

# The Role of Community Context in Understanding Offender Reintegration across Urban-Rural Landscapes

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# Introduction

- Research emphasizes
  - Neighborhood dynamics and crime
    - Change over time
    - Spatial concentration of crime
  - Comparing neighborhood effects across population and location
    - Sex, race, and intersectionality
  - Housing and crime
    - Impact of foreclosures on crime, domestic violence, child maltreatment
  - Neighborhoods and Reentry

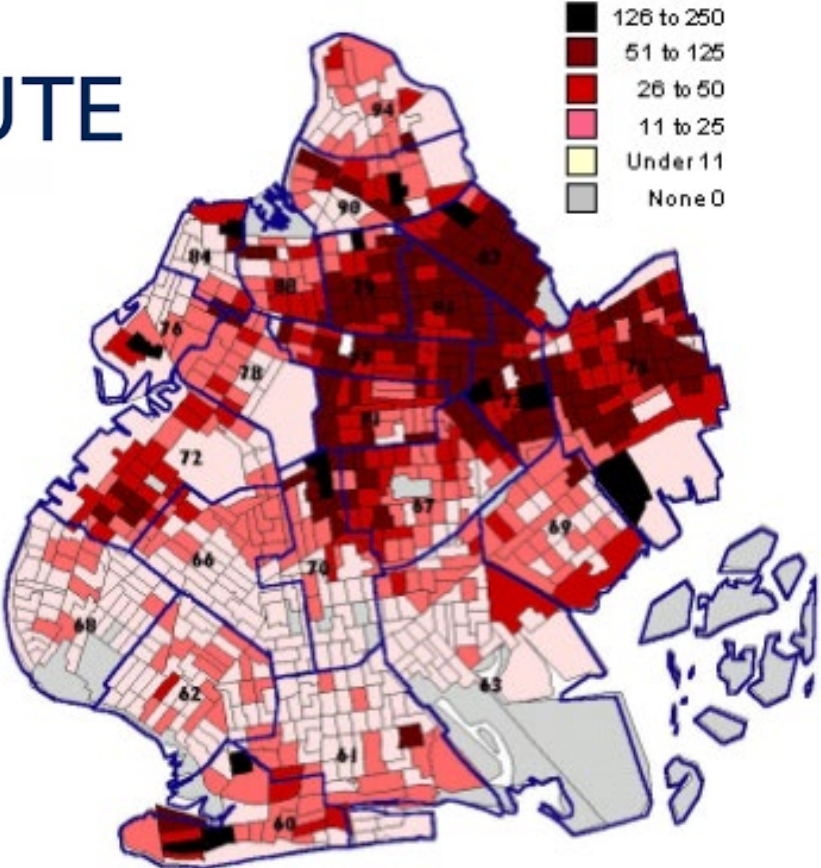
# The Beginning...



**URBAN  
INSTITUTE**

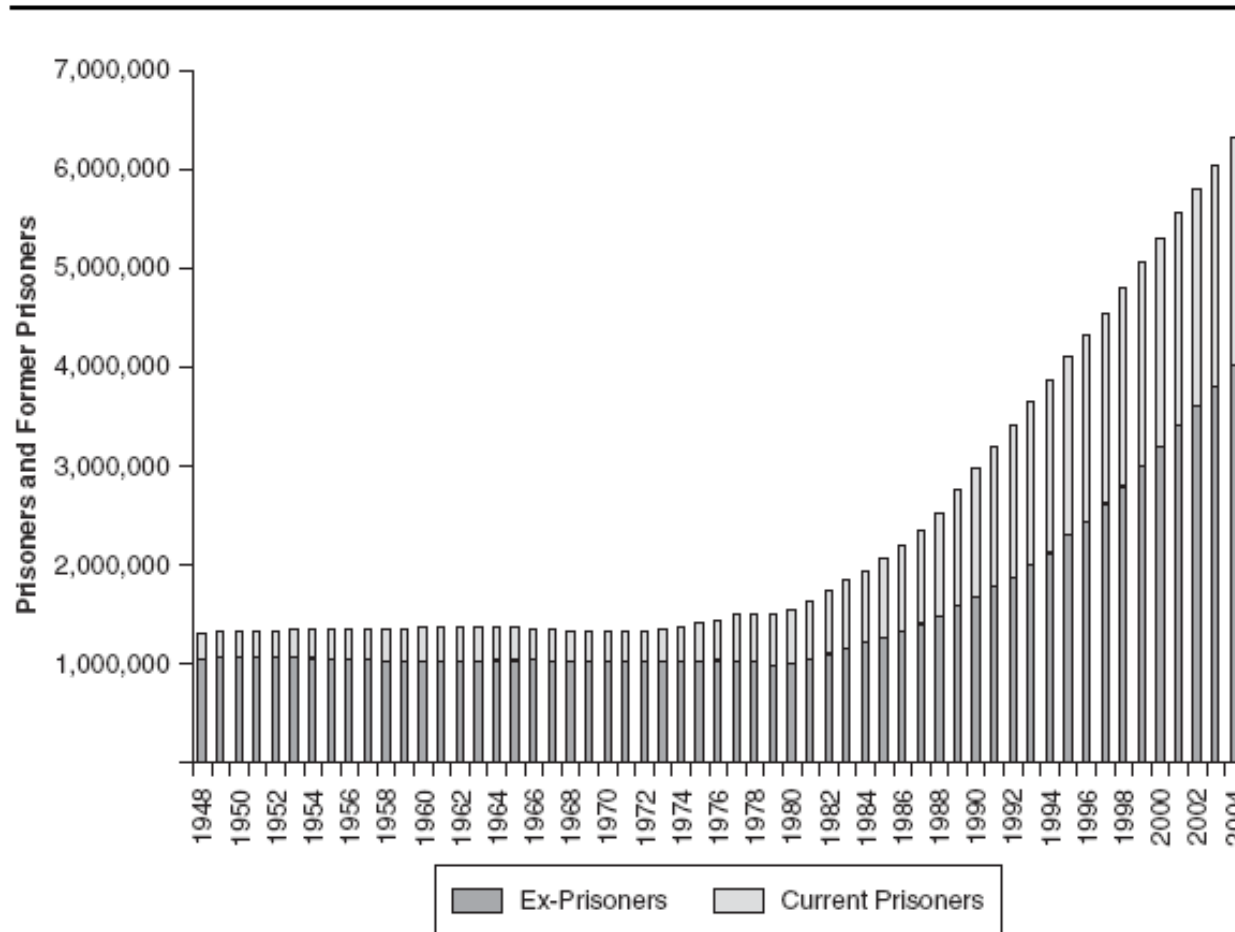
Criminal Justice  
Brooklyn, NY

**Residents on  
Probation/Parole**



# Large Number of Prisoners Returning (Source: Uggen, Manza, & Thompson 2006)

U.S. PRISONERS AND ESTIMATED EX-PRISONERS, 1948-2004



# They All Come Back

- At end of 2016, there were 4.5M individuals under community supervision (BJS, 2018)
  - More than 800,000 released onto parole
- Parolees and communities must navigate challenges associated with reintegration
- What impact do neighborhoods have on former prisoners?
- What impact do parolees have on neighborhoods?

# Neighborhoods Play a Factor in Parolee Success

- Parolees returning to disadvantaged neighborhoods are more likely to reoffend (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006)
- Individuals returning to poor neighborhoods less likely to be employed, and lower wages (Morenoff & Harding, 2011)
- Parolees residing in neighborhoods near social services have lower rates of recidivism (Hipp, Petersilia & Turner, 2010)
- Recidivism rate higher for those returning to areas with few socioeconomic resources (Mears, Wang, Hay & Bales, 2008)

# Magnitude of Reentry Matters (Chamberlain & Wallace, 2016)

- Clustering of former inmates into small number of neighborhoods
- Does this concentration at the *neighborhood* level exacerbate reoffending at the *individual* level.
- Challenges of reentry—housing, employment, social services—become scarcer as more individuals compete for limited opportunities
- Prevents disassociating from criminal associates
- Primarily return to disadvantaged neighborhoods
  - Low levels of informal social control to monitor behavior
  - Fewer resources/organizations to meet service needs

# Findings: Magnitude of Reentry Matters (Chamberlain & Wallace, 2016)

- Concentration: 24% of parolees in Cincinnati; 18% in Cleveland, 26% in Columbus concentrated in 5% of neighborhoods
- Former prisoners returning to neighborhoods with high concentrations of parolees were 67% more likely to recidivate compared to those in low return neighborhoods (controlling for individual factors)
  - Those returning to neighborhoods with average concentrations of former prisoners were 41% more likely compared to low return neighborhoods
  - Residential stability tempers these effects

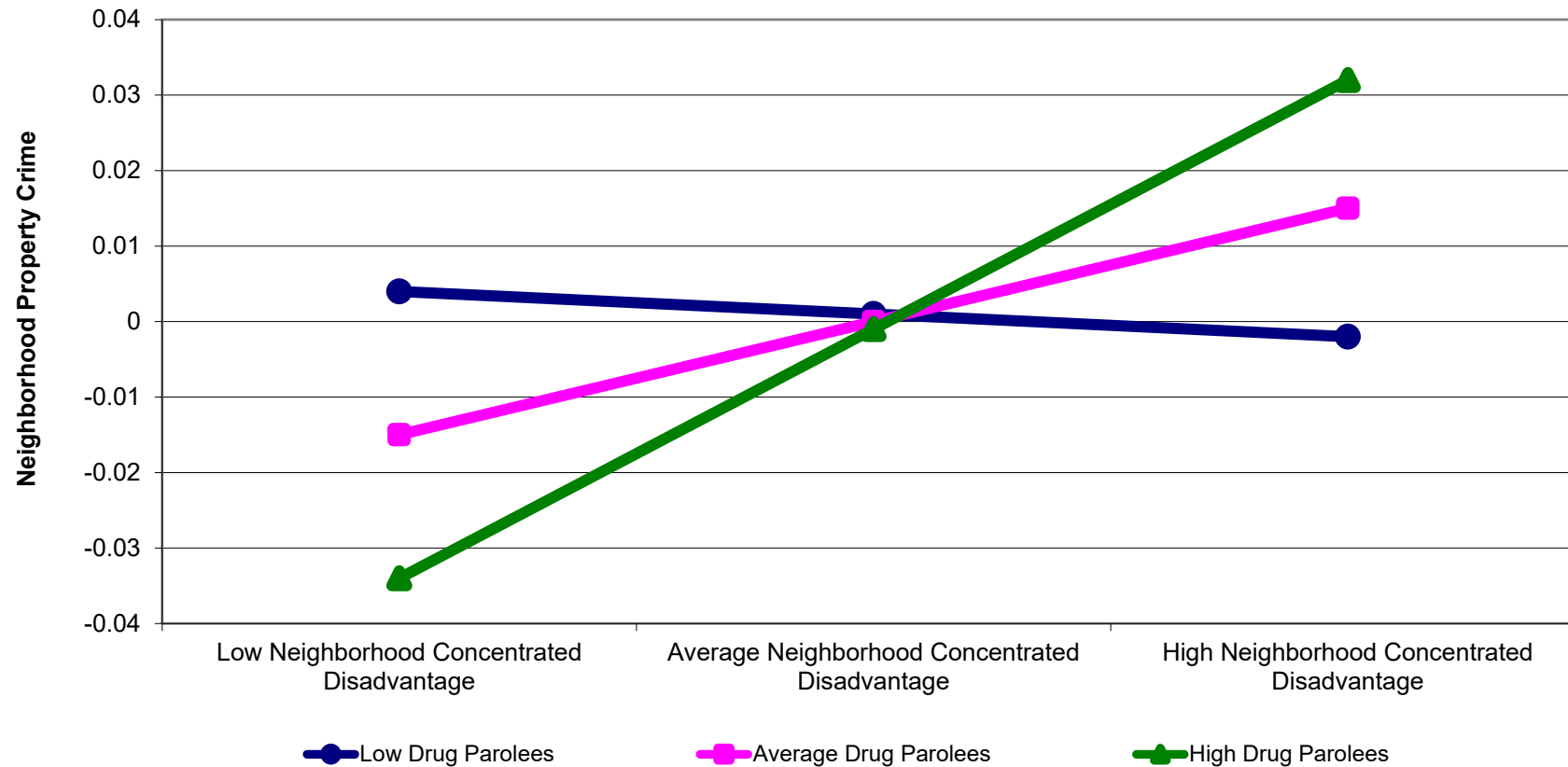


# Specific Concentrations of Former Prisoners Matter (Chamberlain & Boggess, 2018)

- Parolees can contribute to neighborhood crime directly through reoffending
- But, not all offenders are created equal (not an equal likelihood of reoffending)
  - Certain characteristics—priors, crime type, age—increase the like of recidivating
  - Neighborhoods with greater concentrations of higher-likelihood-of-recidivating parolees may be affected by higher crime rates
- The criminogenic effects of these concentrations of certain types of offenders may be conditioned by neighborhood
  - Disadvantaged neighborhoods, which lack services, social capital, informal social control, may experience higher rates of crime

# Specific Concentrations of Parolees Matter (Chamberlain & Boggess, 2018)

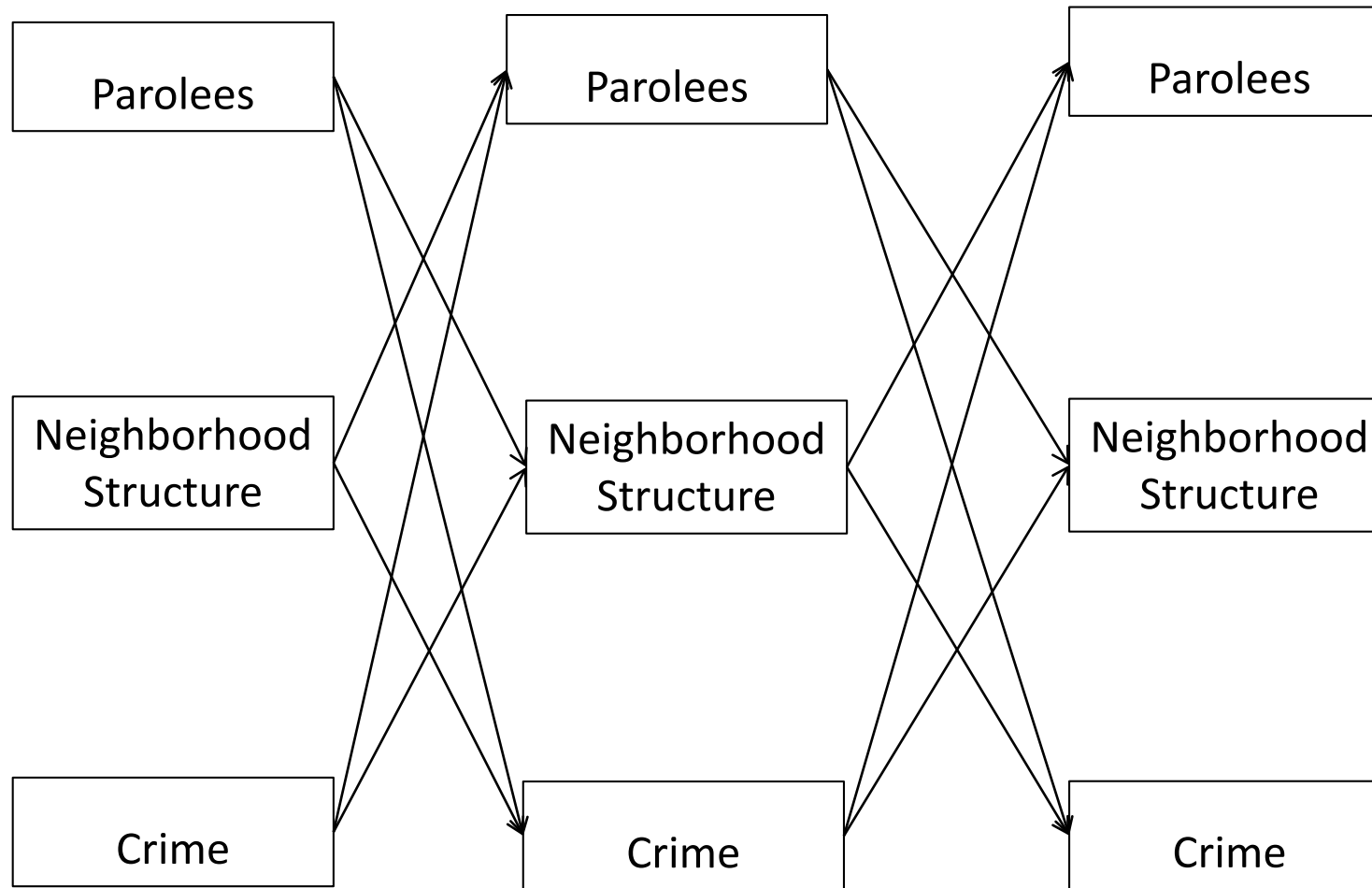
Figure 1: Effect of Interaction of Percent Parolees Convicted of Drug Offense and Concentrated Disadvantage on Neighborhood Property Crime



# Former Prisoners can Impact Crime & Neighborhood Structure (Chamberlain, 2018)

- Former prisoners may contribute to crime directly and indirectly
- Directly → engage in crime/reoffend
- Directly → impact neighborhood structure
  - Exacerbate poverty, instability, vacancy
- Indirectly → a source of ecological change
  - Disadvantaged neighborhoods are more accessible to reentrants; may reduce neighborhood desirability, impacting vacancy, poverty, stability
- Indirectly → engagement in criminal activity may result in out-migration; decreases likelihood of people moving to the neighborhood

# Former Prisoners can Impact Crime & Neighborhood Structure (Chamberlain, 2018)



# Former Prisoners can Impact Crime & Neighborhood Structure (Chamberlain, 2018)

- Findings:
  - Parolees have a direct effect on neighborhood structure
    - Increase residential vacancies, property sales,
  - Parolees have a direct effect on neighborhood crime
    - Increase violent and property crime
  - Parolees have an indirect effect neighborhood structure
    - Parolees increase property sales through property crime
    - Parolees increase vacancy rates through violent crime
    - Violent crime increases property sales through parolees

# Parole Recidivism and Rural Context: Assessing Similarities and Differences across Urban and Rural Areas

- Coauthored with Tony Grubestic and Danielle Wallace
- Does neighborhood context differentially impact recidivism across urban and rural contexts?

# Less Urbanized Neighborhoods and Recidivism

- Neighborhood characteristics in non-urban areas may impact recidivism differently
- Magnitude of reentry is smaller
  - Fewer criminal associates, possibly better social networks
  - Stigmatization may be greater
  - Acquaintanceship density (Freudenbury, 1986)
- Less economic diversity
  - Poverty is higher in rural areas compared to urban, but not as concentrated
  - Rural job market is small
  - Small business owners, service sector jobs (Besser, 1997; Gibbs, Kusmin & Cromartie, 2004)

# Less Urbanized Neighborhoods and Recidivism

- Housing and homelessness
  - Most housing in rural areas is owner occupied
  - Rural homeless population more likely to have been incarcerated (64%) compared to urban (55%) or suburban (44%) (Burt, et al., 1999)
- Services/programs
  - Spatial isolation—live an average of 13 miles from nearest provider (Leukefeld et al., 2002)
  - Rural residents less likely to use illegal drugs, more likely to use alcohol, compared to urban residents (Ellsworth, 2001)
    - ...but among former prisoners, this does not hold (Leukefeld et al. 2002)
  - Distrustful of outsiders; difficult to keep private matter



# Research Question

- Expanding on previous research
  - Large number of parolees, multiple cities, differing degrees of urbanization
- Does parolee success vary across neighborhood *and* community type?
- Does the degree to which a community is considered “urban” differentially impact recidivism?

# Data comes from Multiple Sources

- Subject Data comes from ODRC
  - All prisoners released in Ohio and under some form of community supervision between 2000 and 2009
  - Data includes inmate profiles, criminal histories, risk level, community movements, and reincarceration
  - Address information every 6 months
    - Geocoded to block group (n=8,855)
  - Examining 81,857 parolees released to 1,037 cities
- Contextual data comes from US Census and ACS

# Parolee Characteristics

Percent Male	87.4
Percent African American	60.1
Percent White	32.3
Average Age	36.5
Percent Married	64
Percent Convicted of Violent Crime	59.7
Percent Convicted of Property Crime	33.2
Percent Convicted of Drug Crime	22.4
Percent Sex Offenders	0.84
Percent Gang Members	0.81
Average Number of Priors	5.1

# Individual and Neighborhood Variables

- Outcome: Recidivism
- Individual-Level Characteristics
  - Demographics (age, race, sex, marital status)
  - Offense/Supervision Characteristics
    - Most serious conviction offense, priors, level of supervision
- Neighborhood-Level Characteristics
  - Poverty, unemployment, HH income, length of residence, occupancy status, percent single parent HH, ethnic heterogeneity, percent Black

# Developing a Measure of Urbanization

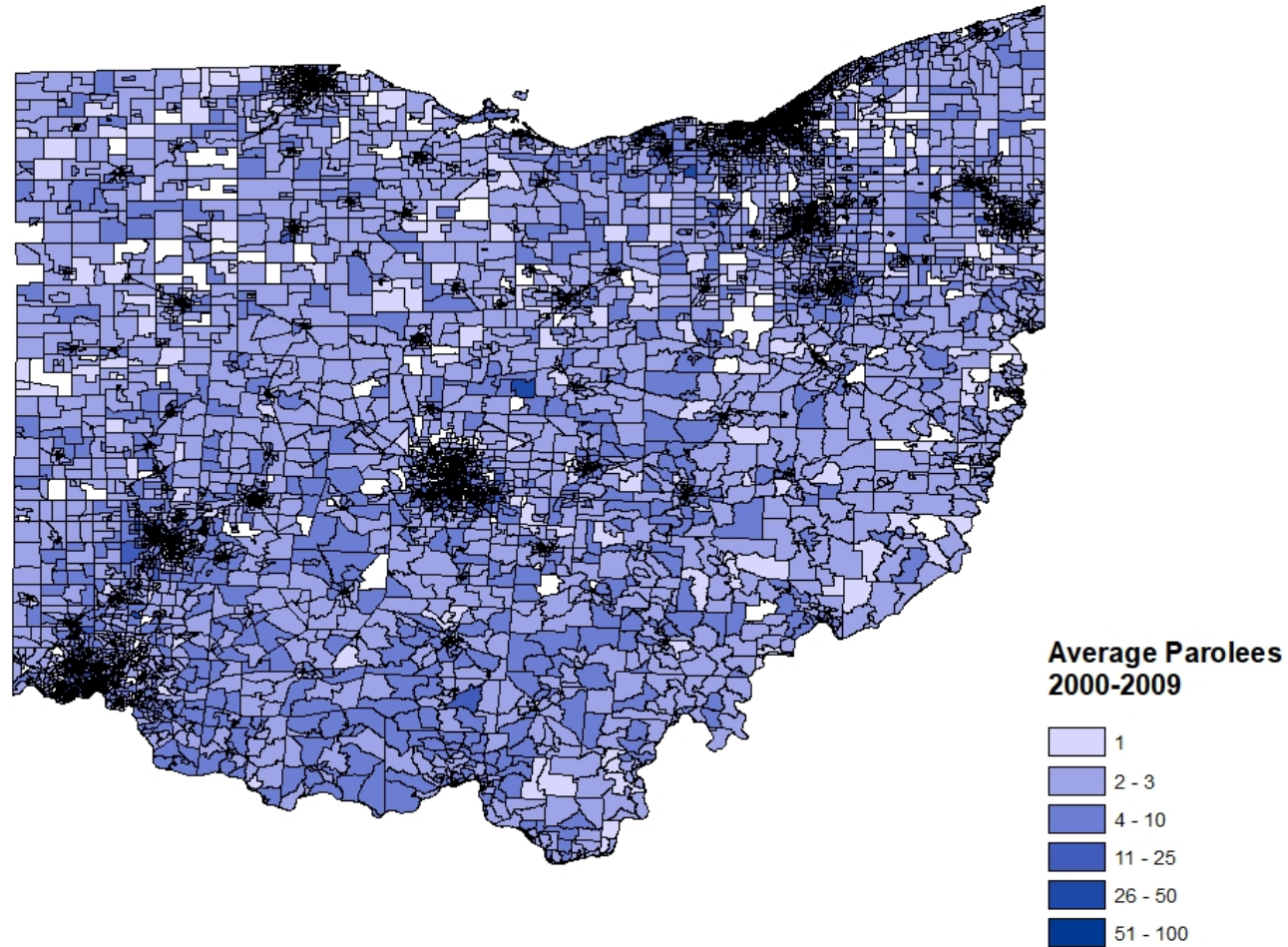
- Different degrees of “urban”
- Census designated Places
- Used two-stage clustering approach based on:
  - Presence of primary road (interstate)
  - Population (logged), population density (square mile), nearest urbanized area, area (size)
- Resulted in 5 categories (0-4), with 0 being least urban
  - Majority of parolees return to urban areas

# Breakdown of Parolees by degree of Urbanization

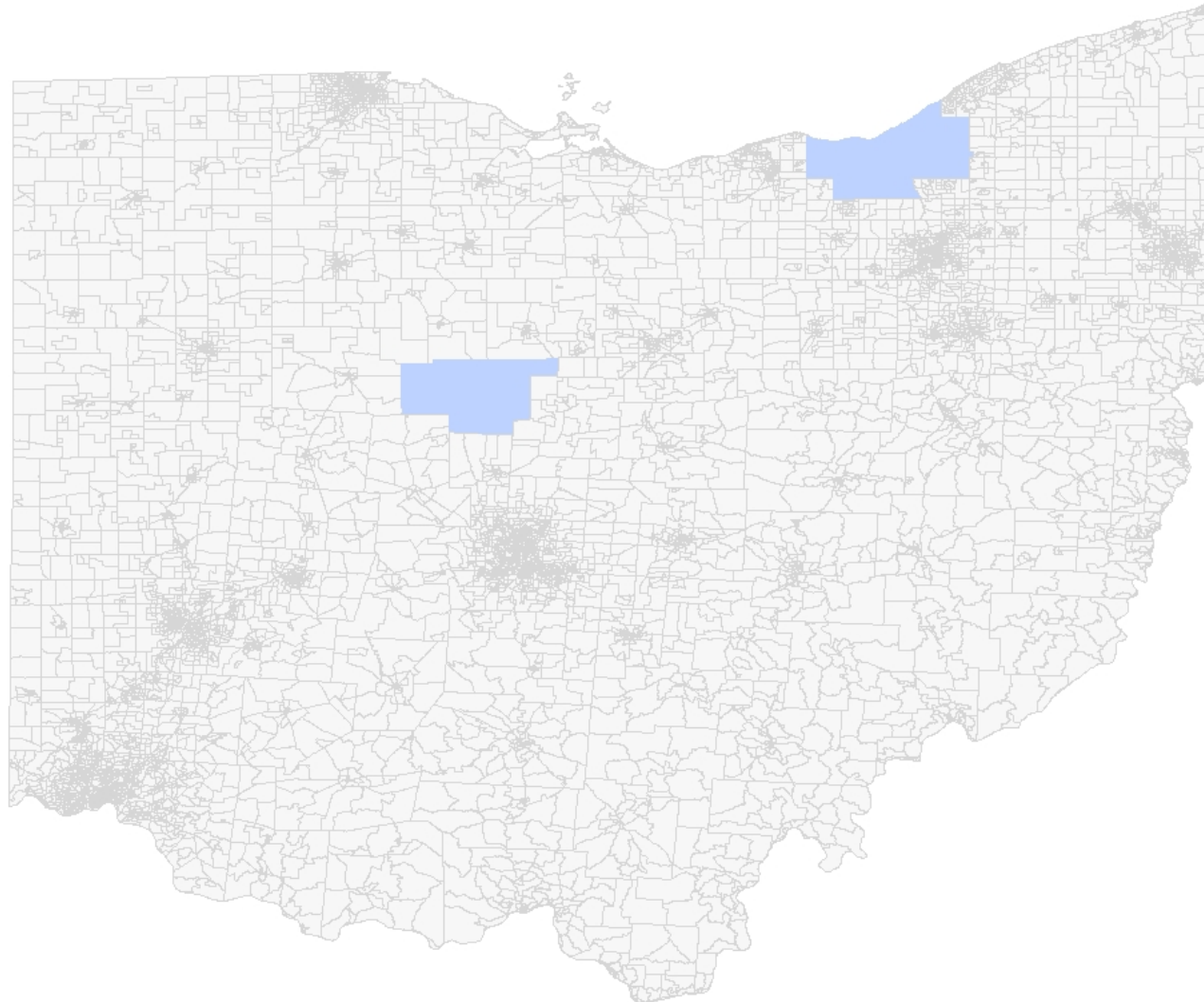
Degree of Urbanization	Number of Parolees
0	3,812
1	2,963
2	6,160
3	9,588
4	59,334

# Average Distribution of Parolees by Block Group, Ohio 2000-2009

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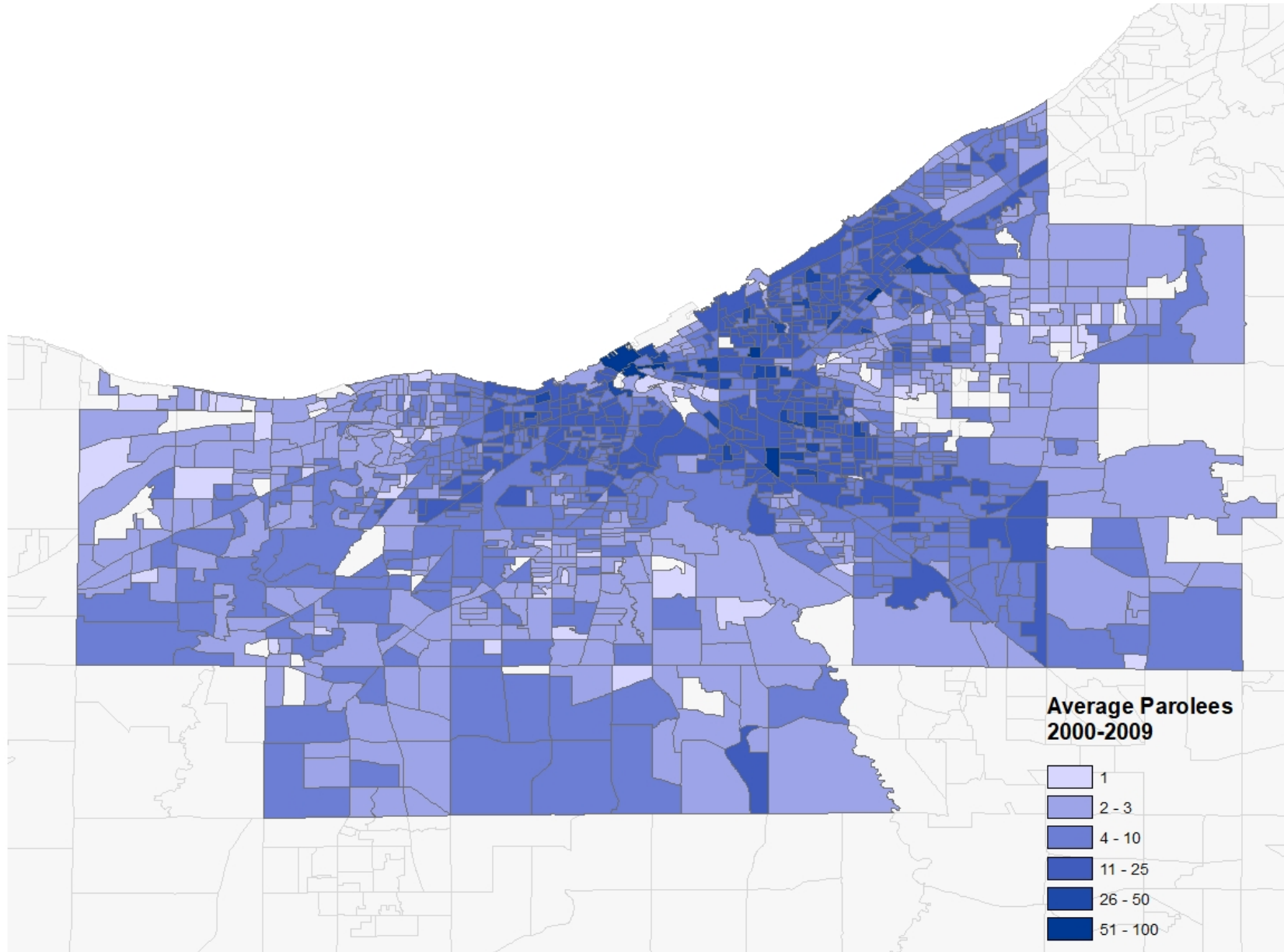


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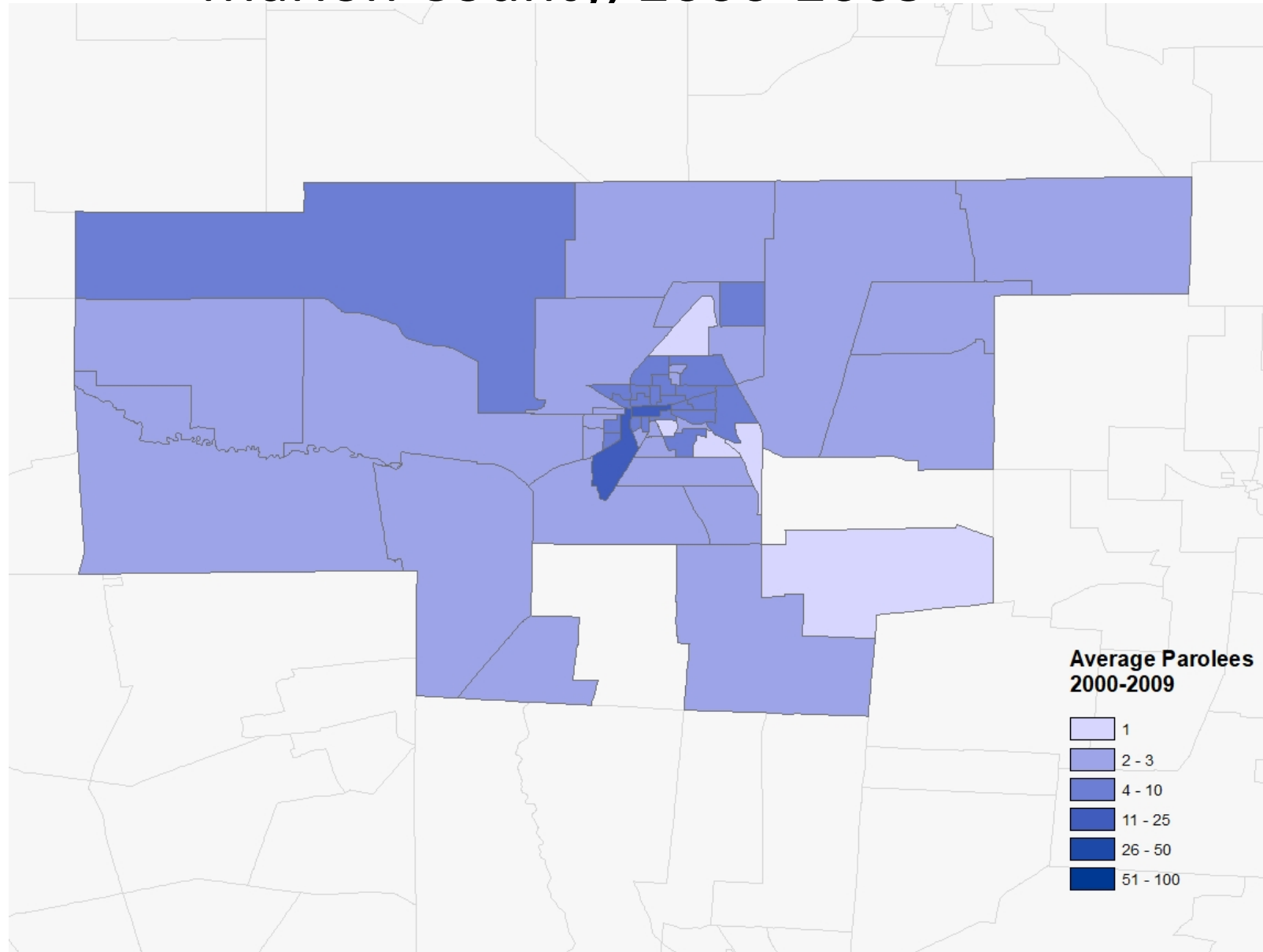




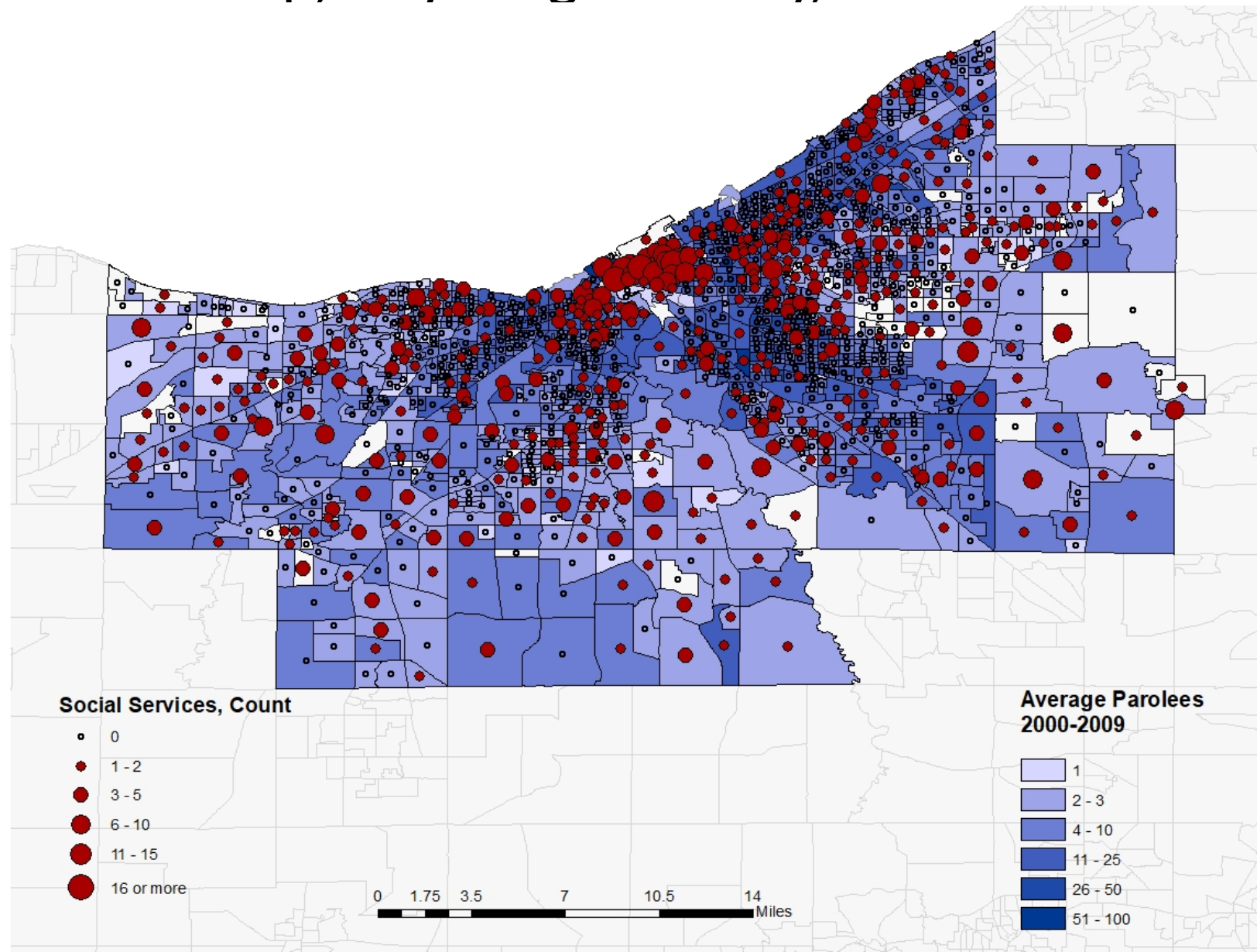
# Average Distribution of Parolees by Block Group, Cuyahoga County, 2000-2009



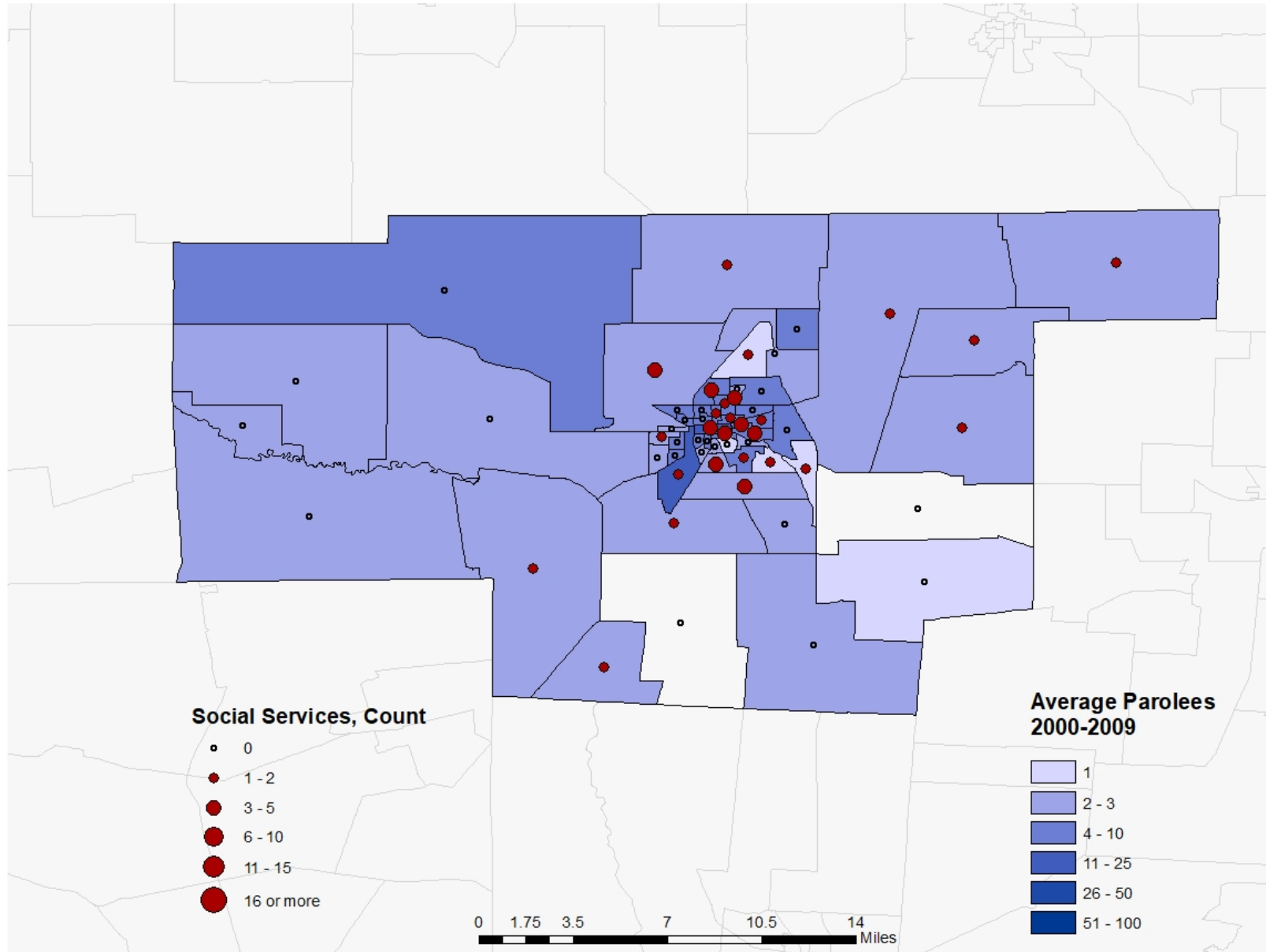
# Average Distribution of Parolees by Block Group, Marion County, 2000-2009



# Average Distribution of Parolees and Services by Block Group, Cuyahoga County, 2000-2009



# Average Distribution of Parolees and Services by Block Group, Marion County, 2000-2009



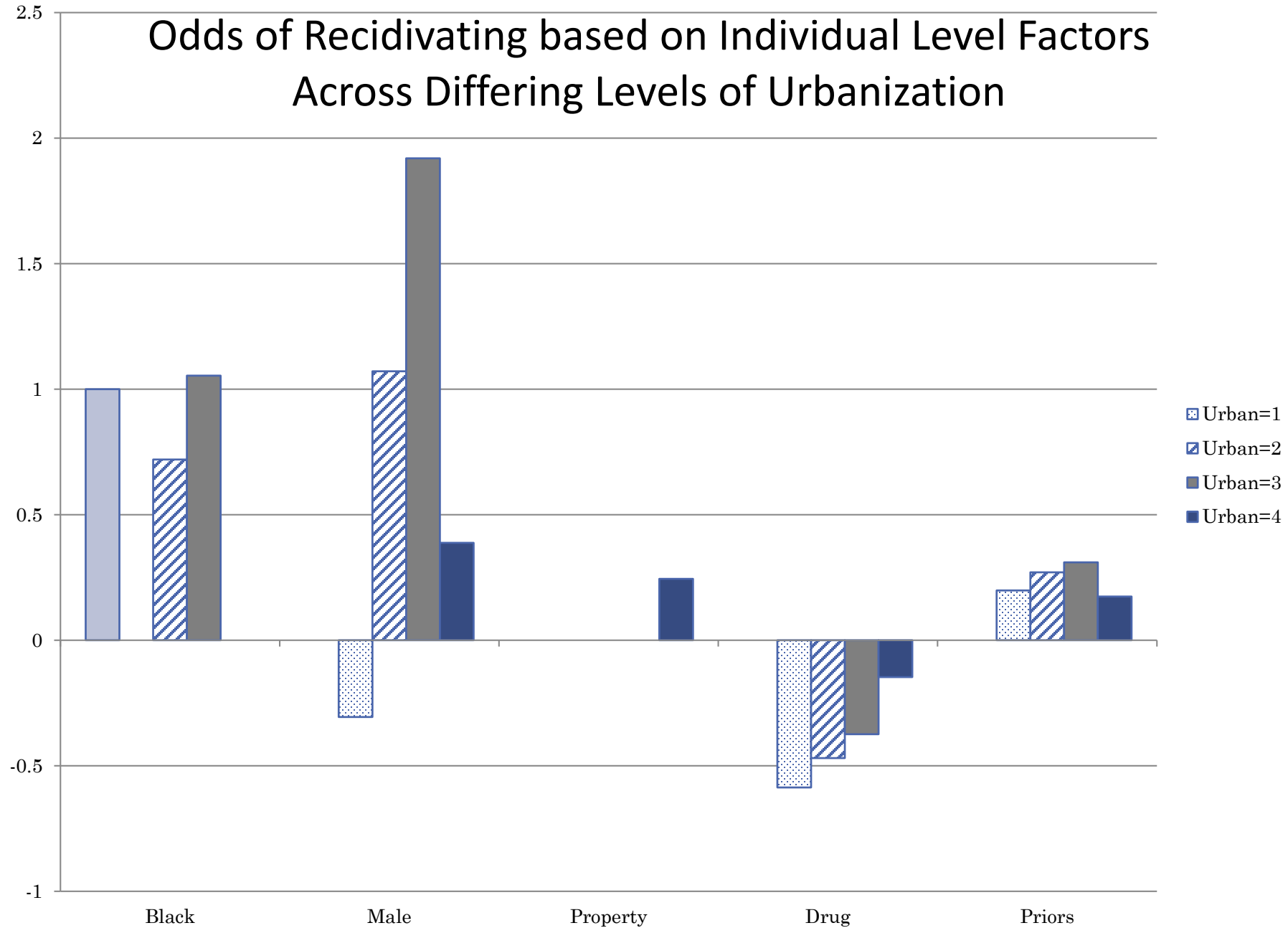
# Methods

- Hierarchical Discrete Time Hazard Model
- Allows for estimation for individual, neighborhood and city effects simultaneously
  - Enables the examination of moves within individual within 1 spell out of prison
- Data censored at discharge

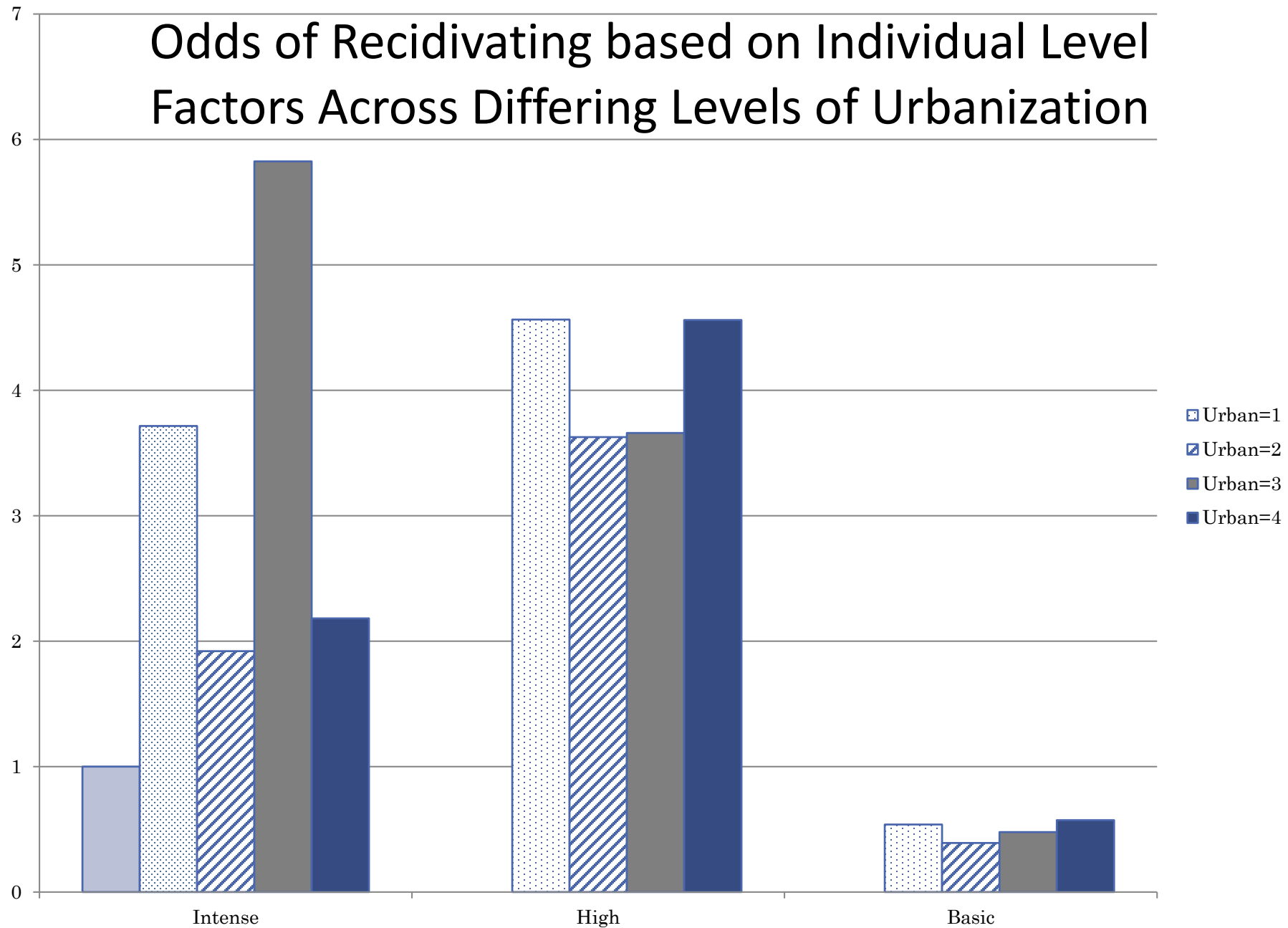
# Results: Overall Model

- Individual Characteristics
  - Positive association: black, male, intense supervision, high supervision, basis supervision, property offense, other offense, priors
  - Negative association: married, drug offense, days out
- Neighborhood Characteristics
  - Positive association: unemployment, occupied, ethnic heterogeneity, percent black
  - Negative association: HH income, poverty, owner, single parent HH
- Urbanization
  - Less urbanized places have higher rates of recidivism compared to most urbanized.
  - Most rural not significant

# Odds of Recidivating based on Individual Level Factors Across Differing Levels of Urbanization

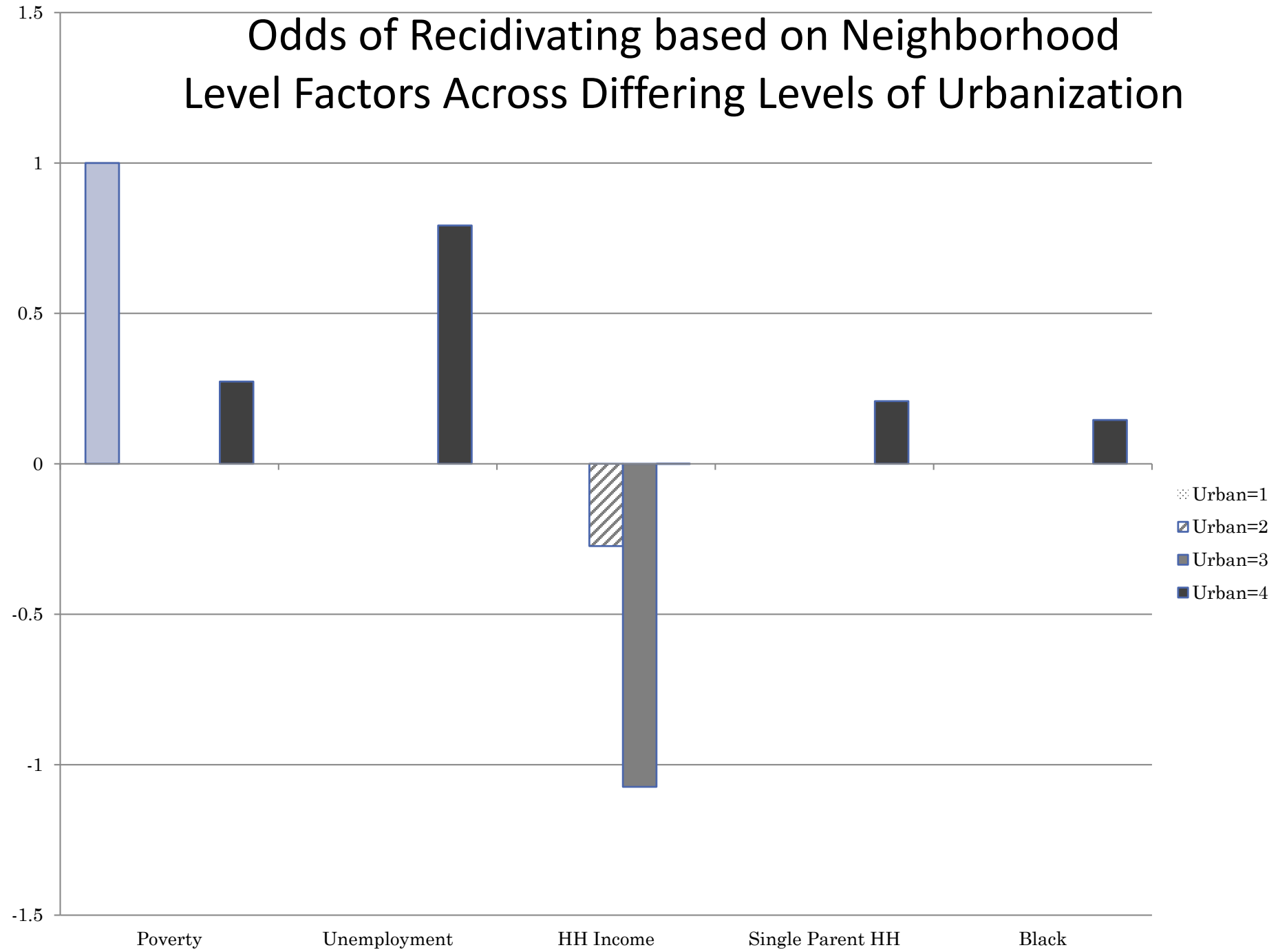


# Odds of Recidivating based on Individual Level Factors Across Differing Levels of Urbanization





# Odds of Recidivating based on Neighborhood Level Factors Across Differing Levels of Urbanization



# Neighborhoods Influence Parolee Success

- Individual and neighborhood factors differ across levels or urbanization
- Neighborhood factors most prevalent in more Urbanized areas
- Individual-level factors seem to be augmented in both rural and urban areas
- Pathways of inequality
  - *Where* someone returns to has a profound impact on success

# Future Directions

- Magnitude of reentry
  - Does the type of clustering vary by community type?
- Proximity of resources
  - Location of services vs. burden of services
- Assess differences in community types
  - Regardless of what city or location a reentrant moves to, are there differences in community types and resources?
- Residential instability among reentrants
  - Are they moving to better or worse neighborhoods when they move?



Thank you!