

Integrating Family- Focused Interventions Into the Criminal Justice System

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Introduction

Drug addiction cuts across categories of race, class, and gender. Families of any socioeconomic status suffer when a loved one is addicted to drugs. They not only feel the stigma of having a substance abuser in the family, but many of them are also weakened from having endured a cycle of broken promises and habitual relapse. When successful, drug treatment can restore both the substance abuser's and the family's stability and well-being. The availability of treatment for substance abusers, however, varies according to financial resources. Middle- and upper-income families can access family therapy and drug treatment through private insurance and the health care system, but treatment for low-income substance abusers and their families generally follows an arrest. For men and women living in poverty, drug addiction is often treated as a crime. And repeated relapse followed by incarceration negatively affects families and communities in ways that can be overlooked. Embarrassing secrets become public knowledge, while the loss of income during a period of incarceration keeps a family in financial straits.

Judges, district attorneys, and police officers have noticed that prisons and jails house many repeat, nonviolent substance-abusing offenders. Stricter sentencing laws have substantially increased the number of offenders incarcerated for drug-related crimes, many of whom are not high-level drug dealers or traffickers—they are often addicts selling drugs to support their habit. Seeking to reduce reliance on incarceration to treat drug addiction and punish drug-related behaviors, the criminal justice system created drug courts, which require treatment rather than additional jail time. Drug courts try to balance public safety issues with the offender's health and treatment needs. In-prison drug treatment programs also attempt to prevent relapse and recidivism.

There are few programs, however, that offer continuous post-release services in the community. Jail or prison discharge plans are not made with input from family or friends, or with their needs in mind. Outpatient drug treatment programs offer treatment and counseling to individual substance abusers, but commonly neglect the needs of the family. Residential treatment programs, believing that environment contributes to drug abuse and crime, remove substance abusers from their homes and families. But even then, many substance abusers leave these programs and relapse without their families' knowledge, or relapse upon returning home. Various studies show that substance abusers constitute the largest share of repeat offenders, and have the highest failure rates of parole. If left untreated, people on parole with a history of substance abuse are reported to return to drug use and criminal activity within three months of release.

Criminal justice agencies are beginning to adopt a problem-solving approach in order to improve the quality of drug treatment and reduce the incidence of parole violations, relapse, and recidivism. They are seeking a practical, cost-effective

alternative that incorporates treatment but does not compromise their duty to uphold public safety and make offenders accountable for their crimes. How can the criminal justice system structure a response that meets its standards of public safety and addresses the health of substance abusers? What additional elements in a drug treatment and supervision program could maintain the expectation of accountability and improve outcomes?

An Innovative Response to Relapse and Recidivism

In 1996, the Vera Institute of Justice opened La Bodega de la Familia in a diverse, low-income community on New York City's Lower East Side. A neighborhood drug crisis center, La Bodega has been testing a new approach to drug treatment for adult substance-abusing offenders: family case management. La Bodega uses the crisis of a substance abuser's addiction to engage families, criminal justice agencies, and health care providers in the treatment program, giving them access to one another's resources. La Bodega includes families to enhance their inherent strengths. (Families, broadly defined, include relatives and close friends.) Case managers and field staff listen to the family's problems and address their needs, so that a network of healthy relationships can support the substance abuser and help treat drug addiction. For the criminal justice system, strong families are an additional asset that can supervise and monitor the substance abuser's compliance with drug treatment and parole mandates. As a result of family case management's inclusive process, substance abusers, families, and government systems work as partners, not in isolation.

La Bodega's ambitions are to integrate families into government's response to substance abuse, and reduce its reliance on incarceration to treat relapse and recidivism. A punitive approach to treatment in which relapsed substance abusers face additional jail time and an interruption in their community-based family treatment program can be counterproductive. When fighting an addiction to alcohol, drugs, or tobacco, relapse is natural. If some substance abusers can stay at home, where they are incorporated back into their community and families with support from their case manager and parole officer, they can continue to fight the addiction that landed them in jail in the first place. La Bodega offers families and criminal justice agencies more options to choose from. In addition, a program that counsels other family members, not just the substance abuser, can insert prevention into treatment.

La Bodega's work has shown that family-focused interventions can be responsive to both safety and health concerns. In determining what is best for the offender, criminal justice agencies now share the responsibility with the substance abusers, their families, La Bodega's staff, and treatment providers. Partnerships that spread decision making across systems allow each organization to maintain its credibility and individual goals while collaborating with the substance abuser and the family

on innovative solutions to addiction and its harms. Substance abusers and their families regain responsibility for treatment decisions, and control and direction over their lives.

Based on the success of family case management, La Bodega wants to provide training and technical assistance in family-focused work to the criminal justice system and other community-based organizations, promoting cooperation between agencies whose missions overlap (for example, juvenile justice and child welfare). Justice agencies whose policies support punishment could shift their emphasis from enforcement to prevention and intervention. Probation, public housing, parole, and police officers could benefit from practical guidance and skills that would help them rethink their clients' needs in the context of family and community. And although La Bodega's staff has already begun to teach these officers its methods as they work together on a daily basis, they can only reach a limited number of interested people at one time.

This paper describes La Bodega's new treatment methodology, family case management. It concludes with suggestions for promising areas within the criminal justice system where this approach could be applied and training could be useful.

Family Case Management: Involving and Supporting Families and Government

When asked, substance abusers say that their families are the strongest influence in their lives. Their concern for a substance-abusing husband, son, or mother can encourage and enforce a substance abuser's compliance with treatment. Because they know the substance abusers so intimately and worry about their well-being, families are often the first to notice an impending relapse: a sister or childhood friend, before anyone else, will recognize the warning signs. Families in crisis, however, are frequently not equipped to offer support or even handle everyday challenges. Many are burned out from past mistreatment or blame themselves for the problem. Substance abusers may have stolen money from their parents or spouses to buy drugs, or caused the family to be evicted from their apartment by selling drugs in public housing. Fights in the home over a substance abuser's erratic ability to hold down a job can foster a climate of tension, and domestic violence is not unknown. Families are the hidden victims of substance abuse.

Rather than leaving them to manage a substance abuser's addiction without any assistance, La Bodega incorporates them into the treatment program with the substance abuser and provides them with the same counseling and support. Families find someone willing to listen to frustrations and struggles distinct from those of the substance abuser—possibly exacerbated by the presence of addiction in the family—and their natural strengths and skills are reinforced. Once each

family member achieves emotional stability and their problems are eased, then they are better situated to help a loved one. They can serve as supervisors, mentors, and confidants, operating as a check on unhealthy behaviors. Past research on one family-centered drug treatment program suggests that many substance-abusing adults have previously failed in conventional treatment because they lacked support and positive reinforcement from family or peers.

The key to family work is the fundamental belief that there is no single cause of familial stress or conflict. Rather, the source of tensions can be found within the relationships that comprise a family system. A person's problems are more easily understood and solved within the context of his or her interpersonal relationships. Addiction can sometimes be traced to early traumas and family dysfunction—such as the presence of another substance abuser in the family.

Recognizing the potential role of strong families, La Bodega is helping substance abusers comply with directives from the criminal justice system and stay in treatment. Family case management places families in a position to work with the criminal justice system to improve both public safety and health. For example, families can help explore the best options with the judge, the prosecutor, the parole officer, and a treatment provider prior to sentencing in drug courts. Like them, families want to find a solution that requires treatment and eliminates or minimizes jail time. Furthermore, the family's closeness to the substance abuser means that in the event of a relapse, La Bodega's case manager and the parole officer are alerted sooner and can intervene more strategically to break the cycle of drug abuse and incarceration. The supervision of communities by external forces such as police, probation, and housing officers are now seen as complementary and not antagonistic to the work of families. Families remain, however, primary enforcers of compliance with drug treatment, offering encouragement and support. This placement of trust and responsibility in the community restores the residents' power of self-determination.

Three years ago, La Bodega de la Familia opened in a former grocery, or bodega, that used to house a drug-dealing operation. In La Bodega's low-income neighborhood, colloquially known as the Loisaida, many adults and children lack adequate food, health care, or access to public benefits. These unmet needs are compounded by ethnic discrimination (80 percent of La Bodega's clients are Latino) and the shame of having a substance abuser in the family. The Loisaida was chosen because although the neighborhood showed evidence of the harmful effects of drug abuse on families—crime, domestic violence, drug-related health problems such as low birth weight and high rates of HIV infection—it was also filled with community-based organizations, settlement houses, and health care facilities. To capitalize on these resources most effectively, La Bodega specifies that its client families must live inside a 56-block area around the storefront so that its staff are better able to facilitate access to social services. Not only is La Bodega's philosophy premised upon the strengths of families, but it also relies on the resilience of communities.

Engaging Families

When substance abusers enter La Bodega's storefront, whether referred by word of mouth or a parole, probation, or police officer, their eligibility is established in the initial contact interview. La Bodega stipulates that substance abusers must have a family member willing to sponsor them and participate in the treatment program, they or their family must live within the specified catchment area around the storefront (the 56-block radius), and they must be involved with the criminal justice or family court systems because of substance abuse.

Once the eligibility of the identified substance user, or ISU, and the family is positively determined, La Bodega's clinical director conducts a family assessment and matches the client family with a member of the clinical staff, who serves as their case manager. The case manager works closely with the family and reports their progress to an internal partnership team, which consists of other clinical and field staff on hand to support both the case manager and the family when necessary. The case manager also visits the family's home to assess their living situation. These visits give staff a more textured understanding of home life and community relations.

With input from the case manager and the substance abuser's parole or probation officer, the family then develops an action plan that takes into account immediate and future obstacles for each person. The principal direction of the action plan comes from the family. They determine who should be involved in the program and what their goals are, individually and as a group. Through planning and goal-setting, families can find balance and prepare for times of crisis and instability. In the beginning, families attend counseling sessions two or three times a week, during which the case manager helps families examine how they interact with one another so that the consequences of their relationships will be healthier.

Action plans are reviewed on a quarterly or as-needed basis, and are flexible to the changing situation of the family. As families and government partners explore the ways in which they communicate, they can modify the plan. The case manager keeps a detailed record, ensuring that goals are practical and achievable, and do not set anyone up for failure. Predetermined targets along the way measure the success or failure of the plan, and hold family members accountable to their goals. The parole officer contributes to the action plan to make sure that substance abusers complete drug treatment successfully and adhere to the terms of their parole.

Two analytic tools inform the family assessment, the development of the treatment program, and the action plan: the genogram and the ecomap. Similar in appearance to a family tree, the genogram charts the histories of immediate and extended family members. It includes details about employment, education, skills

and interests, and substance abuse and incarceration. In most of La Bodega's families, substance abuse and involvement in the criminal justice system occur across generations. Sixty-five percent of families engaged at La Bodega have reported intergenerational histories of substance abuse, while over 35 percent reported histories of involvement with the criminal justice system. More recently, La Bodega's statistics revealed that on average 45 percent of its current client families had more than one substance abuser and 25 percent had more than one substance-abusing offender. La Bodega typically serves four people for every family enrolled in its treatment program.

The genogram puts the treatment program and its catalyst—the substance abuser's addiction—into perspective, relieving the substance abuser of the burden of the problem and guilt for family dysfunction. In this way family case management does not isolate the family from the substance abuser; in fact, the genogram highlights the interdependent nature of a family. It also identifies attributes on which the family can capitalize: for example, three generations of full employment and independence from welfare entitlements, or two generations with at least a high school degree and bilingual literacy. Successes of the family, accomplishments from which they can draw strength in the face of current challenges, are emphasized.

The information from the genogram can be used in many ways. Since children in particular often suffer because of the substance abuse or incarceration of a parent or sibling, family-based interventions are an effective way to incorporate prevention into treatment and address the hidden needs of different family members. Children who grow up in families with alcohol and substance abuse are more likely to imitate their parents' behaviors. And repeating cycles of addiction can lead to the continuation of another cycle: criminal justice involvement. Children of incarcerated parents are five times more likely to serve time in prison than children whose parents were not incarcerated.

By participating in La Bodega's family counseling sessions, peer support groups, and issue-based workshops, family members can recover their stability. There are groups for nonusing members of the family, where they can express frustrations and hear success stories. Another group targets offenders newly released from jail or prison, helping them manage the transition, while women's groups can address violence in the home. This holistic approach promotes family cohesion and improved relations, which can alleviate psychological and behavioral problems that result from familial substance abuse. As La Bodega's clients end their full-time attendance at La Bodega and become independent problem solvers, one way they remain in touch with the storefront and refine its ongoing work is by leading workshops. Peer leadership is an important part of La Bodega's mission to become an integral and organic community-based resource for those in need.

Example of a La Bodega family. Before coming to La Bodega, Miguel had been incarcerated for 18 months for possessing and selling drugs. He relapsed after five

months, using drugs in violation of his parole. His parole officer referred him to La Bodega for family counseling, in tandem with parole-mandated drug treatment, as an alternative to additional jail time. After interviewing the family and mapping their history, the case manager could see at a glance that Miguel is not the only member of his family to experience a cycle of substance abuse and incarceration. His father, Robert, abused drugs and alcohol for many years and spent four years in jail. Two of Miguel's three siblings have used drugs, one of whom has also spent time in jail. Miguel's wife, Evelyn, and her mother are nonusers. They are concerned for Miguel and Evelyn's two children, especially since their son, Luis, was arrested for shoplifting last year. A junior in high school, Luis was a good student until he was put on probation and temporarily suspended from school last year. Rose, his younger sister, has maintained both good grades and attendance and has plans to attend college.

The family has broken down their action plan into manageable steps. Evelyn and her mother, who has been an important source of support for everyone in the family, will join Reflejos (Reflections), La Bodega's support group for nonusers. Luis and Rose will attend family counseling sessions and participate in youth activities. Their grandmother will supervise their behavior and performance in school, and a member of La Bodega's field staff will help Rose find a college prep course to supplement her regular schoolwork.

Miguel will participate in individual counseling sessions with Evelyn, and attend family sessions with Evelyn and the children, where they will discuss how they feel about his relapse, addiction, and incarceration. He will also enroll in a job training course while finishing the drug treatment program specified as part of his parole. Finally, the family will try to repair their relationship with Miguel's father, Robert, who has not seen his grandchildren in a few years. Since Miguel's own involvement with substance abuse and incarceration began several years ago, he and his father have spoken rarely. The family will continue to encourage him to join the family sessions at La Bodega.

Engaging the Criminal Justice System

La Bodega's second analytical tool, the ecomap, traces the different systems at play in the lives of substance abusers and their families. As La Bodega witnesses families struggling with addiction, it has also observed the complications they experience in attempting to access different governmental systems. It is not unrealistic to find a family with members involved in the criminal justice system, child welfare, public housing, drug treatment, and Medicaid. The identification and coordination of these systems can reduce the fragmentation families experience and provide productive methods for addressing their unmet needs. To aid this process, the ecomap identifies positive and negative factors in the

relationships across government and community-based systems in order to inform a plan of action.

The family's experience. After Miguel was released from prison, he and his family needed a variety of social services. Miguel was seeking drug treatment, education, a primary care physician, and family counseling. To begin with, the case manager and his parole officer enrolled him in a detoxification program, although it was difficult to find one: Miguel had lost his Medicaid coverage because of his incarceration and had to reapply. After completing the detoxification program, Miguel began his parole-mandated outpatient drug treatment. He also enrolled in a job training course that met twice a week in the evenings to learn computer skills. After the case manager referred Miguel to a physician in the neighborhood, she learned that Evelyn and her mother had been neglecting their health and had not visited a doctor in a couple of years. The case manager gave Evelyn a doctor referral, and a member of the field staff helped the grandmother find a specialist covered by her insurance who could treat her chronic arthritis. Both of the children had sufficient health insurance and were receiving regular checkups.

The family had been living in a New York City public housing apartment for two years. Miguel's relapse and arrest had put the family in danger of sudden eviction from their home, but a member of La Bodega's field staff met with the housing officer and a judge from housing court. They decided to delay the eviction proceedings until Miguel finished his drug treatment program and the family found a new place.

During her son's incarceration, the grandmother had stayed with the children while Evelyn was at work. Recently, however, the women were worried because Luis was getting into fights at school. Last year, when he was arrested for shoplifting, Luis had been automatically suspended from school for two weeks. Because he missed many classes and tests, his grades suffered. Frustrated by this and his father's absence at home, he began to act out in class. Now, staff members of La Bodega have been working with Luis's teachers as well as his probation officer to deal with his persistent fighting. This issue is addressed in the family counseling sessions, and has led to Luis's participation in La Bodega's aikido youth group. Rose has been using La Bodega's computers to do research on the Internet for her college prep course, held once a week at a nearby community college.

When Miguel experienced another relapse a few months after starting at La Bodega, Evelyn immediately called the 24-hour support service. The next day, the case manager met with Miguel's parole officer at the family's apartment, and they discussed responses to the situation that were consistent with the nature and the seriousness of the offense. The prompt reaction and notification by the family and La Bodega's staff reassured the parole officer that Miguel was being closely monitored and his behavior was under control. Given the strong network of supervision and support that was in place, the parole officer decided not to arrest

Miguel. Instead, Evelyn, Miguel, their case manager, and the parole officer rewrote Miguel's action plan and enrolled him in a more intensive drug treatment program. Because of this decision, Miguel will attend a job training course at a later date.

This family's story illustrates the complexity of a systemic approach. Naturally, coordination of key players in these multiple systems is not simple. The criminal justice and health care systems also face the need for treatment for a substance abuser somewhat differently. When dealing with repeat drug-addicted offenders, law enforcement agencies tend to treat all people alike: they see a history of drug-related crime and address the problem in a manner isolated from families and poised to punish relapse and recidivism. Traditionally, they have incarcerated repeat substance-abusing offenders and then enrolled them in in-prison drug treatment programs, or sent them to residential treatment programs that exclude families. Relapse generally led to additional incarceration.

The health care system developed case management as a long-term approach to treatment that accepted relapse as inevitable during a substance abuser's fight against addiction. Family therapy appeared as a way of improving treatment outcomes; however, families were only present to show encouragement for the substance abuser and did not receive any treatment themselves. But while the practices of the health care system have differed from the remedies of the criminal justice system, these two systems have the same objective: healthy, stable, and crime-free communities. As the criminal justice system begins to move toward a case management approach through alternatives such as drug courts—linking offenders to treatment, employment, and education—training in La Bodega's family case management would contribute to the government's evolving response to addiction.

A systems perspective—one that encompasses both families and formal justice and service agencies—is a sensible framework for helping families living in poverty and served by agencies whose functions overlap. The majority of La Bodega's client families receive some form of public assistance such as Medicaid. Eighty percent live in public housing, 15 percent are involved in the child welfare system, 30 percent receive mental health services, and 35 percent report domestic violence. Recent changes in welfare, public health, and housing law have intensified the necessity of a broader outlook when considering how to assist families. La Bodega's staff can teach them how to negotiate the transitions from welfare to workfare and from Medicare to HMOs, helping families become responsive and proactive to change. In the case of emergencies, field or clinical staff accompany clients to court or entitlement agencies such as welfare in order to offer support and give families a voice in complex and sometimes insensitive systems.

La Bodega has noticed a readiness on the part of criminal justice agencies to experiment with community-based initiatives that require problem solving and power sharing, as exemplified by community policing and drug court initiatives. Family case management, when integrated into treatment and parole programs, can help the service provider, the criminal justice system, and communities simultaneously achieve public standards of safety and health while testing different ways of using drug treatment and intervention rather than incarceration or other sanctions. If parole and probation officers can turn to families, they will have an additional resource and partner on which to draw to help an offender stay in treatment and improve outcomes. These officers are particularly vulnerable to the tensions between drug treatment and criminal justice system goals. They would like to help someone stay in treatment, but, faced with repeated relapse, they are pulled by safety concerns at the first sign of noncompliance. The new dynamic of the supported family has the potential to improve compliance with criminal justice supervision. Periodic case conferencing between La Bodega's staff, government partners, and local service organizations lets concerned parties ask questions and identify alternatives.

La Bodega has already forged strong working partnerships with probation, parole, domestic violence, and housing officers. Its alliance with the New York State Division of Parole, called PARTNER, or Parolees And Relatives Towards Newly Enhanced Relationships, demonstrates the potential of collaboration. The division of parole has assigned four parole officers and one senior parole officer to caseloads that only include families engaged at La Bodega. As a result, their day-to-day duties require them to adopt a family-centered approach as they work closely with La Bodega field and case management staff. La Bodega's field staff actually work in the local parole office (as well as the local police precinct office) at least once a week to select new clients from their lists of referrals. By pre-screening applicants for their eligibility and their strengths, La Bodega can more effectively and efficiently serve families. In the last quarter, La Bodega's referrals from parole officers increased from 41 percent to 60 percent of all referrals. A second aspect to La Bodega's work with the division of parole takes place even before the offender is released from prison or jail. La Bodega staff members now accompany parole officers when they conduct pre-release community "preps" for their clients—when officers visit the home to determine whether offenders have a safe place to live. La Bodega can now engage family and friends even earlier, especially during what can be a difficult transition for everyone.

Not only is family case management an innovative approach to improving drug treatment, family stability, and public safety, but the process of gaining and sharing access to families and government is new. La Bodega brings together families and government and offers them its connections to other criminal justice and social service agencies that can help and support them. Most important, behind these relationships is the expectation of mutual accountability—that everyone will do their job. Criminal justice agencies and La Bodega expect that substance abusers and their families will abide by their action plan and treatment

goals, and La Bodega and families expect government will keep them informed every step of the way. Open lines of communication and relationships based on trust and respect help hold people to their promises.

Applying Family-Based Work to the Criminal Justice System

La Bodega wants to draw on its experience to train and support practitioners in family-focused work within the criminal justice system. The storefront will continue to serve the Loisaida, developing the use of family-focused interventions and operating as a vehicle for innovation. It will remain focused on the meaning and significance of key elements of family case management such as strengths-based assessments, action plans, goal-oriented efforts, case conferencing, and family mapping tools. A research component will inform this ongoing work, examining broader issues of families and justice. A third, new component, training and technical assistance, will help interested government practitioners apply the lessons and methods of La Bodega's work to their clients and their families.

The target audiences for training and technical assistance are diverse: criminal justice agencies that come in contact with families or use discharge planning tools, such as certain departments within corrections; probation and parole; specialized police such as housing, domestic violence, and youth officers; and the juvenile justice system. Additionally, La Bodega's efforts could complement the work of drug courts and supplement conventional drug treatment, both outpatient and residential.

The Discharge Process

Before offenders leave prison or jail, discharge officers plan the release process for both adult and juvenile offenders. This includes community prep services, where La Bodega is already taking advantage of these opportunities to meet with the family earlier thanks to its strong relationship with the division of parole. Traditionally, discharge officers have only ensured that the offender will be provided for; they have overlooked other stresses that the return of offenders may cause that could affect their treatment outcomes. Many low-income offenders need a variety of services upon release, ranging from drug treatment to job training to full-time employment. Their families, too, may have needs that have been ignored or gone untreated due to a lack of knowledge about what is available. During the pre-release period, great potential exists for thinking about natural support systems and what they need in order to function.

Mental Health Services

Dually diagnosed people—those who have both a mental health disorder and an addiction to drugs—provide another opportunity to apply the principles of family-focused work. Like many low-income drug addicts, dually diagnosed people find themselves without treatment. These individuals have also begun to constitute a larger portion of nonviolent repeat offenders in recent years. Their nonviolent criminal behavior is managed by incarceration, and erratic treatment programs exclude the family. In many ways, the situation of dually diagnosed individuals is very similar to that of drug-addicted repeat offenders, and their need for long-term continuous treatment is even more acute.

Upon release to the community, dually diagnosed people require intensive and integrative case management services. Their families face additional burdens and could benefit dramatically from a family-centered treatment program.

The Juvenile Justice System

Programs that stress education, intervention, and strengthening of families have proven successful and enduring in the lives of youth and their families. These interventions are based on two assumptions: that family plays an important role in the creation of conditions related to alcohol and drug use, and that good parent-adolescent relations can both protect adolescents against potential drug use and offer an antidote for existing drug use. In a recent report, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention set forth recommendations for combating juvenile delinquency, suggesting that its caseworkers partner with existing resources such as the family, and identify early intervention and prevention opportunities. La Bodega's work with substance-abusing adults and their families overlaps with the work of the juvenile justice system. A partnership with juvenile justice officials could expand La Bodega's outreach to families, and alleviate the difficulties in finding community-based services for families and government.

Drug Courts

Drug courts make it easier for judges to adopt a problem-solving approach and collaborate with external treatment providers, helping nonviolent offenders comply with court-mandated treatment programs rather than go to prison or jail. In one study, drug court participants reported an 18-month re-arrest rate of 35 percent compared with 50 percent for nonparticipants.

As a result of these early successes, the criminal justice system is starting to adopt a case management approach, matching offenders with treatment, employment, and education. Just as parole officers try to select people who might benefit from family-focused counseling, drug courts could ask the same questions and implement a referral system. Substance abusers, judges, and prosecutors, could integrate the role of families in meeting probation or parole requirements.

Families could be a part of drug court case management, offering strategic support to the offender, as well as insight and advice around issues of employment, housing, treatment programs, health care, and other resources that will be necessary after the offender's release from prison or jail. Families could suggest, for example, that the drug treatment program be located near the offender's job, so that he or she is less likely to skip counseling sessions because they are inconvenient.

Conclusion

As La Bodega seeks to expand the use of family-focused interventions beyond its neighborhood and New York City, its challenge will be to help agencies broaden their focus and think about how they can integrate families to create new partnerships. Family case management capitalizes upon a natural and cost-effective resource to the benefit of both the criminal justice agency and families. The tools, training, and processes required to create meaningful partnerships between service providers and the criminal justice system can be added to existing staff resources. Most important, inclusion and support of families establishes a relationship of trust, accountability, and respect between government and its citizens, and signals a subtle shift of the national drug policy from a punitive approach to a case management model, from an individual to a family-focused perspective.