

# **Assessing Philadelphia's Social Service Capacity for Ex-Prisoner Reentry**

Final Research Report

Submitted to:

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## **Acknowledgements**

Our nation is facing a most pressing social problem in that numerous prisoners are returning to our cities. These individuals need a set of supportive services to prevent them from recidivism. It is a tribute to Philadelphia that this problem was not swept under the rug but received public recognition and allocation of resources and able personnel.

We acknowledge the efforts of Mayor John F. Street and the City of Philadelphia to address the problems associated with ex-offender reentry across the City of Philadelphia. This study was commissioned by the Mayor's Office for the Reentry of Ex-offenders (MORE) in June 2005. Since that time, the city has opened two Ex-offender Reentry Centers, and has annexed a third center in Southwest Philadelphia, increasing the city's capacity to provide for ex-offender services. MORE collaborates with other city agencies, including the Philadelphia Prison System, Adult Probation and Parole Department, and the Philadelphia Public Defender's Association to ensure that appropriate reentry services are provided inside of its six prison facilities and to ensure that those services continue after these prisoners are released.

Philadelphia is currently ahead of most American cities when it comes to offering a set of coordinated services to people returning from prison. Clearly with all of its efforts there is still a lot more that must be done with regard to inter-agency collaboration and the sharing of information across systems. The efforts of MORE are noteworthy. In order for MORE to be even more effective, the authority of the organization must be expanded.

We thank Harriett T. Spencer, Executive Director, Mayor's Office for the Reentry of Ex-offenders and Nick Taliaferro, Executive Director, Philadelphia Commission for Human Relations for having commissioned the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Policy and Practice to conduct this study. Their insights and compassion for helping ex-prisoners reintegrate in Philadelphia was an inspiration to us while working on this research project.

We were assisted by many committed and caring assistants in carrying out this study. We are especially indebted to Vaughn Taylor, who was with us for the duration of the study, who managed many aspects of the field work, and who shared our dedication to the study. Kissie Marie Doherty was an intern from Villanova University who coordinated the data entry and assisted in the earlier phases of the study design. To them and the 25 other assistants -- we are most thankful.

# Assessing Philadelphia's Social Service Capacity for Ex-Prisoner Reentry

## Key Findings

### *The people who need re-entry services*

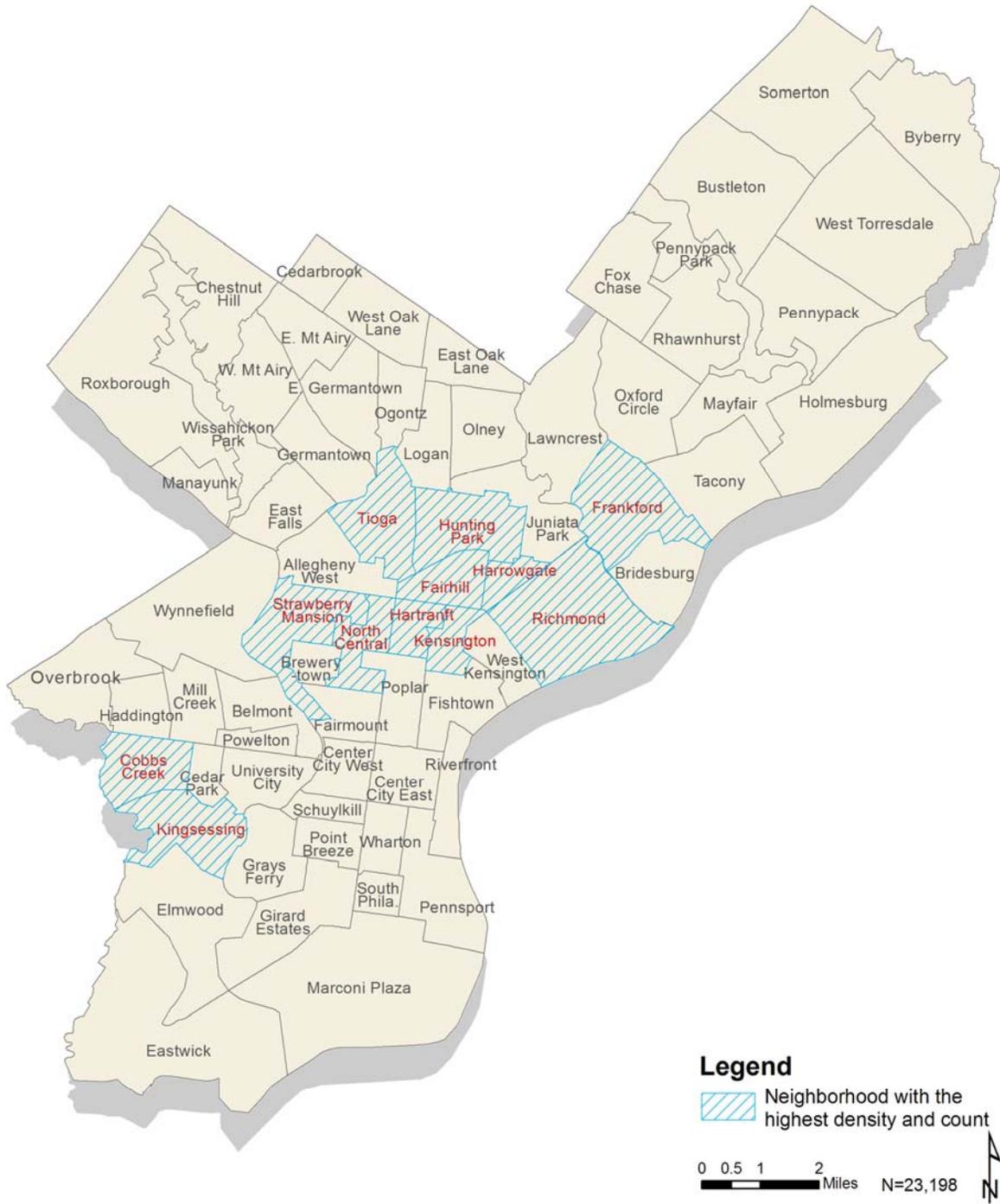
- Every year some 40,000 people are released to Philadelphia from federal, state, and local prisons/jails. Over the years, some of them are repeating this cycle of incarceration and release. When they move back to the community, they are in need of social and human help for a long period of time. We estimate that at any given time there are 200,000 to 400,000 ex-prisoners who are in need of some kind of help.
- The majority of the ex-prisoners are male (85%) and African American (70%). In Philadelphia, only 44 percent of the population is African American.
- Neighborhoods with the highest numbers of those returning from prison and jail are Fairhill, North Central, Kingsessing, Frankford, Richmond, Cobbs Creek, and Tioga. These neighborhoods had more than 800 ex-prisoners return home in 2005 and accounted for more than a third of the ex-offenders mapped. (For the neighborhoods with the highest ratio and/or number of ex-prisoners, see Map 1)

### *The serving organizations*

- Based on a list of 2,100 organizations, 924 were found not to exist or not to serve ex-prisoners; 487 were duplicates, and 150 refused or were inaccessible.
- There were 539 organizations surveyed in this study that knowingly served ex-prisoners or had no restriction to serving them with an additional 221 service locations that provide services under the organizational structure of some of these 539 organizations.
- A slight majority (52.1 %) of the organizations (281) served ex-offenders, while 47.8 percent (258) did not serve ex-offenders, but had no restrictions to doing so.
- Each organization identified a primary provider type: faith-based – 16.7 percent; mental/behavioral health – 14.3 percent; employment and education – about 11 percent; HIV alcohol/substance abuse treatment, housing, and HIV/AIDS/primary healthcare, all about 10 percent; advocacy/legal and other, both around 7 percent.

Map 1:

Top Returning Neighborhoods by Density and Count



- Organizations that provide social and supportive services served, on average, about 5,147 clients in 2006. This number includes both those that served ex-prisoners and those that did not. This high average implies that many people in Philadelphia receive services from multiple providers. However, there little inter-agency coordination.

### ***Distribution of Services***

- The heaviest concentrations (nearly a third) of organizations which provide social and supportive services to ex-prisoners are in the Center City (East and West), Riverfront, and University City neighborhood-area.
- The distribution of organizations available to serve ex-prisoners and the community at large is inadequate. For example, in Fairhill, which is among those neighborhoods with the highest count and density of ex-offenders, there are only seven organizations that were available to serve 1,101 ex-prisoners returning in 2005 (and many more from previous years) who reside among 16,919 adult residents.

### ***Types of Services and Level of Intensity Provided***

- The top quartile of services provided by organizations that serve ex-prisoner groups are *advocacy, family counseling and/or other family services, assistance in locating housing, job training, job placement, mentoring, and. assistance in obtaining identification.*
- The bottom quartile of services provided are *emergency shelter, developmental disability support or services, in-patient substance abuse, in-patient mental health services, housing development, housing-related services, and adoption and foster care services.*
- Two of the most needed services for those returning from prison and jail—in-patient substance abuse and mental health treatment—are among the least provided services.
- Emergency shelter is one of the least provided services for returning prisoners in Philadelphia.
- Additional services in the bottom quartile or least provided services for those who serve ex-prisoners are *home ownership and childcare.*

### ***Paid and Volunteer Staff***

- The mean full-time staff for organizations that serve ex-offenders was 50.6, with a median of four. This means there are a few very large organizations and many other small ones serving the population. Regarding paid part-time staff, the mean was 12 with a median of four.
- There was an average of 9.3 full-time and 48.5 part-time volunteers.

### *Use of Consultants*

- More than half (55%) of organizations that serve ex-offenders said they use consultants in addition to their hired and volunteer staff.
- On average, an organization serving ex-prisoners used 2.3 consultants in 2006.

### *Staff Dedicated to Reentry*

- Of those serving ex-offenders, nearly half (46.1%) said that their organization had staff dedicated to ex-prisoners. A little more than half (53.9%) said that they do not have dedicated staff for ex-prisoners.
- Of the organizations that have a dedicated person to serve ex-prisoners, there was an average of 3.4 dedicated staff members with a median of one.
- The median percentage of dedicated staff time devoted to serving ex-prisoner was more than three-fourths (77.5%), with an average of 68.6 percent.

### *Funding*

- Only 17.8 percent said that they received special funding to provide services to individuals returning from prison or jail.
- Less than a third of the studied organizations (31.9%) reported to have written proposals or applied for grants to obtain funding to assist returning prisoners.

### *Capacity to Serve More*

- Nearly two-thirds (60%) of organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners said they do have the capacity to serve more clients and are willing to serve ex-prisoners.
- Among serving organizations by provider type, nearly all (95%) of education providers said they had the capacity to serve more ex-prisoners.
- Among serving organizations by provider type, the majority (70% to 78%) of those providing services such as housing, advocacy/legal services, outpatient health (mental, primary, substance abuse) treatment, employment and training and faith-based providers said they had the capacity to serve more ex-prisoners.
- Among serving organizations by provider type regarding a variety of in-patient services (i.e., alcohol/substance abuse treatment, behavioral/mental health, primary health care, HIV/AIDS treatment), very few (20% to 26%) said they had the capacity to serve more ex-prisoners.

### ***Outreach***

- About a third (34.1%) of respondents said they serve ex-prisoners prior to release and a third (33.3%) said they interview inmates prior to release to see if they are eligible for the services the organization provides.

### ***Collaboration***

- Most organizations (69.8%) said they collaborate with probation and parole services.
- Nearly a third (32.7%) of organizations stated being a part of a community initiative, network, or coalition.

### ***Organizational Structure***

- Three-fifths of all organizations reported that they are non-profit organizations: 58 percent of the organizations that serve ex-prisoners said they were 501(c)3 designated organizations (non-profit tax exempt status),

### ***Years Established and operation***

- 13.3 percent of organizations that serve ex-offenders have been in existence for more than 50 years.
- More than half of the organizations existed for more than 25 years.
- The mean years in existence for organizations that serve ex-prisoners is 32.5 years.
- The mean years assisting ex-prisoners is 20.

### ***Populations Served***

- Few organizations (6%) said that ex-offenders were the primary population served.
- Primary populations that were reported for the serving organizations included substance abusers (15.6%), low-income individuals (14.4%), homeless people (10.3%), and mentally ill persons (10.3%).
- Organizations serving ex-prisoners tend to serve more substance abusers, homeless adults and the mentally ill when compared to organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners.
- In contrast, those who do not serve ex-prisoners primarily serve the healthcare needy, high-risk youth, and the homeless.

- The mean percentage of client populations by legal status show probationers making up the largest group, with a mean percentage of 30.6; persons completing his or her sentence have a mean percentage of 26.8; parolees have a mean percentage of 26.1; while persons on bail have a mean percentage of 13.6.

### *Special Needs*

- The greatest needs of their clients are training and employment needs (66.9%), followed by educational needs (61.1%), and substance abuse/addiction needs (59.1%).
- Additional needs included health care needs (50.1%), mental illness (47.9%), survivors of domestic violence (24%), and HIV/AIDS (19.1%).

### *Gender issues*

- On average, respondents said that about a fourth (24.3%) of their clients returning from prison or jail were women. However, women make up 14 percent of ex-prisoners released in 2005, which means that they are over-served as compared to men.

## Key Implications

- There seems to be enough capacity to meet most needs of ex-prisoners by the existing human service organizations in Philadelphia. The numerous human service organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners but are willing to do so need to be recruited and encouraged to do so intentionally.
- With the exception of the public services, there is not enough coordination between the various serving organizations. Given that each ex-prisoner consumes services from about six agencies more inter-agency coordination is desired. We expect MORE to be an even more central authority coordinating re-entry services.
- Many of the services are in center-city and away from the neighborhoods that cope with high numbers and high ratio of ex-prisoners. Coordination between services and branches in designated neighborhoods will make many services more accessible and will increase utilization.
- Overnight (inpatient services) in areas such as mental health, substance abuse rehabilitation, and housing are the services least available and those that cannot be easily expanded. These costly services are in greatest need and more resources should be devoted to them.
- Investment in human capital for the ex-offender to obtain employment and education are at the core of successful re-entry.
- There are very few differences between the organizations that serve ex-prisoners and those that are not serving them but have no restrictions to do so; hence, the capacity to serve ex-prisoners will be enhanced if these organizations will be recruited to intentionally care for ex-prisoners.
- Allocating more financial resources to the various services and to their coordination should be a high priority for the new City administration. With more funding earmarked for services for ex-prisoners, it is expected that more human service agencies will deliberately developed reentry services.

# Background to the Study

## Statement of the Problem

The statistics about incarceration in America during the last twenty years indicate soaring numbers of people in prisons and jails. At yearend 2004, state prisons housed 1,244,311 individuals and federal prisons housed 170,535 for a total of more than 1.4 million. In addition, at midyear 2004, 713,990 inmates were held in the nation's local jails. Overall, 2,135,901 different individuals were held as prisoners in federal or state prisons or in local jails in 2004. Between 1995 and 2004, the incarcerated population grew by an average of 3.4 percent annually (Bureau of Justice, 2007). From 1995 to 2004, the number of jail inmates per 100,000 U.S. residents rose from 193 to 243. These numbers combined suggest a very bleak picture: by 2004 nearly 7 million people (3.2 % of U.S. adult residents), or 1 in every 31 adults, were on probation, in jail or prison, or on parole. Put differently, when one sits in a bus or train car, there is a strong likelihood that at least one passenger was previously incarcerated. In any drive to work, one is likely to observe or drive next to an ex-prisoner who is still unadjusted to life in the community.

As a society, we have moved toward a vindictive and a harsher punitive approach in dealing with law breakers (Austin et al., 2001; Mauer, 2006). In the past three decades, politicians, following, or at times leading, the sentiments of voters, took away the sentencing discretion of judges by legislating mandatory sentences. Terms such as “truth in sentencing” and “three strikes and you are out” captured and dominated public discourse which led to new sentencing policies (Ditton & Wilson, 1999). For example, George H. W. Bush, in 1988, used the case of Willie Horton to demolish the Michael Dukakis campaign and win the election. When Willie Horton was paroled in Massachusetts, his release papers carried the signature of the Commonwealth’s Governor, Michael Dukakis. Soon after his release, he was arrested and convicted for another case of rape and murder. George W. H. Bush’s message was: “keep them longer in prison and we will be safer”. Voters are assumed to overwhelmingly agree that criminals should be locked up and set the tone for stricter sentencing and even stricter parole possibilities. Similarly, television programs and movies portrayed the judicial system as weak and overly sympathetic to criminals at the expense of innocent citizens. Maybe the iconic symbol of this era was the *Dirty Harry* series portraying Clint Eastwood as a police detective going after ruthless, if not psychotic, criminals that the criminal justice system let free.

The changes in sentencing, resulting in longer terms of stay and increased numbers of prisoners, led to the need for larger and more correctional facilities. Some states turned to the private sector for assistance; today, several decades later, the “prison industry” continues to boom. Communities that lost their manufacturing base are reviving their economies through prison reconstruction and maintenance, leading to prisons in less populated or less desirable parts of the country. One of the consequences of this is that anyone sentenced to state or federal prisons stands a good chance of being transferred to a prison hours away from his or her original community which, in turn, breaks ties with relatives and friends.

There is an imbalance between the expenses of long term punishment and the cost of rehabilitation. For example, the cost of holding one felon in prison is estimated at \$22,300 a year. This cost outweighs many available community alternatives. However, American politics has, until now, appeared willing to pay a lot to give harsh punishments and keep felons tucked in prisons.

The cost of imprisonment has ballooned: according to Austin and colleagues (2001) in 1998, the annual amount of public money spent on prisons alone was \$35 billion dollars; by 2001, the figure reached \$44 billion dollars (up from \$9 billion in 1982). Overall, the number of criminal justice system employees grew 86 percent between 1982 and 2003. The total per capita expenditure for each justice function increased between 1982 and 2003, with corrections having the largest per capita increase – 423 percent. Meanwhile, data from 1996 show that of the \$22 billion spent that year on state prisons for adults, only six percent was used to prepare prisoners for life outside prison. These programs include vocational training, life-skills training, educational programs, social activities, psychological treatments, and recreation. Many programs under these names are atrophied shells of their past potential for effectiveness and often serve to control prisons. As a result, even for many prisoners, the term ‘rehabilitation’ has fallen into disrepute.

In addition, the stiff sentences of the past several decades have sent and kept many members of our society in prison for longer periods and have not prepared the 97 percent who will eventually return to the community (Travis, 2001). The country now faces a growing number of ex-prisoners returning to the community each year after a significant amount of time behind bars. Many ex-prisoners learned to survive in prison by “toughening up” and adopting a world view that helps them cope, but this same world view is inadequate and unproductive for community reintegration.

Our popular public view of prisoners is that they enjoy life in prison and have too much leisure and instead we want them to suffer and be miserable. Contrary to the “country club” myth that suggests prisoners spend their time watching television and using fitness centers, life in prison is difficult and dangerous. Most people leave prison hoping to never go back, determined to stay out of trouble and be model citizens. Some dream of restored lives as spouses or parents, or with their significant others (Visher & Travis, 2003).

Daily, about 1,600 prisoners are released from prison. It is estimated that this number represents an increase of nearly six times the number of prisoners released in 1980 (Harrison & Karberg, 2003). Each one needs help adjusting to life in the community. Rates of reincarceration suggest that successful reentering is difficult at best. Preventing reincarceration will become one of the American society’s greatest challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In the next section, we will try to provide a broad picture our nation’s prisoners. This will be followed by a section regarding the impact of prison life on individuals. We also chronicle the hardships of reentry and its impact on the community. We conclude with a section on how to facilitate reentry and the role that social work can play in this important frontier.

Philadelphia has experienced similar growth in the ex-prisoners population. In the Philadelphia Prison System (PPS), the county jail, the daily prison population doubled in a 20-year period from 4,000 to 8,000. In state prison facilities, nearly a third of all Pennsylvania state prisoners return to Philadelphia. Further, at any given time, almost 40 percent of the state prison population is comprised of residents from Philadelphia (Roman, Kane, Turner & Frazier, 2006).

Due to harsher sentences, recent cohorts of ex-prisoners have a higher proportion of people who have served five or more years. In the larger picture of reentry, current and near future cohorts of newly released ex-prisoners are larger in size, include more people with histories of violence and/or drug abuse, and have served longer sentences. Such individuals are likely to face greater challenges to reentry and to require appropriate reintegration services.

The emerging picture is that most people exiting prison have fewer resources in human and social capital as well as financial capital than most citizens (Wolff & Draine, 2004). Over time, the number of people incarcerated, especially minorities and poor people, has grown. The amount of time spent in prison has also increased and prison life has become harsher. As such, prison has a long-lasting impact on the ex-prisoners.

Life in American prisons debilitates and de-humanizes inmates. Rehabilitation efforts are limited and tough and aggressive stances toward inmates are seen as desirable. The general picture emerging is that the thousands of people who are released from prison daily in the U.S. are faced with the challenges of reentry such as re-establishing contact and relationship with family, friends, and employers; finding stable housing and income; and possibly fighting addictions or major health concerns. Given their stay in prison and any trauma that they experienced, and given the circumstances which preceded their incarceration, which most likely included being a racial minority and having less education and fewer financial resources, their odds of successful reintegration into the community are daunting. Contact with relatives and friends may be tenuous and many are sick, poor, and possibly drug dependent, not to mention the emotional scars they may be carrying with them.

Nearly two-thirds (63%) of those released from state and federal prisons may be expected to be rearrested for a felony, a serious misdemeanor, or a technical parole violation within three years of their release. About half (47%) are re-convicted and about two-fifths (41%) return to prison. Unpacking these statistics shows that younger ex-prisoners with more extensive criminal careers are more likely to become recidivists (Travis & Visher, 2003). Consequently, unsuccessful reentry must be viewed not only as an issue for law enforcement--when the individual becomes involved in new criminal activity, new victimization, or missed parole visits; but unsuccessful reentry should also be viewed as a major social and communal burden that requires the professional attention and skills of the social work profession. This is especially important given the geographic concentration of arrests and reentries in a few city neighborhoods, which create neighborhood level effects for the extent of incarceration and has implications for reentry (Clear, Rose & Ryder, 2001).

Typical prisoners leave the prison with less than \$100, the clothes in which they were arrested, a small package of personal belongings, and a bus ticket to the original place of arrest. When they reach their destination, many must report to a parole officer, register with the sheriff,

report to welfare agencies, register for work, and meet other similar requirements. Most have lost their social security cards and their driving licenses are no longer valid. Replacing documents and establishing residences involves bureaucratic red tape as well as payments and transportation that are often beyond the means of the ex-prisoners. Ex-prisoners are often unskilled in asking for help in public offices, and they are often denied assistance even when they are entitled to it.

When finding housing and jobs, ex-prisoners are rarely welcomed (Pager, 2007). The stigma they carry is permanent and must be made public on applications. Many people and organizations shy away from people with a criminal history because it suggests that the person is untrustworthy or unreliable (Solomon et al., 2004). A common viewpoint is that ex-prisoners cannot change and will revert to a life of crime, and for the individual ex-prisoner, these attitudes spell double jeopardy. Consequently, few community programs, employers, or landlords will assist them. In response, ex-prisoners may resort to the skills they have developed in conning those around them to survive.

For a large percentage of prisoners, life before imprisonment involved drug use and a lifestyle of instant gratification: Almost six out of ten prisoners report using drugs at least once in the month prior to arrest (Ditton, 1999). Upon release, drugs are easily accessible while detox and rehabilitation programs are not (Petersilia, 2003). Most ex-prisoners are ineligible for substance abuse programs. The people with whom the ex-prisoner used drugs often support crime as a way of life, as crime is often the quickest route to cash. Finding a social support system that is crime-resistant and enabling is a major challenge for most ex-prisoners.

Some ex-prisoners wish to enter drug-treatment programs but they must obtain Medicaid to be eligible, which means completing the application process and waiting for approval. Others leave prison with health problems and find that, once released, they are ineligible for healthcare or have to wait a long time to be approved for Medicaid. Furthermore, even if Medicaid is approved, a myriad of cultural and organizational disconnects between correctional, behavioral health and social service systems may serve to further isolate ex-prisoners with multiple problems.

Prison provided an environment with a bed and food – necessities which ex-prisoners are very suddenly without. Many states bar ex-prisoners from applying for housing assistance, or impose several years waiting time before being eligible to apply. In many cases the alternative is life on the street or in a shelter, especially in cities where the housing market is tight and the cost of housing is high (Petersilia, 2003). Data from Los Angeles and San Francisco suggest that daily, 30 to 50 percent of all people under parole supervision are homeless (Travis, Solomon, & Waul, 2001). Metraux and Culhane (2004) found that at least 11% of people released from New York State prisons to New York City from 1995 to 1998 entered a homeless shelter within two years—more than half of these in the first month after release. Most landlords are prohibited from renting to ex-prisoners who were convicted on drug or violent charges. Many more employers and landlords personally elect not to deal with this population and reject ex-prisoners' applications upon finding out of a criminal history (Bushway, 2000).

Disproportionately, young men of minority ethnic groups go in and out of prisons, with their communities suffering as well. The communities in which these young men and women

live lose an important segment of their members to jail and prison. Consequently, marital and family lives are significantly interrupted. Young women may choose not to marry someone who is unlikely to be around or who cannot provide a living wage to the family. The safety that was supposed to be gained by sending active and potential criminals to prison is compromised in neighborhoods where disproportionate numbers of friends, relatives, husbands, brothers, and fathers are incarcerated or are ex-prisoners. Despite the known social and financial benefits of traditional marriage for children and spouses, the punitive affects of long sentences and incarceration have the effect of making long-term consensual, legal and binding relationships unattractive to potential female spouses. In contrast, being a single working parent and/or using subsidized care and benefits for children are financially more rewarding.

Incarcerations and reentry are not evenly distributed amongst communities. Often, such neighborhoods have similar compositions of ethnic minorities, who earn low incomes and lack political clout. Compounding the problem, these neighborhoods often lack the formal and economic infrastructure, employment opportunities, and political organization to facilitate services needed if returning ex-prisoners are to successfully reintegrate.

On the positive side, many individuals who are released under parole have help in their transition from prison to community under a designated parole officer. However, as the number of people released from prison has been increasing, the budget for probation and parole officers has been decreasing. Today, caseloads of parole officers are high, diminishing their ability to attend to the needs of the people on their caseload.

People who complete their full sentence are released without any formal supervision. More than half of those released from maximum- and medium-security prisons are released directly to the community without any contact or supervision (Pihel, 2002). Without formal supervision, these individuals may seem to be “free” and unbounded, but are often ill-prepared to live in the community and are unaware of their eligibility for a variety of services.

### *Municipal Response and Informal Community Networking*

Recognizing the impact of reentry on crime rates, in 2005, Mayor Street instituted the Mayor’s Office for the Reentry of Ex-Offenders (M.O.R.E.) to provide administrative and operational oversight for the provision of reentry services throughout the City of Philadelphia. M.O.R.E.’s One Stop Center provides many much-needed services, such as education, employment, mental and behavioral health, housing, and mentoring, to ex-offenders returning to Philadelphia neighborhoods from federal, state and local correctional facilities. Additional services include GED/ABD classes, job readiness training, and job placement (see Mayor’s Office for the Reentry of Ex-Offenders, 2007). On June 20, 2007, M.O.R.E. celebrated its first graduation of those ex-offenders, who completed its two-week job readiness program. It was a demonstration of the combined influence of government and community institutions in meeting many of the needs of those who were a part of the one-stop programming.

### Prisoner Reentry Defined

Prisoner reentry is a broad term used to refer to the transition of ex-prisoners from prison to their communities (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2002) or the process of leaving prison or jail and returning to society (Solomon et al., 2004). This includes prisoners who are either released when their maximum court-ordered sentence has been served or who have not completed their maximum court-ordered sentence and have been granted release on the condition of a period of community supervision (parolees) (BJS, 2002). It applies to individuals released from prisons, jails, federal institutions, juvenile facilities (Visher, Kachnowski, La Vigne & Travis, 2004), or even pre-trial detention (Travis, Solomon & Waul, 2001). Although both adults and juveniles experience reentry, their experiences are significantly different. We limit our discussion of prisoner reentry here to adult reintegration.

Reentry entails planning for inmates' transition to free living, including how they spend their time during confinement, the process by which they are released, and how they are supervised after they are released (Petersilia, 2003). Although reentry in its most basic incarnation denotes a process, there is a notion of success that is implied in its meaning. Reentry or reintegration is treated as "the concept of rejoining and becoming a productive member of society" (Taxman, 2004, p. 2), implying that reentry includes all activities and programming conducted to prepare ex-offenders to return safely to the community and to live as law-abiding citizens (Petersilia, 2003). Likewise, the United States Department of Justice posited that reentry entails the "use of programs targeted at promoting the effective reintegration of offenders back to communities upon release from prison and jail". In this context, then, reentry can be viewed as the pro-social integration of ex-prisoners into the community.

"Pro-social" suggests behavior in accordance with the law, as opposed to anti-social, which can be described as "behavior in violation of the law" or deviance (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). One might argue that what is now referred to as "reentry programming"— such as parole or probation— previously fell under the title of community supervision. Explicit inclusion of pro-social community actors, however, such as family members, block group presidents, community watch group organizers, community development corporation leaders, clergy persons, and others, separates reentry programs from community supervision programs. Increasingly, reentry programming, planning and policy are being addressed on many fronts, including from a community institutional capacity perspective. An overview of the many and complex issues surrounding the topic will help explain why this is so. First, however, at this juncture it is necessary to provide a profile of the prison and reentry populations.

### Summary of the Challenges of Reentry

The role of community in prisoner reentry is evident. Both the needs of and obstacles facing the ex-offender are great. As shown in this section, individuals returning from prisons and jails need housing, mental/behavioral health, alcohol/substance abuse treatment, education, employment/training, faith-based/spiritual and advocacy/legal services. These needs are not easy to meet, as ex-prisoners face mountains of obstacles— from stigma to legal barriers to a deficit of capital (human, economic, social and spiritual). Ex-offenders must struggle to stay clean, reunite with their families, and lead product lives.

The role of communities in addressing the needs of reentry holds much promise, but we must also address the many unanswered questions. What do researchers know about communities? How do communities work together to address issues like prisoner reentry? How do we quantify a community's capacity to address reentry, especially when it is struggling with many other issues that threaten its well-being? How should we assess community institutions that provide desperately needed social services and support? In the next section, we will begin a review of the community capacity and community justice literature in order to address some of these important questions.

## Research Questions

Overall, this study is designed as a cross-sectional examination of the social and supportive services available for, and utilized by, individuals returning from prisons and jails back to Philadelphia neighborhoods. It will provide a comprehensive picture of what is available for returning ex-prisoners and will be a tool for service providers and policymakers. In addition, it will uncover gaps between the services provided and those needed, as well as uncovering geographic gaps in provision. It also will provide a planning tool for the City of Philadelphia in implementing future reentry needs and objectives.

The research questions of this study seek to meet the specific aims discussed previously. The overall objective is to assess the CIC for prisoner reentry as provided by social and supportive service organizations and institutions in Philadelphia. The questions are as follows:

- Q1. What is the density of individuals returning from federal, state, and local prisons to Philadelphia neighborhoods?**
- Q2. What is the Community Institutional Capacity of community organizations that presently serve individuals returning from prison and jails to provide services and support necessary for pro-social reintegration into Philadelphia neighborhoods?**
- Q3. What is the potential Community Institutional Capacity of community organizations that do not presently serve individuals returning from prison and jails, but have no restrictions to doing so, to provide services and support necessary for pro-social reintegration into Philadelphia neighborhoods?**
- Q4. What are the attitudes and opinions of community organizations regarding Philadelphia's Community Institutional Capacity to meet the needs of returning prisoners?**

## Research Methods

In approaching the topic of methods in this study, it is important to note that this study is an assessment, not a measure, of Philadelphia organization to serving ex-prisoners. An assessment of community capacity, consistent with the literature, seeks to provide a comprehensive description of the landscape of social and supportive services provided and available to individuals returning from prisons and jails, rather than to quantify a metric or score. Therefore, the focus of the analysis is on describing the characteristics of these organizations within the context of the dimensions discussed previously, rather than measure against a standard and to assess the degree to which they meet the needs of ex-prisoners.

The asset-based approach focuses on the strengths of communities, as opposed to the needs or deficits, which might exist and influence the research design. The assumption is that communities, even those with socio-economic disadvantages, have assets that are available to the community. Although the needs of the communities are great, so are the potential capabilities and capacity within the community. In contrast, a deficit approach would begin the community capacity model with a focus on needs and deficits. With this approach, the research begins with assessing what is presently available in the communities as a basis for capacity building and development.

### *The Sample*

#### *Sample of ex-Prisoners*

Administrative data on the numbers of individuals returning from federal, state, and local prisons was collected from the United States Probation and Parole (USPP), the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections (PADOC) and the Philadelphia Prison System (PPS). The data consisted of all individuals released from federal, state, and local or county adult correctional facilities in 2005. In addition, the federal and county data also included admit (for those who completed their sentences) or release (for those released under supervision) addresses. These data did not include unique identifiers. Data was collected for 2005 alone as a proxy for the distribution of ex-prisoners. We assumed that the real number of ex-prisoners in each area of at least five to ten times larger than the 2005 number.

#### *Sample of Organizations for Survey*

The goal of the study was to obtain survey information from every human service organization that met the study inclusion criteria. Two-thirds of the population of organizations that provided social and supportive services in Philadelphia completed surveys; therefore, one-third of the organizations were not included in the study. However, there were at least four attempts made to contact each organization.

*Human services* refer to any assistance given to the public to meet primary needs of well-being, such as food, shelter, and healthcare, including behavioral or mental health, as well as

what may be considered secondary needs, such as advocacy and legal services, education, and employment and training. This included both public and privately funded institutions. We included institutions that provided services within Philadelphia, even though they might not have been physically located in Philadelphia, or that also provided services elsewhere.

### *Inclusion Criteria*

We included any non-social service organizations, such as businesses, neighborhood associations, and civic groups, if there was a known service provision to ex-offenders or some reentry programming (very few of these organizations were identified and added to the sampling frame). Organizations that served adults between the ages of 18 and 54 were included. Those organizations which served all or part of the City of Philadelphia were also included. In addition, we included private organizations, if they provided services to those without private insurance.

### *Exclusion Criteria*

We excluded institutions that intentionally did not serve, or had some restrictions to serving, individuals returning from prison or jail. Organizations that did not serve individuals within the City of Philadelphia were also excluded. As a result, most of the organizations in the study were social service, community-based, and faith-based institutions, including congregations. Because the needs of juvenile offenders are so different from those of adults, organizations serving juveniles (those under 18 years old) were also excluded. For the same reason, seniors (above the age of 55) were also excluded from the scope of this study. Within the City of Philadelphia, the mean age for the reentry population is 34 (Roman et al., 2006).

### *Compiling the Sample Frame*

Conducting a study on Philadelphia's institutional capacity to serve ex-offenders required extensive searching and researching of a variety of social service lists, agencies, and prior studies. While there were several lists of social and supportive services in Philadelphia, there was no comprehensive updated list or directory for organizations that serve ex-prisoners. In creating a sampling frame for this study, an exhaustive list of programs in Philadelphia that might provide social services to ex-offenders was compiled from 21 different sources.

Each list was pre-screened before being added to the sampling frame by reviewing the description of the organization and other available information (e.g., websites), for services provided, as well as population or area served. Organizations that provided any social or supportive services were added. Screening was conducted to eliminate organizations that did not meet the study's inclusion criteria. To prevent duplicates, each organization to be added to the sample frame was compared to the existing list using three distinct contact variables: name of organization, address, and phone number.

The final sample frame consisted of a list of 2,100 organizations. Of them, 924 were found not to exist or not to serve ex-prisoners; 487 were duplicates, and 150 refused or were inaccessible. There were 539 organizations surveyed in this study that knowingly served ex-

prisoners or had no restriction to serving them, with an additional 221 service locations that provide services under the organizational structure of some of these 539 organizations.

### The Data Collection Process

In addition to the survey itself, several documents were used to track data as it was collected from more than 2,100 organizations within the City of Philadelphia. The primary goal was to complete the survey; the secondary goal was to screen out agencies that did not meet the study's definition of eligible social service providers. This section is an overview of that process and includes a description of the data collection process, but first a summary of the survey questions and form will be useful in providing a framework for understanding the primary data.

### Survey Questionnaires

There were 10 questionnaires titled *Philadelphia Supportive Services for Individuals Returning from Prison and Jail* used in the study: two primary surveys and eight supplemental surveys. The surveys used in this study were adapted from surveys of *DC Housing and Supportive Services for Individuals Returning from Prison and Jail*, which were used in a similar research study conducted by the Urban Institute (Roman et al., 2006). The adapted surveys were modified to include seven additional areas of reentry needs (e.g., employment, substance/alcohol abuse treatment, education, etc.). The modifications were reviewed by the Research Advisory Committee, a focus group of experts in the provision of services to ex-offenders in Philadelphia, and were pre-tested in a pilot study by interviewers.

Organizations that completed *Survey A* for organizations that serve ex-prisoners were asked to complete one of the supplemental surveys: (1) Survey B1 – *Housing*, (2) Survey B2 – *Mental/Behavioral Health*, (3) Survey B3 – *Alcohol/Substance Abuse Treatment*, (4) Survey B4 – *Education*, (5) Survey B5 – *Employment/Training*, (6) Survey B6 – *Health/HIV/AIDS*, (7) Survey B7 – *Spiritual/Faith-based* and (8) Survey B8 – *Advocacy/Legal Services* (see Appendix D). In order to determine which of the eight supplemental surveys an organization would complete, we looked at the responses to question 11b in *Survey A*, which asked organizations to choose one of eight options that best describes its primary type of services. Most questions in each supplemental survey mirrored similar questions in other supplemental surveys, such that the surveys captured the same conceptual data regardless of primary service type.

### Data Analysis

The analysis of data included four primary methods (descriptive statistics, inferential statistics, content analysis, and GIS analysis), which were determined by the research questions and the form of the data. For questions assessing the first four dimensions of community capacity, survey data was used. Using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), descriptive and some inferential statistics were employed for closed-ended survey questions to determine the distributions of categorical and quantitative variables. The data were imported from an Access database in Excel and then to SPSS for frequency and bi-variate analysis.

Content analysis was used to analyze data obtained in open-ended survey questions for both quantitative and narrative descriptions. Considered the most structured end of the continuum of qualitative data analysis methods, content analysis is a quasi-statistical technique. The analysis includes identification of research questions, coding and categorizing of data coding, and tabulating occurrences of certain forms of content for descriptive statistics.

### Mapping

In this study, GIS was first used to assess where ex-prisoners were located as a means to assess which neighborhoods were most in need. Next, GIS was used to match the location of services in general and by primary type (e.g., housing, employment, health, etc.) to clients' (ex-prisoners) location. It is assumed that neighborhoods with a higher concentration of ex-prisoners are those in need of services. Furthermore, ex-prisoners may have difficulty accessing services that are located far from their place of residence. As such, matching the location of ex-prisoners across the city with the location of the various services can point us in the direction of what services are needed and where. This analysis uses neighborhood designation and data from the Neighborhood Information System website ([www.cml.upenn.edu/nis](http://www.cml.upenn.edu/nis)) created by the Cartographic Modeling Lab. There are 69 neighborhoods in total. These boundaries were developed by the Temple University Social Science Data Library based on information gathered from the Philadelphia Police Department, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and historical research. Neighborhood boundaries are co-terminus with 1990 census tract boundaries.

## Results

This section provides the results and findings of the study by first presenting information about the ex-prisoners in Philadelphia who are the intended beneficiaries of the local services and then by assessing the Community Institutional Capacity (CIC) of Philadelphia. Finally, we report the attitudes and opinions of the service providers' perspective of reentry in Philadelphia.

This section begins by describing the data sources used in these analyses of address-level data from federal and county correctional facilities and from the organizations surveyed.

### *Sample of Individuals Returning from Prison or Jails in 2005*

Address-level data for 2005 releasees were obtained from county (Philadelphia Prison System) and federal correctional facilities. The PPS data had several duplicate entries because of multiple incarcerations within the year. These duplicates, which are characteristic of a county or local jail, were removed from the total numbers.

The Pennsylvania Department of Corrections address-level release data is not included in this study. However, we were able to obtain the total of those returning and that information is included in the total of those individuals returning to Philadelphia addresses in 2005. This information combined provides a total count of those returning from federal, state and county jails and does not include ex-prisoners returning to Philadelphia from correctional facilities outside the state of Pennsylvania.

Those returning to Philadelphia in 2005 from the PPS were predominately male (85.5 %), while women constituted 14.5 percent of the total. This gender breakdown mirrors that of the federal ex-offender releasees for the same year: 85.4 percent male; 14.6 percent female. These data reflect an increase in female offenders over the past decade: the number of female offenders has increased from 4 percent just 10 years ago to 14 percent in 2006. Of all females released in 2005, the majority (67.7 %) were African American, while nearly a fourth were white (24.4 %). African Americans make up 70.9 percent of those released from the PPS, 13.6 percent of whom were women. In contrast, white women made up 21.3 percent of the total whites released in 2005, far more than any other group.

### *Spatial Analysis and Mapping Ex-Offenders*

In total, 35,191 records were processed for this study. Of these records, 1,447 were from the federal ex-offenders list while 33,744 were from the county/city ex-offenders list. In terms of the unmatched records, 3,694 had addresses that were outside Philadelphia (613 federal and 3,081 county). Additionally, 3,504 records had addresses that were not geocodeable (28 federal and 3,476 county). Records that could not be geocoded had addresses that were either invalid or incomplete. Specifically, these addresses either had street numbers that were out of range (e.g., W. Girard Ave only extends to 6600 block and so 6700 W. Girard Ave. would be out of range), had streets that did not exist, or were post office boxes. Using the ex-offender's ID as reference, an additional 4,795 records (203 federal and 4,592 county) were removed as duplicates. Note those returning from state prisons are not included as we did not obtain addresses for this

population. In the final analysis, the geocoding process produced 23,198 matched records that were used in this mapping analysis. This section examines how many and to what neighborhoods ex-prisoners returned to in 2005 in Philadelphia.

### *Distribution of Ex-Offenders*

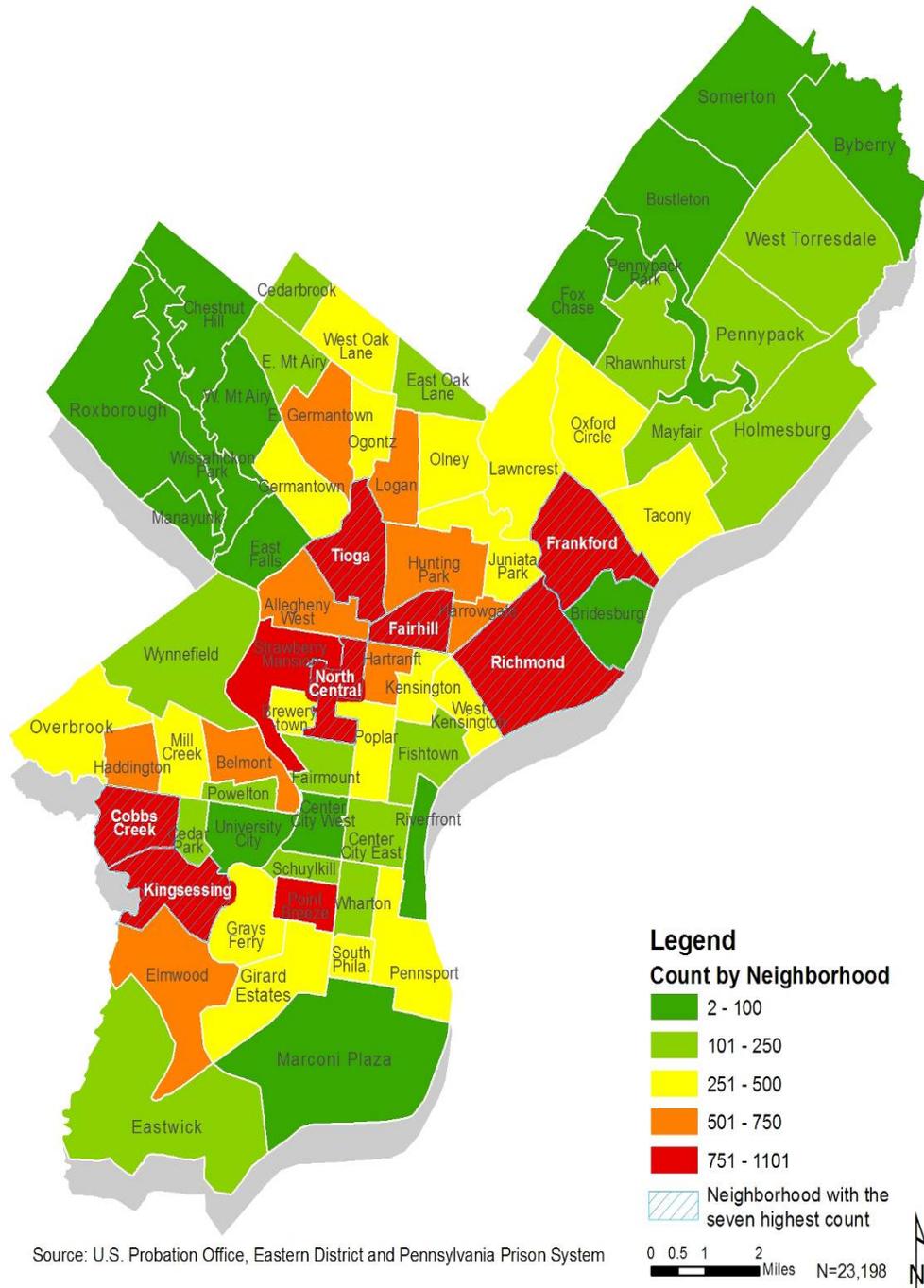
As demonstrated in Map 2, which represents the location of ex-offenders by neighborhood, those neighborhoods with the highest numbers of returnees from prison and jail are Fairhill, North Central, Kingsessing, Frankford, Richmond, Cobbs Creek, and Tioga. These neighborhoods had more than 800 ex-prisoners come home in 2005. It is important to note that these counts only include those ex-offenders whose addresses were able to be geocoded, excluded state ex-prisoners, and cover only one calendar year. These numbers include both federal and county releasees and represent 2005 data; therefore, the neighborhoods are slightly different from those identified in a previous study, using only PPS data from 1998-2003 (see Roman et al., 2005). In addition, if we just looked at federal releasees, we would add Cobbs Creek and Huntington Park, both of which are included in the highest density of returning ex-prisoners per 1,000 residents, confirming the theory that those who are returning from the county are returning to the same neighborhoods as those from federal and likely state facilities, as well.

While the count, or raw number, of those returning is important, the ratio of those returning to the adult population is equally important. La Vigne and Cowan (2005) assert that mapping raw numbers of releasees is best when informing whether adequate services exist in the areas closest to where ex-prisoners are returning. In contrast, when exploring the extent to which a neighborhood is experiencing reentry, mapping the rate per 1,000 is a better representation of the data. The goal here is twofold; therefore, we examine both the raw numbers and density of returning ex-prisoners (see Maps 2 and 3).

When we used the raw count measure, the top seven neighborhoods are different, with the exception of Fairhill and North Central. In Map 3, we find that Harrowgate, Fairhill, North Central, Hartranft, West Kensington, Strawberry Mansion, and Huntington Park are those neighborhoods most densely populated with ex-offenders. Despite the differences in seven of the neighborhoods, statistically both groupings are extremely important and have the highest concentrations on both maps. With one exception, all of the neighborhoods with the highest numbers of returnees are in the top 25th percentile of the ratio of ex-offenders to adult population. Further, as can be seen in Map 2, the top seven neighborhoods, with 751-1101 offenders returning in 2005, represent an average of 917 returning, compared to a mean of 270 for the remaining 62 neighborhoods, which was highly significant in a t-test with  $p < .0001$ . We also find in the top seven neighborhoods a mean ratio of ex-offenders to adult population of .0434 compared to an average ratio of .0192 in the remaining 62 neighborhoods, which was very significant at the 0.003 level. These statistics tell us that these neighborhoods receive a disproportionate—by count and number of adult population—number of those ex-offenders returning to Philadelphia in 2005 from federal prison and county jails (for a geographic view of these 12 neighborhoods; see Map 1).

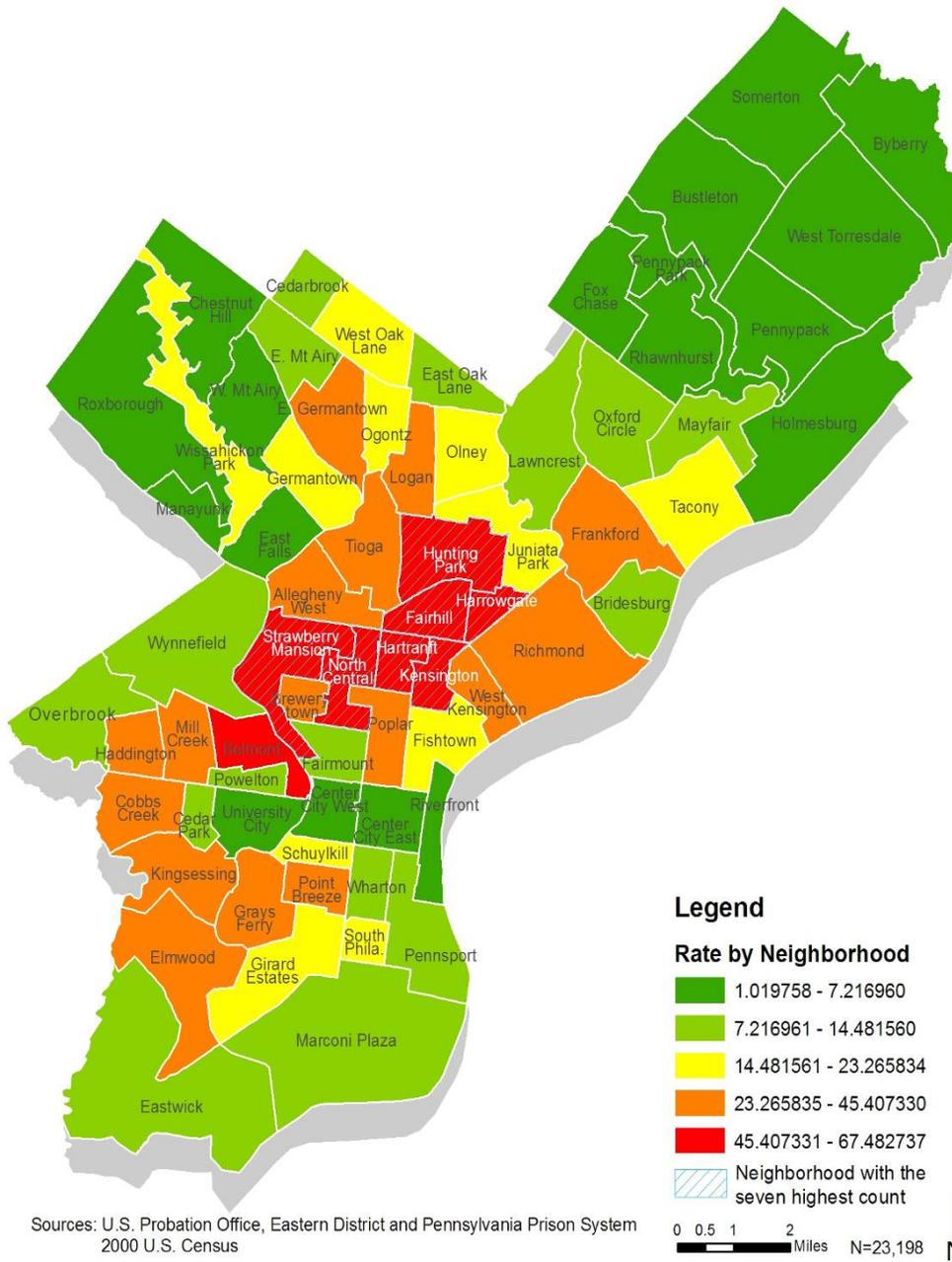
**Map 2: Number of 2005 ex-prisoners in Philadelphia neighborhoods**

Offenders by Neighborhood, 2005



**Map 3: Ratio of 2005 ex-prisoners in Philadelphia neighborhoods**

Rate of Offenders per 1,000 adult Residents by Neighborhood, 2005



What these maps show us is that the top seven neighborhoods in count and the top seven in ratio of ex-offender to adult population are essentially in the same geographic area – that is, these neighborhoods border each other.

Neighborhood-Level Description

Indeed, these neighborhoods are among the most distressed in Philadelphia and are disproportionately majority African American and Hispanic (see table 1). For all of these neighborhoods, 50 to 80 percent of the households are less than two times the poverty threshold, well above the city average of 41 percent (see Table 1). In other words, the majority of the families in all of these neighborhoods live in poverty. In terms of education, most of these neighborhoods are slightly above the city average of 32.14 percent of the population whose highest level of educational attainment is a high school diploma. Finally, the violent crime rate in these neighborhoods, in proportion to the total population, is among the highest in the city. It stands that the impact of racial disparity, poverty, and crime in communities can be harmful to their ability to address community problems, such as reentry. Limited financial resources and other resources make it difficult for families to support those returning from prison and jail.

*Table 1: Socioeconomic characteristics of the 12 most affected neighborhoods*

<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>2000 African Americans, Percent</b>	<b>2000 Hispanics, Percent</b>	<b>2000 Whites, Percent</b>	<b>2000 Income Below 100% Poverty Level, Rate</b>	<b>2000 Income Below 200% Poverty Level, Rate,</b>	<b>2000 High School Diploma, Over 25, Rate</b>	<b>2005 All Serious Incidents (excl. Homicide &amp; Rape)</b>
Fairhill	27.14%	70.25%	21.42%	56.02%	80.48%	26.87%	2,326
North Central	93.80%	2.07%	3.08%	44.15%	69.68%	32.51%	2,687
Kingsessing	95.28%	1.12%	1.81%	30.26%	54.59%	36.61%	1,945
Frankford	30.82%	12.85%	56.58%	24.75%	46.95%	37.31%	2,856
Richmond	9.73%	14.65%	76.55%	31.05%	52.87%	40.82%	3,119
Cobbs Creek	95.90%	1.07%	1.22%	24.74%	49.19%	37.22%	2,367
Tioga	92.83%	2.30%	3.26%	30.46%	53.88%	33.35%	2,506
Strawberry Mansion	97.58%	0.99%	0.55%	41.03%	67.44%	33.29%	1,818
Huntington Park	38.8%	56.83%	18.55%	45.39%	71.28%	32.28%	2,068
Harrowgate	23.36%	53.50%	33.99%	49.19%	76.58%	30.53%	1,655
Hartranft	67.97%	23.83%	12.66%	43.17%	62.15%	30.61%	1,414
West Kensington	21.18%	68.36%	22.81%	48.76%	72.71%	27.06%	1,230

Source: U.S. Census 2000 and CML, University of Pennsylvania

Next, we examine where organizations – both those that serve ex-offenders and those that do not – are located, and which provide social and supportive services within these same neighborhood boundaries used for returning ex-prisoners. Lastly, we review the relationship of the number of those returning to the total number of services provided, including by provider type. First, let’s review a description and analysis of the organizations surveyed in the study.

Organizations in Study

Organizations that provide social and supportive services to ex-prisoners in Philadelphia essentially fall into two basic structural categories: centralized and decentralized. Those organizations that were centralized answered the survey questions for all their locations in the city, such as satellite organizations or those in which administrative and organizational leadership, including decision-making, was handled outside the primary or headquarters location. For the decentralized organizational structures, we completed the appropriate *Survey A* and supplemental surveys. These surveys collected all pertinent data on organizational capacity. In the cases of the centralized organizations, we obtained all of the information from *Survey A* and the appropriate supplemental *B* survey. For the additional locations, we completed additional *Section IIs*. Of the 539 organizations surveyed in this study, an additional 221 locations, which were not primary locations, were identified and included in a database of organizations.

A slight majority, (52.1 %) of the organizations (281) served ex-offenders, while 47.8 percent (258) did not serve ex-offenders, but had no restrictions to doing so. Each organization identified a primary provider type: employment – 11.3 percent; mental/behavioral health – 14.3 percent; alcohol/substance abuse treatment – 10.9 percent; housing – 10.6 percent; education – 11.5 percent; HIV/AIDS/primary healthcare – 10.2 percent; faith-based – 16.7 percent; advocacy/legal – 7.2 percent; and other – 7.3 percent. The *other* category is primary those organizations providing food, clothing, and specialty services, such as services to parents with children (e.g., Child Abuse Prevention Program) or community organizations which seek to improve the life outcomes of African American males (e.g., Black Men United for a Better Philadelphia).

*Table 2. Distribution of Organizations by Primary Provider Type*

<b>Primary Provider Type</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Faith-Based	90	16.7
Mental/Behavioral Health	77	14.3
Education	62	11.5
Employment	61	11.3
Alcohol/Substance Abuse	59	10.9
Housing	57	10.6
Health	55	10.2
Advocacy/Legal	39	7.2
Other	56	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>100</b>

Most of the organizations were fairly evenly distributed among the provider types—education, employment, alcohol/substance abuse, housing, other and health—and all were within 10 to 11 percent of the total organizations. It is no surprise that faith-based organizations were predominant in the community. These organizations are not necessarily providing reentry services, but instead provide food, housing, adult education classes, and more. Faith-based organizations include congregations of varying sizes and faiths, community-based organizations, and larger nationwide social service providers (e.g., the Salvation Army).

It is important to note that although there are more mental/behavioral health providers than alcohol/substance abuse providers, this representation may not be completely accurate. Organizations were asked to give a primary provider type, although in most cases mental/behavioral health providers said that they provided alcohol and substance treatments equally, as the two are considered co-occurring disorders. It is very possible for a mental and behavioral health facility to provide nearly as much substance abuse treatment as mental health treatment. The advocacy and legal services category, at 7.2 percent of the total organizations, also comes as no surprise. While these services provide an array of advocacy and direct services, there are not many such facilities within the neighborhoods where returning ex-prisoners reside.

*Differences by Provider Type in Service Profile of Organizations*

In this study, there were differences in the number of organizations that serve ex-offenders, compared with those who do not. The highest percentages of services provided are alcohol and substance abuse and mental and behavioral health treatment. Both primary provider types represent 17.2 percent of the total services provided to those returning from prison and jail.

*Table 3: Organizations by Primary Provider and Type*

<b>Provider Type</b>	<b>Percentage Serving Ex-Offenders</b>	<b>% not presently Serving Ex-offenders</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Employment	14.7	7.7	.014
Alcohol/Substance Abuse	<b>17.2</b>	<b>4.2</b>	.000
Mental/Behavioral Health	<b>17.2</b>	<b>11.2</b>	.049
Housing	9.7	11.6	.487
Education	9.7	13.5	.178
Health	9.3	11.2	.480
Faith	15.8	17.8	.564
Advocacy/Legal	7.9	6.6	.620
Other	3.2	15.0	.000

p<.05=\*, marginal significant; p<.01=\*\*, significant; p<.001=\*\*\*, highly significant

In regard to providing employment services, we find a significant difference between organizations that serve ex-prisoners and those who do not. Organizations that serve ex-prisoners provide employment services significantly more often than those who do not serve ex-prisoners. About 15 percent of all those who serve ex-prisoners provide employment services, while only about 8 percent of the non-serving organizations do so. Such a disparity could indicate that more of those organizations (employment providers) serve ex-offenders, which might be reflected in an emphasis by both county and federal efforts on employment and in assisting ex-offenders in the reintegration process, such as the employment initiative by M.O.R.E.

The only other category showing any difference in the provision of services is the “other” category. As mentioned earlier, these organizations range from food pantries to community-based organizations which provide some type of support group. Responses to what “other” primary services were provided included childcare, social services, family services and health education. Only 3 percent of these organizations say they serve ex-prisoners, compared to 15 percent that say they do not.

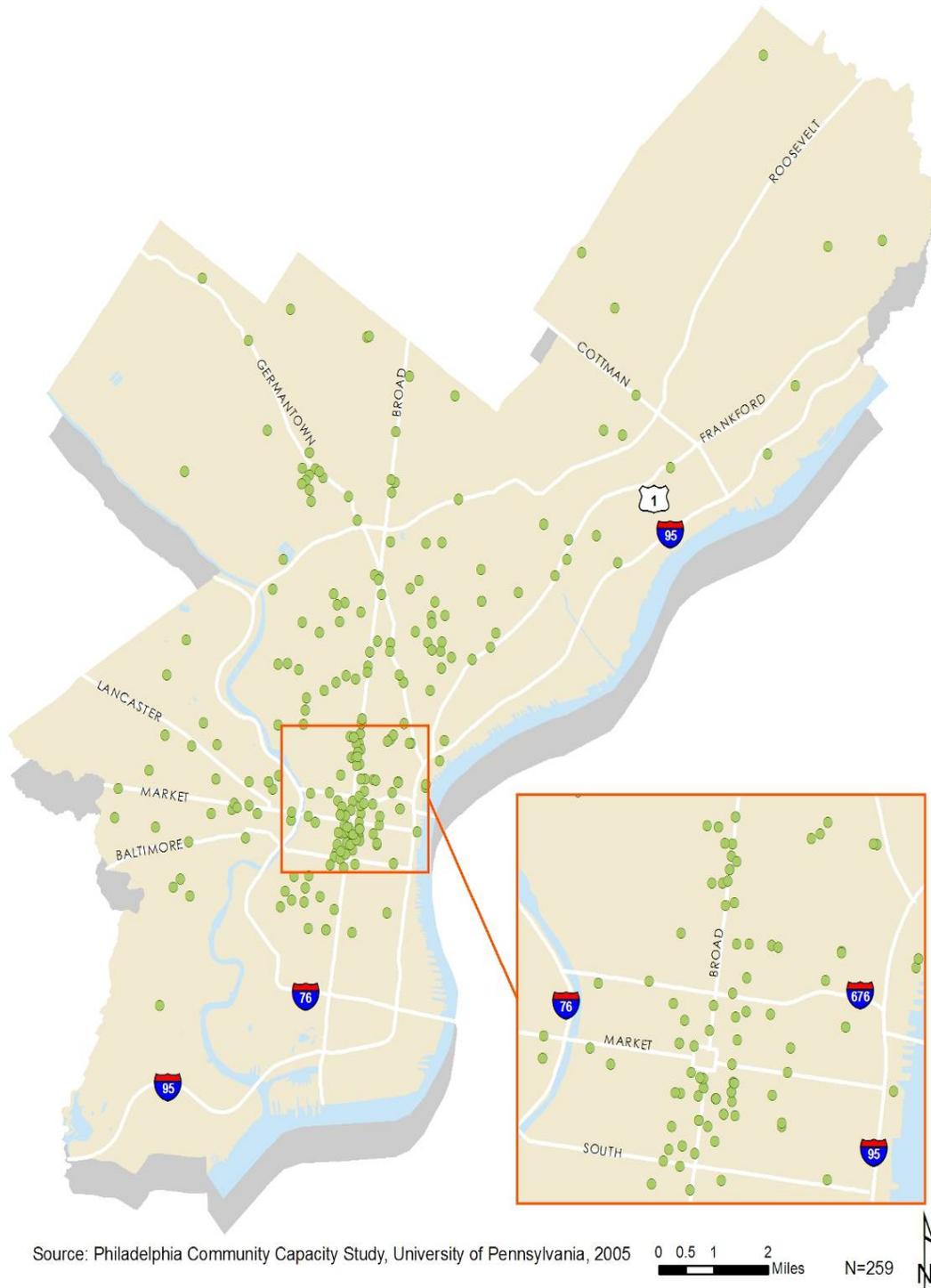
### *Distribution of Services*

The heaviest concentrations of organizations (nearly a third) that provide social and supportive services to ex-prisoners are in the Center City, Riverfront, and the University City neighborhood-area, as seen in the insert box in Map 4. Poplar and North Central border this area and are also in the most heavily concentrated areas. When Poplar and North Central are included with the Center City neighborhoods (Center City East and West, Riverfront and University City), combined they make up about 40 percent of all services provided. These neighborhoods border each other and, as seen in Map 4, boast the heaviest concentration of organizations that provide services to ex-prisoners. Map 4 also highlights that the highest concentration runs along the Broad Street area and between the Schuylkill River and the I-95 exchange. Because these neighborhoods either border or make up the downtown area of Philadelphia, it is also the hub of the city’s mass transit system, making it fairly accessible by bus, train or trolley.

In considering distribution of the remaining organizations, the next highest concentrations also border the area highlighted in Map 4: Fishtown, Point Breeze and Fairmount. From there, organizations that provide services to ex-prisoners become increasingly scarce. In fact, one-fourth of the 69 neighborhoods have no organizations that provide services to those returning from prison and jail. This is not to say that no such organizations exist; our study, which began as a census, covered only two-thirds of eligible organizations. However, these data provide a gauge for understanding where services are located.

It is critical to note that these organizations do not solely serve ex-prisoners. We do note that neighborhoods with the highest concentration of organizations – the Center City area – are not close to six of the seven neighborhoods with high rates of ex-prisoners. It may be that ex-prisoners are willing and able to travel to other neighborhoods for services, but we cannot be sure of the movement patterns of ex-prisoners. We do know, however, that these services are not in the neighborhoods where ex-prisoners are residing.

Map 4:  
Service Providers for Ex-offenders by Type, 2005



Distribution of Ratio of Services to Ex-Offenders

As seen in Map 5, Riverfront, Center City East, Center City West and University City are the best positioned to serve ex-prisoners. This is true because in comparison to other neighborhoods in the city, these neighborhoods have relatively low numbers and proportions of individuals returning from prison or jail.

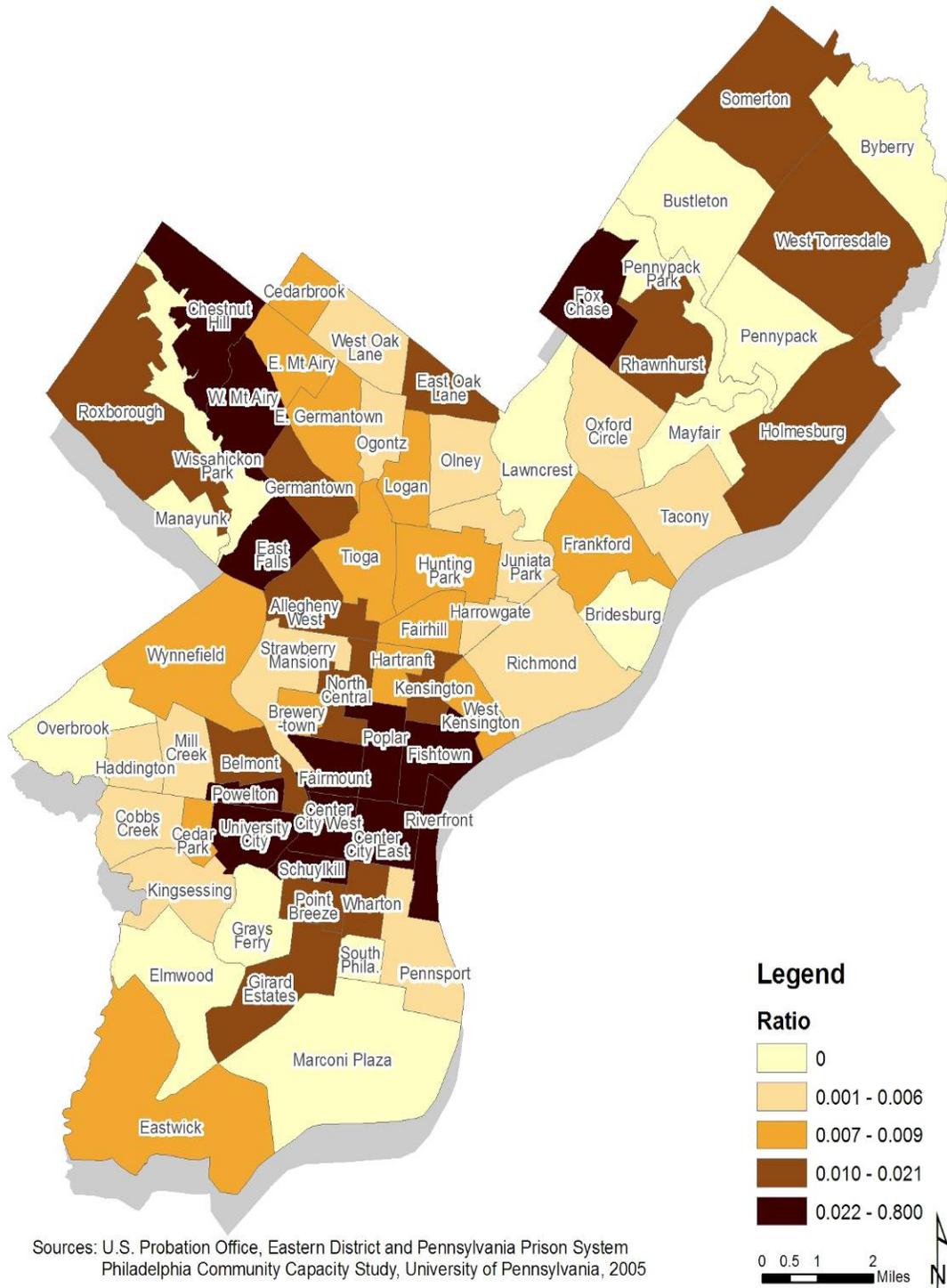
Table 4 provides a view of the top neighborhoods by number of returning ex-offenders, while map 5 provides a view of the top neighborhoods by rate of returning ex-offenders per 1,000 residents. In both tables, as in Map 5, it is clear that services are not provided to neighborhoods where ex-prisoners are returning. For example, in Fairhill, seven organizations serve 1,101 ex-prisoners.

*Table 4: Count of ex-offender by neighborhood*

<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Number of Ex-Offenders Returning</b>	<b>Adult Population</b>	<b>Rate per 1,000 Residents</b>	<b>Number of Organizations Serving Ex-offenders</b>	<b>Ratio of Services to Ex-offenders</b>
Fairhill	1101	16919	65.07	7	.0063
North Central	964	15276	63.10	16	.0165
Kingsessing	912	23036	39.59	3	.0032
Frankford	899	25676	35.01	6	.0066
Richmond	873	25952	33.63	3	.0034
Cobbs Creek	863	29415	29.33	3	.0034
Tioga	811	21168	38.31		.0073

In comparison, when we look at the top seven neighborhoods by rate of returning ex-offenders per 1,000 residents, we find slightly better results. The ratio of services to ex-offenders is somewhat higher in these neighborhoods, as seen in Table 5. However, in Harrowgate, for example, we still find two service providers for 645 returning prisoners and nearly 10,000 residents. It follows that the next observation should be a comparison of those organizations that presently serve ex-offenders to those that do not.

Map 5  
 Ratio of Service Providers to Ex-offenders by Neighborhood, 2005



*Table 5: Density and count of ex-offenders by neighborhood*

<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Residents per 1,000 Adults</b>	<b>Number of Ex-Offenders Returning</b>	<b>Adult Population</b>	<b>Organizations Serving Ex-Offenders</b>	<b>Ratio of Services to Ex-Offenders</b>
Harrowgate	67.48	645	9958	2	.00
Fairhill	65.07	1101	16919	7	.01
North Central	63.10	964	15276	16	.02
Hartranft	56.54	555	9815	5	.01
West Kensington	49.66	398	7060	7	.02
Strawberry Mansion	48.11	775	15515	0	.01
Huntington Park	47.81	657	13655	6	.01

*Types of Services and Level of Intensity Provided*

The top quartile of services provided by organizations that serve ex-prisoners groups are *advocacy, family counseling and/or other family services, assistance in locating housing, job training, job placement, mentoring, and assistance in obtaining identification* (See Table 6). Interestingly, five of the seven services are also in the top quartile of those organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners: *advocacy, family counseling and/or other family services, assistance in locating housing, and mentoring*. The distribution of services within organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners is less concentrated, that is, the percentages of services provided is lower than those of organizations that serve ex-prisoners, as seen in the table below. Statistically, there are no differences in the mean level of intensity for these services provided (see Table 6). Essentially, those who serve ex-prisoners provide these services with the same frequency—ranging from on occasion to ongoing—as organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners.

It is striking that advocacy is the primary service provided by organizations, as advocacy organizations are the least common of the primary provider types. This phenomenon could suggest that an organization providing social and supportive services views advocating for the rights of needed services as the service they provide most often.

Also striking is that family counseling and/or other family services, including parent education, is among the leading services provided by these organizations. Again, this fact reveals that family related services are one of the primary services provided by organizations that provide social and supportive services in Philadelphia, regardless of whether they do or do not serve ex-prisoners. The fact that assistance in locating housing is among the most provided services is not as striking because housing is an important need for all populations or sub-populations within communities. Lastly, mentoring was also among the top services provided. Mentoring, which generally provides one-on-one guidance and support, has a mean frequency of four, which indicates it is fairly frequency.

Table 6: Most provided services

<b>Most Provided Service Types</b>	<b>Serve Ex-offenders</b>	<b>Mean/Median Intensity</b>	<b>Do Not Serve Ex-offenders</b>	<b>Mean/Median Intensity</b>
Advocacy	78.9%	3.78/5	65%	3.84/5
Family counseling and/or other family services, including parent education	67.3%	3.79/4	51.6%	4.02/5
Case Management	65.0%	4.38/5	45.5%	4.2/5
Assistance in locating housing	64.7%	3.34/3	44%	3.22/3
Job training, vocational rehab, computer classes or training life skills	58.6%	3.94/5	34.6%	3.40/4 *
Job placement, job referral	55.8%	3.69/5	36.2%	3.42/4
Mentoring	51.1%	3.75/4	32%	3.59/4
Assistance in obtaining identification	53.7%	3.54/4	23.0%	2.88/3 **

\* Significant at the .05 level. \*\* Significant at the .01 level.

### Least Provided Services

The bottom quartile of services provided by both groups of organizations are *emergency shelter, developmental disability support or services, in-patient substance abuse, in-patient mental health services, housing development, rehab or construction and adoption and foster care services* (see Table 7). It is surprising that two of the most needed services for those returning from prison and jail—in-patient substance abuse and mental health treatment—are among the least provided services. It could be that ex-prisoners require less in-patient substance abuse and mental health treatment compared to out-patient treatment and services. If this is not the case, then there is a large gap in in-patient service provision for ex-prisoners.

Another surprising finding was that emergency shelter is one of the services least provided by organizations in Philadelphia. This is another area that warrants further examination; if in fact it reveals a gap in housing options for those returning from prison or jail (especially since a residential address is required for obtaining identification, employment and other much needed services). Additional services that were in the bottom quartile or least provided services for those who serve ex-prisoners are *home ownership and childcare*. For those that do not serve ex-prisoners, *ex-offender support group and family reunification* and *out-patient substance abuse* are included

Table 7: Least Provided Services

<b>Least Provided Service Types</b>	<b>Serve Ex-Offenders</b>	<b>Mean/Median Intensity</b>	<b>Do Not Serve Ex-offenders</b>	<b>Mean/Median Intensity</b>
Emergency shelter	28.1%	3.08/3	19.5%	3.22/4
Developmental disability support or services	26.7%	3.05/3	16.0%	2.93/3
In-patient substance abuse treatment	25.2%	3.40/5	12.1%	3.26/4
In-patient mental health services	21.2%	3.15/3	13.6%	2.89/2
Housing development, rehab, or construction	17.6%	3.22/3	15.6%	2.83/3
Adoption assistance foster care	17.3%	2.33/2	10.9%	*3.21/4

\* Significant at the .05 level.

Paid and Volunteer Staff

The mean full-time staff for organizations that serve ex-offenders was 50.6 ( $SD=172$ ), with a median of four. For paid part-time staff the mean was 12 ( $SD=35$ ). The median was two. The mode was two, representing 21.2 percent of the responses.

There were an average of 9.3 ( $SD=17$ ) full-time volunteers 30.6 ( $SD=90$ ) part-time volunteers for organizations that serve ex-prisoners.

Use of Consultants

More than half (55%) of organizations that serve ex-offenders said they use consultants in addition to their full-time and volunteer staff; 45 percent said that they did not use consultants. On average, an organization serving ex-prisoners used 2.3 consultants in the year prior to the study. The survey did not include information detailing in what capacity consultants were used. However, the use of consultants reveals additional human resources at the disposal of organizations, thereby increasing their capacity.

Staff Dedicated to Reentry

Of those organizations serving ex-offenders, nearly half (46.1%) said that their organization had staff dedicated to ex-prisoners. Approximately the same amount (53.9%) said that they did not have dedicated staff for ex-prisoners. The average number of dedicated staff within organizations was four with a median of two. Lastly, on average, more than a third of the time, staff dedicated to reentry was “devoted to returning prisoners.”

The median percentage of dedicated staff time devoted to serving ex-prisoners was more than three-fourths (77.5%), with an average of 68.6 percent. Combined, this data reveals that

more than half of the organizations serving ex-offenders have at least two persons dedicated to reentry-related services, with more than three-fourths of their time dedicated to serving ex-prisoners or reentry related services.

### Funding

In this study, the annual budget of organizations dedicated to reentry-related services was about one-third (35.4%). Essentially, 203 organizations (out of 277) said that almost a third of their budget was dedicated to reentry-related services.

As for sources of funding, only 17.8 percent said that they received special funding to provide services to individuals returning from prison or jail. Finally, less than a third (31.9%) said they had written proposals or applied for grants to obtain funding to assist returning prisoners.

### Capacity to Serve More

On average, organizations within Philadelphia that provide social and supportive services served about 5,147 clients last year. This number includes both those that serve ex-prisoners and those that do not.

More specifically, after analyzing the number of ex-prisoners being served in each major service category, we found that these providers serve a median of 11 to 100 ex-prisoners annually. The approximate average number served ranges from 37 to 600 with extremely large standard deviations, which implies that medians are a better statistic for analysis. These large standard deviations are reflective of large organizations with centralized organizational hierarchies.

Organizations that do not serve ex-prisoners but had no restrictions to serving them were asked if they had the capacity to serve more clients. Nearly two-thirds (60%) said they do have the capacity to serve more clients. Similarly, organizations that do serve ex-prisoners were asked if they had the capacity to service more ex-prisoners and all said yes.

Nearly all (95%) of education primary providers said they had the capacity to serve more ex-prisoners. The large percentage of education providers who responded that they had capacity to serve more ex-offenders could be the result of the relatively low cost for serving an additional client. The median percentage was in the 70 to 78 percentage range, specifically, housing, advocacy/legal services, outpatient health (mental, primary, substance abuse) treatment, employment and training and faith-based. In comparison, all of the in-patient treatment providers (mental, primary and substance abuse) fell in the 20-26 percentage range. This is problematic as in-patient and housing services that reduce homelessness and are costly are least available and the potential for their growth most limited.

### Outreach

About a third of the responding organizations (34.1%) said they serve ex-prisoners prior to release and a third (33.3%) said they interview inmates prior to release to determine if they are eligible for services the organization provides. Combined, these responses suggest that close to 100 organizations (out of 276) serving ex-prisoners are involved with outreach prior to release. The fact that 100 serving organizations are involved in this practice is encouraging and suggests a benefit for recommending that the other 176 serving organizations do the same.

### Collaboration

Most organizations (69.8%) said they collaborate with probation and parole services. For the county, roughly the same amount of serving organizations (38.5% and 39.9%) said they have formal and informal collaborations for parole and probation. Similarly, for state probation and parole, somewhat fewer organizations reported formal and informal collaboration (28% and 26.4%). The least frequent source of collaboration was that with federal authorities, and these collaborations were also more formal (16.9% and 14.7%). The level of collaboration is reflective of the number of ex-prisoners coming from each government level: most ex-prisoners come from the city/county level, followed by the state, and the fewest from federal prisons.

### Networks

When organizations were also asked if they were a part of a community initiative, network, or coalition, nearly a third (32.7%) said yes. Data were also obtained on the nature of the networking: 47.2 percent shared information, 35.8 percent shared referrals, 20.8 percent shared provision of services, while less than 8 percent each shared facilities, funding sources, and paid or volunteer staff.

When asked an open-ended question about networking, organizations responded that they worked most closely with Kingdom Care Network, Forensic Task Force, Always Have a Dream and Working Group. Most organizations responded that they worked with Kingdom Care Network, a network of faith-based organizations, primarily congregations, which seeks to promote successful reintegration of ex-offenders through a sharing of resources in order to provide mentoring and an array of services (e.g., employment, housing, education, etc.). The primary mission of this and other networks interviewed was to “assist with the reentry of ex-offenders.” This assistance ranged from providing targeted services for incarcerated fathers and for the specific needs of women returning from prison and jail, to more general services, such as substance abuse recovery, medical services and HIV-related services.

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