PRIISON REFORM IN THE PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE

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INTRODUCTION

When I began my career in the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1976, America’s drug culture, and public awareness of drug abuse, had been on the rise for two decades. By the 1980s, America’s largest urban areas were experiencing a narcotics epidemic, particularly relating to the widespread use of crack cocaine and heroin. Faced with the challenge of controlling this problem, legislators could see only one logical course of action: raise penalties to repress the increasing crime. To the state legislature, Pennsylvania’s laws seemed far too lenient. A “tough on crime” movement was under way across the country as most states and federal authorities were rewriting drug laws to increase penalties and guarantee more efficient punishment of offenders. Longer—and more mandatory—sentences passed state legislatures by wide margins, and everyone confidently waited for a corresponding reduction in drug crime.

I. PROBLEMS IN THE CURRENT SYSTEM

Now, after nearly thirty years of the tough-on-crime punishment model, we cannot construct prisons fast enough, hire enough police, or sufficiently staff courts to keep pace with the onslaught of drug and

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property-crime offenders entering the system. Among all offenders, low-level offenders who have burdened the prison system beyond capacity pose the least likely threat to public safety, but take up the most resources of law enforcement and corrections departments.\(^1\) Most Pennsylvanians remain unaware of the crisis that has been quietly mounting in our state’s prisons. Pennsylvania’s inmate population increased 522.6% between 1980 and 2009,\(^2\) while Pennsylvania’s total state population increased by only 6.8% during the same period.\(^3\) In absolute terms, between 1940 and 1980, the state’s inmate population averaged between 5000 and 8000, while in 2009 that number soared past 50,000.\(^4\) Over the past decade, violent offenders accounted for a little more than 2% of the increase in inmates,\(^5\) while nonviolent drug and property crime offenders accounted for 55% of the growth.\(^6\) In

\(^1\) Corrections Secretary Jeffrey Beard, in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, said:

As a direct result of these factors, an ever increasing portion of the costly prison bed space is used for those offenders categorized as Part II offenders (offenders convicted primarily of property and drug crimes). But this heavy reliance on incarceration for these less serious offenders has proven to have limited value in maintaining public safety.

Hearing on Prison Overcrowding Before the S. Judiciary Comm., 2009-2010 Leg., Reg. Sess. 2 (Pa. 2009) [hereinafter Prison Overcrowding Hearings] (statement of Jeffrey A. Beard, Secretary, Department of Corrections). In discussing alternative sentencing programs, such as state intermediate punishment and recidivism risk reduction incentive, in the same testimony, Secretary Beard said:

These approaches make sense, given the results. The primary outcome is improved public safety through reduced recidivism and crime. The secondary benefit is reduced cost by allowing us to target resources for more serious cases, and use valuable prison beds for offenders posing the greatest risk to public safety. These initiatives provide a good foundation to begin reversing the trend of ever increasing bed space need and spiraling cost associated with incarceration.

Id. at 3.

\(^2\) See id. at 1 (stating that the prison population increased from 8243 in 1980 to 51,322 inmates in November 2009).


\(^4\) Prison Overcrowding Hearings, supra note 1, at 1 (statement of Jeffrey A. Beard).

\(^5\) Id. at 2.

\(^6\) Id. at 2.
Pennsylvania, we have twenty-seven state prisons. There were only nine. There are an additional 30,000 inmates in Pennsylvania county jails. There is simply no prison sentence long enough or tough enough to stop drug users; nearly half of released offenders return to prison within months of parole. Nonviolent drug offenders are hopelessly caught in a cycle of incarceration that costs billions to maintain with little benefit to society.

While many inmates return to prison for committing a new drug offense, many also return for a technical violation of their parole. Technical parole violators contribute significantly to the state’s prison population. For example, 3000 technical parole violators were reincarcerated in 2008 alone for violations such as breaking curfew or failing to report to their parole officer. These technical parole violators spend an average of fourteen additional months in prison without having committed an additional crime. This significant prison sentence for a parole violation does not reduce recidivism any more than would a sentence for a shorter period.

The high rates of incarceration and recidivism create enormous costs for the Pennsylvania taxpayer. In fiscal year 1980-81, the Commonwealth spent $92.85 million on Corrections Facilities. For fiscal year 2011-2012, the legislature budgeted $1.875 billion for the Department of Corrections. The prison population is expected to grow 24% over the next five years. At this rate, the Commonwealth will be

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8 Id.
9 This figure was obtained through a personal communication between my office and the County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania.
10 See Pa. DEP’T OF CORR., INMATE PROFILE 2 (2011), available at http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/document/1056164/2011_inmate_profile_pdf (indicating that, from 2000 to 2007, roughly 46.5% of inmates were reincarcerated within three years of release).
11 See PEW CTR. ON THE STATES, ONE IN 100: BEHIND BARS IN AMERICA 2008, at 30 tbl. A-2 (2008) (showing nationwide state corrections spending for fiscal year 2007 at $44.1 billion, or 6.8% of the general fund, and the Pennsylvania corrections spending at $1.6 billion, or 6.2% of the general fund).
12 Prison Overcrowding Hearings, supra note 1, at 3 (statement of Jeffrey A. Beard).
13 Id. at 3.
14 Id. at 3.
17 Hearings on S.B. 1045, supra note 7, fig. “Legislative Impact on Prison Popula-
required to build three new prisons by 2012 at a total cost of $600 million, as well as an additional prison per year after 2012 at the cost of $200 million per prison.\textsuperscript{18} Each prison has an annual operating cost of $50 million.\textsuperscript{19} Another way of looking at these numbers is to say that Pennsylvania citizens annually pay over $30,000 for each state prisoner.\textsuperscript{20} It costs $3000 to supervise the same offender on parole.\textsuperscript{21}

We know now that punishment without rehabilitation is a failure. While we have earnestly sought to incorporate rehabilitation into the punishment process, too few inmates are receiving the needed programming. Programs such as the State Intermediate Punishment Program (SIP), County Intermediate Punishment Program (CIP), state motivational boot camp, and the recidivism risk reduction incentive (RRRI) are underutilized.\textsuperscript{22} Many inmates also do not receive parole because they are waiting to complete programs before the end of their minimum sentence.\textsuperscript{23}

A prison sentence creates barriers for individuals that last a lifetime. Once inmates have been released, they easily lapse into criminal behavior because it is difficult to find gainful employment while living with the stigma of incarceration. Family ties are broken during incarceration, separating inmates from what is often their only means of support. Mass incarceration has had lasting negative consequences for entire communities. Rather than reducing crime in troubled neighborhoods, incarceration often further cripples economically challenged communities by removing adult men and breaking apart family units.\textsuperscript{24}

In the United States, more than two million children have a parent who is currently incarcerated.\textsuperscript{25} Nearly ten million children in the United States have or have had a parent who was under correctional

\textsuperscript{18} Id. This projection does not account for any recent policy changes made by the Department of Corrections.

\textsuperscript{19} Id.

\textsuperscript{20} Id. fig. “Changes over the Past Several Decades.”

\textsuperscript{21} Prison Overcrowding Hearings, supra note 1, at 8 (statement of Catherine C. McVey, Chairman, Pa. Bd. of Probation and Parole).

\textsuperscript{22} Prison Overcrowding Hearings, supra note 1, at 2-3 (statement of Catherine C. McVey).

\textsuperscript{23} See TODD R. CLEAR, IMPRISONING COMMUNITIES: HOW MASS INCARCERATION MAKES DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBORHOODS WORSE 9-10 (2007) (“Men who are behind bars are the missing links in the social network of those who remain behind.”).

supervision at some point in the child’s life. Approximately 65% of
the women in state prison are mothers of children under eighteen
years of age, and nearly two-thirds of these mothers lived with their
children before they were arrested and incarcerated. Approximately
55% of the men in state prison are fathers of children under eighteen
years of age, and nearly half of these fathers lived with their children
before they were arrested and incarcerated. Parental imprisonment
and involvement in the criminal justice system can impose serious fi-
nancial hardships on a family and lead to disrupted living arrange-
ments for children, factors which are linked to an increased risk of de-
linquency. Children of incarcerated parents suffer emotional and
psychological effects when separated from their parents, beginning
with the trauma of arrest and continuing throughout the term of im-
prisonment. Incarcerated parents often lose contact with their chil-
dren, and once they lose contact, it is very difficult to reestablish that
relationship when the parent is released.

Recognizing that basic family stability is critical to reducing overall
crime, I sponsored a 2009 Senate resolution directing the Joint State
Government Commission to establish an advisory committee to study
the effects of parental incarceration on children and to recommend a
system for determining and assessing the needs of such children, the
services available to them, and the barriers to accessing those ser-
vice. I expect the committee to release its study within the next few
months.

In light of the high number of children of incarcerated parents
and the number of at-risk youth in the United States, increased i
vestments in early childhood education programs are needed. A
landmark study of the HighScope Perry Preschool Program in Chica-
go tracked two groups of at-risk three- and four-year-olds throughout
their lives. The study concludes that “The group who received high-
quality early education had significantly fewer arrests than the non-

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26 Id.
27 Id.
28 Id.
29 Id.
30 Id.
31 Id. (noting that more than half of all incarcerated parents in the United States report never receiving a personal visit from their children).
program group (36% vs. 55% arrested five times or more).” In addition, “significantly fewer members of the group who received high-quality early care than the nonprogram group were ever arrested for violent crimes (32% vs. 48%), property crimes (36% vs. 58%), or drug crimes (14% vs. 34%).” While this Essay and Symposium focus primarily on sentencing, studies such as HighScope’s underscore how important the role of early childhood education will ultimately be for prison reform.

To correct these problems with our prison population, many of the state’s nonviolent offenders would be better served completing treatment or other sanctions in a community-based setting rather than in a state prison. This would better enable these individuals to reestablish healthy, crime-free lives while they continue to support their families, saving Pennsylvania’s prison space for dangerous criminals who must be confined.

II. PAST EFFORTS AT REFORM

In Pennsylvania, the prison reform effort began in earnest about five years ago when the Council of State Governments Justice Center entered into a collaborative process with state officials to address the very substantial growth in Pennsylvania’s state prison population. The Justice Center staff met with administration officials, legislators, legislative staff, and other representatives of the criminal justice system, and developed a plan to address the prison overcrowding issue. On June 4, 2007, the Senate and House Judiciary Committees held a joint public hearing at which the Justice Center presented its proposals.

The Justice Center made clear that Pennsylvania’s prison population growth was being driven by criminal justice practices and policies,

34 Id.
35 Id.
36 See COUNCIL OF STATE GOV’TS JUSTICE CTR., INCREASING PUBLIC SAFETY AND GENERATING SAVINGS: OPTIONS FOR PENNSYLVANIA POLICYMAKERS 1 (2007), available at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/uploadedFiles/PA%20Public%20Safety%20and%20Savings.pdf (opening its report with the statement that “Republican and Democratic leaders from the Pennsylvania House and Senate have requested technical assistance from the Council of State Governments Justice Center (“Justice Center”) to determine why the state prison population is growing. They have also asked the Justice Center to provide them with policy options, which, if implemented successfully, would increase public safety and curb spending on corrections.”).
and not by an increase in state population or in crime. It also identified the practices contributing to this growth. First, more offenders were being admitted to prison for less severe offenses, and a higher percentage of offenders were being sentenced to prison rather than jail, particularly those offenders with short sentences.\(^{38}\) Second, the Commonwealth underutilized the SIP program. Third, the system lacked intermediate sanctions for parole.\(^{39}\)

The Justice Center proposed options for Pennsylvania, such as targeting nonviolent, drug-dependent offenders by making more use of the SIP program; establishing a risk-reduction earned-time program to encourage offenders to complete their programming successfully; and developing intermediate sanctions for technical parole violators rather than prison sentences.\(^{40}\) Legislation was introduced in both the House of Representatives and the Senate encompassing these options.\(^{41}\) On December 4, 2007, the Senate Judiciary Committee held a public hearing on one of the bills, Senate Bill 1045, and on prison reform generally.\(^{42}\) Similar activities took place in the House of Representatives.

As a result, on September 25, 2008, the governor signed four House bills into law as 2008 Acts 81, 82, 83, and 84,\(^{43}\) enacting some of the Justice Center’s specific proposals. First, the Department of Corrections was authorized to recommend to the sentencing court that eligible offenders be resentenced to the SIP program if the department thought the offender would be a good candidate for the program and if program enrollment was overlooked at the time of the original sentencing.\(^{44}\) Second, the RRRI program was established, al-

\(^{38}\) Id. at 8 (statement of Dr. Tony Fabelo, Director of Research, Council of State Governments Justice Center).

\(^{39}\) Id. at 8.

\(^{40}\) Id. at 10-13.


\(^{42}\) See supra note 7.


lowing an eligible offender to get a reduced minimum prison sentence if he behaved in prison and completed his programming.\textsuperscript{45}

Third, the Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing was directed to develop parole guidelines.\textsuperscript{46}

Also, as part of this legislation, beginning in November 2011, the court would lose its authority to place state-sentenced offenders in county jails.\textsuperscript{47} This practice was often the result of a plea agreement allowing the offender to stay close to home, which then contributed to overcrowding in many county jails. This was based on the legislature’s expectation that state prison population growth could be brought under control through the other changes in the legislation, allowing room for these offenders.

Unfortunately, the 2008 legislation had minimal effect on the state prison population growth.\textsuperscript{48} Courts rejected the majority of the Department of Corrections’ recommendations for resentencing of offenders to the SIP program, which continued to be underutilized more generally. The RRRI program was difficult to implement because most offenders were unable to complete their programming requirements in time to be released on their RRRI minimum.\textsuperscript{49} And, because of the lack of funding, the sentencing commission was not able to develop the parole guidelines.\textsuperscript{50}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{45} Id. § 9, 2008 Pa. Laws at 1041 (current version at 61 PA. CONS. STAT. §§ 4500–4512 (2010)).}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{46} Id. § 4, 2008 Pa. Laws at 1030 (codified at 42 PA. CONS. STAT. § 2154.5–6 (2010)).}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{47} Id. § 7, 2008 Pa. Laws at 1034 (amending 42 PA. CONS. STAT. § 9762).}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{49} See \textit{PA. DEP’T OF CORR., RECIDIVISM RISK REDUCTION INCENTIVE 2010 REPORT 5} (2011), available at \url{http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/research___statistics/10669} ("For the RRRI inmates released as of September 30, 2010, they served approximately 138\% of their RRRI minimum sentence and 100\% of their regular sentence. A sizable portion (54\%) of RRRI eligible inmates enter the [Department of Corrections] with 12 months or less to serve until they are eligible for parole release. The combination of short sentences and required treatment and education programming contributes to some inmates not receiving RRRI certification and therefore not being released at their RRRI minimum sentence.").}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Prison Overcrowding Hearings}, supra note 1, at 5 (statement of Mark H. Bergstrom, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing).}
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nal factors, a moratorium was placed on parole. These factors together caused the state prison population to jump, and Pennsylvania ended up sending over 2000 inmates to Michigan and Virginia because there was no more room in Pennsylvania’s prisons.

III. CURRENT REFORM INITIATIVES

On November 16, 2009, the Pennsylvania Senate Judiciary Committee held a public hearing on prison overcrowding to receive feedback from the corrections secretary, chairman of the parole board, executive director of the sentencing commission, and others on why the prison population continued to grow at a rapid rate and what could be done about it. Following the hearing, I introduced a package of bills to reflect the proposals made at the hearing.

51 See Hearing on Parole for Violent Offenders Before the S. Judiciary Comm., 2009-2010 Leg., Reg. Sess. 1 (Pa. Jan. 27, 2009) (statement of Jeffrey A. Beard, Secretary, Department of Corrections) (“The parole moratorium was in effect from September 29, 2008 through December 1, 2008. Over this two month period, our state inmate population increased by a total of 2,300 offenders, from 46,700 to 49,000.”). Secretary Beard explained that the Governor issued the moratorium “in response to the series of violent crimes committed by parolees during 2008” and appointed Dr. John Goldkamp to provide and “independent evaluation” of parole practices. Id.; see also JOHN S. GOLDKAMP ET AL., RESTORING PAROLE AND RELATED PROCESSING FOR CATEGORIES OF VIOLENT STATE PRISONERS: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS II, at 2 (2008), available at http://nicic.gov/Library/023461.


A. Rehabilitation of Nonviolent Offenders

Last year, the legislature adopted one of those bills, S.B. 1161, as part of Act 95, a statute taking the rehabilitative needs of nonviolent offenders into greater consideration. Act 95 requires the Pennsylvania Sentencing Commission to adopt a risk assessment instrument to determine the relative risk that an offender will reoffend or be a threat to public safety, and whether alternative sentencing might be appropriate. Act 95 also permits inmates who have reached their minimum sentence, are otherwise eligible for parole, but are still detained because they have not had access to their prescribed programs to be released and to complete the programs while on parole. This applies only to nonviolent offenders and those who are not registered under Megan’s Law. The legislation also encouraged the parole board to adopt a graduated sanctioning system for technical parole violators.

B. Community-Based Treatment

This legislative session, I introduced Senate Bill 100, the Criminal Justice Reform Act. This legislation combines into one bill earlier proposals that were not enacted last session as part of Act 95.

The bill allows the Department of Corrections to move those offenders with short minimum sentences to community corrections centers for community-based treatment more quickly. Former Department of Corrections Secretary Jeffrey Beard reported that

Over 3563 inmates entered our prison system in 2008 with less than a year to serve. The average offender in this group has eight months to minimum, but because of the need for processing and programming, this group will serve an average [of] 143 percent of their minimum. 

57 Id.
58 Id. (amending 61 Pa. Cons. Stat. §6138(c)(5) (2010), which states that “[p]arole violators shall be supervised in accordance with evidence-based practices that may include . . . use of a graduated violation sanctioning process”).
59 2011-2012 Senate Bill 100 combines some parts or all of Senate Bills 1161, 1193, 1198, 1298, and 1299—all from the 2009-10 legislative session.
many ways, it makes little sense to tie up our valuable and costly prison
beds for what, in large part, are less serious offenders.\(^{61}\)

Senate Bill 100 overturns in part a departmental regulation that
prohibited an offender from being transferred to a prerelease center
until he has served at least nine months in a state correctional institu-
tion, by allowing certain time spent in a county jail to be counted as
part of the required nine months.\(^{62}\) Offenders with short sentences
have committed less serious crimes, and there is no reason to hold
them in secure prison cells when they are otherwise eligible for the
prerelease program. While confined at a community corrections
center, these offenders could participate in job training, take advan-
tage of educational opportunities, and complete programming
requirements.

C. Safe Community Reentry Program

The bill also establishes the Safe Community Reentry Program.\(^{63}\)
The Department of Corrections would establish a comprehensive
program to reduce recidivism and ensure the successful reentry and
reintegration of offenders into the community. About 90% of the of-
fenders who are committed to state prison eventually return to their
communities and families.\(^{64}\) But roughly 50% of released inmates will
be arrested for new crimes within three years of their release, and
more than 45% will be reincarcerated.\(^{65}\) We must stop this cycle. Re-
ducing the recidivism rate will make our communities safer while de-
creasing the prison population and attendant costs. The program will
provide offenders with access to a full continuum of services during
incarceration and during their release, transition, and reintegration
into the community.\(^{66}\) The Department of Corrections will be re-
quired to coordinate the specifics of the offender’s reentry plan with
the educational training, vocational training, and treatment services
that will be provided to the offender during the offender’s incarcera-
tion.\(^{67}\) The programs in prison should be structured to make it likely

\(^{61}\) Prison Overcrowding Hearings, supra note 1, at 4 (statement of Jeffrey A. Beard).
\(^{62}\) S.B. 100, § 7 (as amended on third consideration).
\(^{63}\) Id. § 13.
\(^{64}\) See PA. DEP’T CORR., supra note 10, at 1 (indicating that about 10% of the prison
population has been sentenced to life without parole or the death penalty).
\(^{65}\) Id. at 2.
\(^{66}\) S.B. 100, § 13 (as amended on third consideration).
\(^{67}\) Id.
that the offender will become a productive member of society. There must be close cooperation and coordination with the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, local government agencies, and community groups. 68 There are many such organizations that want to be part of the solution, and we must identify those organizations and put them to work. 69

D. Alternative Sentencing Programs

The bill will make more nonviolent offenders eligible for Pennsylvania’s alternative sentencing programs. 70 The Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing noted,

Many of the sentencing alternatives created by the General Assembly to serve as rehabilitative alternatives to traditional incarceration . . . are presently underutilized. Contributing factors include: prohibitions to use certain programs to satisfy mandatory minimum sentencing provisions; extensive ineligibility criteria, particularly as related to present or past offenses; and/or other restrictions of a sentencing judge’s ability to consider the program, such as approval by the prosecutor. 71

Secretary of Corrections Beard commented,

The problem with both SIP and RRRI is that the eligibility criteria limits some offenders who could benefit from these programs from participation. We should look closely at the criteria for both and consider changes that would expand the eligible pool.

We also need to give judges broader discretion to decide who receives SIP. 72 The legislation expands the eligibility criteria for these programs. 73

68 The legislation makes specific mention of community and faith-based organizations as playing a role in the reentry process. Id.
69 Id. (directing the Department of Corrections and the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole to develop and maintain list of community organizations available to provide reentry services).
70 Id. § 1.1 (relating to eligibility for the RRRI); id. § 2, § 4 (relating to eligibility for CIP programs); id. § 8 (relating to eligibility for the state motivational boot camp); id. § 11 (relating to eligibility for the SIP program).
72 Prison Overcrowding Hearings, supra note 1, at 3 (statement of Jeffrey A. Beard).
73 S.B. 100, § 12 (as amended on third consideration).
The bill establishes a county probation program providing for swift, predictable, and immediate sanctions for offenders who violate their probation. This provision of Senate Bill 100 is based on Hawaii’s HOPE program. In Hawaii, Judge Steven S. Alm developed HOPE (Hawaii’s Opportunity Probation with Enforcement) to focus on offenders who have committed drug-related crimes. Through HOPE, those offenders who fail a drug test while on probation are subject to immediate and brief incarceration. According to the Institute for Behavior and Health, “An independent evaluation of HOPE shows that it is effective in reducing drug abuse, crime and incarceration in the population of offenders in the community on probation.” The Pennsylvania program will be available as an alternative to the normal probation revocation process, and each court of common pleas will have discretion to establish and implement the program.

F. Expanding Risk Assessment

The bill further amends the powers and duties of the Pennsylvania Commission on Sentencing relating to risk assessment. Act 95 directed the Commission to develop a risk assessment tool as part of the sentencing guidelines. In any misdemeanor or nonviolent felony case, the sentencing judge may use the risk assessment instrument as an aide to determine whether an offender is eligible for alternative sentencing.

Under Act 95’s other amendments, the Commission on Sentencing will develop a risk assessment worksheet for judges, which will be based on factors that are statistically relevant in predicting recidi-
These factors may include offender characteristics and demographics (gender, age, marital status, and employment status); current offense information (whether the offender acted alone, and whether there were additional offenses); and past criminal history (whether the offender had been arrested in the past twelve months, had a prior criminal record, had prior felony drug convictions, and had been previously incarcerated).  

The risk assessment instrument is designed to identify offenders with the lowest probability of being reconvicted of a serious crime. These offenders are then considered for alternative sentencing programs, the RRRI program, CIP or SIP, or state motivational boot camp.

As previously stated, Pennsylvania’s alternative sentencing programs are underutilized. Requiring judges to use the risk assessment instrument as part of the sentencing process will help judges identify appropriate candidates for these programs. Judges will use the risk assessment instrument along with the sentencing guidelines and pre-sentence investigative reports. Risk assessment is not meant to replace sentencing guidelines. Instead, the risk assessment instrument will be used in conjunction with the sentencing guidelines to make sure that every alternative is considered.

This legislative proposal is based on Virginia’s risk assessment tool. The Virginia instrument provides a firm foundation for distinguishing nonviolent offenders less likely to recidivate from those more likely.

... The risk assessment instrument provides an objective, reliable, transparent, and more accurate alternative to assessing an offender’s potential for recidivism than the traditional reliance on judicial intuition or perceptual shorthand. At the state level, the risk assessment instrument is a workable tool for managing prison population.

82 See id. § 2154.7(e) (2010) (defining a “risk assessment instrument” as “an empirically based worksheet which uses factors that are relevant in predicting recidivism”).  
84 See supra note 81.
85 See supra text accompanying note 71.
86 See 42 PA. CONS. STAT. § 2154.7(b) (2010) (authorizing the Commission to incorporate the risk assessment instrument into the sentencing guidelines).
87 Kleiman et al., supra note 83, at 126.
CONCLUSION

While Act 95 and Senate Bill 100, if enacted, should have an impact on the state prison population, the influx of state-sentenced offenders who in the past would have served their time in a county jail is expected to drive the state prison population upwards once again.\(^{88}\) With this expectation, the Commonwealth is building three new prisons.\(^{89}\)

The Council of State Governments Justice Center is back in the picture. Once again, the Justice Center will be collaborating with state officials to determine the impact of the bills enacted in 2008 and subsequent legislation, and it hopes to develop a new plan to assist Pennsylvania in bringing the state prison population under control.\(^{90}\)

Today, support for prison reform is coming from the most unlikely places. Legislators like me who were at the forefront of the “tough on crime” movement have modified their views. Science and fiscal concerns are driving a new national movement toward a corrections system designed to rehabilitate nonviolent offenders, not simply punish them. From within Pennsylvania’s corrections system, we can begin to rebuild individuals, families, and entire communities that have been ravaged by decades of cyclical incarceration. Until today, we have fought drug abuse by attacking its supply and harshly punishing users. We are reexamining our entire criminal justice system, from policing to incarceration. The result will be increased public safety and stronger, more economically viable communities.


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\(^{88}\) See *Prison Overcrowding Hearings*, supra note 1, at 4 (statement of Mark H. Bergstrom) (“However, delays in implementing this legislation may instead result in a further increase in the state prison population, especially in two years when many offenders presently sentenced to county jails will be serving their sentences in state facilities.”).

\(^{89}\) The Commonwealth is currently building a new prison, SCI-Benner Township in Centre County, and two new institutions, SCI Phoenix East and West, on the grounds of SCI Graterford in Montgomery County.

\(^{90}\) The Justice Center has contacted Pennsylvania officials through the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency. I have been contacted personally. The Justice Center website currently states, “Justice Reinvestment staff are currently working with state policymakers to analyze the prison population and spending in Pennsylvania communities.” *Pennsylvania: Implementing the Strategy*, JUST. REINVESTMENT, http://justicereinvestment.org/states/pennsylvania/how-pa/ (last visited Dec. 1, 2011).