

# The Housing Landscape for Returning Prisoners in the District of Columbia

Caterina Gouvis Roman  
Michael J. Kane  
Rukmini Giridharadas

For the Fannie Mae Foundation



THE HOUSING LANDSCAPE FOR RETURNING  
PRISONERS IN THE DISTRICT

**Authors:**

Caterina Gouvis Roman  
Michael J. Kane  
Rukmini Giridharadas

2006  
The Urban Institute  
2100 M Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20037  
(202) 833-7200

Prepared for  
The Fannie Mae Foundation

The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Fannie Mae Foundation, the Urban Institute, its trustees, or its funders. In addition, although some data analyzed in this report have been provided by the Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency (CSOSA), the material presented in this report does not represent an expression of the policies of the agency.

This research was supported by The Fannie Mae Foundation

## Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the many individuals and organizations that made contributions to this report. Juliet Scarpa and Sinead Keegan, former research associates in the Justice Policy Center, assisted with the literature review, database development, collection of survey data, and compilation of census data. Their efforts made this report possible. Gabriella Rico, a summer intern and Hispanic Caucus Fellow, contributed significant time to the collection of survey data. Barbara Parthasarathy, an in-house expert on federal criminal justice statistics, provided information on federal prisoners.

We would also like to acknowledge that data on returning prisoners in 2004 were provided by the Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency (CSOSA). Claire Johnson, Director of Justice and Community Relations at the District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency, and Co-Chair of CSOSA's Research Review Committee, was instrumental in facilitating the data agreement between CSOSA and the Urban Institute. In addition, Calvin Johnson, Director of Research at CSOSA, answered our many questions with patience and always in a timely fashion. We thank him wholeheartedly.

Stephanie Jennings, our first project manager at the Fannie Mae Foundation, was tireless in her efforts to make this study happen. Kristopher Rengert, our second project manager at the Fannie Mae Foundation, took over the project with grace, and provided thought-provoking comments on all sections of the report. A number of individuals also lent their expertise in crafting the survey protocol: Susan Galbraith, Executive Director of Our Place, DC; Nancy Butler, Program Administrator of the Downtown Family Center of Catholic Charities; Eric Lotke of the Alliance of Concerned Men; and Pauline Sullivan, Executive Director of D.C. CURE. These individuals also assisted our efforts in gathering service provider contact information. Pauline Sullivan generously provided us with a copy of "Starting Out, Starting Over, Staying Out," a reentry guidebook for former prisoners returning to D.C.

## CONTENTS

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Acknowledgments.....  | ii        |
| <b>Introduction.....</b>  | <b>1</b>  |
| <b>Chapter One: Reentry—the National Picture .....</b>  | <b>3</b>  |
| Housing Opportunities and Associated Barriers .....   | 5         |
| Familial Households.....  | 5         |
| Private Market .....  | 6         |
| Federally Subsidized Housing.....   | 7         |
| Service Enhanced Transitional and Permanent Supportive Housing.....   | 9         |
| Community Corrections Centers .....   | 10        |
| Homelessness.....   | 10        |
| Conclusion .....  | 11        |
| <b>Chapter Two: Prisoner Reentry in the District of Columbia.....</b>   | <b>12</b> |
| The Policy Context Surrounding Prisoner Reentry in the District of Columbia .....   | 12        |
| Current Reentry Strategies in the District of Columbia .....  | 18        |
| Who Is Returning Home and Where Do They Go?.....  | 21        |
| Where Do Released Prisoners Go?.....  | 25        |
| The Intersection of Reentry and Housing in the District of Columbia.....  | 28        |
| Housing Barriers for Returning Prisoners in the District of Columbia.....   | 39        |
| <b>Chapter Three: From the Perspective of the Service providers: Issues and Barriers Facing Returning Prisoners in the District .....</b> | <b>43</b> |
| <b>Chapter Four: Conclusion .....</b>   | <b>53</b> |
| <b>References .....</b>   | <b>57</b> |

Appendix A: Survey Methodology

Appendix B: Survey Instrument

## INTRODUCTION

This report examines prisoner reentry in the District of Columbia within the context of housing and housing-related issues. Reentry is the process of leaving prison and returning to society. With the exception of those few who die while in prison, all prisoners will at some point return to the community. This year, more than 630,000 prisoners will be released from state and federal prisons across the country, more than four times as many as were released in 1980. Communities across the country are grappling with challenges associated with the successful reintegration of former prisoners. New research has documented that disadvantaged urban communities receive the majority of released prisoners, and they are most often concentrated in just a few neighborhoods (La Vigne and Kachnowski 2003; La Vigne et al. 2003; La Vigne and Thomson 2003). Accessibility of housing and other social services, such as substance abuse treatment and employment services, is likely to affect the reentry experience of returning prisoners (Visher and Farrell 2005). This report assesses both the social fabric within communities that have a high percentage of returning prisoners and explores the housing landscape for prisoners within these areas and throughout the city.

More specifically, the purpose of this study is fourfold: (1) to document the geographic concentrations of returning prisoners in the District of Columbia; (2) to develop an assessment of housing and community-based capacity in District neighborhoods where prisoners are returning in large numbers; (3) to explore the nature of housing-related reentry programming; and (4) to draw attention to the larger policy issues of building supportive neighborhood environments for returning prisoners. Specifically, the study addresses the following questions:

1. What is the current policy context underlying prisoner reentry in the District?
2. What barriers or restrictions do returning prisoners face with regard to accessing housing?
3. Where are prisoners returning within the District of Columbia? Are there concentrations of returning prisoners in particular neighborhoods in the District?
4. Are highly disadvantaged neighborhoods receiving a large number of returning prisoners? What are the specific characteristics (e.g., poverty, crime, education-level, housing prices, housing quality, etc.) of these neighborhoods?

5. What opportunities for housing exist for returning prisoners in the District? Do areas with high concentrations of returning prisoners face particularly challenging issues with regard to housing?

This report relies on data collected from two sources: (1) The Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency provided data on the census tract locations of prisoners returning to the District of Columbia in fiscal year 2003. The data were linked to demographic information on age, race, sex, marital status, employment, and educational attainment; (2) A telephone survey was conducted using a small sample of District of Columbia agencies and organizations. The survey collected information on type of organization, history in the community, service population, services provided, and organizational resources. The survey also asked for respondents' opinions on issues related to the housing needs of returning prisoners as well as the needs of the organization. The survey methodology is provided in Appendix A. A copy of the survey can be found in Appendix B.

This report fills important gaps in information vital to the District's continuing efforts to implement effective strategies for reintegrating and supervising returning parolees. More specifically, this research has been developed to provide a framework for understanding what types of housing and housing support services exist in the geographic areas to which persons leaving prison return, and to document the needs of communities from the viewpoint of the service providers. The ultimate goal is to sharpen the community's thinking on the issue of housing and prisoner reintegration, and to foster policy innovations that will improve outcomes for individuals, families, and communities.

The report is organized as follows: First, we examine the national issue of reentry, describing the key issues, including the barriers facing returning prisoners across the country. Second, we discuss the reentry issues surrounding housing and homelessness, as well as current housing opportunities available to those leaving prison. Third, we examine prisoner reentry in the District Columbia, and describe the specific policy context in which District offenders are incarcerated and returned to their communities. This section also includes a discussion of current federally and locally funded reentry strategies taking place in the District. Fourth, we describe the results of the telephone survey of providers. And last, we conclude with a research summary and recommendations for policymakers, practitioners, and researchers.

## CHAPTER ONE: REENTRY—THE NATIONAL PICTURE

Last year, over 630,000 people were released from prisons nationally—four times more than were released in 1980. Many researchers and advocates have suggested that current service and supervision systems are inadequate to ensure that returning prisoners experience a successful reentry into society (Lynch and Sabol 2001, Petersilia 2003; Travis 2005). In addition, the flow of prison releasees may have severe consequences for communities, neighborhoods and families (Hagan and Petty 2000; Lynch and Sabol 2000; Petersilia 2000).

Within states, a large proportion of released prisoners return to a small number of disadvantaged communities (La Vigne and Kachnowski 2003; La Vigne, Mamalian, Travis, and Visher 2003; La Vigne and Thomson 2003; Watson, Solomon, La Vigne, and Travis 2004). Large numbers of releasees returning to disadvantaged communities may put increased strain on communities and diminish the ability of neighborhoods to reduce or stop decay and crime. Wilson articulates (1987, 1996) that communities experiencing economic deprivation have also been experiencing decreasing integration of middle- and lower-class black families, which increases social isolation and the disintegration of informal social controls. Other scholars similarly discuss the decrease in social capital (Coleman 1988; 1990; Paxton 1999) and structural disinvestment that America's poorest neighborhoods experience. Wacquant (1993) states that organizations that generally would provide goods and services have either fled disadvantaged areas or remain but exclude impoverished residents, no longer acting as vehicles of social integration. As shown in later sections of this report, these disadvantaged areas are the neighborhoods to which disproportionate numbers of prisoners return.

An individual's adjustment to life after prison is influenced by a complex set of dynamics involving institutional, systemic, family, community, and personal factors that has yet to be fully understood. The transition from offender to prisoner to productive citizen and engaged family member is fraught with potential pitfalls often resulting in a re-arrest for a new crime or a violation of community supervision. Many will return to prison within three years of release. The largest recidivism study ever conducted—undertaken by the Bureau of Justice Statistics—examined 38,000 (projected to represent 270,000) prisoners released in 1994 from prisons in 15 states, and found that 67.5 percent of those released were rearrested for a new crime (either a felony or a serious misdemeanor) within three years following their release (Langan and Levin 2002). The study also found that most recidivism (two-thirds of all events) occurs within the first year after release. For many

reasons, those being released today may be even less likely to make a successful reentry than were those released in the recent past. Research indicates that compared to prisoners released in the early 1990s, recently released prisoners are more likely to be repeat offenders, and are more likely to have been released after serving a sentence that was the result of a violation of parole. They are also less likely to have participated in prison programs than they were in the past (Lynch and Sabol 2001).

The idea of “successful reentry” is widely discussed but less widely defined. In general, most would measure success as the ability of returning prisoners to avoid becoming a burden on the state. This would mean committing no new crimes and also living independently and financially supporting themselves and any dependents. For many returning prisoners the barriers to reestablishing their lives in this way are daunting.

Unemployment is common among returning prisoners, and barriers to employment are prevalent on many levels. Pager (2002) found that a criminal record is associated with a 50 percent reduction in employment opportunities for whites and a 64 percent reduction for blacks. Watts and Nightingale (1996) found that one year after release, as many as 60 percent of former prison inmates were not employed. Kling (1999) found that an experience of incarceration decreases lifetime earnings by as much as 30 percent. There are several explanations for the inability of many returning prisoners to find gainful employment. Low skill levels and a lack of education may explain some of the difference between returning prisoners and others. The average level of educational attainment of returning prisoners is quite low—less than 12 years of schooling, compared to over 80 percent of the nation’s population having completed a high school degree (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). These factors are exacerbated by the reluctance and inability of some employers to hire individuals with criminal histories. A survey of over 3,000 business establishments in the mid-1990s found that over 60 percent of respondents would “probably not” or would “definitely not” hire individuals with criminal records (Holzer, Raphael, and Stoll 2001).

Legal restrictions limit the ability of many employers to consider hiring individuals with criminal backgrounds, as certain individuals with felony convictions are barred from being employed in a number of sectors. These restrictions vary by state and occupation, but often include professions that involve care giving of vulnerable populations such as children or the elderly, and positions with security firms. Some restrictions are quite severe, such as lifetime bans on anyone with a criminal record participating in a field. Other restrictions ban employment for periods of time, or ban individuals with certain criminal convictions. In some instances, criminal backgrounds do not preclude individuals from



participating in a field, but criminal histories are considered in decisions about the granting of licenses.

In addition to employment barriers, prisoners and ex-prisoners experience poor physical and mental health. A 2002 study by the National Commission on Correctional Health Care found that while only 3 percent of the population spent time in prison or jail in 1996, between 12 and 35 percent of individuals with communicable diseases passed through the incarceration system in that same year. The contagious diseases considered in this study include many sexually transmitted diseases, AIDS, Hepatitis B and C, and tuberculosis. The Commission identified a number of cost-saving and cost-effective interventions, including pre-release planning, that, if implemented properly, would improve conditions for prisoners, and in so doing, would likely decrease the risk of communicable disease in the communities to which they will someday return. Similarly disproportionate numbers of inmates suffer from chronic diseases, such as asthma and diabetes, and from mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia and bipolar disorder (National Commission on Correctional Health Care 2002). A study of youth in juvenile detention found that nearly 60 percent of males and more than two-thirds of females met diagnostic criteria for one or more psychiatric disorders (Templin et al. 2002). The study also found that about half of all detained juveniles in the study suffered from a substance abuse disorder.

One of the most significant barriers to a successful reentry experienced by returning prisoners is the attainment of housing. The Urban Institute's *Illinois Returning Home* study found that returning prisoners view housing as a key component—perhaps even the most important component—of successful community reintegration (La Vigne et al. 2004). Poor employment prospects and physical and mental illness, as outlined above, exacerbate an already difficult housing search. These, however, are far from the only barriers to housing for returning prisoners who have spent long periods of time in an institutional setting, and who may have limited personal and familial resources.

### **Housing Opportunities and Associated Barriers**

The barriers to housing experienced by returning prisoners are many and varied. This section will outline potential housing opportunities for returning prisoners and discuss the barriers returning prisoners may experience in trying to access these options.

#### **Familial Households**

For a majority of returning prisoners, their first home post-release is that of a family member, a close friend, or a significant other. In the Urban Institute's *Returning Home* studies in Maryland and Illinois, 49 percent and 62 percent of respondents, respectively, interviewed about two months after their release said they slept at a friend or family member's home (including spouse or partner) their first night out of prison. At the time of

the interview the overwhelming majority (80 percent in Maryland, and 88 percent in Illinois) were living with a family member (La Vigne et al. 2003; Visher, La Vigne, and Travis 2004). These findings indicate that although family and friends may not be the very first option for those being released from prison (i.e., the first few nights out), most will end up living with family within a few months after release.

Research suggests that strong familial ties can assist the reintegration process (Laub et al. 1998; Sampson and Laub 1993; Warr 1998). Families provide financial, social, and emotional support. The family's role—such as supportive spouse or active parent—can foster formation of a non-criminal pro-social identity that is linked to desistance from crime. For 10 to 20 percent of returning prisoners, however, returning to the home of a family member, friend, or significant other is not an option. This may be the result of family conflict, the reluctance of family members to welcome a violent individual back into their lives, or the lack of an immediate family. In some cases there are additional legal and policy restrictions. In cases of domestic violence, for example, there may be restraining orders that prevent an individual from returning to the home of a family member who has been victimized, or who has been abusive. Conditions of parole can also create legal barriers to returning to the home of a friend or family member. Families living in public housing may be precluded by federal public housing policies from allowing convicted felons or other types of offenders back in their homes. Limited financial resources may also be a problem because low-income families may be unwilling and unable to house and support an unemployed family member.

Generally, crime-involved men are at high risk of low pay and insecure employment, and studies have shown that incarceration reduces earnings and employment. A study examining the impact of incarceration on wages using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) found the average hourly wage of a 27 year old who has been incarcerated is \$6.49 for whites, \$5.67 for Hispanics, and \$5.09 for blacks, compared to \$8.09, \$7.48, and \$6.79, respectively, for someone who has never been to prison (Western 2002). Other studies show similar findings—that earnings loss due to incarceration ranges between 10 and 30 percent (Grogger 1995; Kling 1999). A further complication is that many returning prisoners owe debts for supervision fees, child support, and other costs (Visher, La Vigne, and Travis 2004). These debts often exceed average monthly income (ibid).

### **Private Market**

For returning prisoners who do not have family members willing or able to take them in, the private market is one option. It is often, however, difficult for returning prisoners to find adequate housing in the private market for a number of reasons. Affordability is likely

the most significant barrier. A study by the National Low Income Housing Coalition reports that the national housing wage for 2004 is \$15.37, or \$31,970 a year, almost three times the federal minimum wage (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2004). The housing wage represents the amount a full-time worker must earn to be able to afford the rent for a modest two-bedroom home while paying no more than 30 percent of income for housing. Those working at minimum wage must work at least 80 hours a week to afford a two-bedroom apartment at the local fair market rent. Many urban areas are witnessing increasingly tight rental markets, with a severely limited number of units available for low-income households, particularly in neighborhoods accessible by public transportation (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2004; Obrinsky and Meron 2002).

Other more informal barriers may also exist that make searching for housing in the private market difficult for releasees. Landlords often consider the public safety of residents to be one of their responsibilities. They may view individuals with criminal records as a threat to safety. Criminal background checks are standard practice by many landlords, and are a serious consideration if more than one individual or household has applied for a rental property. Most states allow landlords and property owners to conduct criminal background checks on potential tenants. In addition, federal law requires that states set up sex offender registries. Convicted sex offenders are required to register with local authorities, and these registries can generally be widely accessed.

### **Federally Subsidized Housing**

For many returning prisoners, neither familial nor private market options are realistic. Without a family willing to take them in or the money available for rent, many turn to federally subsidized housing programs as a viable option before homelessness. Federally subsidized options include, for the most part, public housing and the Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP).

Nationally, there are approximately 1.3 million households living in public housing units, owned, managed, and operated by 3,300 Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) (see: <http://www.hud.gov/renting/phprog.cfm>). Regardless of criminal histories, public housing waitlists for individuals and families are typically long, with families with children getting first consideration for housing. According to the National Low Income Housing Coalition (2004), between 1996 and 1998, a family's average time on a waiting list for public housing rose from 22 months to 33 months, a 50 percent increase. In some large cities, the waiting period is substantially longer.

Similar in objective to public housing, the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) Program is the government's major program for aiding very low income families, the elderly, and the

disabled to afford decent, safe, and sanitary housing in the private market. The tenant-based nature of the program supplements low-income families and individuals what they can afford to pay for housing in the private market. This assistance allows flexibility in the tenant's choice of price and location to best suit their needs. The HCV program is seen as a critical support to families who are trying to become economically independent from government services. However, the HCV program has long waiting lists similar to those for public housing. For instance, Montgomery County, Maryland (a close-in suburb of the District of Columbia) currently has an HCV waiting list of over 10,000 families (Housing Opportunities Commission 2005).

The barriers for returning prisoners seeking to access or return to federally subsidized housing are many. The most significant hurdle is likely lack of resources—basically, there are insufficient units available to meet the demand, as demonstrated by long waiting lists. Compounding the issues of availability is eligibility, both for public housing and for vouchers. From a financial perspective, many PHAs ask for proof of some kind of employment or income to be eligible for Section 8, a task difficult for those just leaving prisons or jails. Many individuals, even before applying, hold the assumption that everyone with a criminal record is automatically barred from public housing and is rejected upon application. While the federal law does hold that certain categories of applicants be denied public housing,<sup>1</sup> further denials based on criminal history are at the *discretion* of the PHA or landlords. Tenant selection and occupancy policies permit landlords and PHAs to examine an applicant's history, including criminal background, to ensure selection of a responsible tenant and good neighbor. These searches may lead to a significant delay or denial of admission. HUD's One Strike and You're Out policy gives PHAs power to deny admission or to terminate assistance to individuals with a history of use or abuse of drugs or alcohol, or of criminal behavior (HUD March 2000). In terms of application for assistance, no set time period is defined for past criminal activity, and is "left up to the owner (or PHA) to determine its admission policies...The owners and PHAs should make these decisions in the best interests of their communities" (*Federal Register* 24 May 2001). The same One Strike policy, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, encourages housing authorities to include in leases a provision that a tenant in public housing can be evicted if the tenant, any member of the tenant's household, or any guest engages in drug-related criminal activity on or off the premises. However, before termination, an official appeal to the PHA is permitted, although many applicants are unaware of this right (Bradley et al.

---

<sup>1</sup> Housing Opportunity Program Extension Act of 1996 (HOPE)—this act strengthened the ability of federally subsidized housing projects to screen out and evict drug dealers and other criminals; grounds for immediate declination of application include prior eviction from public housing due to drug-related activity, resulting in a three-year suspension; enrollment in a mandatory state sex offender registration program; or anyone convicted of manufacturing or producing methamphetamine in federally assisted housing.

2001). Regardless of having the opportunity to appeal decisions deemed unfair, families may be reluctant to allow family members returning from prison to live with them.

### **Service Enhanced Transitional and Permanent Supportive Housing**

Another housing option available to those with very few resources is service-enhanced transitional housing and supportive housing. Service-enhanced housing includes transitional (i.e., fixed length of stay) or phased-permanent housing and is coupled with a variety of support services to assist clients in achieving self-sufficiency. In most cases, clients do not have occupancy agreements or leases. Phased-permanent refers to a new housing model where residents have month-to-month occupancy agreements (not leases), and therefore have some rights of tenancy. Supportive housing is permanent housing that provides housing to lease-holding tenants, and where social service provision is an integral component of the housing operation. Most often, regardless of program length or permanency, supportive or service-enhanced housing programs offer a range of services aside from housing, including family counseling, case management, medical services, substance abuse counseling, socialization skills groups, anger management, vocational training, and assistance with obtaining vital documents such as Social Security cards and birth certificates. Though some jurisdictions have used these programs specifically to target returning prisoners or ex-offenders, the majority serve these populations simply because they are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless.

Community opposition can be an insurmountable barrier to the creation of new transitional or permanent housing for the poor or those who have had contact with the criminal justice system. This opposition, known by the acronym “NIMBY” (Not in My Backyard), can stop the development or expansion of supportive or transitional housing. Justifications for this resistance rest in both economic and non-economic concerns (Lake 1993). Economically, residents may be threatened by the placement of these facilities in their neighborhoods and fear a lowering of property values. Even though empirical research has shown that the general impact of Section 8 occupancy and supportive housing (Galster, Tatian, and Smith 1999) appears to positively impact property values, the NIMBY mindset prospers. Other motivations behind NIMBY include fear of increased levels of crime, noise, and traffic. Although communities focus on the negative aspects of transitional and supportive housing, research shows that if negative impacts do occur, it is most likely because these facilities are forced into alreadytroubled areas, providing more potential victims to criminals already active in the area (Galster et al. 2002; Goetz et al. 1996).

### **Community Corrections Centers**

The corrections system provides some opportunities for housing through the use of community corrections centers, also known as halfway houses or community reentry centers. Community corrections centers are residential programs designed to help transition individuals returning from prison, representing a “halfway” step between prison and freedom. These facilities are overseen by either corrections or community corrections agencies (i.e., probation and parole). Although eligibility varies by state and offense, some inmates are eligible for release into a transitional program for the last 90 to 120 days of their sentence. Halfway houses serve several purposes. They provide a structured and regulated environment for releasees in need of direction and assistance in returning to the community. They attempt to increase public safety by monitoring client progress. In addition, the residential facilities often offer supportive services and staff that act as case managers to broker employment and social service assistance to their residents. Most halfway houses allow residents to obtain work outside of the facility. Many advocates of halfway houses argue that halfway houses are more likely than prisons to ensure treatment needs (e.g., medical, drug abuse, mental health) of residents are being met.

Halfway houses are used both by the federal and state correctional systems. However, halfway use is more prevalent within the federal system. In 2000, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) contracted for 282 halfway houses that provided 6,911 beds for over 18,000 inmates (U.S. General Accounting Office 2001). Generally, inmates enter the halfway houses 11 to 13 months before their probable release date. The average length of stay is roughly 104 days. In contrast to the federal system, across the state system, there were only 55 halfway houses operated by 10 state agencies in 1999. Nationwide, it is estimated that less than one half of one percent of all inmates released in 1999 were served by halfway houses (American Correctional Association 2000).

### **Homelessness**

Incarceration puts returning prisoners at risk of homelessness. About a tenth of the population coming into prisons have recently been homeless, and at least the same percent of those who leave prisons end up homeless, for at least some period of time (Roman and Travis 2004). Individuals with histories of mental illness are even more likely to be homeless (Ditton 1999; Mextraux and Culhane 2004). A 1999 national survey of homeless assistance providers and individuals who use their services estimated that about 54 percent of currently homeless clients had been incarcerated—in jail or in prison—at some point in their lives (Burt et al. 1999). The available research does not causally link homelessness to incarceration, but does show that those who have been incarcerated are more likely than the average citizen to have trouble finding appropriate housing. Research also indicates that parolees without stable housing may face a higher

risk of recidivism, whether through rearrest for a new crime, or failure to meet basic parole requirements (Nelson, Deess, and Allen 1999). For example, a study examining Georgia parolees found that the likelihood of arrest increased 25 percent each time parolees change addresses (Meredith, Speir, Johnson, and Hull 2003).

### **Conclusion**

The sections above demonstrate that although there are housing options for returning prisoners, these options are fraught with numerous obstacles, particularly for those individuals who do not have family or friends to take them in, nor the economic means to support themselves. Given the obstacles, a substantial number of returning prisoners end up homeless—either for short periods, or possibly, for a longer term. The next chapter describes the specific context for prisoner reentry in the District of Columbia and outlines current federal and local efforts targeted to the District’s returning prisoners.

## CHAPTER TWO: PRISONER REENTRY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

### The Policy Context Surrounding Prisoner Reentry in the District of Columbia

Prisoner reentry and related housing policies in the District of Columbia are largely governed by the implementation of the National Capital Revitalization and Self-Government Improvement Act of 1997 (Revitalization Act). This act set in motion a series of momentous changes in the organization and operation of the District's criminal justice system. Areas affected by the Revitalization Act included Pretrial Services, the Public Defenders Service, Superior Court, sentencing, incarceration, and offender community supervision and parole. Many of these functions are normally the responsibility of states. In the District, almost all functions have been shifted to the federal government via the Revitalization Act. As such, District prisoners are now under the authority of the federal government.

Basically, the Revitalization Act changes affect criminal law violators throughout the entire criminal justice process in the District. With regard to sentencing, the Truth-In-Sentencing provisions of the Revitalization Act have shifted the District sentencing structure from indeterminate sentencing consisting of minimum and maximum prison terms with eligibility for parole to determinate sentencing. All felons convicted after August 5, 2000, are now required to serve at least 85 percent of a determinate sentence. Under determinate sentence structures, there is no parole, and consequently, any single sentence of imprisonment has a definite term. A specified period of "supervisory release" can follow imprisonment (somewhat similar to parole supervision). "Under the determinate system, where the statutory maximum sentence for an offense is a term of years, the maximum period of incarceration is the statutory maximum for that offense minus the maximum term of imprisonment authorized for revocation of supervisory release. For example, an offense that previously carried a maximum penalty of 5–15 years (with the person being eligible for parole after 5 years) is now an offense that can result in a maximum period of incarceration of 13 years followed by 3 years of supervised release" (Public Defenders Office for the District of Columbia 2005). If supervision is revoked, the parolee is subject to an additional 2 years of incarceration. Prisoners serving sentences enacted prior to August 2000 are still eligible for parole and are released under the old system of "parole supervision."

For individuals convicted after August 2000, the sentencing law allows for the inclusion of intermediate sanctions, where judges can order periods of custody (e.g., nights or weekends) as part of probationary sentence, similar to work-release. These sanctions



may not exceed a total of one year. The District of Columbia has opened a number of facilities (all within the city limit) called community-based “halfway back” programs for those individuals serving short periods of time on intermediate sanctions.

With regard to prison release, decisionmaking has been shifted from the D.C. Parole Board to the U.S. Parole Commission. With regard to incarceration, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) oversees all D.C. offenders committed by D.C. Superior Court for violations of the D.C. criminal code.<sup>2</sup> The District of Columbia jail and related activities remain the responsibility of the District of Columbia government. All District inmates housed in Lorton Correctional Complex<sup>3</sup> were transferred to various federal facilities around the country. The transfer occurred in stages, with the first prisoners transferred in March of 1998 and the last transferred in November of 2001. Table 1 displays the number of D.C. prisoners in BOP facilities from 1994 to 2002. As expected, the number of D.C. prisoners in BOP facilities increased dramatically between

**Table 1. Population of D.C. Criminal Code Offenders in BOP Facilities, 1994–2002**

| Year | D.C. Criminal Code offenders* | Total BOP population | Percent of total |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1994 | 86                            | 84,362               | 0.10%            |
| 1995 | 306                           | 88,658               | 0.35             |
| 1996 | 294                           | 92,672               | 0.32             |
| 1997 | 319                           | 98,944               | 0.32             |
| 1998 | 615                           | 108,925              | 0.56             |
| 1999 | 892                           | 119,185              | 0.75             |
| 2000 | 2,410                         | 131,739              | 1.83             |
| 2001 | 6,371                         | 142,766              | 4.46             |
| 2002 | 6,082                         | 149,113              | 4.08             |

Source: FY1994-2002 Extract from BOP’s online Sentry System.

\*The column “D.C. Criminal Code Offenders” represents those committed by D.C. Superior Court for violations of the D.C. Criminal Code.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the text, offenders sentenced by D.C. Superior Court (as opposed to District Court for federal offenses) will be referred to as “D.C. Criminal Code offenders” or “D.C. prisoners.”

<sup>3</sup> Lorton Correctional Complex, run by the District of Columbia, was the primary prison for D.C. prisoners. The complex was razed to make room for a condominium and retail complex.

1999 and 2001. In 2002, D.C. prisoners comprised 4 percent of all prisoners in BOP facilities (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005a). District prisoners are not necessarily housed in facilities located near the District, but are scattered across the United States. Table 2 shows that in 2003, D.C. prisoners were held in 33 states, including California, Texas, Florida, Nebraska, and Colorado (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005b). Within the 33 states, D.C. prisoners were held in at least 75 facilities. For details of the changes brought about by the D.C. Revitalization Act, see Appendix III in the March 2001 Government Accountability Office report titled “DC Criminal Justice System: Better Coordination Needed among Participating Agencies”(GAO 01-187).

**Table 2. States Housing D.C. Criminal Code Offenders in Federal Prisons, FY 2003<sup>a</sup>**

| State                | Number of prisoners | State                                  | Number of prisoners |
|----------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| Alabama              | 18                  | Montana                                | 0                   |
| Alaska               | 0                   | North Carolina                         | 1,156               |
| Arkansas             | 0                   | North Dakota                           | 0                   |
| Arizona              | 2                   | Nebraska                               | 25                  |
| California           | 39                  | New Hampshire                          | 0                   |
| Colorado             | 52                  | New Jersey                             | 156                 |
| Connecticut          | 86                  | New Mexico                             | 0                   |
| District of Columbia | 224                 | New York                               | 122                 |
| Delaware             | 0                   | Nevada                                 | 0                   |
| Florida              | 223                 | Ohio                                   | 8                   |
| Georgia              | 414                 | Oklahoma                               | 18                  |
| Hawaii               | 0                   | Oregon                                 | 1                   |
| Idaho                | 0                   | Pennsylvania                           | 883                 |
| Iowa                 | 0                   | Rhode Island                           | 0                   |
| Illinois             | 49                  | South Carolina                         | 48                  |
| Indiana              | 223                 | South Dakota                           | 0                   |
| Kansas               | 271                 | Tennessee                              | 41                  |
| Kentucky             | 62                  | Texas                                  | 210                 |
| Louisiana            | 141                 | Utah                                   | 0                   |
| Massachusetts        | 40                  | Virginia                               | 698                 |
| Maryland             | 188                 | Vermont                                | 0                   |
| Maine                | 0                   | Washington                             | 1                   |
| Michigan             | 0                   | Wisconsin                              | 4                   |
| Missouri             | 45                  | West Virginia                          | 443                 |
| Minnesota            | 26                  | Wyoming                                | 0                   |
| Mississippi          | 3                   | Unknown Facility Location <sup>b</sup> | 47                  |
|                      |                     | <b>Total</b>                           | <b>5,967</b>        |

Source: FY2003 Extract from BOP's online Sentry System.

<sup>a</sup> These numbers were compiled from a daily snapshot of prisoner locations on September 30, 2003.

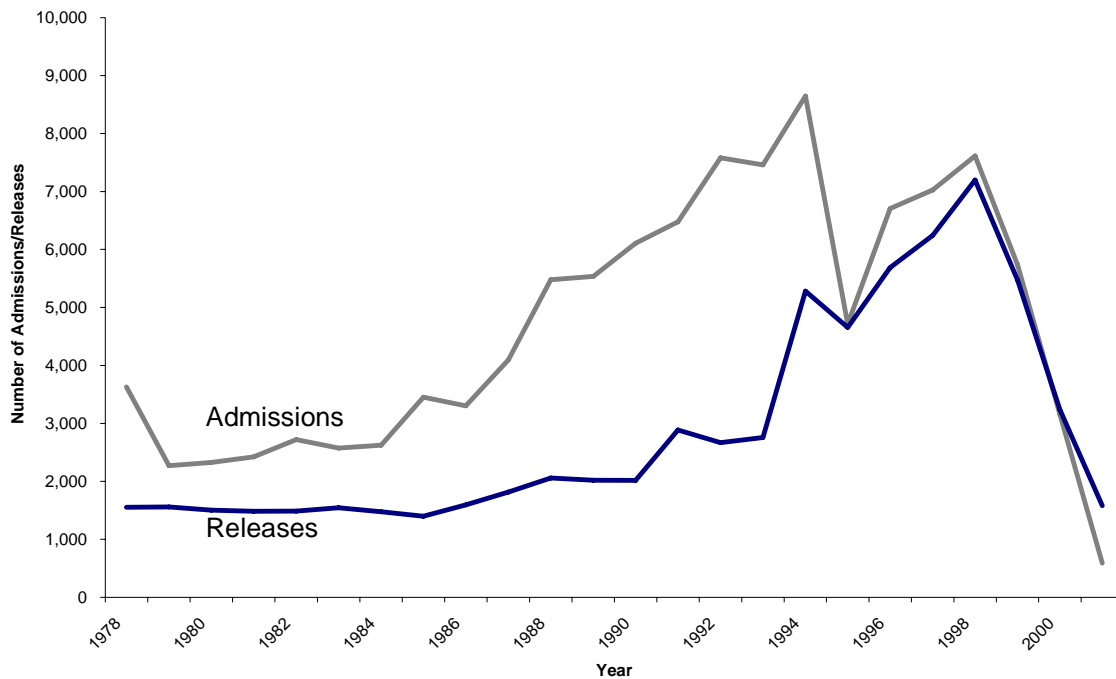
<sup>b</sup> Facilities are only available by code name; data are not available to decipher all facility names and states

The District's prisoner reentry policies and procedures also were redefined with the implementation of the Revitalization Act. The Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency (CSOSA), a federal agency established under the Revitalization Act, was created to manage all federal inmates released under supervision to the District. CSOSA also oversees those on probation supervision.

The significant changes to the District's sentencing, incarceration, and reentry procedures over the last five years render it difficult to examine trends in incarceration and release. As shown in Figure 1, Department of Justice statistics on the District's incarceration rate are not complete after 1999, as data between 1999 and 2002 do not include D.C. prisoners admitted to federal prisons. The line graph essentially displays the exodus of District prisoners from the state system into the federal system.

However, the larger picture shows that the District of Columbia's prison population grew significantly between 1980 and 1999 (Figure 1). Taking population into account (not shown), in 1980, the District of Columbia's incarceration rate was 426 per 100,000 residents. By 1999, the incarceration rate more than tripled to over 1,314 per 100,000. Although not shown in the figures, the Mayor's Office estimates that the number of District inmates increased by 15 percent between 1998 and 2002 (Executive Office of the Mayor 2005). Federal Justice Statistics Resource Center (FJSRC) data compiled for the Bureau of Justice Statistics show that there were 2,713 District offenders (sentenced by Superior Court) committed to federal prisons in fiscal year 2003 (Table 3) (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005c). District officials believe the increase between 1998 and 2002 is, in large measure, due to rectifying the backlogs in parole hearings and releases resulting from the transfer of the criminal justice system from local to federal control.

**Figure 1. Number of Prison Admissions and Releases, District of Columbia,\* 1978–2002**



Source: *Correctional Populations in the U.S.* (BJS 2002) and *Prison and Jail Inmates Midyear 2002 and 2003* (Harrison and Krisberg 2004). See *National Portrait of SVORI, July 2004* (Lattimore et al 2004)

\* These numbers for the District of Columbia includes inmates incarcerated in and released from both state prison and jail.

Table 3 provides a one-year snapshot of the types of offenses for which individuals are sentenced to prison by D.C. Superior Court. In fiscal year 2003, 42 percent were sentenced on drug charges (almost all for trafficking), 12 percent for property offenses, and 28 percent for violent offenses (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2005c).

**Table 3. Inmates Committed to BOP Facilities from D.C. Superior Court, FY2003, by Offense**

| Most serious offense of conviction <sup>4</sup> | N            | Percent of total |
|---|--------------|------------------|
| <b>All offenses</b>                             | <b>2,713</b> |                  |
| <b>Violent offenses</b>                         | <b>754</b>   | <b>27.8%</b>     |
| Murder/manslaughter                             | 122          | 4.5%             |
| Assault   | 226          | 8.3%             |
| Robbery   | 375          | 13.8%            |
| Sexual abuse                                    | 30           | 1.1%             |
| Kidnapping                                      | 1            | 0.0%             |
| <b>Property offenses</b>                        | <b>337</b>   | <b>12.4%</b>     |
| <b>Fraudulent</b>                               | <b>16</b>    | <b>0.6%</b>      |
| Embezzlement                                    | 0            | -                |
| Fraud   | 11           | 0.4%             |
| Forgery   | 5            | 0.2%             |
| Counterfeiting                                  | 0            | -                |
| <b>Other</b>                                    | <b>321</b>   | <b>11.8%</b>     |
| Burglary  | 115          | 4.2%             |
| Larceny   | 83           | 3.1%             |
| Motor vehicle theft                             | 108          | 4.0%             |
| Arson and explosives                            | 3            | 0.1%             |
| Transportation of stolen property               | 0            | -                |
| Other property offenses                         | 12           | 0.4%             |
| <b>Drug offenses</b>                            | <b>1136</b>  | <b>41.9%</b>     |
| Trafficking                                     | 1127         | 41.5%            |
| Possession and other drug offenses              | 9            | 0.3%             |
| <b>Public-order offenses</b>                    | <b>323</b>   | <b>11.9%</b>     |
| <b>Weapon offenses</b>                          | <b>161</b>   | <b>5.9%</b>      |
| <b>Immigration offenses</b>                     | <b>0</b>     | <b>-</b>         |
| <b>Unknown</b>                                  | <b>2</b>     | <b>0.1%</b>      |
| <b>Total:</b>                                   |              | <b>100%</b>      |

Source: FY2003 Extract from BOP's online Sentry System.

<sup>4</sup> "Murder" includes non-negligent manslaughter; "sexual abuse" includes only violent sex offenses; "fraud" excludes tax fraud; "larceny" excludes transportation of stolen property; "other property offenses" excludes fraudulent property offenses, and includes destruction of property and trespassing; "tax law violations" includes tax fraud; "obscene material" denotes the mail or transport thereof. "Public order offenses" include, for example, tax law violations, bribery, perjury, nonviolent sex offenses, escape, and gambling and liquor offenses.

## Current Reentry Strategies in the District of Columbia

With regard to reentry policy and programming, CSOSA has developed a “Comprehensive Reentry Plan” to address the identified needs of all returning prisoners through a three-part reentry system with an emphasis on community-based supervision strategies (see <http://www.csosa.gov>). This system was developed around a data-driven formulation of the problem and a commitment to community involvement. There are three subgroups of clients targeted for the reentry planning process. These are:

- Prisoners released from Federal Bureau of Prisons facilities located across the country to community supervision provided by the Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency or U.S. Probation.<sup>5</sup>
- Reentrants with no community supervision, including misdemeanants or pretrial detainees released by the District of Columbia Department of Corrections (DCDC) or felons released by BOP owing no additional sentence time. These individuals are not under parole (or probation) supervision and hence, will not have services mandated by CSOSA. However, on a voluntary basis, these individuals can take advantage of the supports offered by CSOSA.
- Split-sentence probationers released by DCDC to CSOSA supervision. Although these individuals may have spent some time in the local jail (not BOP-run prisons), these individuals are not considered parolees.

The intent of the District's reentry plan is to tailor services to each person's needs, strengths, and aspirations. CSOSA has implemented a strategy devised to follow the individual from incarceration [Phase 1] to transitional programming [Phase 2] and finally, community reintegration [Phase 3]. Each phase has a series of substantive areas for which recommendations are provided. These areas include (a) case management, (b) housing, (c) education and employment, (d) substance abuse, (e) mental health, (f) identification and benefits, and (g) family and community support. CSOSA's Community Supervision Officers (CSOs) are responsible for creating a supervision and treatment plan for each individual under CSOSA's supervision.

The Comprehensive Reentry Plan is linked to an “Action Plan” (also available at the CSOSA web site). The action plan is organized as a series of general steps that have to occur for the reentry plan to be successfully implemented. Chapter 3 of the Action Plan

---

<sup>5</sup> This report focuses only on this category of returning prisoners (i.e., those under supervision by CSOSA after spending time in a BOP facility).

provides recommendations for improving housing option and related services for returning prisoners. The action items for housing include:<sup>6</sup>

- Encourage individual inmates to begin the application process to place their name on a public housing lease prior to release from incarceration.
- Facilitate the rental application process in order to support returning prisoners' chances of obtaining low-income housing.
- Encourage prisoners to save in-prison and work release wages by establishing interest-bearing accounts for post-release expenses.
- Assist individuals in Community Correctional Centers with finding housing, particularly individuals who may be released to the community without supervision. The District has been attempting to develop additional transitional and permanent housing programs for released prisoners.
- Create subsidized transitional housing for newly released prisoners.
- Establish subsidized transitional family housing for ex-prisoners with custodial responsibility for children.
- Create more subsidized housing throughout the city.
- Create housing opportunities through single-room-occupancy facilities.
- Encourage disabled returning prisoners and those completing treatment to pursue programs that can help to defray housing expenses.

To date, CSOSA has made a number of strides targeting services to returning prisoners. CSOSA now facilitates videoconferences with prisoners at Rivers Correctional Institute in Winton, North Carolina, the BOP facility with the largest number of D.C. offenders. The videoconferences are used to provide community-based service-related information to prisoners. Housing referral and placement information is included in the teleconference. For all eligible parolees, CSOSA also implemented the Violence Reduction Program, a three-phase, 12-month treatment intervention for men, age 18–35 with histories of violence, weapons, and/or drug distribution convictions. Phase I includes assessment, Phase II involves cognitive-behavioral therapy, and Phase III is focused on aftercare and community reintegration. Another key part of CSOSA's reentry strategy involves a partnership with the faith community. The CSOSA Faith Community Partnership is designed

---

<sup>6</sup> For the most part, these items are listed as they appear in the Action Plan.

to provide mentors for returning prisoners. The available network of mentors—from more than 40 faith institutions—may have housing or other resources available for returning prisoners. CSOSA also utilizes video conferences to bring together mentors and mentees before the prisoners are released.

In February of 2006, CSOSA opened the Reentry and Sanctions Center, a 102-bed facility, on the grounds of D.C. General Hospital. The Center is a 28-day program designed to treat returning prisoners with substance abuse problems upon release. The program also acts as a sanctions center to address noncompliance by all parolees and probationers already under supervision.

In addition to the District's "Comprehensive Reentry Plan," the District was awarded funds through the federal reentry initiative known as the Serious, Violent Offender Initiative (SVORI). The U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (OJP), in conjunction with other federal partners gave grants to 69 jurisdictions, representing 89 programs. Each state, plus the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands, were given grants. The initiative provides funding to develop, implement, enhance, and evaluate reentry strategies that will ensure the safety of the community and the reduction of serious, violent crime.

Through the SVORI grant, the District<sup>7</sup> targets male and female adults and youthful offenders between the ages of 18 and 35, who have been convicted of drug-related or violent offenses, have served at least one year of incarceration, and were released from incarceration within the past year. According to Research Triangle Institute and the Urban Institute, the evaluators of SVORI, the District's strategy focuses its resources and efforts on employment and vocational training, family support, and mental health services (See <http://www.svori-evaluation.org> for more information on D.C. as well as information on other sites). The first client was enrolled in April of 2004. Over 150 clients were enrolled by the end of December 2004. With regard to housing, less than 25 percent of clients receive housing-related services (referrals or placement) as part of SVORI.

---

<sup>7</sup> The SVORI grant was made to the Mayor's Office, (not CSOSA).

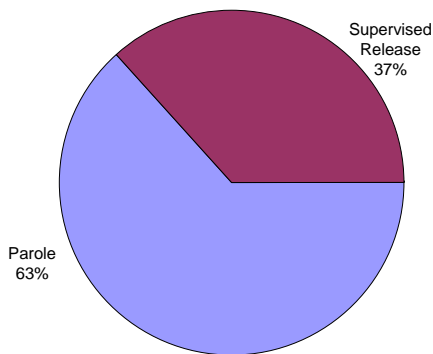


### Who Is Returning Home and Where Do They Go?

During calendar year 2004, the Bureau of Prisons released 2,204 men and women from prison into some type of community supervision in the District. Of the total, 63 percent were released on parole (signifying they were sentenced before August 2000) and 37 percent were released on supervised release (Figure 2). Although CSOSA does not keep detailed statistics on prisoners who are released without any type of community supervision requirement, they estimate that about 10 percent of the District's returning prisoners will have completed their sentences upon release (not shown). *The statistics that follow only describe those individuals returning to the District under parole supervision or supervised release.*

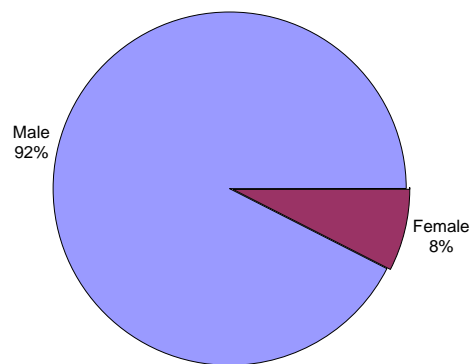
The majority of releases was male (92 percent), black (95 percent), and single (75 percent) (Figures 3 through 5). While blacks represent 60 percent of the population in the District of Columbia, they represent almost all of District prisoners. Being single (i.e., not married) is a risk factor for criminal involvement. Research shows that marriage reduces the likelihood that those previously involved in criminal activity will associate with peers involved in criminal activities (Laub, Nagin, and Sampson 1998; Sampson, Laub, and Wimer 2006). A strong, quality marriage is a very strong predictor of desistance from crime (Horney, Osgood, and Marshall 1995). Sampson and colleagues (2006) found that at age 17 to 32 being married is estimated to reduce the rate of violent offending by over 50 percent, and alcohol and drug offending by 20 percent.

**Figure 2. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Type of Release, CY 2004**



Source: CSOSA.

**Figure 3. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Gender,\* CY 2004**



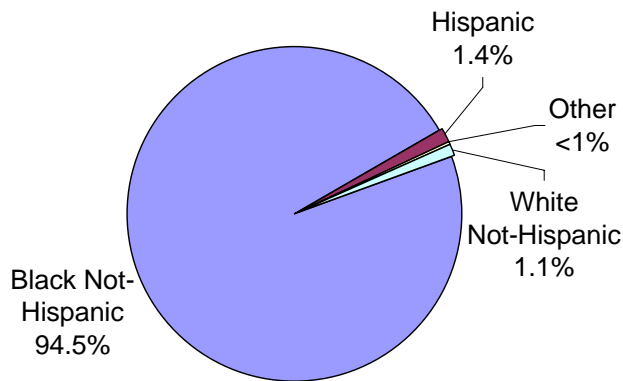
Source: CSOSA.

\*Gender was not reported for two people.

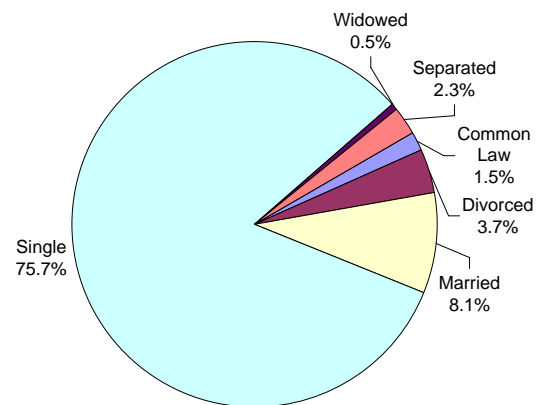
Figure 6 illustrates that 34 percent of returning prisoners were between the ages of 36 and 55, a quarter were between the ages of 26 to 35, and another quarter were between the ages of 46 and 55. The average age in 2004 of returning prisoners released in FY2004 was 39. Half of them have less than a high school education (Figure 7). Only 8 percent have taken some college credits or have an AA degree, and another 1 percent have a bachelor's degree. Figure 8 shows that 39 percent of parolees were known to be employed for some period in FY2004, full or part time. Although the Urban Institute was not provided with current data on the criminal history of returning prisoners, a 1997 report estimates that the average individual under the supervision in the District in 1997 had 9.9 prior arrests, and 3.75 prior convictions<sup>8</sup> (Taxman and Bouffard 2001). The Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring program (ADAM) shows that drug use is a serious problem for D.C. offenders. ADAM data show that 65 percent of adult males arrested in the District in 2003 tested positive for at least one type of drug (Zhang 2004).

With regard to housing, CSOSA has found that 41 percent of returning prisoners were having difficulty meeting their housing needs. Fourteen percent of parolees had moved at least three times or had lived in an emergency shelter in the previous year (Executive Office of the Mayor 2003).

**Figure 4. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Race,\* CY 2004**



**Figure 5. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Marital Status, CY 2004**



Source: CSOSA

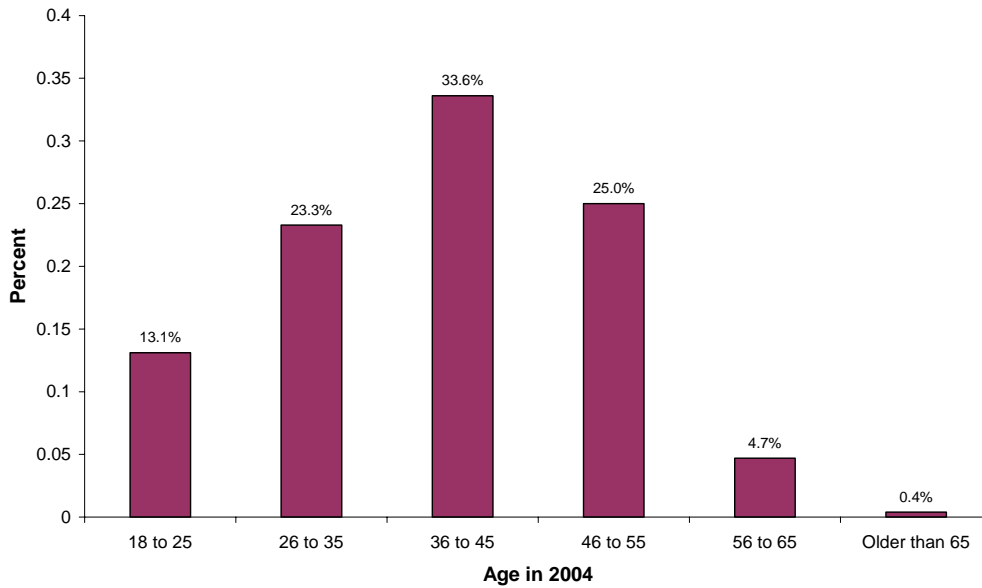
\*Race/ethnicity was not known for 63 persons.

Source: CSOSA

\*Marital status was not known for 170 persons

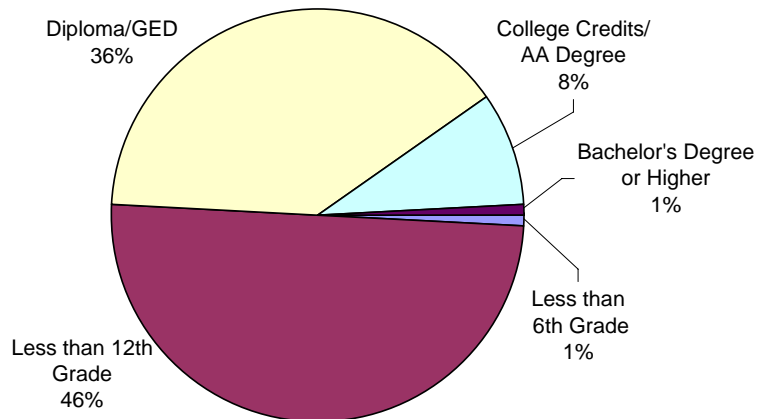
<sup>8</sup> These statistics include those under both probation and parole supervision, as well as those held pretrial.

**Figure 6. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Age,\* CY 2004**



Source: CSOSA.

**Figure 7. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Educational Attainment,\* CY 2004**

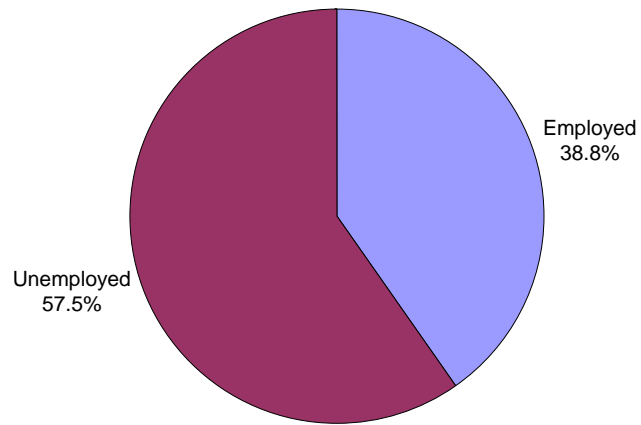


Source: CSOSA.

\* Educational attainment was not known for 193 persons.

---

**Figure 8. Prisoners Released under CSOSA Supervision, by Employment Status,\*  
CY 2004**



*Source:* CSOSA.

---

\*Information was not known for 80 persons; Employment status provides a one-time snapshot of employment at the time of the individual's last assessment.

## Where Do Released Prisoners Go?

Research has shown that the social, economic, and political context of the neighborhoods to which prisoners are released can have important influence on the success or failure of community reintegration (Clear, Waring, and Scully 2005; Petersilia 2003; Visher and Farrell 2005). Neighborhoods do not have equal capacity to assist returning prisoners as these individuals seek to reestablish their lives. For instance, research findings showing that the neighborhood to which ex-prisoners were released had a significant impact on the probability of reentry failure have led researchers to speculate that neighborhood-level processes, such as formal and informal job markets and the availability of drug markets, can markedly impact reentry success (Gottfredson and Taylor 1988). Similarly, more recent research has suggested that living near an open-air drug market may place returning prisoners with substance abuse problems at greater risk of relapse. Visher and Farrell (2005) found that released prisoners who lived in neighborhoods where they felt drug selling was a problem were more likely to have engaged in substance use after release (20 percent) than those living in neighborhoods where drug selling was not a problem (10 percent). In addition, those released prisoners who viewed their communities as a safe place and a good place to live were much less likely to return to prison (22 percent) than those who reported their communities were unsafe and disorganized (52 percent). Furthermore, a series of state “portrait” reports on prisoner reentry by the Urban Institute has shown the high variations in social services across neighborhoods (see for example, Travis, Keegan, and Cadora 2003; Watson et al. 2004).

This section examines the geographic distribution of released prisoners in the District in relation to the socioeconomic characteristics of areas with the highest percentage of released prisoners in calendar year 2004.<sup>9</sup> Figure 9 shows the distribution of released prisoners under CSOSA supervision across the District’s 188 census tracts. (Appendix C provides a table listing the number of released prisoners and released prisoners per 1,000 population for all tracts). Although the map displays all 188 census tracts, 10 tracts were excluded from all analyses because they either held fewer than 400 residents or less than 20 housing units. The number of prisoners returning by tract ranged from zero (31 tracts did not receive any returning prisoners in 2004) to 72. The tract that had 72 recently released prisoners (tract 74.08) was an average size tract where roughly 2,200 people resided in 2000. Taking population into account, tract 74.08 had 33.2 parolees per 1,000 residents. The neighborhoods that are part of tract 74.08 (which is east of the Anacostia River) include Knox Hill and Buena Vista.

---

<sup>9</sup> The census tract number of the “last known address” was provided for each returning prisoner by CSOSA for CY2004. 343 records out of 2,204 did not have census tract information attached (15.5 percent missing).

Eight census tracts had a rate of at least 10 recently released prisoners per 1,000 residents. In the remainder of the report, these eight tracts are labeled “high-return” tracts (see Table 4). Almost all of the high-return tracts are in the eastern part of the District, with two tracts lying east of the Anacostia River (“East of the River”). The one tract west of East Capitol Street (59.00) contains the police station, the courthouse, and a number of homeless shelters.<sup>10</sup> Table 4 lists the number of returning prisoners in addition to the rate per 1,000 residents for the eight tracts with the highest rate of returning prisoners. The table also shows each tract’s percentage of the total number of returning prisoners.

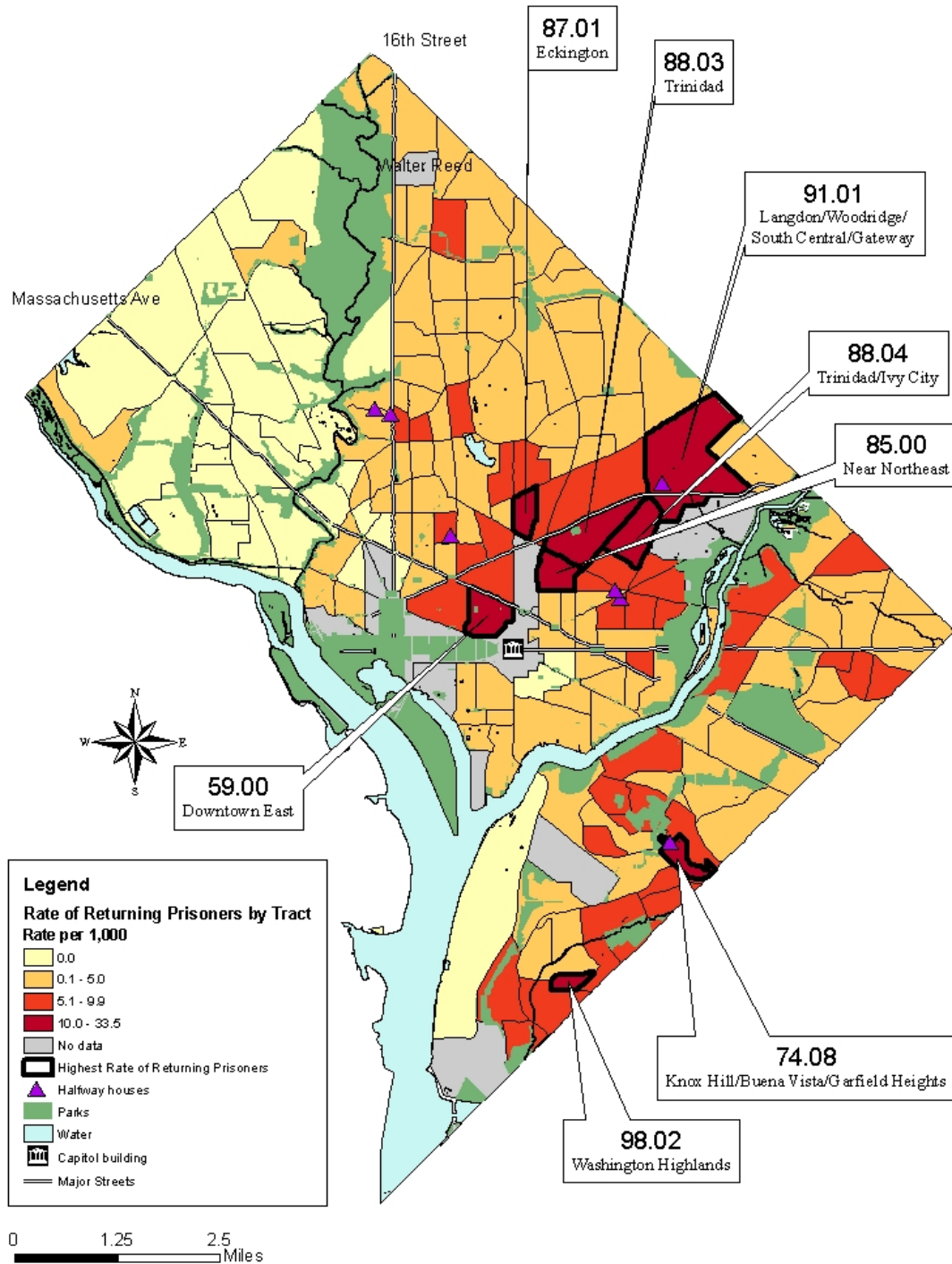
As shown, tract 74.08 led the District in 2004 in the rate of returning prisoners per 1,000 residents. Four percent of all returning prisoners in 2004 resided in the neighborhoods of Knox Hill, Buena Vista, and Garfield Heights. The tract had 72 returning prisoners that year, for a rate of 33.2 per 1,000 residents. This rate was almost twice the rate of the next most concentrated tract—tract 59.00.

**Table 4. Census Tracts with Highest Rate of Returning Prisoners, per 1,000 Residents, CY 04, District of Columbia**

|   | Number of returning prisoners | Percentage of total returning prisoners | Rate per 1,000 residents |
|---|-------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 74.08 (Knox Hill/Buena Vista/Garfield Heights)  | 72                            | 3.9%                                    | 33.2                     |
| 59.00 (Downtown East/Police Station)            | 32                            | 1.7                                     | 17.2                     |
| 87.01 (Eckington)                               | 39                            | 2.1                                     | 16.1                     |
| 85.00 (Near Northeast)                          | 41                            | 2.2                                     | 12.8                     |
| 88.04 (Trinidad/Ivy City)                       | 28                            | 1.5                                     | 12.3                     |
| 91.01 (Langdon/Woodridge/South Central/Gateway) | 52                            | 2.8                                     | 10.8                     |
| 88.03 (Trinidad)                                | 20                            | 1.1                                     | 10.4                     |
| 98.02 (Washington Highlands)                    | 18                            | 1.0                                     | 10.0                     |
| Total   | 302                           | 13.7                                    | --                       |

<sup>10</sup> It is possible that individuals gave their addresses as the address of these agencies; and hence, the address does not necessarily represent where the individuals lives. Note that this may have occurred for released prisoner addresses in other tracts, but the high concentration of District agencies makes is highly probable that there is some error in tract 59.00.

**Figure 9. Rate of Returning Prisoners per 1,000 Residents to the District of Columbia, under CSOSA Supervision, by Census Tract, with Neighborhoods Labeled for High-Return Tracts, CY2004**



Source: Urban Institute analysis of CSOSA data.

## The Intersection of Reentry and Housing in the District of Columbia

Below we examine a number of housing characteristics for these tracts as well as other demographic and economic characteristics. In addition to being home to large numbers of returning prisoners, most of these areas are among District neighborhoods that have housing-related problems. The characteristics discussed in this report are defined in Table 5. The basic demographics of the high-return tracts are shown in Table 6. Table 7 displays these housing characteristics for the eight high-return tracts. Table 8 displays the economic characteristics associated with the high-return tracts. Figures 10 through 15 map a selected number of these characteristics.<sup>11</sup>

Table 6 indicates that the eight high-return tracts range in population from 1,800 people to almost 5,000. Some tracts are comprised mostly of apartment buildings and, hence, have a high housing unit density. Over 80 percent of the residents in seven of the eight high-return tracts are black, and four of the eight tracts are tracts where over 40 percent of the households are headed by females. Almost all tracts are generally homogeneous with regard to race. Unemployment is higher than the tract average for all but one high-return tracts. Half of the eight tracts have unemployment rates higher than 20 percent. With regard to the type of occupations held by residents, only one tract has a larger than average number of residents working in professional or managerial occupations.

Table 7 shows that the number of housing units ranges from 625 to 1,861 housing units. The three measures of affordability (columns 4, 5, and 6 of Table 7) show that renters in these high-return tracts pay a significant amount of their income toward rent. The federal standard for affordability is defined as housing costs (rent) that do not exceed 30 percent of household income. On average, across tracts throughout the city, almost 35 percent of rental households within tracts face unaffordable rental costs (see also Figure 10). In three of the high-return tracts, over 40 percent of rental households are rent burdened. According to the report, *Housing in the Nation's Capitol 2004* (Turner, Kingsley, Pettit, and Sawyer 2004), the median rent in the District in 2003 was \$1,150 for a studio apartment; a two bedroom was \$1,750, and a three bedroom, \$2,100. The median rent for a studio apartment increased 23 percent between 2001 and 2003, while rents for one- and two-bedroom units rose 60 and 80 percent, respectively.

---

<sup>11</sup> Characteristics are shown on maps in quantiles (see legend) with five intervals. A quantile map displays a distribution of values or observations in equal intervals. It assigns basically the same number of tracts to each of the specified number of quantiles in the map.



**Table 5. Description of Characteristics, Based on Census 2000 Data**

| <b>Characteristic</b>                        | <b>Definition</b>   |
|--|---|
| Total Population                             | Total number of people, 2000  |
| Housing Unit Density                         | Number of housing units per square mile   |
| Racial Heterogeneity                         | One minus the sum of squared proportions of each of 5 races: Black non-Hispanic alone, White non-Hispanic alone, Asian/Pacific Islander alone, Hispanic alone, and American Indian/Other alone. (Numbers approaching "1" represent high heterogeneity.) |
| Percent Black                                | Percent of population that is any part African American   |
| Female-Headed Households                     | Percent of all households with children headed by a woman   |
| College Educated                             | Percent of population with one or more years of college   |
| Professional or Managerial Occupations       | Percent of employed population in professional or managerial positions  |
| Unemployed                                   | Percent of population age 16 or older in labor force who are unemployed   |
| <b>Housing Characteristics</b>               |   |
| Percent Rent Burdened                        | Percent of all renter-households that are paying 30% or more of the household income in rent  |
| Percent Rent Burdened < \$20K                | Percent of renter-households with incomes less than \$20K that are paying 30% or more of the household income in rent   |
| Percent Rent Burdened < \$35K                | Percent of renter-households with incomes less than \$35K that are paying 30% or more of the household income in rent   |
| Median Housing Unit Value                    | Median value housing  |
| Median Gross Rent                            | Median gross rent   |
| Owner-Occupied Housing                       | Percent of population in owner-occupied housing   |
| Percent Crowding                             | Percent of households with 1.51 or more occupants per room  |
| Housing Stability Index                      | The sum of z-scores <sup>12</sup> for housing stability (percent of population 5 or older who have been living in the same house since 1995 (last 5 years)) and owner-occupied housing, divided by the number of items (2).                             |
| Vacant/Abandoned                             | Number of vacant parcels (from D.C. parcel data). These are parcels that are not under construction and have been considered abandoned by the District of Columbia.   |
| <b>Economic Characteristics</b>              |   |
| Public Assistance                            | Percent of all households receiving public assistance   |
| Poverty                                      | Percent of population with income below the federal poverty level in 1999   |
| Concentrated Affluence                       | The sum of z-scores for high income, college educated and professional or managerial occupations, divided by the number of items (3).   |
| Concentrated Disadvantage                    | The sum of z-scores for public assistance, unemployment, poverty, race-black non-Hispanic, and female-headed households, divided by the number of items (5).  |
| Index of Concentration at the Extremes (ICE) | Proportion of the difference in households with incomes of >\$25K and >\$75K, of the total population. The ICE index has values between -1 (all are poor) and 1 (all are affluent), with 0 indicating a 50-50 split between poor and affluent families. |

<sup>12</sup> A measure of the distance in standard deviations of a sample from the mean.

**Table 6. Demographic and Other Characteristics of the High-Return Tracts by Rate of Returning Prisoners, District of Columbia, 2000**

| Tract #      | Rate of returning prisoners per 1,000 population | Total population | Housing unit density | Racial heterogeneity | Percent black | Percent female-headed households | Percent college-educated | Percent in professional or managerial occupations | Percent unemployed |
|--------------|--|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 74.08        | 33.2   | 2,166            | 7,028                | 0.03                 | 98.61         | 51.51                            | 19.49                    | 11.07   | 21.79              |
| 59.00        | 17.2   | 1,856            | 2,814                | 0.34                 | 80.93         | 28.22                            | 32.70                    | 21.61   | 32.06              |
| 87.01        | 16.1   | 2,415            | 6,280                | 0.10                 | 94.58         | 21.81                            | 43.17                    | 9.07  | 14.90              |
| 85.00        | 12.8   | 3,209            | 6,882                | 0.16                 | 91.46         | 22.29                            | 30.67                    | 5.92  | 16.90              |
| 88.04        | 12.3   | 2,277            | 4,544                | 0.06                 | 97.10         | 31.88                            | 22.84                    | 11.17   | 11.09              |
| 91.01        | 10.8   | 4,827            | 1,598                | 0.12                 | 93.58         | 13.19                            | 37.09                    | 14.02   | 14.90              |
| 88.03        | 10.4   | 1,918            | 1,433                | 0.56                 | 58.5          | 37.5                             | 37.75                    | 9.93  | 35.68              |
| 98.02        | 10.0   | 1,806            | 10,047               | 0.04                 | 98.12         | 41.99                            | 19.52                    | 10.94   | 28.55              |
| D.C. average | 3.3  | 3220             | 7,785                | 0.29                 | 64.15         | 21.10                            | 48.16                    | 17.20   | 11.85              |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of CSOSA and Census data.

**Table 7. Housing Characteristics of the High-Return Tracts by Rate of Returning Prisoners, District of Columbia, 2000**

| Tract #         | Rate of re-<br>turning pris-<br>oners per<br>1,000 | Total housing<br>units | Percent rent<br>burdened | Percent of<br>households<br>with incomes<br>less than<br>\$35K rent<br>burdened | Percent of<br>households<br>with incomes<br>less than<br>\$20K rent<br>burdened | Median<br>housing unit<br>value | Percent<br>owner<br>occupied<br>housing | Percent<br>crowding | Housing<br>stability<br>index | Number<br>of vacant<br>parcels | Median<br>gross rent |
|-----------------|--|------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 74.08           | 33.2   | 1,035                  | 45.12                    | 55.53   | 66.67   | \$ 106,500                      | 10.48                                   | 6.24                | -1.12                         | 31                             | \$ 452               |
| 59.00           | 17.2   | 711                    | 21.17                    | 33.42   | 36.89   | \$ 350,000                      | 1.66                                    | 5.14                | -1.22                         | 69                             | \$ 397               |
| 87.01           | 16.1   | 926                    | 41.46                    | 61.29   | 59.84   | \$ 112,800                      | 61.49                                   | 2.13                | 0.71                          | 22                             | \$ 566               |
| 85.00           | 12.8   | 1,390                  | 39.25                    | 54.09   | 79.22   | \$ 103,200                      | 58.59                                   | 5.85                | 0.59                          | 118                            | \$ 691               |
| 88.04           | 12.3   | 1,411                  | 38.40                    | 49.08   | 77.93   | \$ 86,500                       | 25.12                                   | 5.81                | -0.34                         | 82                             | \$ 503               |
| 91.01           | 10.8   | 1,861                  | 36.53                    | 56.33   | 56.28   | \$ 137,200                      | 74.74                                   | 0.64                | 1.06                          | 262                            | \$ 681               |
| 88.03           | 10.4   | 625                    | 51.21                    | 62.71   | 73.15   | \$ 88,600                       | 13.78                                   | 11.40               | -0.94                         | 100                            | \$ 496               |
| 98.02           | 10.0   | 772                    | 24.69                    | 32.90   | 38.94   | \$ 86,600                       | 21.43                                   | 16.72               | -0.21                         | 13                             | \$ 336               |
| D.C.<br>average | 3.3  | 1,550                  | 34.55                    | 54.36   | 67.91   | \$157,200                       | 42.87                                   | 5.58                | -0.002                        | 56.99                          | ---                  |

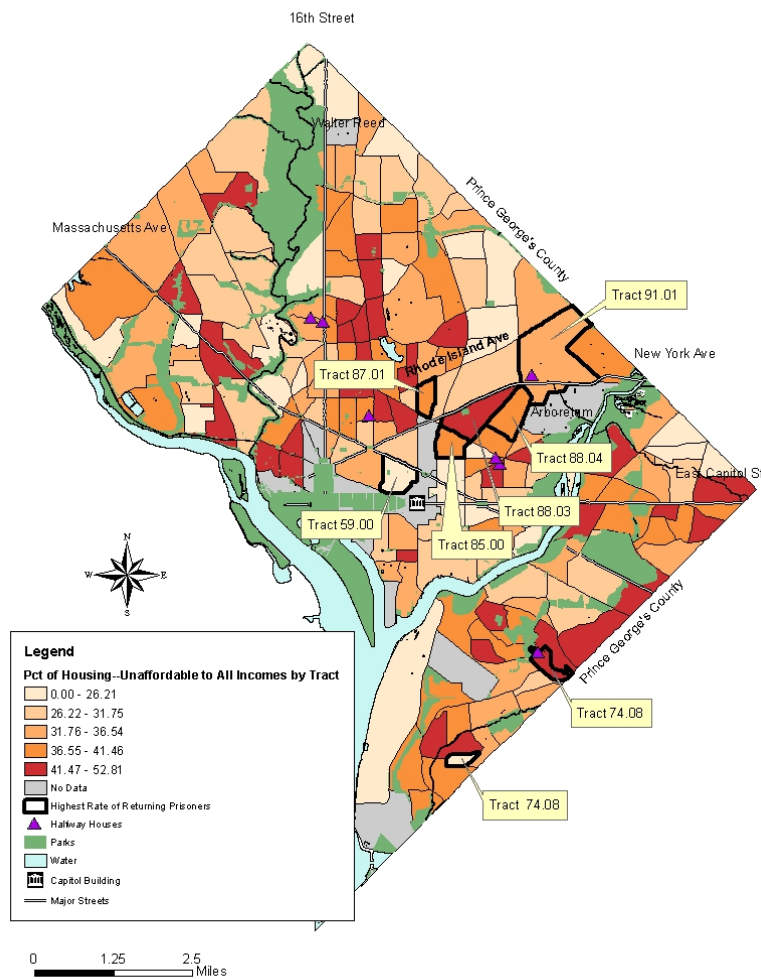
Source: Urban Institute Analysis of CSOSA and U.S. Census Data

**Table 8. Economic Characteristics of High-Return Tracts, by Rate of Return, District of Columbia, 2000**

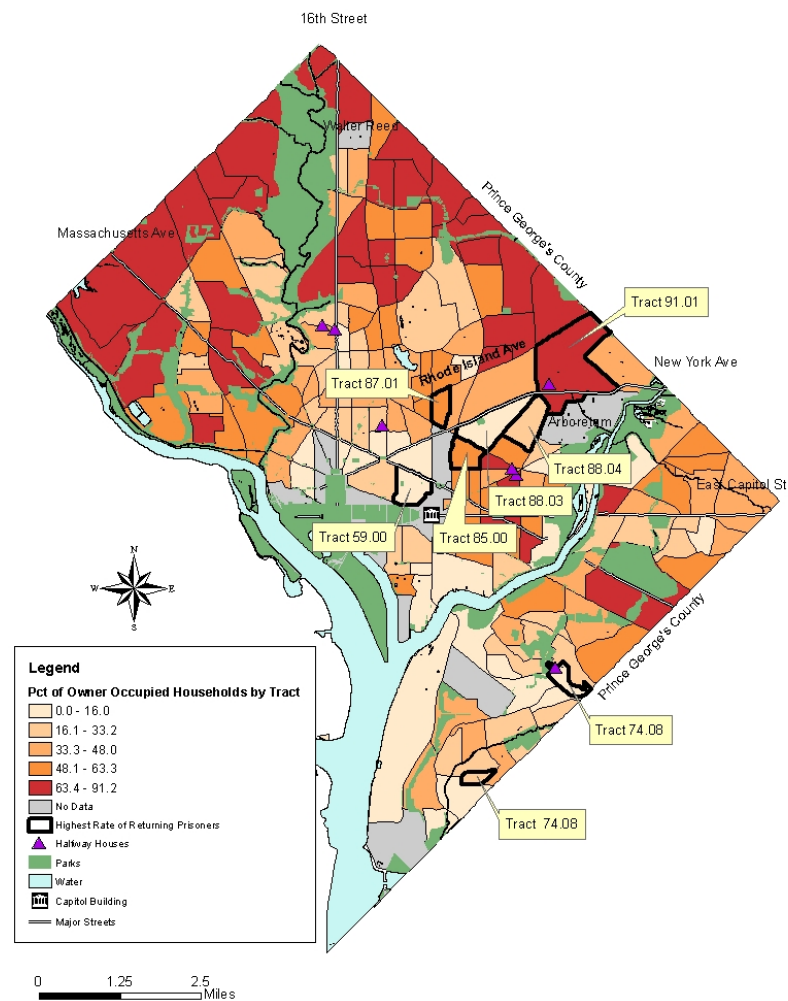
| Tract # | Rate of returning<br>prisoners per<br>1,000 population | Percent<br>receiving<br>public<br>assistance | Percent<br>living in poverty | Concentrated<br>affluence | Concentrated<br>disadvantage | Concentration at the<br>extremes |
|---------|--|--|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 74.08   | 33.2   | 18.34  | 52.03                        | -1.05                     | 1.55                         | -0.58                            |
| 59.00   | 17.2   | 4.98   | 36.99                        | -0.25                     | 0.76                         | -0.53                            |
| 87.01   | 16.1   | 13.05  | 19.10                        | -0.57                     | 0.37                         | -0.31                            |
| 85.00   | 12.8   | 3.71   | 24.49                        | -0.91                     | 0.23                         | -0.32                            |
| 88.04   | 12.3   | 5.88   | 28.73                        | -0.98                     | 0.39                         | -0.49                            |
| 91.01   | 10.8   | 3.59   | 16.16                        | -0.34                     | -0.04                        | -0.24                            |
| 88.03   | 10.4   | 9.36   | 44.35                        | -0.86                     | 1.06                         | -0.64                            |
| 98.02   | 10.0   | 24.03  | 40.94                        | -1.00                     | 1.54                         | -0.45                            |
| DC Ave. | 3.3  | 6.79   | 21.36                        | -0.0003                   | 0.0001                       | -0.26                            |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of CSOSA and Census data.

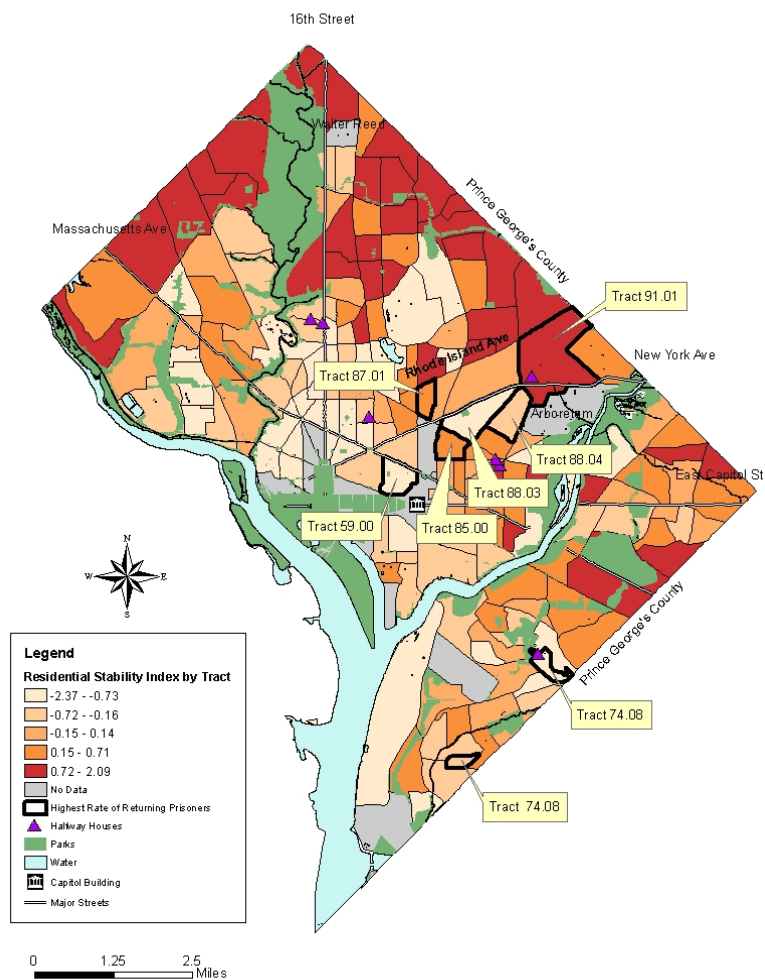
**Figure 10. Percent of Households Rent Burdened, by Census Tract, District of Columbia, 2000**



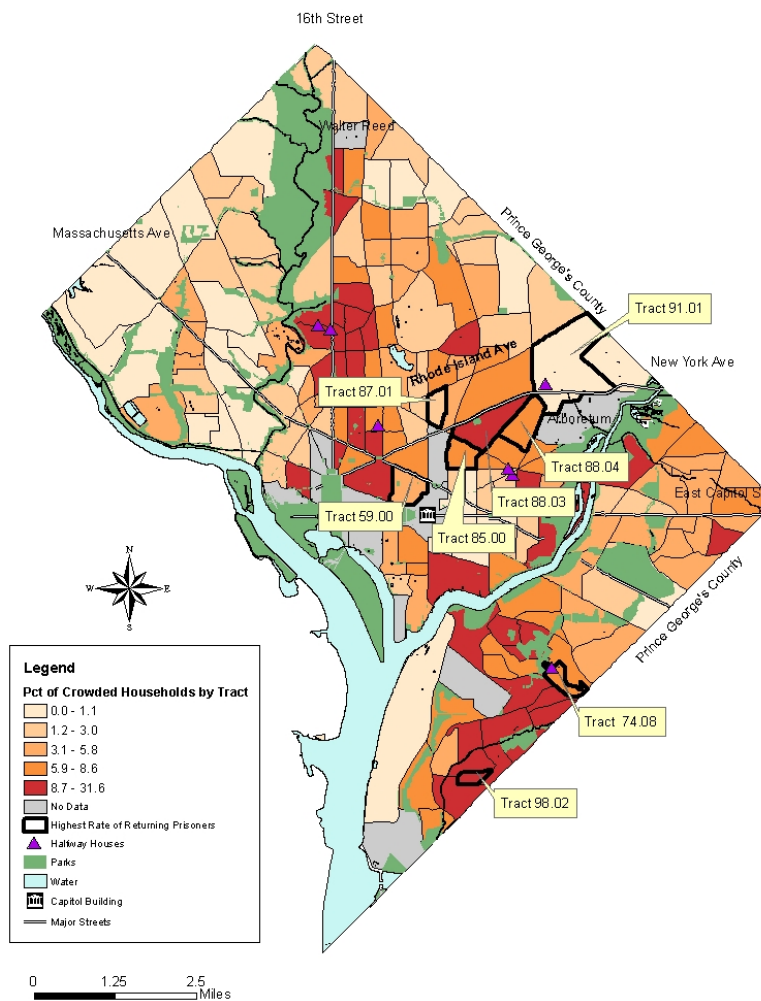
**Figure 11. Percent of Households Owner Occupied, by Census Tract, District of Columbia, 2000**



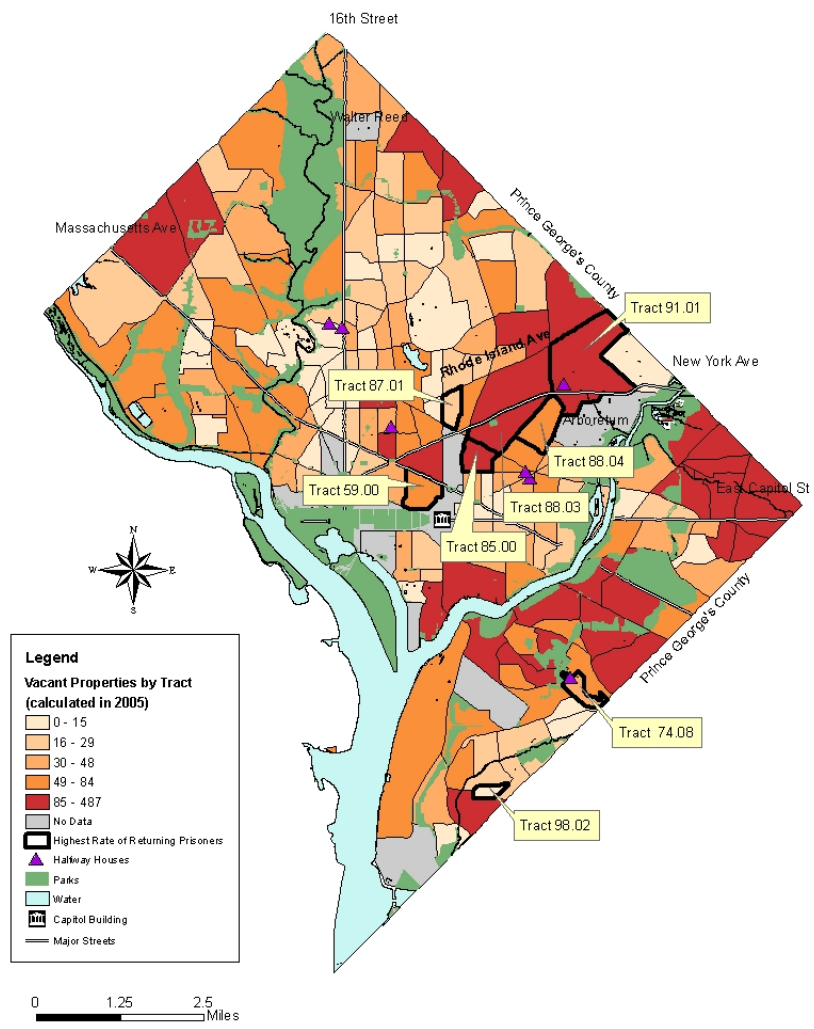
**Figure 12. Index of Residential Stability, District of Columbia, by Tract, 2000**



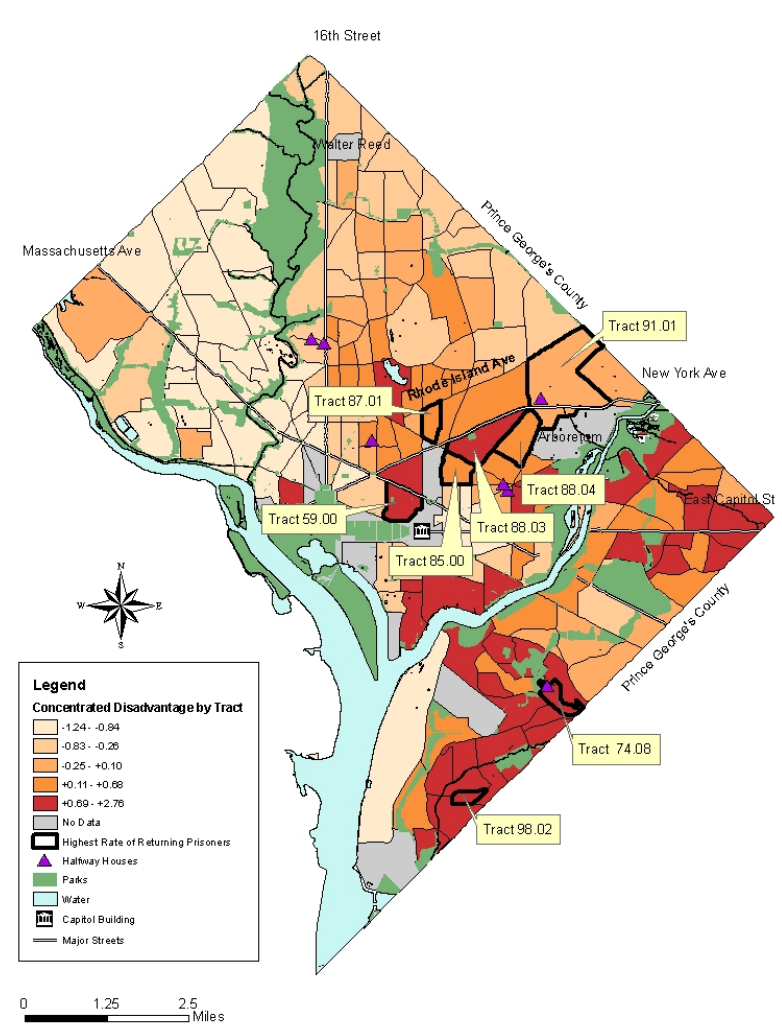
**Figure 13. Percentage of Crowded Households, District of Columbia, by Tract, 2000**



**Figure 14. Number of Vacant Parcels, District of Columbia, by Tract, 2004**



**Figure 15. Concentrated Disadvantage, District of Columbia, by Census Tract, 2000**



Six of the eight high-return tracts are tracts where more than half of the households making less than \$20,000 annually are rent burdened. With the exception of the one tract in Northwest, the median housing value of owner-occupied housing for all high-return tracts is far below the District-wide median of \$157,200. Tract 88.04—part of the Ivy City and Trinidad neighborhoods—had the lowest median housing unit price at \$86,500. This tract has a weak housing market that did not experience the city’s economic growth as did many other areas in the northeast. According to *Housing in the Nation’s Capital 2002* (Turner, Kingsley, Pettit, Snow, and Tatian 2002), the number of households in Ivy City dropped by 20 percent between 1990 and 2000. Although the number of housing units declined, the overall vacancy rate increased 14 percentage points. Furthermore, one-quarter of all properties in the neighborhood cluster of which tract 88.04 is a part are in physical or financial distress. Tract 98.02 also had a very low median housing unit price at \$86,500. This tract, part of the Washington Highlands neighborhood, is part of a neighborhood cluster that has the highest concentration of federally subsidized units. Not surprisingly, median rent for an apartment in the tract is very low at \$336.

Table 7 also indicates that across the high-return tracts, the percentage of housing that is owner-occupied varies widely (see also Figure 11). Tract 59.00 has almost no owner-occupied housing—the overwhelming majority of buildings in the tract are government office buildings. Tract 91.01 (Langdon/Woodridge/South Central/Gateway), which is south of Rhode Island Avenue at the Prince George’s County border, has a high owner-occupancy rate of 75 percent. The housing stability index shows that five of the eight high-return tracts have high turnover of residents (see also Figure 12). The sociological literature suggests that areas that have high population turnover are often those areas that have higher rates of social disorganization (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Morenoff and Sampson 1997; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Sampson et al. 1997). In turn, social disorganization is often associated with high crime rates (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Morenoff and Sampson 1997; Sampson and Groves 1989; Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson et al. 1999). Similarly, crowded conditions have also been associated crime; theory suggests that crowding creates anonymity, and anonymity creates an atmosphere where persons and households cannot be easily guarded. Two high-return tracts (88.03 and 98.02) had crowding rates much higher than the tract average (see also Figure 13). Four high-return tracts (91.01, 85.00, 88.03, and 88.04) had 73 or more vacant/abandoned parcels of land (see also Figure 14). Vacancies in Tract 88.03 are severe, with 100 vacant parcels and only 625 housing units.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Parcels may hold multiple housing units. 100 vacant parcels out of 625 housing units means that more than 16 percent of properties are vacant.

The economic characteristics listed in Table 8 show that the eight high-return tracts are, for the most part, disadvantaged neighborhoods. Although only three of the eight tracts have more than 10 percent of the population receiving public assistance, six of the eight tracts have 25 percent or higher percentages of residents living in poverty, and four of these tracts have over 40 percent of their residents living in poverty. The tract average for the District is 21 percent.

In addition to the poverty level, we also examine the levels of concentrated disadvantage and concentrated poverty across the city. Concentrated disadvantage and poverty are important constructs within criminological and sociological study of urban life—particularly within the social disorganization framework. The social disorganization literature outlines specific neighborhood-level structural components that influence crime. These key structural variables are concentrated disadvantage, residential stability, concentrated poverty and concentrated affluence, concentrated immigration, and racial heterogeneity (Morenoff and Sampson 1997; Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson et al. 1999; Sampson and Raudenbush 2001).

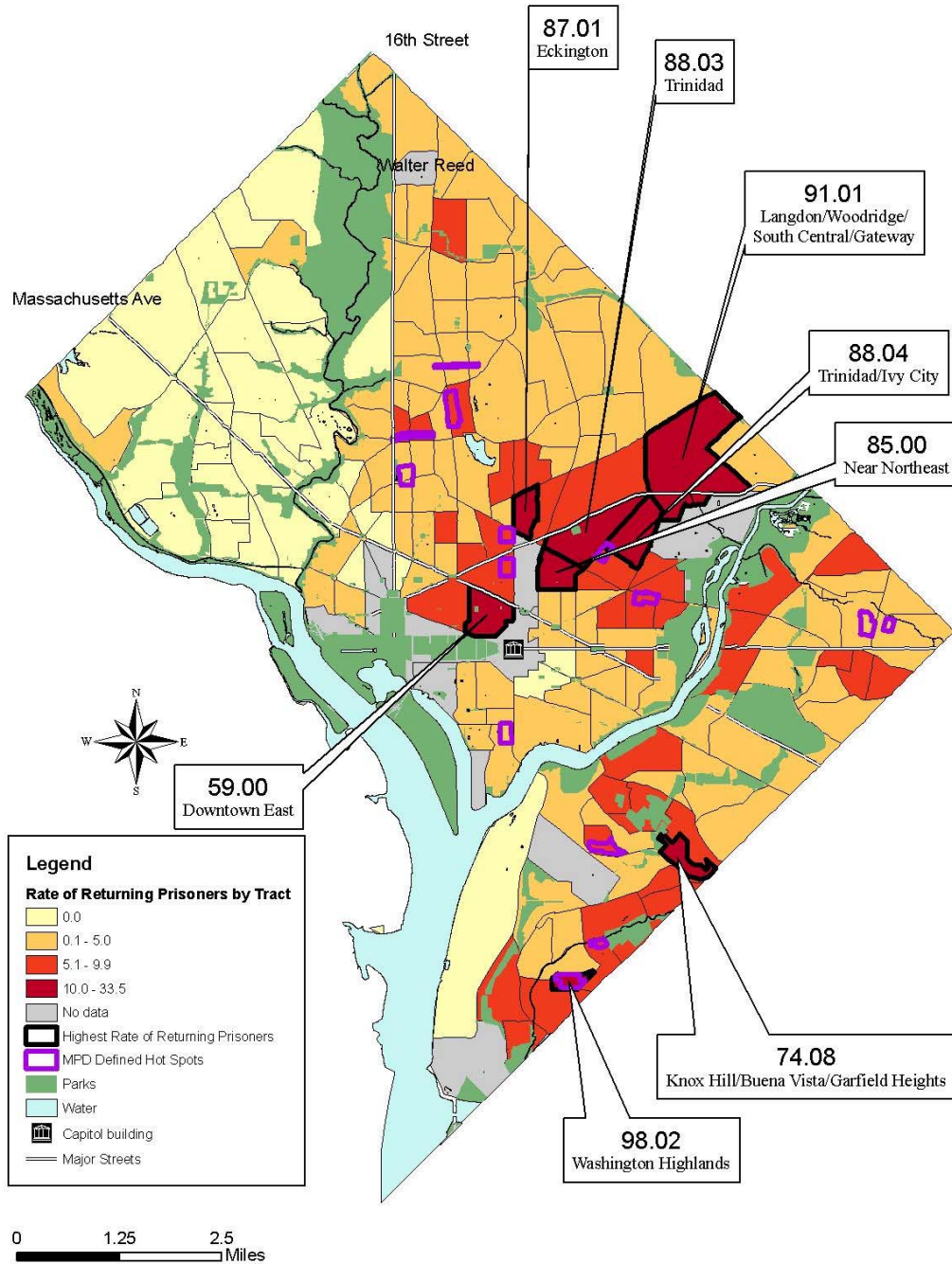
*Concentrated disadvantage* represents the economic disadvantage in racially segregated neighborhoods, with particularly high occurrences for poverty, public assistance, unemployment, largely African American populations, and female-headed families. Theoretically, the ecological concentration of disadvantage is equated with higher rates of unemployment, financial dependence, lack of investment potential, difficulty supporting viable commercial enterprise, and institutional disinvestments (Wilson 1987; Land, McCall, and Cohen 1990; Hagan and Peterson 1995; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Sampson et al. 1999; Sampson and Raudenbush 2001). Research has shown concentrated disadvantage to be a significant predictor of homicide and other violent crime (Morenoff, Sampson, and Raudenbush 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999), violent crime specifically (Sampson et al. 1997). Across the District, our concentrated disadvantage measure ranges from  $-1.24$  (low disadvantage) to  $2.76$  (high disadvantage), with a citywide average of  $0.001$ . Two of the eight tracts ( $74.08$  and  $98.02$ ) have high levels of concentrated disadvantage at  $1.55$  and  $1.54$ , respectively (see also Figure 15). The ICE index (see Table 5 for a description of the index) shows that all high-return tracts except one have concentrations of high-poverty households beyond the tract average. Research has demonstrated that individuals and children in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty generally fare worse in a number of outcomes (e.g., lower household income, lower attachment to employment and education, increased likelihood to be involved in crime) than individuals and children living in poverty that are not surrounded by poor households (see Iannotta and Ross 2002 for review of research). Consequently, the physical conditions of



these neighborhoods deteriorate as human and social capital resources are lost or removed (and not replaced) in the community (Coulton 2001). Research also has shown that concentrated poverty and disadvantage translate into local inequalities for children (Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls 1999).

Figure 16 depicts 14 “hot spots” of violent crime as designated by the Metropolitan Police Department in 2004. The hot spot program is part of Mayor Anthony Williams’s efforts to focus city resources on high-crime areas. Neighborhood teams comprised of representatives from 15 District agencies were created in 2004 to identify, create, and implement plans to resolve the persistent problems in the identified hot spots. The overall goal of the initiative is to better coordinate the delivery of services to resolve the economic, employment, and crime issues in these areas (2005). Although only one hot spot overlaps directly with a high-return tract (tract 98.03/Washington Highlands), the majority of hot spots are in areas that have over five returning prisoners per 1,000 residents. In addition, one hotspot lies at the intersection of tracts 85.00, 88.03, and 88.04.

**Figure 16. Rate of Returning Prisoners per 1,000 Residents to the District of Columbia, Under CSOSA Supervision, by Census Tract, with 14 Crime Hot Spots, CY2004**



Source: Urban Institute analysis of CSOSA data.

### **Housing Barriers for Returning Prisoners in the District of Columbia**

As discussed in chapter one of this report, the barriers that released prisoners face are many. They include personal barriers, legal and policy barriers, community barriers, and indirect barriers such as lack of proper identification. The central personal barriers involve the fact that the majority of persons incarcerated leave prison without any savings, low literacy, few or no job prospects and no access to immediate unemployment benefits (Petersilia 2000). Legal and policy barriers include restrictions on or ineligibility for public benefits for persons with criminal histories, restrictions that deny access to subsidized housing, and legal restrictions that restrict hiring practices. Community opposition is a key community barrier in that residents have the ability to restrict the development of housing for criminal justice populations.

In addition to the personal, legal, policy, and community barriers to housing for the formerly incarcerated, there are intangible obstacles that have resulted from the fragmented system of supports that potentially could assist the transition from prison or jail to the community (e.g., corrections and community corrections, housing and homeless assistance, and general social services). No single agency or organization is responsible for ensuring that individuals exiting prison are able to find safe and affordable housing. Corrections departments often view their responsibility for prisoners as ending once prisoners are released, and there are few housing-related government agencies that provide housing specifically targeted to returning prisoners.

These barriers become even more insurmountable in light of the fact that communities with large numbers of recently released prisoners are often highly disadvantaged communities with limited ability to secure needed resources support these individuals. The preceding section demonstrates that many of the high-return neighborhoods are high poverty neighborhoods that also contain distressed and overcrowded housing. Levels of concentrated disadvantage are high and these neighborhoods are predominantly made up of poor households—further limiting the opportunity for individuals and families to pull them selves out of poverty.

To further complicate prisoner reentry in the District, there are a number of additional barriers that face District prisoners. First, the dispersion of D.C. prisoners across the country creates a host of issues that may impact public safety and family stability. Studies show that family contact during incarceration is associated with lower recidivism rates (Adams and Fischer 1976; Glaser 1969; Hairston 2002; Holt and Miller 1972; Klein, Bartholomew, and Hibbert 2002). Not only is it difficult for families to visit, but also the large number of facilities housing inmates makes it difficult or social service organizations to organize or fund trips or programs for families of those incarcerated. Programming would

be facilitated if D.C. prisoners were housed in just a few facilities, as opposed to be spread among 75.

In addition, it may be difficult for prisoners to arrange housing when they are incarcerated in prisons far from the District. Negotiating any social service system can be tricky, but trying to do so without the support of individuals knowledgeable about the District's supports can make it exceedingly difficult. It is unlikely that counselors in the federal prisons can facilitate a District prisoner's search for housing.

To complicate matters, the U.S. Parole Commission only supports the release of prisoners who can give an address of where they plan to live upon release. The result is that many individuals may remain in prison or move into unstable living arrangements. Paul Quander, the director of CSOSA, reports that about 25 percent of the release plans investigated do not contain a stable housing placement. When stable housing is not available, CSOSA often arranges for temporary placement in a halfway house or shelter (Quander 2005).

But a halfway house bed is not always available for returning prisoners to the District. As shown in Figure 9 (earlier) there are currently only seven halfway houses (also known as community correctional centers) for returning prisoners in the District. Table 9, below, lists the halfway houses by location, along with the number of beds in each facility. The seven halfway houses have a total of 531 beds. An additional 201 beds are available to released prisoners with substance abuse problems through the new Reentry and Sanctions Center in the eastern part of town, by the Prince George's County border.

Although BOP policy is to place returning prisoners in a halfway house "whenever possible" (see Bureau of Prisons Program Statement 7310.04 (December 16, 1998)), only 65 percent of D.C. prisoners were given a prerelease halfway house placement in the fourth quarter of 2002 as reported by BOP (District of Columbia Community Corrections Facility Siting Advisory Commission 2003). The number of individuals placed into halfway housed should have increased in recent years due to the opening of Bannum Place, which has the capacity for 100 individuals. However, it should be noted that the future of the halfway house may be in jeopardy because District residents are currently suing the halfway house operator—Bannum Inc.—over zoning issues. The city asked Bannum Inc. to vacate in July 2005. To date, the facility remains open.

In addition to community objection to halfway houses, in D.C., zoning guidelines for the placement of various types of community residences and rehabilitation homes are conditional, assuming "the facility shall not have an adverse impact on the neighborhood

because of traffic, noise, operations, or the number of similar facilities in the areas” (District

**Table 9. Community Correctional Centers for Returning Prisoners, District of Columbia\***

| Community Corrections Centers | Location               | Population | Capacity   |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|
| Fairview                      | 1430 G Street NE       | women      | 40         |
| Efforts X Convicts            | 1514 8th Street NW     | men        | 40         |
| Community Care                | 3301 16th Street NW    | men        | 30         |
| Extended House                | 810 14th Street NE     | men        | 70         |
| Bannum Place                  | 2210 Adams Place NE    | men        | 100        |
| Shaw II                       | 1740 Park Road NW      | men        | 13         |
| Hope Village                  | 2840 Langston Place SE | men        | 238        |
| <b>Total</b>                  |                        |            | <b>531</b> |

\* Does not include the 102-bed Reentry and Sanctions Center that serves returning prisoners with substance abuse problems.

of Columbia Municipal Regulations no date). It is up to the discretion of the Zoning office what constitutes an "adverse impact." Moreover, specific types of facilities must not exceed strict size, quantity, and location guidelines unless the Board and subsequently the D.C. Office of Planning determine the need for facilities in particular neighborhoods.

Even those individuals returning through halfway houses still need to find a permanent home. Available subsidized housing in the District is scarce, as is affordable housing. In 2006, there were about 11,000 housing units subsidized under Section 8 or other federal multifamily programs (Tatian 2006). Contracts for 4,505 units are set to expire between April 2006 and March 2007. The current waiting list for public housing and Section 8 housing in the District consists of over 50,000 households (Silverman 2006). The D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute reports that affordable housing is an increasing problem in the District—between 2000 and 2004 the District lost 7,500 apartments priced at less than \$500 a month. Furthermore, to get a picture of the affordable housing problem in the District, the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute calculated using 2000 Census data that there were only 27,000 affordable apartments (costing \$500 or less per month) for over 47,000 renting households in the District in 2000 with income below \$20,000 (Rodgers 2006). Obtaining emergency shelter is also difficult. The Washington Legal Clinic for the Homeless reports that the waiting list for emergency shelter is at least six months (ibid). For a returning prisoner looking for subsidized shelter, this may mean more than a few months of waiting, most likely much longer.

### CHAPTER THREE: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE SERVICE PROVIDERS: ISSUES AND BARRIERS FACING RETURNING PRISONERS IN THE DISTRICT

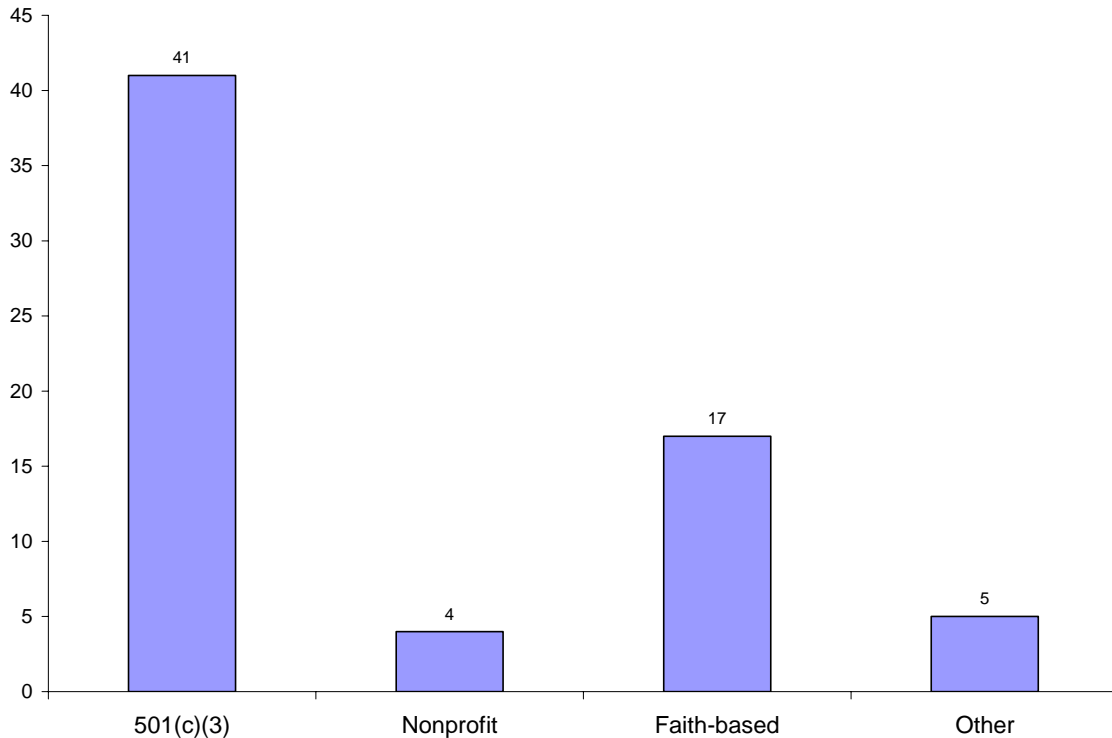
Although there are multiple barriers facing returning prisoners in the District, there are a number of service providers that are dedicated to serving ex-prisoners and addressing their housing needs. This chapter of the report discusses the perspectives obtained from 45 service providers who provide some type of housing service (e.g., temporary shelter, referral to housing, transitional services, provision of vouchers, etc.) to individuals returning from prisons and jails. The information was obtained through a telephone survey conducted during 2003–2004. The survey, utilizing a prioritized convenience sample, asked for information about issues involving serving returning prisoners and key barriers to service provision, and tried to capture the capacity of providers to provide services specifically to those returning from prisons or jails. For a number of reasons, many related to the time it took to complete the survey, some of the questions were dropped from the study half way through the survey period. To make it quicker for respondents, by midway through data collection, we dropped the last three pages of the survey. Detailed information on the survey methodology is provided in Appendix A. A copy of the survey can be found in Appendix B.

Forty-five organizations completed the survey. Because survey data collection utilized a convenience sample, these organizations do not represent the universe of organizations providing housing-related reentry services in the District. All organizations provided services to other individuals in addition to returning prisoners. With the exception of one organization that is an umbrella organization with its headquarters in Silver Spring, all organizations are located in the District and provide services to individuals residing in the District. The overwhelming majority of organizations are located in Northwest D.C. (76 percent). Seven organizations (16 percent) are located in Southeast D.C., two organizations (4 percent) are located in Northeast D.C., and only one organization (2 percent) is located in Southwest D.C. The only organization located in Southwest D.C., a shelter, was closed in November 2004. To maintain confidentiality of responses, the geographic locations of these organizations are not shown.

Of the 45 organizations responding to the survey, 41 (91 percent) categorize themselves as a 501(c)(3) (Figure 17). Four are non-501(c)(3) nonprofits, and 17 (38 percent) are faith-based organizations. None of the organizations surveyed identified itself as a for-profit private firm, a community development corporation, or a government agency.

---

**Figure 17. Service Providers by Organization Type, 2003–2004**



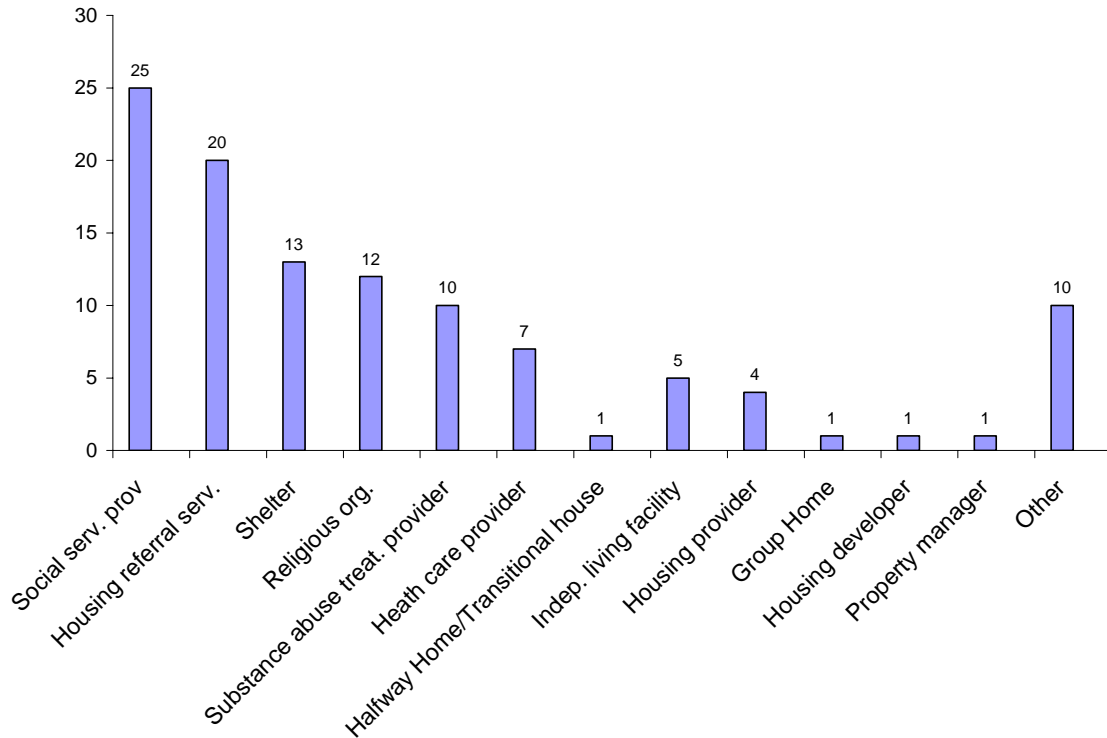
*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

---

With regard to the type of service organization, when asked *what type of organization would best describe your organization*, 25 of the provider organizations (56 percent) described themselves as general social service providers (Figure 18). Twenty (44 percent) described themselves as a housing referral service agency, 13 (29 percent) are homeless shelters, 12 (27 percent) are religious organizations, 10 (22 percent) are substance abuse treatment providers, 7 (16 percent) are health care providers, 5 (11 percent) are independent living facilities, and 4 (9 percent) are housing providers. The remaining organizations included a group home, housing developer, property manager, or fall into the “other” category (22 percent), which includes those organizations that offer transitional services or were either oriented toward education (literacy, after-school), food collection and distribution, or legal services.



**Figure 18. Service Providers by Organization Description, 2003–2004**



Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

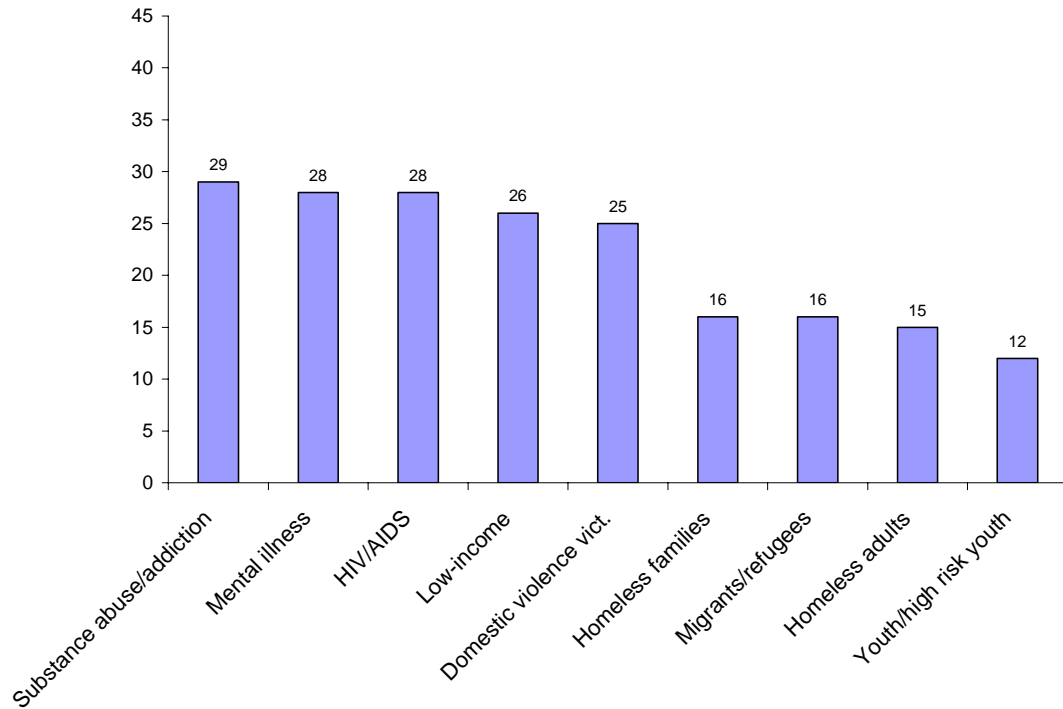
The geographic territory served by the organizations varies widely. One-third serve the greater metropolitan area and another third serve only clients from the District. The remaining organizations are a mix of organizations that only served neighborhood residents or were multistate (one organization) or regional (one organization). Most organizations (57 percent) have served District residents for over 15 years. Regarding the length of time serving returning prisoners in the District, seven organizations did not provide information. For the organizations that did respond, one-third have been serving returning prisoners for more than 15 years.

All 45 organizations identified the types of populations that they primarily serve (Figure 19). A large number of organizations have two or more primary populations served. Twenty-nine agencies (64 percent) surveyed serve persons with substance abuse/addiction, 28 (62 percent) serve persons with mental illness, 28 (62 percent) serve persons with HIV/AIDS, 26 (57 percent) organizations serve low-income individuals, and

25 (56 percent) serve victims of domestic violence. Fewer surveyed agencies serve homeless families, homeless adults, migrants or refugees, or high-risk youth.

---

**Figure 19. Number of Organizations Serving Each Population, 2003–2004**



*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

*Note:* All 45 organizations responded.

---

We asked organizations if they could categorize their non-homeless clients as being “at risk of becoming homeless.” Of the 25 organizations asked the question, the majority (13 organizations; 52 percent) reported that their clients could be categorized as at risk of becoming homeless, but not currently homeless. And most estimated that more than half of their clients would fit that description. The organizations were asked to analyze the main reasons these people are homeless. Almost all of the 25 organizations asked (82 percent) believe that substance or alcohol abuse is a reason clients are homeless, making “substance abuse” the most often reason selected by organizations. Eighteen organizations (72 percent) believe that job loss or inability to maintain a steady income contributed to homelessness; Fifteen organizations (60 percent) believe that their clients’ failure to find affordable housing contributed to their homelessness; 11 (44 percent) cite

that their clients' homelessness is caused in part because they cannot return to live with family; and 7 (28 percent) believe that having been recently discharged from prison, jail, or juvenile treatment facility has been a contributing factor to homelessness.

We asked organizations to estimate the percentage of clients receiving some type of housing assistance from their organizations. Of the 25 organizations that were asked this question, 3 (12 percent) reported that none of their clients received any housing assistance. Five (20 percent) organizations reported that up to 50 percent of their clients received housing assistance, 1 organization (4 percent) reported that 50 percent to 100 percent of their clients receive housing assistance, and 16 (64 percent) organizations reported that 100 percent of their clients received housing assistance.

The organizations also were asked questions about current agency and person-level barriers to serving returning prisoners.<sup>14</sup> When asked, "what are the primary barriers that individuals returning from prison and jails face with regard to securing safe and affordable housing?" respondents listed job-related barriers to be a major issue (Figure 20). Eleven (44 percent) respondents felt that clients' lack of income was a key barrier, and another 7 organizations (28 percent) listed the tight labor market in conjunction with returning prisoners having limited employment skills. In addition, the lack of affordable housing was listed by 10 agencies (40 percent) as a key barrier.

When asked, "What types of housing/and or housing services could most assist individuals returning from prisons and jails?" almost half of the survey respondents (12 organizations; 48 percent) believed that permanent supportive housing could most benefit returning prisoners (Figure 21). Eleven providers (44 percent) listed transitional housing as a key service, and another 10 (40 percent) mentioned supportive services and/or mental health services.

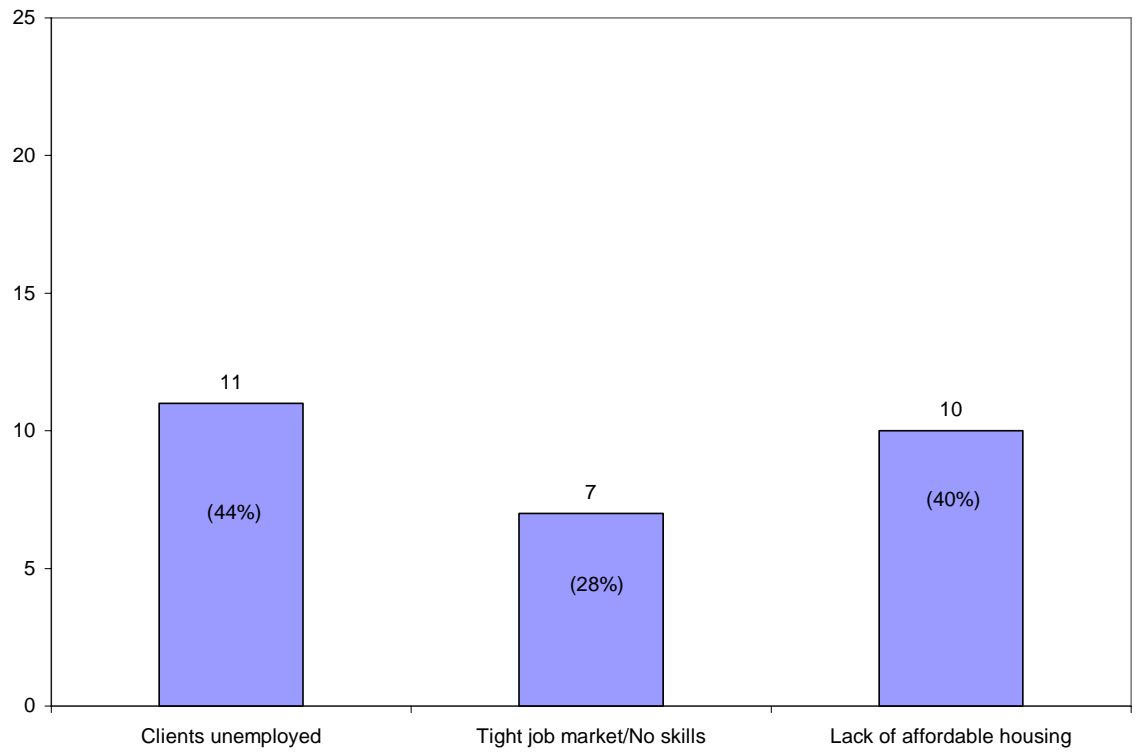
We also asked organizations whether there are agency-level barriers in providing housing services to returning prisoners (Figure 22). Nine organizations said funding issues or limited resources was their biggest barrier (36 percent), and nine organizations also mentioned limited ability to find beds or affordable housing. A few agencies mentioned that they had difficulty securing social services (e.g., mental health services) for returning prisoners.

---

<sup>14</sup> Due to problems with survey response rate, only 25 organizations were asked the open-ended questions regarding barriers.

---

**Figure 20. Top Three Primary Barriers Facing Returning Prisoners, as Reported by Service Providers, 2003–2004**

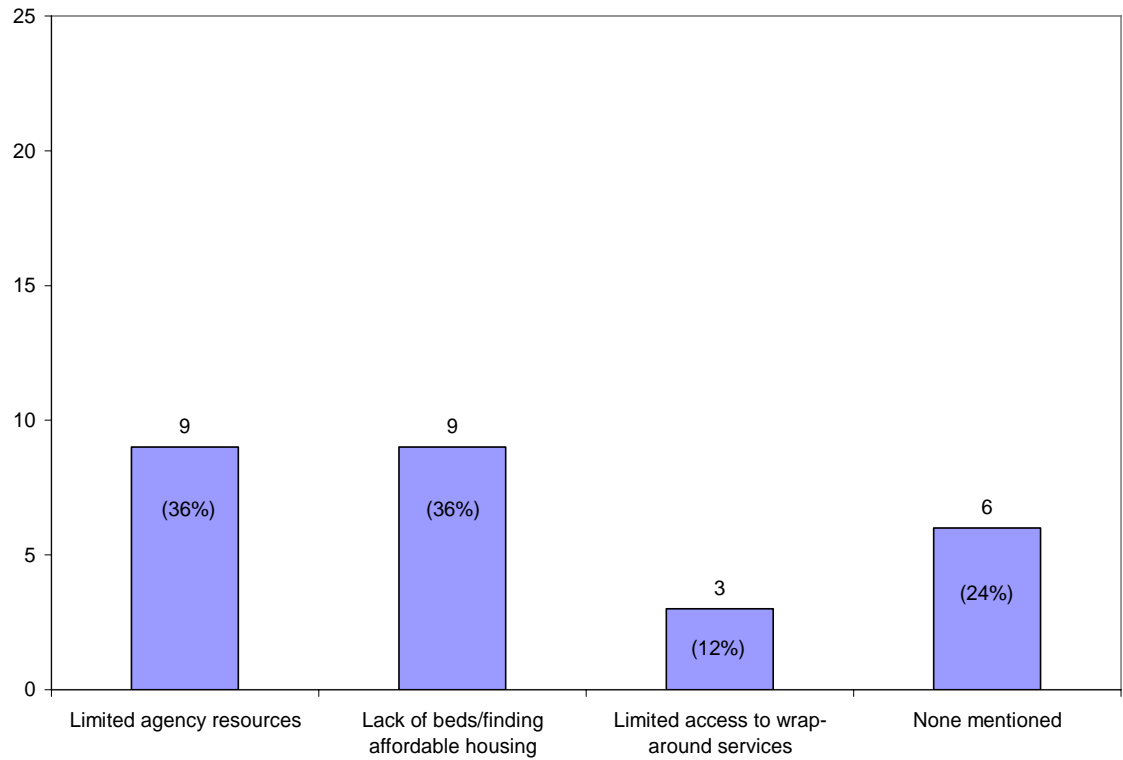


*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

*Note:* 25 organizations reporting. Respondents were asked to list a number of barriers. These values are not mutually exclusive.

---

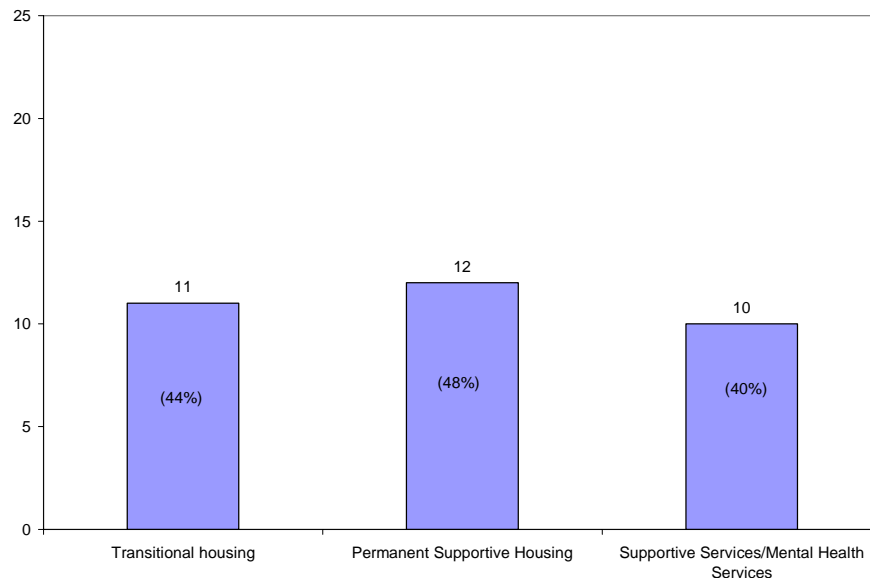
**Figure 21. Top Three Primary Barriers Facing Agencies with Regard to Serving Returning Prisoners, as Reported by Service Providers, 2003–2004**



*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

*Note:* 25 organizations reporting. Respondents were asked to list a number of barriers. These values are not mutually exclusive.

**Figure 22. Top Three Services Voted Most Likely to Assist Returning Prisoners, as Reported by Service Providers, 2003–2004**



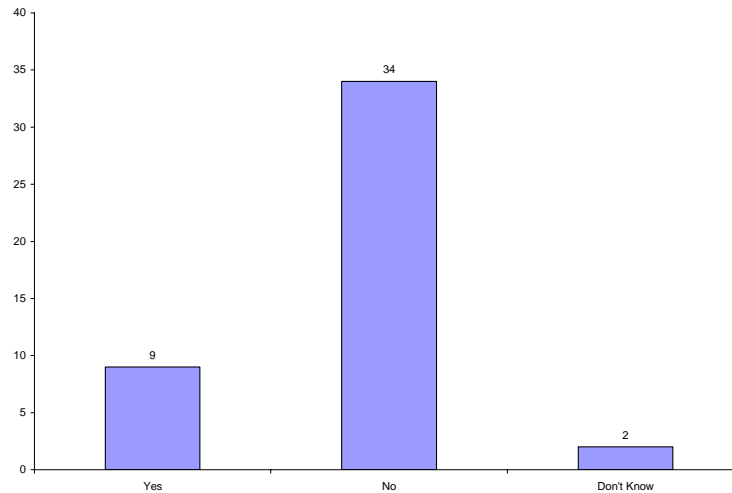
*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

*Note:* 25 organizations reporting. Respondents were asked to list a number of services. These values are not mutually exclusive.

A number of organizations are attempting to increase their capacity to serve returning prisoners by becoming part of comprehensive initiatives or coalitions that have the express mission to serve this population. Nine organizations (20 percent) are part of larger, comprehensive initiatives that have been developed to serve returning prisoners (Figure 23). Three comprehensive partnerships were named: (1) the East of the River, Clergy, Police, Community Partnership (ERCPCP); (2) CSOSA’s faith-based mentoring partnership; and (3) The Ex-Offender Reentry Coalition. ERCPCP is a large partnership whose mission is to reach, assist, and transform young people, especially those whose lives have been affected or influenced by drugs, crime, and violence. Through a collaboration of clergy, police, and community, ERCPCP aims to improve the spiritual and personal development of young people and build a system of community support that enhances service delivery and creates healthy and safe neighborhoods. The Ex-Offender Reentry Coalition is a loosely based coalition of community-based agencies, ex-offenders, and government agencies in the District whose main mission is to advocate for and support community-based reentry efforts.

---

**Figure 23. Organization Is Part of Comprehensive Initiative to Serve Returning Prisoners, 2003–2004**



*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

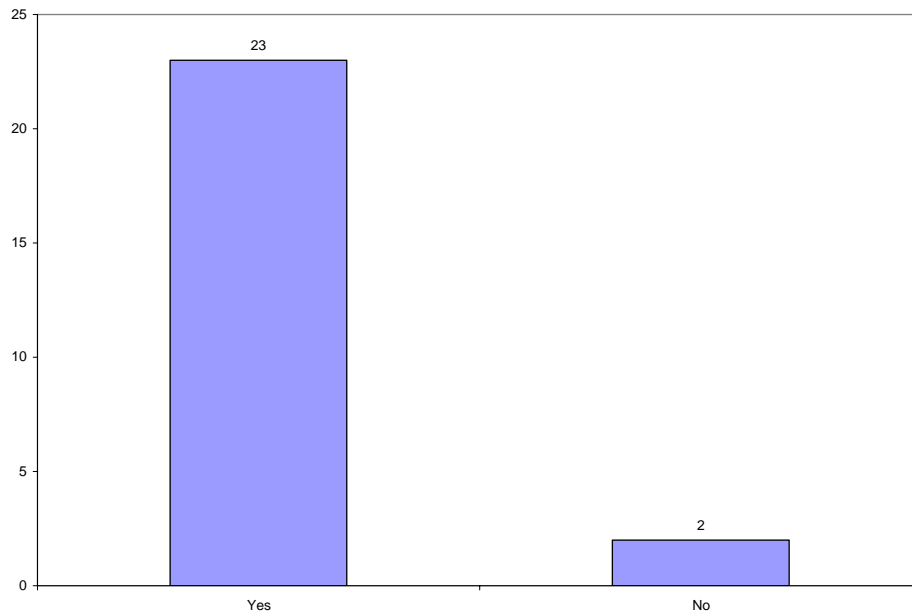
---

Although only 20 percent of organizations are part of a comprehensive coalition, more than 90 percent of the surveyed organizations work with a network of community-based service providers to facilitate support services for returning prisoners (Figure 24). When asked to list three agencies that are a key part of their service network, respondents named a range of organizations from emergency shelters and food banks, to government agencies and mental health services. Agencies in the service networks listed included agencies in Virginia and Maryland.

The use of volunteers across all organizations was very high, particularly the use of part-time volunteers. Of the 45 surveyed organizations, only six (13 percent) have no part-time volunteers. Ten organizations have up to 10 part-time volunteers; 11 agencies have 11 to 50 part-time volunteers; four organizations have between 51 to 100 part-time volunteers; and eight organizations have over 100 part-time volunteers (six respondents did not know how many part-time volunteers their agency had). Organizations were less likely to use full-time volunteers. Twenty-five agencies reported they did not use full-time volunteers. Twenty-nine organizations use consultants. Of those organizations, the mean number of consultants used was 3.5.

---

**Figure 24. Organization Works with Network of Community-Based Service Providers to Assist Clients, 2003–2004**



*Source:* Urban Institute analysis of 2003–2004 D.C. housing survey data.

*Note:* Only 25 organizations were asked this question.

---

To conclude this chapter, we caution the reader from drawing any conclusions from the analysis of the survey data. The data represent a brief snapshot of a small snowball sample of reentry housing providers in the District of Columbia. Because the survey responses are in no way representative of the population of reentry housing providers in the District, we refrained from conducting any cross-tabulations (or more detailed analysis) of demographic and other data obtained from survey responses. However, we feel that even a small snapshot of information on providers is important in drawing attention to the housing issues facing returning prisoners.



## CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

This report examined the housing landscape of prisoner reentry in the District of Columbia. The report utilized census tract data for returning prisoners to examine tracts that had high rates of returning prisoners (according to addresses supplied by returning prisoners). Eight tracts had 10 or more returning prisoners per 1,000 residents. Seven of the eight tracts are located on the eastern side of the District. It is important to note that there are no data in the District that estimate the number of homeless in the current parolee population. The returning prisoner census tract data used in this report are based on addresses provided by returning prisoners to CSOSA. These data cannot estimate the number of parolees or ex-offenders who are homeless or become homeless. In other words, the individuals represented in the data could be homeless or become homeless at some point. Many service providers reported that many of their clients are at risk of becoming homeless.

In calendar year 2004, 2,204 men and women were released from prison in to some type of community supervision in the District. The majority of releases was male (92 percent), black (95 percent), and single (75 percent). The average age of these individuals was 39, and half of them had less than a high school education. Close to 60 percent of these individuals were unemployed at some time during the year. In addition, the analysis provided in this report illustrates that many neighborhoods where prisoners live upon release are disadvantaged. These neighborhoods are burdened with many social issues, and at minimum, may not have an infrastructure of support. Our survey of providers found that the overwhelming majority believe that unemployment and lack of income is inextricably linked with housing problems for returning prisoners. In addition, providers believe that their agencies are severely limited in serving returning prisoners because their organizational missions are often unidimensional (i.e., providing one particular service like shelter), and individuals returning from prisoners have a host of needs and therefore need comprehensive services.

The overwhelming majority of organizations (87 percent) report that the current housing landscape available to individuals returning home from prisons does not adequately meet the needs of returning prisoners. Overall, providers are frustrated with the “disconnect” between the correctional system and the housing services system. Providers stress that there are too few transitional housing and halfway house options for returning prisoners. In addition, a number of providers stated that there are too few housing facilities that have services co-located with housing. They are searching for ways to collaborate

and network with other agencies to expand their capacity to meet the needs of returning prisoners in the District. Many of these agencies have begun to meet the needs of returning prisoners through nontraditional methods—by broadening the reentry perspective to include partners outside of the criminal justice arena. Nine of the 45 organizations responding to the survey were part of comprehensive initiatives or coalitions whose main missions are to serve returning prisoners, and 23 organizations (of 25 organizations asked the question) indicated they work with a network of providers to facilitate prisoner reentry.

In addition, through CSOSA’s faith-based reentry partnership, a host of churches and other faith institutions are partnering with CSOSA to provide mentoring services to individuals released from prison. These types of partnerships are articulating a common ground of policy interests and are redefining the term “stakeholder” to include housing and homeless assistance agencies, community and faith-based agencies, local residents, and private businesses. The organizations surveyed are working hard to develop in-house capacity to serve returning prisoners. Survey responses show that they have made substantial efforts to utilize volunteers in their services.

Fortunately, over the past six or seven years, research examining the issues associated with the large numbers of prisoners released across the nation has increased markedly. This attention has resulted in numerous avenues for innovation in prisoner reentry programming and related services. For instance, as the breadth and nature of the housing barriers have been elucidated, the continued policy attention has also spurred funding for new and innovative housing-related programs across the nation that serve returning prisoners. The District’s new Reentry and Sanctions Center is just one example. The District has been aggressive in applying for federal and non-federal grants to develop new programming that is geared toward establishing comprehensive services targeted to those being released from prisons and jails. The comprehensive nature of the programs, by default, often includes some type of housing assistance or housing referral. This is the case for CSOSA’s faith partnership. Although CSOSA does not provide housing to all returning prisoners, a number of individuals have secured housing with help from the faith institutions participating in the mentoring program. This is typical throughout the country—few new programs (and in particular those federally funded) provide actual housing to returning prisoners.

We make three recommendations for progress with regard to the development and expansion of housing and housing-related services for individuals released from prison. These recommendations apply to practitioners, policymakers, and researchers in the District and elsewhere:

- Use data to improve services and programming. State and local leaders and researchers should analyze data to identify the housing-related reentry priorities, develop evidence-based programs, and document successes. Collection of new data where gaps in research exist will vastly improve the limited knowledge of how best to develop and target housing-related services to the reentry population. Evaluation of existing and promising housing programs will assist in the identification of successful practices and costs and benefits incurred.
- Educate the community about the problems facing returning prisoners. Encourage input from the community. Community forums and informal discussions with community residents can establish trust and lead to appropriate types of services that fit particular needs of communities. The “not-in-my-backyard” (NIMBY) phenomena can be diminished by informing the community of the myriad of benefits that will accrue with transitional services and transitional and permanent housing. Furthermore, it is important to encourage the development of partnerships between government agencies and community organizations because partnerships breed trust.
- Encourage and reward collaboration across systems. In requests for proposals, funders should stipulate that jurisdictions utilize partnership models. This is beginning to happen in such initiatives as the Serious, Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI) and the Prisoner Reentry Initiative (PRI).

For progress to be made, it is important to identify where services will be most effective and how and where cost savings can be incurred, as well as which systems will benefit. More opportunities would arise as successes are documented and publicized. In this view, success breeds interest, which breeds more success. Funding agencies should mandate documentation of outcomes in a systematic method. Aggregation of data from programs and models would provide knowledge of successes and best practices. Evidence of successful programs could then be transferred to the community and assist in building community understanding and interest in the reentry process. More specifically, analysis and evaluation could assist in identifying the answers to the following questions:

- Do individuals commit crimes at much higher rates when they are homeless or in shelters as compared to when they have stable or longer-term living situations? If yes, what types of crimes?
- What types of housing services are being utilized at prerelease facilities? What are the costs and benefits associated with these facilities as compared to direct release?

- What are the costs and benefits associated with halfway houses? What are the costs and benefits of innovative treatment oriented reentry programs such as the District's Reentry and Sanctions Center?
- What are the best practices of Departments of Corrections across the country for prioritizing funding for transitional facilities?
- What types of individuals benefit most from halfway house placements and utilization of services within halfway houses? How do states determine who goes to transitional facilities? Can halfway houses be used successfully for individuals convicted of violent offenses?
- Is permanent supportive housing (PSH) a viable and cost effective option for returning prisoners? Does the provision of PSH reduce recidivism?
- How do we bring successful efforts to scale? Can successful but small housing programs or facilities be expanded, replicated or transferred to other jurisdictions?

With the answers to these questions progress can be made. Some communities have developed coordinated and comprehensive approaches to addressing the housing needs of returning prisoners and ex-offenders. These innovators are utilizing collaborative models and creative funding mixes to implement prerelease planning, transitional housing programs, and permanent supportive housing programs.

## REFERENCES

- Adams, D., and J. Fischer. 1976. The Effects of Prison Residents' Community Contacts on Recidivism Rates. *Corrective and Social Psychiatry* 22(4), 21-27.
- American Correctional Association. 2000. *Vital Statistics in Corrections*. Lanham, Md.: American Correctional Association.
- Bradley, K.H., N.C. Richardson, R.B.M. Oliver, and E.M. Slayter. 2001. *No Place Like Home: Housing and the Ex-Prisoner*. Boston, MA: Community Resources for Justice.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2002. Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2002. "Number of sentenced prisoners admitted and released from State or Federal jurisdiction, by region and jurisdiction, 1999-2001." NCJ 198877.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2003. Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2003. "Number of sentenced prisoners admitted and released from State or Federal jurisdiction, by region and jurisdiction, 1999-2001." NCJ 203947.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2004. National Prisoner Statistics data series (NPS-1).
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2005a. Federal Justice Statistics Program. "Population of offenders in Federal Prison at fiscal year-end 1994-2002 ", Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute (distributor).
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2005b. Federal Justice Statistics Program. "States Housing D.C. Criminal Code Offenders in Federal Prisons, FY2003: BOP03STK," Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute (distributor).
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. 2005c. Federal Justice Statistics Program. "Offenders entering Federal prison during fiscal year 2003: BOP03IN", Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute (distributor).
- Bursik, R.J., Jr., and H.G. Grasmick. 1993. *Neighborhoods and Crime: The Dimensions of Effective Community Control*. Lexington Books.
- Burt, M.R., Y.A. Laudan, T. Douglas, J. Valente, E. Lee, and B. Iwen. 1999. *Homelessness: Programs and the People They Serve. Findings From the National Survey of Homeless Assistance Providers and Clients*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Clear, T.R., E. Waring, and K. Scully. "Communities and Reentry: Concentrated Reentry Cycling," In J. Travis and C. Visser (Eds.). *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Coleman, J.S. 1988. "Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure." *American Journal of Sociology*, 94. Supplement S95-S120.
- Coleman, J.S. 1990. *Foundations on Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Coulton, C. 2001. "Metropolitan and Neighborhood Context: Implications for Welfare to Work." Paper presented at the Workshop on the Equality of Opportunity in Metropolitan Areas: The Importance of Place. National Research Council, Washington, DC.
- District of Columbia Community Corrections Facility Siting Advisory Commission. 2003. Report and Recommendations. Washington, DC: District of Columbia Community Corrections Facility Siting Advisory Commission.

District of Columbia Municipal Regulations. no date. Available:  
[http://dcoz.dc.gov/info/reg/chapter\\_01.pdf](http://dcoz.dc.gov/info/reg/chapter_01.pdf)

Ditton, P.M. 1999. *Mental Health and Treatment of Inmates and Probationers*. NCJ 174463. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Executive Office of the Mayor. 2003. District of Columbia's Offender Reentry Work Plan 2003. Executive Office of the Mayor, Government of the District of Columbia. Submitted to the US. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.

Federal Register. Thursday, May 24, 2001. Vol. 66, No. 101. [http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=2001\\_register&docid=01-12840-filed.pdf](http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=2001_register&docid=01-12840-filed.pdf)

Galster, G., K. Pettit, A. Santiago, and P. Tatian. 2002. The Impact of Supportive Housing on Neighborhood Crime Rates, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24:289-315.

Galster, G.C., P. Tatian, and R. Smith. 1999. "The Impact of Neighbors Who Use Section 8 Certificates on Property Values." *Housing Policy Debate*, 10: 879-917

Glaser, D. 1969. *The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System* (Abridged ed). Indianapolis, IN: Bobb-Merrill, Co.

Goetz, E.G., Lam, H.K., and A. Heitlinger. 1996. *There Goes the Neighborhood? Subsidized Housing in Urban Neighborhood*. Twin Cities, MN: Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.

Gottfredson, S.D., and R.B. Taylor. 1988. "Community Contexts and Criminal Offenders." In T. Hope and M. Shaw (Eds.), *Crime and Community Context*. London: HMSO.

Grogger, J. 1995 "The Effects of Arrests on the Employment and Earnings of Young Men," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 110:756-791.

Hagan, J., and R. Peterson. 1995. Criminal inequality in America: Patterns and consequences. In *Crime and Inequality*, edited by J. Hagan and R. Peterson. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 14-36.

Hagan J., and Petty. 2002. "Returning Captives of the American War on Drugs: Issues of Community and Family Reentry." Paper prepared for the Reentry Roundtable, Washington, D.C., Oct. 12-13, 2000.

Hairston, C.F. 2002. The Importance of Families in Prisoners' Community Reentry. *The ICCA Journal of Community Corrections*, April 11-14.

Holt, N., and D. Miller. 1972. *Explorations in Inmate-Family Relationships*. Sacramento, CA: Research Division, California Department of Corrections.

Holzer, H.J., S. Raphael, and M.A. Stoll. 2001. "Will Employers Hire Ex-Offenders? Employer Preferences, Background Checks, and Their Determinants." In *The Impact of Incarceration on Families and Communities*, edited by Mary Patillo-McCoy, David Weiman and Bruce Western, New York: NY, Russell Sage Foundation.

Horney, J.D., D.W. Osgood, and I.H. Marshall. 1995. "Criminal Careers in the Short-Term: Intra-Individual Variability in Crime and Its Relation to Local Life Circumstances." *American Sociological Review* 60:655-73.

Housing Opportunities Commission. HOC Announces Waiting Lists Will Not Open in 2005. Press Release. Kensington, Maryland, Friday, May 6, 2005. World Wide Web page <<http://www.hocmc.org/News/waitlist2005.htm>> (accessed June 1, 2005).

Iannotta, J.G., and J.L. Ross. 2002. *Equality of Opportunity and the Importance of Place: Summary of a Workshop*. Center for Social and Economic Studies, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, National Research Council. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Klein, S.R., G.S. Bartholomew, and J. Hibbert. 2002. Inmate Family Functioning. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 46(1) 95-111.

Kling, J.R. 1999. "The Effect of Prison Sentence Length on the Subsequent Employment and Earnings of Criminal Defendants." Woodrow Wilson School Discussion Papers in Economics no. 208. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.

Lake, R.W. 1993. "Rethinking NIMBY." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 59(1): 87-93.

Land, K.C., P.L. McCall, and L.E. Cohen. 1990. "Structural Covariates of Homicide Rates: Are There Any Invariances Across Time and Social Space?" *American Journal of Sociology* 95:922-63.

Langan, P.A., and D.J. Levin. 2002. "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994," Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report, June 2002.

Lattimore, P.K., S. Brumbaugh, C. Visher, C. Lindquist, L. Winterfield, M. Salas and J. Zweig. 2004. *National Portrait of SVORI*. RTI International and the Urban Institute.

Laub, J.H., D.S. Nagin, and R.J. Sampson. 1998. "Trajectories of Change in Criminal Offending: Good Marriages and the Desistance Process." *American Sociological Review* 63:225-238.

La Vigne, N., and V. Kachnowski. 2003. *A Portrait of Prisoner Reentry in Maryland*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Report.

La Vigne, N, C. Mamalian, J. Travis, and C. Visher. 2003. *A Portrait of Prisoner Reentry in Illinois*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Report.

La Vigne, N., and G.L. Thomson. 2003. *A Portrait of Prisoner Reentry in Ohio*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Report.

La Vigne, N.G., C. Visher, and J. Castro. 2004. *Chicago Prisoners' Experiences Returning Home*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Lynch, J.P., and W.J. Sabol. 2000. "Prison Use and Social Control." In *Policies, Processes, and Decisions of the Criminal Justice System*. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, Criminal Justice 2000 3: 7-44.

Lynch, J.P., and W.J. Sabol, 2001. Prisoner Reentry in Perspective. *Urban Institute Crime Policy Report*, Vol. 3, September.

Meredith, T., J. Speir, S. Johnson, and H. Hull. 2003. *Enhancing Parole Decision-Making Through the Automation of Risk Assessment*. Atlanta, GA: Applied Research Services, Inc.

Metraux, S., and D.P. Culhane. 2004. "Homeless Shelter Use and Reincarceration Following Prison Release: Assessing the Risk." *Criminology and Public Policy* 3(2).

- Morenoff, J.D., and R.J. Sampson. 1997. "Violent Crime and the Spatial Dynamics of Neighborhood Transition: Chicago, 1970-1990." *Social Forces* 76:31-64.
- Morenoff, J.D., R.J. Sampson, and S. Raudenbush. 2001. "Neighborhood Inequality, Collective Efficacy, and the Spatial Dynamics of Urban Violence." *Criminology* 39: 517-560.
- National Commission on Correctional Health Care. 2002. The Health Status of Soon-to-be-Released Inmates. A Report to Congress, Volume 1. Retrieved on July 15, 2003 from the World Wide Web: [http://www.ncchc.org/pubs/pubs\\_stbr.html](http://www.ncchc.org/pubs/pubs_stbr.html).
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2004. Out of Reach 2004. Washington, DC: National Low Income Housing Coalition. World Wide Web page <<http://www.nlihc.org/oor2004>> (accessed June 1, 2005)
- Nelson, M., P. Deess, and C. Allen. 1999. *The First Month Out: Post-Incarceration Experiences in New York City*. New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice.
- Obrinsky, M., and J. Meron. 2002. Housing Affordability: The Apartment Universe. Washington, DC: National Multi Housing Council. World Wide Web page <<http://www.nmhc.org/Content/ServeFile.cfm?FileID=3023> > (accessed October 1, 2005).
- Pager, D. 2002. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." Doctoral dissertation. Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Paxton, P. 1999. "Is Social Capital Declining in the U.S.? A Multiple Indicator Assessment." *American Journal of Sociology*, 105:88-107.
- Petersilia, J. 2000. "Prisoners Returning to Communities: Political, Economic, and Social Consequences." In *Sentencing and Corrections: Issues for the 21st Century*. National Institute of Justice: Papers from the Executive Sessions on Sentencing and Corrections. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, May.
- Petersilia, J. 2003. *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Reentry*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Public Defenders Office for the District of Columbia. 2005. Criminal Law Database – Sentencing. See World Wide Web page <<http://www.pdsdc.org/CriminalLawDatabase/Sentencing.asp?ID=1>>.
- Quander, P. 2005. Testimony before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform. February 2, 2005.
- Rodgers, A. 2006. Testimony Of Angie Rodgers (Policy Analyst), DC Fiscal Policy Institute. At the Public Hearing on The Comprehensive Housing Strategy Task Force Report of 2006, District of Columbia Committee on Economic Development. June 13, 2006.
- Roman, C.G., and J. Travis. 2004. Taking Stock: Housing, Homelessness and Prisoner Reentry. Final Report to The Fannie Mae Foundation. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Sampson, R.J., and W.B. Groves. 1989. "Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social Disorganization Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:774-802.
- Sampson, R.J. and J.H. Laub. 1993. *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sampson, R.J., J.H. Laub, C. Wimer. 2006. "Does Marriage Reduce Crime? A Counterfactual Approach to Within-Individual Causal Effects." *Criminology* 44: 465-508.



Sampson, R.J., J. Morenoff, and F. Earls. 1999. "Beyond Social Capital: Spatial Dynamics of Collective Efficacy for Children." *American Sociological Review* 64: 633-660.

Sampson, R.J., and S. Raudenbush. 2001. *Disorder in Urban Neighborhoods—Does It Lead to Crime?* Research Brief Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

Sampson, R.J. and S.W. Raudenbush. 1999. "Systematic Social Observation of Public Spaces: A New Look at Disorder in Urban Neighborhoods." *American Journal of Sociology*, 105:603-651.

Sampson, R.J., S. Raudenbush and F. Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multi-level Study of Collective Efficacy." *Science* 277:918-24.

Silverman, E. 2006. *Families In District Struggling For Shelter*. The Washington Post. Page C01. October 22, 2006.

Tatian, P. 2006. *District of Columbia Housing Monitor*. Fall 2006. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Taxman, F., and J. Bouffard. 2001. "District of Columbia Court Services and Offender Supervision Agency (CSOSA) Risk Screening Instrument Validation Project: Final Report," U.S. Department of Justice, (District Government), July 2001.

Templin, L.A., K.M. Abram, G.M. McClelland, M.K. Dulcan, and A.A. Mericle. (2002). "Psychiatric Disorders in Youth in Juvenile Detention." *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 59:1133-1143.

Travis, J. 2005. *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Travis, J., S. Keegan, E. Cadora. 2003. *A Portrait of Prisoner Reentry in New Jersey*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Turner, M.A., G.T. Kingsley, K.L.S. Pettit, and N. Sawyer. 2004. *Housing in the Nation's Capital 2004*. Report Prepared by the Urban Institute for the Fannie Mae Foundation. Washington, DC: The Fannie Mae Foundation.

Turner, M.A., G. T. Kingsley, K.L.S. Pettit, C.W. Snow, and P.A. Tatian. 2002. *Housing in the Nation's Capital 2002*. Report Prepared by the Urban Institute for the Fannie Mae Foundation. Washington, DC: The Fannie Mae Foundation.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2000. USA Quick Facts. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>

U.S. General Accounting Office. 2001. *D.C. Criminal Justice System: Better Coordination Needed Among Participating Agencies*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO-01-187.

U.S. General Accounting Office. 2001. *Prisoner Releases: Trends and Information on Reintegration Programs*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO-01-483.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1997. *Meeting the Challenges: Public Housing Authorities Respond to the "One Strike and You're Out" Initiative*. Washington, DC. Office of Public and Indian Housing.

Visher, C., and J. Farrell. 2005. *Chicago Communities and Prisoner Reentry*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Report.

Visher, C., N. La Vigne, and J. Travis. 2004. *Returning Home: Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry Maryland Pilot Study: Findings from Baltimore*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Report. January 2004.

Wacquant, L.J.D. 1993. "Urban Outcasts: Stigma and Division in the Black American Ghetto and the French Urban Periphery." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17:366-83.

Watson, Jamie, Amy L. Solomon, Nancy G. La Vigne, Jeremy Travis, with Meagan Funches, and Barbara Parthasarathy. 2004. *A Portrait of Prisoner Reentry in Texas*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Watts, H., and D.S. Nightingale. 1996. *Adding it up: The economic impact of incarceration on individuals, families, and communities*. Oklahoma Criminal Justice Research Consortium Journal vol. 3 (August). <http://www.doc.state.ok.us/DOCS/OCJRC/Ocjrc96/Ocjrc55.htm>

Warr, M. 1998. "Life-Course Transitions and Desistance from Crime," *Criminology* 36(2):183-216.

Western, B. 2002. "The Impact of Incarceration on Wage Mobility and Inequality." *American Sociological Review* 67:526-546.

Wilson, W.J. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: the Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, W.J. 1996. *When Work Disappears : The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Random House.

Zhang, Zhiwei. 2004. *Drug and Alcohol Use and Related Matters Among Arrestees, 2003*. Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center.

## **Appendix A: Overview of Methodology for Telephone Survey of Reentry Housing Providers**

In early 2002, Urban Institute staff developed a list of District housing providers, housing services providers, and providers that work with ex-offenders. We built on a number of provider lists and resource mapping projects that community organizations had already developed. At the time there was no central repository or organization that had mapped all housing and ex-offender providers. A number of organizations in our database came from DC-CURE's resource directory. We finalized our list and had a number of community agencies review the list for comments and suggestions. We decided to cast our net wide and include organizations on our database that may not be providing housing related services, but could be serving returning prisoners or ex-offenders. In spring 2003, the database contained 302 organizations. We asked our community contacts to nominate those organizations that should be on our TIER I, priority list for completing the surveys. We estimated that given the project funding for the task, we could complete 50 surveys. We placed 25 organizations on the TIER I list. We developed a short one-page screening sheet to be used when we call organizations. Organizations are screened out if they do not provide any services to returning prisoners or ex-offenders.

In spring of 2003, we developed and pilot tested the survey instrument. We worked with three community agencies (Alliance of Concerned Men, Catholic Charities, Our Place-DC) and numerous advisers to review and pretest the survey. In March 2003, we mailed out a postcard to all organizations to notify them of our interest in conducting a telephone survey. We began interviewing the Tier I organizations in April 2003 and continued serving organizations through the July 2004. Each organization is called, if needed, up to five times. With no response after five times, we fax or mail the survey to the organization and ask them to mail it back to us in the self-addressed, stamped envelope. After the faxing/mailing, if we receive no response, we closed out the file (i.e., no more follow-up). By the end of the project period we had made contact with 76 organizations. Of the 76 organizations, we screened out 15, verified that another 15 are no longer in existence (or were part of another agency), and completed surveys with 42 organizations. Three organizations refused to participate in the survey. And as stated earlier in the report, to facilitate data collection as nonresponse to the survey grew, we dropped the last three pages of the survey halfway through data collection.

**Appendix B**

Time Started \_\_\_\_\_

# DC Housing and Supportive Services for Individuals Returning from Prison and Jail

Section I.

## Tell us about your organization

---

1. May we confirm the address of your organization?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

---

2. Is your organization...

*[Check all that apply]*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. A 501(c)(3)                         | <input type="checkbox"/> e. A government agency                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. A non profit but not a 501(c)(3)    | <input type="checkbox"/> f. A faith-based organization                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. A for-profit private firm           | <input type="checkbox"/> g. Other ( <i>specify</i> ) _____            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. A community development corporation | <input type="checkbox"/> h. DON'T KNOW/NO ANSWER <i>[do not read]</i> |

---

3. How long has your organization been serving residents of the District?

\_\_\_\_\_ years?      \_\_\_\_\_ months?      \_\_\_\_\_ days?      DK/NA

4. Which of the following describes your organization? I have a list. Are you...

*[Check all that apply]*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> A. A halfway house                        | <input type="checkbox"/> h. An independent living facility                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. A group home                           | <input type="checkbox"/> i. A religious organization                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. A homeless shelter                     | <input type="checkbox"/> j. A substance abuse treatment provider           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. A health care provider                 | <input type="checkbox"/> k. A social service provider                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e. A housing provider                     | <input type="checkbox"/> l. A service provider or housing referral service |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f. A housing developer/Rehab/Construction | <input type="checkbox"/> m. Or something else?<br>(Other) _____            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> g. A property manager                     | <input type="checkbox"/> n. DK/NA <i>[do not read]</i>                     |

---

5. What is the geographic area served by your organization? *[If your organization is part of a larger organization, please answer this question about your particular location...]* *[do not read, probe if necessary]*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. Neighborhood ( <i>specify</i> ) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> e. Multi-state, if so which states?<br>_____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. Ward based, if so, which Ward _____   | <input type="checkbox"/> f. Regional, if so, which region _____       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. The District                          | <input type="checkbox"/> g. Other ( <i>specify</i> ) _____            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. DC Metropolitan area                  | <input type="checkbox"/> h. DK/NA <i>[do not read]</i>                |

---

6. What is the primary population that you serve?

*[DO NOT READ. Check only one.]*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. Adults who are homeless<br>(men only, women only, or both) | <input type="checkbox"/> g. Migrants or refugees               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. Families who are homeless                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> h. Low income individuals             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. Victims of domestic violence                               | <input type="checkbox"/> i. Youth or high-risk youth           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. Persons with substance abuse/addiction                     | <input type="checkbox"/> j. Or another population, Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e. Persons with a mental illness                              | <input type="checkbox"/> k. DK/NA <i>[do not read]</i>         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f. Persons with HIV/AIDS                                      |  |

---

7. In addition to the primary population that you serve, whom else do you serve? Do you serve...

*[Check all that apply. DO NOT READ SELECTION FROM Q6]*

- a. Adults who are homeless (men only, women only, or both)
- b. Families who are homeless
- c. Victims of domestic violence
- d. Persons with substance abuse/addiction
- e. Persons with a mental illness
- f. Persons with HIV/AIDS
- g. Migrants or refugees
- h. Low income individuals
- i. Youth or high-risk youth
- j. Other \_\_\_\_\_
- k. DK/NA *[do not read]*

---

8. How long has your organization been assisting returning prisoners in the District?

\_\_\_\_\_ years?          \_\_\_\_\_ months?          \_\_\_\_\_ days?           DK/NA

---

9a. Do you serve clients or interview individuals for eligibility before they leave prison or jail?

- Yes                                   No                                   DK/NA

→ 9b. What is your primary method of communication with incarcerated clients? *[read list]*

- a. Telephone
- b. In person
- c. Mail
- d. Something else? \_\_\_\_\_

---

10a. Now I'd like to ask you about the types of services your organization provides. Please tell me yes or no for each of the following services:

*[Check all that apply.]*

- a. Advocacy
- b. After school activities, recreation, or sports
- c. GED, tutoring and/or literacy
- d. Mentoring
- e. Family Counseling and/or other family services, parenting education
- f. Case management
- g. Drop-out prevention
- h. Violence prevention or gang intervention
- i. Emergency Shelter
- j. Clothing and/or food pantry
- k. Assistance in locating housing
- l. Applying for subsidized housing
- m. Financial assistance with rent/utilities
- n. Assistance with landlord/tenant relations
- o. Housing development, rehab, construction
- p. Homeownership counseling
- q. Emergency shelter
- r. Job training, vocational rehabilitation, computer classes or training, or life skills
- s. Job placement or job referral
- t. Free or subsidized transportation services
- u. Medical services, health support services
- v. HIV/AIDS support or services
- w. Mental health services
- x. In-patient substance abuse treatment
- y. Outpatient substance abuse treatment
- z. Public health education or wellness programs
- aa. Legal services, civil rights protection
- bb. Adoption assistance, foster care
- cc. Family reunification
- dd. Community development
- ee. An ex-offender support group
- ff. Assistance in obtaining identification
- gg. Child care
- hh. Any other services that I have not mentioned?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- ii. DK/NA *[do not read]*



---

17a. Is your organization part of a comprehensive community initiative or coalition to aid returning prisoners?

Yes                       No                       DK/NA                      *[if yes, enter "yes" for 18a]*

→ 17b. *[If 'Yes' in Q17a]* Does the initiative or coalition have a name? \_\_\_\_\_

17c. What is its primary mission? \_\_\_\_\_

17d. Who is the primary contact person in charge of this initiative? \_\_\_\_\_

---

18a. Do you work with a network of community based service providers in assisting clients?

Yes                       No                       DK/NA                      *[if yes at 17a, enter "yes" at 18a]*

→ 18b. Please name the THREE organizations you work most closely with. *[Skip to 19a]*

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## Section II.

### Tell us about the population you serve

The following questions ask about the clients served by your organization. Clients include anyone your organization serves.

---

19a. What is the estimated number of people you serve....      Each Year? Each Day?  
Each year (not counting repeat clients)? \_\_\_\_\_      Each day \_\_\_\_\_

19b. During the past year, approximately what percent of your total clients fall into each of the following categories? What percent of your clients are... *[Read all - record percent]*

|  | ANNUAL (PERCENT OF TOTAL) % |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Persons and families who are homeless (men, women, or both)? | _____ %                     |
| Parolees; those exiting prisons and jails?                   | _____ %                     |
| Victims of domestic violence?                                | _____ %                     |
| Persons with substance abuse/addiction?                      | _____ %                     |
| Persons with mental illness?                                 | _____ %                     |
| Persons with HIV/AIDS ?                                      | _____ %                     |
| Other _____  | _____ %                     |





---

25. What percentage of your clients who have returned from prison/jail are . . .

|  | % OF EX-OFFENDER CLIENTS |
|--|--------------------------|
| a. Employed part time (0 to 35 hours/week) | _____ %                  |
| b. Employed full time (35+ hours/week)     | _____ %                  |
| c. Enrolled in job training or school      | _____ %                  |
| d. Unemployed, but job-ready               | _____ %                  |

*I just have a few more questions about housing needs...*

---

26. In your opinion, what kind of housing arrangements do you think the majority of your clients who are returning from prisons and jails are in? Would you say the majority of them are... *[check all that apply]* Returning to their families or staying with friends?

- Finding private rental arrangements (not Section 8)?
- Staying in emergency shelters?
- Living on the street?
- In public-housing/Section 8?
- In a rehabilitation facility?
- Other? *(specify)* \_\_\_\_\_
- DK/NA *(do not read)*

---

27. In your opinion, do the current housing arrangements available to individuals returning from prisons and jails adequately meet their needs?

- Yes                       No                                       DK/NA

---

28. In your opinion, what are the primary barriers that individuals returning from prisons and jails face with regard to securing safe and affordable housing?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

---

29. Within the District, are there any housing services that you feel are NOT being provided to people returning from prison and jail? What are these services?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

---

30. In your opinion, what types of housing/and or housing services could most assist individuals returning from prison and jail?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

---

31. What, if any, are the primary barriers that exist for your agency in providing housing services to returning prisoners?

---

---

---

---

---

32. Does your organization have any plans to change the way you provide housing-related services in general? (e.g., expanding the range of services, focusing on fewer services, moving premises, etc.)

- Yes             No                             DK/NA

If Yes, what are those plans?

---

---

33. Does your organization have any plans to change the way you provide housing-related services *for returning prisoners*?(e.g., expanding the range of services, focusing on fewer services, moving premises, etc.?)

- Yes             No                             DK/NA

If Yes, what are those plans?

---

---

34. Finally, in addition to organizations you have already mentioned, are there other organizations in the District that come to your mind that provide services to returning prisoners?

---

---

---

---

THIS IS THE END. THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS IMPORTANT SURVEY.

**Appendix C**

| Tract | Number of Parolees | Pct of Total Parolees | Parolees Per 1,000 | Tract | Number of Parolees | Pct of Total Parolees | Parolees Per 1,000 | Tract | Number of Parolees | Pct of Total Parolees | Parolees Per 1,000 |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 74.08 | 72                 | 3.87                  | 33.2               | 33.02 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 4.4                | 18.03 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.0                |
| 59.00 | 32                 | 1.72                  | 17.2               | 96.03 | 14                 | 0.75                  | 4.3                | 52.01 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 0.9                |
| 87.01 | 39                 | 2.10                  | 16.1               | 98.01 | 9                  | 0.48                  | 4.3                | 81.00 | 2                  | 0.11                  | 0.8                |
| 85.00 | 41                 | 2.20                  | 12.8               | 22.01 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 4.3                | 63.01 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 0.8                |
| 88.04 | 28                 | 1.50                  | 12.3               | 78.09 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 4.1                | 23.02 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.7                |
| 91.01 | 52                 | 2.79                  | 10.8               | 74.01 | 12                 | 0.64                  | 4.0                | 27.01 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 0.7                |
| 88.03 | 20                 | 1.07                  | 10.4               | 31.00 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 4.0                | 95.07 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.7                |
| 98.02 | 18                 | 0.97                  | 10.0               | 25.01 | 9                  | 0.48                  | 3.8                | 39.00 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 0.6                |
| 75.04 | 22                 | 1.18                  | 9.3                | 23.01 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 3.7                | 42.01 | 2                  | 0.11                  | 0.6                |
| 96.04 | 18                 | 0.97                  | 9.1                | 78.07 | 7                  | 0.38                  | 3.7                | 67.00 | 2                  | 0.11                  | 0.6                |
| 89.03 | 21                 | 1.13                  | 8.8                | 22.02 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 3.7                | 9.02  | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.5                |
| 89.04 | 28                 | 1.50                  | 8.6                | 74.04 | 12                 | 0.64                  | 3.6                | 16.00 | 2                  | 0.11                  | 0.5                |
| 77.08 | 23                 | 1.24                  | 8.5                | 29.00 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 3.6                | 70.00 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.5                |
| 99.04 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 8.1                | 64.00 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 3.6                | 20.01 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.4                |
| 97.00 | 18                 | 0.97                  | 7.8                | 77.09 | 7                  | 0.38                  | 3.5                | 82.00 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.4                |
| 91.02 | 33                 | 1.77                  | 7.5                | 21.01 | 18                 | 0.97                  | 3.4                | 17.01 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.3                |
| 74.03 | 17                 | 0.91                  | 7.4                | 74.07 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 3.4                | 95.03 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.3                |
| 79.01 | 27                 | 1.45                  | 7.3                | 72.00 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 3.3                | 14.02 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.3                |
| 99.05 | 19                 | 1.02                  | 7.1                | 21.02 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 3.2                | 57.01 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.2                |
| 79.03 | 13                 | 0.70                  | 7.1                | 69.00 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 3.2                | 56.00 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 0.2                |
| 48.02 | 20                 | 1.07                  | 7.0                | 76.05 | 12                 | 0.64                  | 3.2                | 1.00  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 78.06 | 14                 | 0.75                  | 6.6                | 48.01 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 3.2                | 2.01  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 49.01 | 13                 | 0.70                  | 6.5                | 25.02 | 17                 | 0.91                  | 3.1                | 2.02  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 96.02 | 20                 | 1.07                  | 6.4                | 76.03 | 13                 | 0.70                  | 3.1                | 3.00  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 75.02 | 27                 | 1.45                  | 6.4                | 92.01 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 2.9                | 4.00  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 75.03 | 16                 | 0.86                  | 6.4                | 71.00 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 2.8                | 5.01  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 80.01 | 16                 | 0.86                  | 6.2                | 84.02 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 2.8                | 5.02  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 76.01 | 28                 | 1.50                  | 6.1                | 24.00 | 10                 | 0.54                  | 2.8                | 6.00  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 84.10 | 9                  | 0.48                  | 6.0                | 78.03 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 2.6                | 7.01  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 74.06 | 19                 | 1.02                  | 5.9                | 19.02 | 5                  | 0.27                  | 2.4                | 7.02  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 98.06 | 35                 | 1.88                  | 5.9                | 20.02 | 9                  | 0.48                  | 2.4                | 8.01  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 73.04 | 27                 | 1.45                  | 5.8                | 77.07 | 9                  | 0.48                  | 2.4                | 8.02  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 88.02 | 24                 | 1.29                  | 5.8                | 34.00 | 10                 | 0.54                  | 2.4                | 9.01  | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 87.02 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 5.7                | 44.00 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 2.3                | 10.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 46.00 | 17                 | 0.91                  | 5.7                | 17.02 | 5                  | 0.27                  | 2.2                | 10.02 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 30.00 | 16                 | 0.86                  | 5.7                | 83.01 | 5                  | 0.27                  | 2.2                | 11.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 32.00 | 25                 | 1.34                  | 5.6                | 61.00 | 5                  | 0.27                  | 2.2                | 12.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 98.07 | 18                 | 0.97                  | 5.6                | 95.09 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 2.1                | 13.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 33.01 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 5.5                | 68.02 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 1.9                | 13.02 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 74.09 | 19                 | 1.02                  | 5.5                | 93.01 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 1.8                | 14.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 68.01 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 5.5                | 95.04 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 1.8                | 15.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 47.00 | 24                 | 1.29                  | 5.5                | 90.00 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 1.8                | 26.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 58.00 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 5.4                | 35.00 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 1.7                | 40.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 28.02 | 25                 | 1.34                  | 5.3                | 95.01 | 9                  | 0.48                  | 1.7                | 41.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 98.08 | 13                 | 0.70                  | 5.3                | 96.01 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 1.7                | 42.02 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 92.03 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 5.2                | 94.00 | 7                  | 0.38                  | 1.7                | 52.02 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 99.06 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 5.2                | 93.02 | 2                  | 0.11                  | 1.7                | 53.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 19.01 | 20                 | 1.07                  | 5.1                | 28.01 | 6                  | 0.32                  | 1.7                | 54.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 77.03 | 23                 | 1.24                  | 5.0                | 27.02 | 10                 | 0.54                  | 1.7                | 65.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 99.07 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 4.9                | 60.02 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 1.6                | 66.00 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 98.03 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 4.9                | 37.00 | 8                  | 0.43                  | 1.6                | 73.01 | 0                  | 0.00                  | 0.0                |
| 73.02 | 16                 | 0.86                  | 4.9                | 83.02 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.5                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 80.02 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 4.8                | 38.00 | 7                  | 0.38                  | 1.5                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 49.02 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 4.8                | 99.03 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.4                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 50.00 | 35                 | 1.88                  | 4.8                | 40.02 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 1.4                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 92.04 | 11                 | 0.59                  | 4.7                | 99.01 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.3                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 78.08 | 19                 | 1.02                  | 4.7                | 51.00 | 1                  | 0.05                  | 1.3                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 99.02 | 14                 | 0.75                  | 4.7                | 43.00 | 4                  | 0.21                  | 1.2                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 98.04 | 12                 | 0.64                  | 4.7                | 18.04 | 5                  | 0.27                  | 1.2                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 36.00 | 18                 | 0.97                  | 4.6                | 68.04 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.1                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 76.04 | 17                 | 0.91                  | 4.5                | 95.05 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.1                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 60.01 | 12                 | 0.64                  | 4.5                | 55.00 | 5                  | 0.27                  | 1.1                |       |                    |                       |                    |
| 78.04 | 15                 | 0.81                  | 4.4                | 95.08 | 3                  | 0.16                  | 1.0                |       |                    |                       |                    |

