classrooms is the trend toward hiring part-time contract teachers. While this arrangement might be desirable for some professionals who have retired and wish to return to the classroom, teachers in the early or mid-point stages of their careers are unlikely to be attracted to a part-time teaching position with no benefits. It is no surprise then that teacher vacancies are a regular topic of discussion at CEC meetings.

Another barrier to the development of high-quality education services in Maryland prisons is the lack of web-based instructional technology and supports. In today’s world,
The most recent report from the CEC showed that during the 2015–2016 academic year, more than 2,500 inmates were enrolled in academic programs, and approximately 2,000 inmates were enrolled in 41 occupational classes.

an ability to navigate the internet to obtain jobs, communicate, and perform essential tasks in the workplace is essential. Throughout a number of states, prison education programs have worked with IT security specialists, educators, and entrepreneurs to enable inmates to have limited access to the web and instructional technology. For example, the Center for the Application of Information Technologies (CAIT)—in partnership with Western Illinois University and the Illinois Community College Board—has developed “internet-based educational resources for use in corrections.” This group has produced i-Pathways, a nonprofit technology-based GED test preparation program currently being used in the Illinois Department of Corrections and by Howard County (MD) jail to prepare inmates for the GED exam. American Prison Data Systems (APDS), a New York-based company, has developed tablet-based instructional programs that use secure local area networks. APDS tablets are used in correctional facilities in California, Indiana, and New York.

At the June 2017 CEC meeting, the council announced a partnership between DLLR and APDS as well as a pilot program to introduce 12 secure APDS tablets at two facilities for one year. These tablets will provide digital educational resources but will not provide internet access.

In most correctional classrooms and in occupational training programs in Maryland prisons, inmates have no access to either the internet or a local area network with instructional materials. Very few students are able to complete web-based licensing exams that would facilitate transition to employment after leaving prison. DPSCS’s position—as discussed at CEC meetings and in conversations with former staff—is that allowing inmates to have access to the internet can compromise the safety of the community.

Yet another challenge facing prison education in Maryland is the comparatively low level of incentives for inmate-student participation in education programs. In many states, inmates enrolled in education programs and those who receive certificates of completion earn good time credit that can reduce the length of their incarceration. A 2009 National Council of State Legislatures report identified 21 states that provided earlier release dates or good time credit for inmates who completed education programs. Recently, three states—Ohio, California, and Utah—developed plans to award credit to inmates who complete their GED and achieve other education milestones. Utah’s Justice Reinvestment Initiative enables inmates to receive time cuts for completing academic and vocation programs—two areas associated with reducing recidivism. Proposition 57 in California, approved by nearly two-thirds of the citizens on a recent ballot initiative, provides incentives for inmate students. According to the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, “Proposition 57 does not grant early release, but does give eligible inmates the opportunity to earn additional credits or time off their sentences.”

Our research and review of state education programs indicate that the Maryland Department of Corrections does not currently offer any incentives to inmates who complete education or vocational programs. In fact, there appears to be a financial disincentive for
Not only are skilled college graduates needed to meet labor market demands, but higher levels of education attainment are also consistently associated with higher rates of employment, lower rates of recidivism, and improved public safety.

Inmates who choose to enroll in an education program in Maryland: Inmates on work crews can earn $3 to $4 per day, whereas those enrolled in education programs earn just $1 per day.

**The Promise of Prison Education Reform**

In her recent book, “Liberating Minds: The Case for College in Prison,” Ellen Lagemann asserts that the most basic argument for postsecondary education in prison is economic benefit. Not only are skilled college graduates needed to meet labor market demands, but higher levels of education attainment are also consistently associated with higher rates of employment, lower rates of recidivism, and improved public safety. The same argument applies to high school level and vocational education programs. A major challenge facing the development and sustainability of high-quality education in prison is public perception that incarcerated individuals do not deserve free or low-cost education, particularly college education, especially when college costs present a significant challenge to many families whose young adult children are not incarcerated.

Nevertheless, in an effort to expand access to postsecondary education programs, a number of prison systems in the United States and several nonprofit agencies have committed their energies to improving the quality of such programs. For example, the Vera Institute’s Pathways from Prison to Postsecondary Education Project provides technical assistance to policymakers, departments of corrections, and colleges that enables them to develop college-corrections partnerships in several states. In addition to developing partnerships, the project focuses on ensuring that high-quality courses and programs are offered, and that students have support following their release.

In New York, the Bard Prison Initiative (BPI) is one of the largest prison education programs in the United States. Established nearly 20 years ago, BPI has awarded more than 300 associate or bachelor’s degrees in a number of New York state prisons. BPI was also instrumental in establishing the Consortium for the Liberal Arts in Prison, a program that helped create the Goucher Prison Education Partnership in Maryland.

For more than 20 years, the Inside-Out Prison Exchange program, affiliated with Temple University, has facilitated the development of postsecondary education in prisons across the country. The Inside-Out Prison Exchange pairs campus-based college students with incarcerated students for courses taught in jails and prisons. In Maryland, the Correctional Institution at Jessup and the Correctional Institution at Jessup for Women have both hosted Inside-Out Prison Exchange courses.

During the recently concluded Maryland legislative session in Annapolis, the General Assembly passed HB 459, legislation designed to improve education programs in state prisons. Among other things, this new legislation adds postsecondary education...
to the programs to be implemented by the Correctional Education Council, and promotes workforce skills training opportunities in correctional institutions. The legislation directs the CEC to ensure that quality education opportunities and vocational training are available to inmates at all state correctional facilities. It also allows the savings from the state’s justice reinvestment to be put toward prison education programs. In light of this provision, additional diminution credits for completing education milestones, if authorized, would generate savings that could be invested in enhanced education services. However, we believe the potential for new initiatives in correctional education will not occur given the current status of the CEC.

**Conclusion: A Call for Action**

Academic and vocational skills are essential for employment and citizenship. Evidence shows that monies invested in prison education programs—including vocational skill development and postsecondary education—yield net benefits to states. When formerly incarcerated individuals, or returning citizens, obtain jobs and remain crime free, we all benefit from safer communities, increased tax revenues, and decreased costs associated with crime and imprisonment.

Generating public support and political will to invest in evidence-based correctional education and reform the current correctional education program in Maryland are both major challenges. Therefore, creating a more cost-effective and responsive education program in Maryland state prisons requires leadership and cooperation among DLLR, DPSCS, and policymakers in Annapolis.

Indeed, the time is ripe for a renaissance in correctional education in our state, and high-quality, widely available correctional education is a proven and broadly supported resource to accomplish important criminal justice reform objectives. Maryland has enacted and is implementing a bipartisan justice reinvestment initiative indicating a political consensus to improve criminal justice outcomes and reduce incarceration. In 2017, the Maryland General Assembly passed legislation calling for better and more advanced correctional education in Maryland prisons; this new law includes college-level opportunities for the first time. To reduce barriers for persons with a criminal history, the General Assembly passed legislation to remove the check box that asks college applicants if they have a criminal record. Although Governor Larry Hogan vetoed the measure, advocates hope for future progress on so-called “ban the box” legislation for college admissions.

Further, while there are a number of well-developed education and vocational programs in Maryland prisons, as well as partnerships with employers and trade unions, current efforts reach only a fraction of the potential students. To address the major barriers and challenges associated with the current system, we recommend the following steps:

1. **Attract and retain high-quality teachers and education support staff.** A thorough analysis of disincentives associated with current hiring practices is the first step in addressing staff shortages. Levels of compensation, adequacy of instructional space, and professional development opportunities are important factors in creating a high-quality education program. The most recent report from the Correctional Education Council showed that approximately 17 percent of the teaching positions in the system are vacant. Maryland will continue to experience large numbers of teaching vacancies until DPSCS and DLLR devote sufficient attention to this problem.

2. **Improve instructional technology and enable access to the internet for instructional and vocational purposes.** Work-place skills in the 21st century require knowledge and facility
with web-based tools and resources. Inmates who leave prison with limited or no experience using the internet and related information technologies and tools are at a distinct disadvantage when they compete for jobs. Other states have begun to provide access to this technology without compromising institutional or community security. It is time for Maryland to follow their lead.

3. **Provide meaningful incentives including enhanced credits for inmates who learn new skills, earn certifications, and become more literate through prison education programs.** Dedicated program or school housing units can create cultures within prisons that are positive, prosocial, and focused on successful re-entry. While education is intrinsically rewarding for many, prisoners with low levels of literacy and a history of school failure may struggle to begin or complete programs of study. Becoming more academically competent, developing technical skills, and learning about oneself are key elements in successfully transitioning from prison to the community. Sentence diminution credits, stipends, and other incentives that encourage prisoners to develop new skills and participate in education programs can create opportunities associated with lower rates of recidivism and higher rates of engagement following release. Incentives should be reviewed in the context of all incentive programs in corrections to ensure that education program participation and completion is appropriately recognized and encouraged.

4. **Improve access to the prison education programs by interested citizens, educators, and nonprofit agencies interested in the welfare of incarcerated people.** We were ultimately unsuccessful in gaining access to the education programs in Maryland state prisons. We believe that greater access to prison academic and vocational education will strengthen programs and provide greater accountability to the citizens of the state.

In matters of public health and safety, we accept that wearing protective gear while playing contact sports, using seat belts while traveling by car, and vaccinating to prevent disease make sense. These practices prevent injury and illness, thus potentially saving lives and thousands of dollars in medical expenses.

Yet, when it comes to providing high-quality education to some of the least educated and skilled citizens in society, we struggle to make the connection between low rates of recidivism and the substantial benefits of having more well-educated citizens. Prison education and the successful return of inmates to society should be everybody’s business. Lower rates of recidivism and higher rates of employment and engagement are good for business, good for taxpayers, and good for communities.

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**About the Authors**

Peter Leone, a former teacher of students with emotional and behavioral disorders, is a Professor in the College of Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. He has evaluated education programs in juvenile and adult corrections and has served as monitor and expert to the courts in a number of states including California, Illinois, and New York.

Pamela C. Wruble, a former teacher of students with emotional and behavioral disorders and learning disabilities, is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Loyola University Maryland. She teaches current and pre-service teachers in the area of special education and has experience advocating for all students’ right to receive a free appropriate public education.
Endnotes


2 DPSCS’s Research Office requested that we submit research applications even though we did not plan to conduct research in the state prisons. Our applications—and ultimately our visits—were denied because our proposals did not include research hypotheses.

3 In Maryland, with the exception of Baltimore City, individuals who are awaiting trial or have short-term sentences are housed in county-operated correctional facilities.

4 Inmates under age 21 in adult correctional facilities are entitled to special education services if they have previously been identified and served as students with disabilities.


8 See National Institute of Justice on recidivism. https://www.nij.gov/topics/corrections/recidivism/Pages/welcome.aspx


12 See Washington State Institute for Public Policy Benefit-Cost Results for Adult Criminal Justice at http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost/Pdf/2/WSIPP_BenefitCost_Adult-Criminal-Justice. Benefits were calculated for Washington State. Actual benefits in other jurisdictions would differ but would be in the same direction.


14 See DPSCS website: http://dpssc.maryland.gov/about

15 Additional federal support comes from the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act, No Child Left Behind Act, Title I Program for Neglected and Delinquent Youth, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, and the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Improvement Act.

16 See Labor and Employment Article of the Maryland Annotated Code, §11-09.37.02. Some inmates with medical, developmental, or learning disabilities are exempt from this requirement.

17 CEC Board Meeting minutes, 12/15/16, 6/17/15.

18 See http://www.goucher.edu/academics/other-academic-offerings/goucher-prison-education-partnership


20 The National Institute of Justice identified postsecondary education as an “evidence-based practice.” See https://perma.cc/2FUQ-9SGY

21 See https://mce.md.gov/AboutMCE/tabid/71/Default.aspx

22 The inmates we interviewed were released during the past three years. Five of the six former inmates interviewed were in their 50s and 60s and one was in his 30s. Those interviewed were originally from Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Howard County, and Prince George’s County. Their length of time in the prison ranged from 12.5 to 42 years.


24 See https://www.i-pathways.org/public/correctional.jsp

25 See http://apdscorporate.com

26 A major goal of the CEC is to offer third-party, online national certification testing for all programs. Although this goal has been met for the five Automotive Maintenance and Inspection Programs, it appears to not have been met in other areas. See https://www.dllr.state.md.us/ce/cereport2016.pdf


29 See http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/proposition57/docs/faq-prop-57.pdf


31 Vera Institute, 2017. See https://www.vera.org


33 See http://bpi.bard.edu

34 See http://www.insideoutcenter.org/index.html

35 See http://mgaleg.maryland.gov/2017RS/bills/hb/hb0459E.pdf


37 “Ban the box” refers to eliminating questions about criminal justice system involvement on applications for college admission.


40 See https://perma.cc/2FUQ-9SGY

41 The inmates we interviewed were released during the past three years. Five of the six former inmates interviewed were in their 50s and 60s and one was in his 30s. Those interviewed were originally from Baltimore City, Baltimore County, Howard County, and Prince George’s County. Their length of time in the prison ranged from 12.5 to 42 years.


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48 See http://www.cdcr.ca.gov/proposition57/docs/faq-prop-57.pdf


50 Vera Institute, 2017. See https://www.vera.org


52 See http://bpi.bard.edu

53 See http://www.insideoutcenter.org/index.html

54 See http://mgaleg.maryland.gov/2017RS/bills/hb/hb0459E.pdf


56 “Ban the box” refers to eliminating questions about criminal justice system involvement on applications for college admission.

Abell Foundation  |  www.abell.org  |  @abellfoundation  |  P: 410-547-1300  |  July 2017
About the Abell Foundation

The Abell Foundation is dedicated to the enhancement of the quality of life in Maryland, with a particular focus on Baltimore. The Foundation places a strong emphasis on opening the doors of opportunity to the disenfranchised, believing that no community can thrive if those who live on the margins of it are not included.

Inherent in the working philosophy of the Abell Foundation is the strong belief that a community faced with complicated, seemingly intractable challenges is well-served by thought-provoking, research-based information. To that end, the Foundation publishes background studies of selected issues on the public agenda for the benefit of government officials; leaders in business, industry and academia; and the general public.

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