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It Doesn't Get Better with Time: The Effect of Housing Insecurity on Rearrest in Polk and Palm Beach County

Quintin Williams

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

IT DOESN'T GET BETTER WITH TIME: THE EFFECT OF HOUSING INSECURITY ON
REARREST IN POLK AND PALM BEACH COUNTY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

BY

QUINTIN WILLIAMS

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There are so many people to thank on this journey. I have been absolutely blessed to have had so many incredible people support me. First, I would like to thank God, that Being, the Spiritual force, that has somehow given me the strength through this eight-year journey. A journey where I experienced some of the greatest moments of my life, such as the birth of my children, and some of the greatest pain seeing countless loved ones in caskets way to soon during this country's gun violence epidemic. Despite these pendulum swings of life, I never once thought about quitting, and that is in large part due to so many people who have supported me, believed in me, and were my biggest cheerleaders. Thank you to my wife Sarah who has been instrumental in helping me cross the finish line (the absolute hardest part!). Always encouraging me to jump in and work, especially in times when I was frustrated and unmotivated. Dr. Marilyn Krogh, since I have been in the program you have been such a kind, patient, and supportive person to me. I so appreciate your constant votes of confidence and steadfast belief in me. There is no way I would have attempted a quantitative dissertation if it wasn't for you. You made statistics less scary and de-mystified it for me. I am forever grateful for you. Dr. Ed Flores when you introduced me to some of the formerly incarcerated advocates in Chicago my first year, you changed my life. Those meetings turned into years of deep friendships, my political education, and essentially solidifying what I wanted to do for the rest of my life. Thank you. Dr. Rosenblatt thank you for your always encouraging words and excitement about my ideas—Some days that

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For the boys and girls born in neighborhoods in Chicago that have the world against them. For those that have perished, those that remain, and those that rise. For you.

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ABSTRACT

Housing insecurity is one of the main drivers of poverty and inequality in contemporary urban society. We know that this insecurity contributes to poorer life outcomes for the individuals experiencing it. We know less about how this housing insecurity impacts contact with the criminal justice system. Using event history analysis, this study assesses the effects of housing insecurity in Polk County Iowa and Palm Beach County Florida. Results confirm that housing insecurity increases the risk of being rearrested each day a person is without stable housing. These findings reveal that lack of access to safe, affordable, and stable housing not only has socioeconomic consequences, but also contributes to the cycle of homelessness and incarceration and perpetuates disadvantage among non-white people especially.

CHAPTER 1

HOUSING POLICY AND MASS INCARCERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

“You must always remember that the sociology, the history, the economics, the graphs, the charts, the regressions all land, with great violence, upon the body.”

—Ta-Nehisi Coates

The Trajectory of Homelessness to Incarceration in Palm Beach County and Polk County

Although this study is a quantitative one, it is important to note that the numbers/data represent real people, real lives, and real consequences. The men and women who are in the data used for this study are on average not highly educated, have histories of incarceration, and most importantly for this study, many were housing insecure. I use the term “housing insecure” in accordance with an expanded view of homelessness that is now the standard in the field. Housing insecurity is an umbrella term that encompasses several dimensions of housing problems people may experience, including affordability, safety, quality, overcrowding, living with friends, and couch surfing. These additional dimensions beyond outright rooflessness are said to represent the bulk of America’s “hidden homelessness” problem (Fowler et. Al. 2019). In what follows is an examination of this housing insecurity and its impacts on re-involvement with the justice system. It is my argument that the data tell a story of how housing insecurity is a driver of outcomes, that produces poverty (Desmond 2016) however, a strong mediator of that poverty is contact with the justice system. Housing insecurity increases risk of being arrested and thereby contributes to the cyclical relationship between housing and incarceration. People experience two overlapping systems, systems of homeless governance, and the criminal justice system. Individuals who are

incarcerated often find themselves housing insecure and people who are housing insecure often end up in jails or prisons (Metraux et. al 2007). Even though this cycle has been examined, the nature of the relationship is lesser known and in studies that do examine this relationship, what the effect of housing is on incarceration has been mixed (see Moschion and Johnson 2019).

To begin I outline two trajectories. One in Polk County Iowa, and the other in Palm Beach County Florida. The stories presented are not to argue one way or another, the effect of housing. Rather, I want to make the point that housing matters in reentry. For over a decade the literature on recidivism, desistance, or reentry has focused mostly on the centrality of employment. I argue that employment and other important factors such as age are crucial, but so is housing. Moreover, the intersection between housing and incarceration is rooted in a long history of racial inequality in the United States. Thus, this study aims to elevate that important context while establishing empirically that housing for formerly incarcerated persons is crucial in avoiding future justice involvement. For anonymity pseudonyms will be used to describe two trajectories found in the data that is the center of this analysis.

In Polk County, Iowa John a 46-year-old white male was released from the county jail on June 14th, 2017. About a year later, John shows up in Polk County's Homeless Management System. His housing situation before being assessed was described as "place not meant for habitation." John was connected to "Emergency Shelter Services." 22 days after this, John was rearrested for a Parole Violation. Approximately a year and a half after being released John was back in the custody of the Polk County Jail after suffering what seems to be an acute housing emergency.

In Palm Beach County Florida Larry, a 60-year-old black man was released from Palm Beach County Jail September 1, 2015. One month after Larry's release he showed up in the Palm Beach County HMIS system. Larry was engaged by a street outreach team and his living situation was like John's, described as "place not meant for habitation." 6 months after showing up in the HMIS system Larry was rearrested. Less than a year from being released Larry was rearrested. From those data I cannot tell what Larry was rearrested for, but nevertheless he was an elderly man who did not have a habitable place to stay and could not ultimately find shelter except that which is provided by being under correctional control.

Without speculating about the circumstances that led to Larry and John's situation, and exactly what they were going through during this time, both men were in need, and ultimately that need, at least in part led to their subsequent incarceration. The stories illustrate that it is reasonable to suspect that both housing situations contributed to their re-incarceration. It also illustrates the vicious cycle of precarity that characterizes the reentry experience for people who also experience housing insecurity. There are many more stories in these data, more trajectories that span across racial ethnic categories, ages, and gender.

Mass Incarceration in the United States

One of the greatest transformations in the social, political, and economic life of Americans has been the advent of mass incarceration (Garland 2001; Waquant 2010; Wilson 2013). This transformation is thought to be an intentional retrenchment of the gains made by the civil rights movement, and a move away from "war on poverty" (Alexander 2010; Hinton 2016). This materialized most in the 1980's where the prison population began to grow exponentially. It is estimated that over the last 40 years the prison population in America increased by 500% (The

Sentencing Project 2021). While generally a broad phenomenon, mass incarceration's impact is not equal. African Americans are seven times more likely to be in jail or prison compared to whites (Western and Pettit 2010). Further, in their study of pre- and post-World War 2 cohorts of young men, Western and Pettit (2010) found that young black men without a high school diploma had a 1 and 4 chance of being incarcerated over the span of their lives. Moreover, since mass incarceration is so concentrated it renders its impacts invisible, (Western and Pettit 2010; Pettit 2012) Cumulative (Western and Pettit 2010; Western et.al 2021) and generational (Western and Pettit 2010).

Permanent Punishment and Housing in the United States

One of the aftermaths of this massive increase of people incarcerated in the United States is the civil, social, and economic exclusion that follows the "negative credential" (Pager 2008) that is a criminal record. These exclusions are commonly referred to as "collateral consequences." These consequences are the legal and regulatory sanctions beyond the criminal sentence imposed in court. For instance, certain classes of felons may be automatically and even permanently banned from certain employment, occupational licensing, voting and many other domains in social, economic, and political life (Wakefield and Uggen 2010; Sampson 2011). It is important to note that the term "collateral consequences" is contested because it fails to capture the everyday experiences of people with records, omit the intentionality of current laws, and have a long history (Buitrago & Escobar-Schulz 2020). The frame permanent punishments are what best describes the situation that people with records face in housing. In both public and private housing markets, people with records have a hard time securing safe and affordable

housing, and this struggle is often indefinite and incredibly destabilizing in the reentry process (Western 2018).

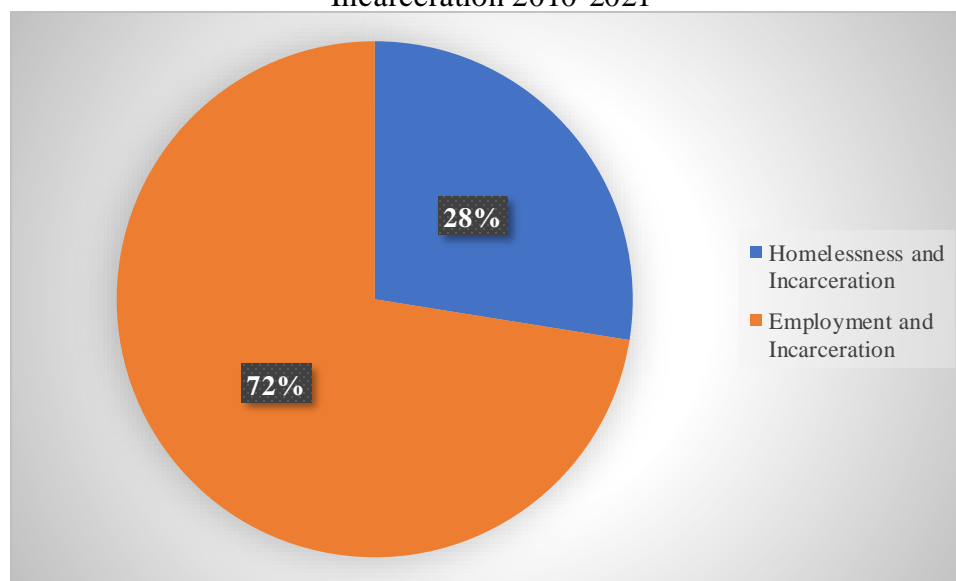
Housing discrimination against people with records is common in both public and private housing markets (Pager 2003; Pager and Sheppard 2008; Evans et. al 2018). Landlords are less likely to rent to people with criminal records, even for what are considered “minor” offenses (Evans et. al 2018). While most jurisdictions in the United States can exercise discretion when determining who is eligible for housing, that discretion often means denial for people with records (Tran-Leung 2015). This broader context of exclusion is connected to the experiences of the people represented in this study.

As of 2018 in the state of Florida people convicted of possession of controlled substances are ineligible for protection under The Fair Housing Act of 1968 (NICCC 2021). More than that, there are other exclusions related to housing in residential settings and persons with sex offenses. In Iowa there is no formal mention of the Fair Housing Act and no comparable discretionary exclusions. They have many of the same restrictions related to residential settings. However, Iowans with any felony or misdemeanor are ineligible to access “resource centers.” These resource centers in Iowa service people that need mental health support, juvenile facilities, and people with severe intellectual disabilities.

The permanent punishments that stem from a criminal record are far and wide. The restrictions on housing that stem from legal restrictions and stigma have consequential effects on people with records. In Bruce Western’s (2018) Boston Reentry Study he describes housing as “basic to social integration” and closely connected to family support. Furthermore, half of all the participants in the study were in some marginal or temporary housing within six months after

release. What this tells us is that housing is critical and at the same time is a struggle for people returning from incarceration. Employment, and income are also important in reentry (Uggen 2000) and can be an important factor in future justice involvement. Moreover, academics have shown the important connections between employment and incarceration. Figure 1 shows that since 2010 the number of publications on homelessness and incarceration pale in comparison to the volume of publications on employment and incarceration. More than that, the volume of writing about homelessness and incarceration recently started within the last decade with very little publications in the early to mid-2000's. Housing has not been a focal point in scholarship both within the reentry literature and the housing literature until fairly recently (see below). Even so, there is still much that we don't know about the relationship between housing and incarceration and its subsequent impacts on reentry.

Figure 1. Number of Writings about Homelessness and Incarceration vs. Employment and Incarceration 2010-2021



*Author's calculations based on search of LexisNexus database (Feb 2022)

Housing Policy in the United States

The relationship between homelessness and incarceration is in the context of the larger housing policy context in the United States. Particularly there are two important developments in the larger context that are relevant for this study. One, is the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the establishment of the Homeless Management Information System by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the early 2000's. These developments represent Macro level and institutional level evolution in how the United States as a whole and local jurisdictions tried to address housing challenges.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was legislation that was intended to stop discrimination against black people in housing sale practices and tactics. This policy did not have the intended effects, with some studies highlighting the lack of proper implementation and continued to discriminate against black people with exclusions being made for supposed non racialized reasons (Meyers 2000).

Sociologists Massey and Denton (2015) note that the Fair Housing Act did not, at the time of their writing live up to its intent. Citing lack of robust enforcement mechanisms, Massey and Denton argue that even though the act formerly banned discriminatory practices, they argue that it did not do much in the way of stalling segregation. Furthermore, the processes were cumbersome and not practical for proper implementation of the law. Relevant to this study, the act also did not include any protections for individuals with criminal records. This would have been unheard of in a time of civil unrest and claims of urban chaos and "riots." It would have been inconceivable to think about the "rights" of persons with criminal backgrounds. Which is

the point. This lack of protection would be meaningful as the coming decade would usher in the era of mass incarceration and further entrench the very people that the FHA was supposed to help in a continuous cycle of poverty and inequity.

Sampson and Loeffler (2016) rightly note that punishment has a “place.” These places are like the places that William Julius Wilson (2012) and others described as places of concentrated poverty. Sampson argues that the concentration of poverty and disadvantage is correlated with the share of individuals returning home from incarceration. In 1968 the proponents and opponents of the Fair Housing Act did not want to or could not conceive of a world where people with records would need to be “protected.” This omission has allowed for legal discrimination in housing (Pager 2010) toward the very people whom the Act was supposed to protect. Given that black people are disproportionately incarcerated in America, it stands to reason that they would also then feel the weight of civil, social, and economic exclusions that come from having a criminal record. One such exclusion is housing for people with records.

The Effects of Housing Insecurity

The role of housing insecurity in the reproduction of inequality has been a topic examined by sociologists. None perhaps more prolifically than Matthew Desmond. His work on the role of housing precarity in the reproduction of poverty illuminate the crucial role that housing plays in the lives of urban residents. Using evictions as a measure of housing insecurity he finds that poor or unstable housing is not merely a condition of poverty; rather, unstable housing perpetuates poverty (Desmond 2016). He notes that evictions (or housing insecurity) have an impact on future housing situations, employment prospects, and consumes a large

amount of mental and physical energy. Most of all, Desmond reveals that housing insecurity sets people on a difficult life trajectory.

In addition to the abovementioned impacts, housing insecurity has also been shown to have impacts on self-worth (Mckee, Soaita, and Hoolachen 2019) and recently the rate of Covid19 vaccinations (Lemmerman, Hepburn, and Desmond 2021). This work has established the role of housing and its destabilizing effects and its ultimate contribution to ongoing poverty. This study adds to that literature because rearrest generally isn't an outcome that is measured when housing is conceptualized as an independent driving force. This study argues much like Desmond (2016) argues that housing is a driving force of the reproduction of poverty, however, I add another dimension of precarity, contact with the criminal justice system. Desmond notes that the search for housing can become an all-encompassing endeavor for individuals and families. Now imagine having to do that, in addition to the myriad competing demands that often come with a criminal record (Williams and Rumpf 2020). **Thus, housing insecurity contributes to the reproduction of poverty, and by looking at the effect of housing on rearrest reveals a compounding feature of this reproduction.** If housing insecurity leads to arrests, and arrests shape outcomes in arguably more deleterious ways than evictions do, examining these effects is paramount. Furthermore, in these studies much attention is rightly spent on the political economics of housing and on the landlords who enact these policies. The criminal justice system overlaps with the political economy of housing in jurisdictions. Both housing and incarceration overlap and are situated in the context of historical racial inequality.

The Effect of Mass Incarceration on Urban Society

Sampson and Loeffler (2016) point out an important feature of contemporary urban communities, that of “concentrated incarceration” and “punishment’s place” arguing that a small proportion of communities bear the brunt of American’s mass incarceration experiment. And these communities are overwhelmingly black. Sampson found that one Chicago neighborhood on the west side had an incarceration rate four times that of the closest white neighborhood. Wacquant (2010) also challenges the notion of “reentry’ by highlighting the conditions of the neighborhoods that have the highest numbers of people going to jails and prisons. He argues that the neighborhoods that former prisoners end up coming back to entrench them further into the cycle of incarceration, thus, he asks the question, “reentry into what?” As such, communities most impacted by incarceration are also woefully prepared to absorb and meet the needs of those returning to the community. Add to that the fact that those returning who face up several legal sanctions that bar people from the various goods, services, and accesses to full citizenship. Illinois has an estimated 1,400 alone. With these barriers in mind, and with the combined effect of concentrated poverty, prisoner reentry is exacerbated by existing neighborhood conditions. I argue that this then creates another layer of precarity that has implications for non-white residents of urban spaces.

The Sociology of communities and neighborhoods has yielded incredible insights about the role of community in the life chances of urban inhabitants. They have formed theories of the ways in which residents move throughout this space and why. They have even described the ensuing inequality that is produced in these spaces. However, I think there is one critical adjustment that can be made in this area of inquiry. Developing in a comprehensive way, they

ways in which mass incarceration has become a “new pathology” (Sampson 2012) in urban communities.

What role has mass incarceration has played on the urban landscape? In my view, mass incarceration is a profound racial project (Omi and Winant 1994) that has embedded itself in the new racism, (Bonilla-Silva 2013) and reformulated older forms of racial exclusion, (e.g., the new Jim crow). If the carceral state (Foucault 1977; Miller 2014) is now a permanent feature of 21st century, it will be important to examine the connection between reentry and communities aside from the role that crime plays in this reintegration? For example, future studies could provide more conclusive evidence on the intersection of communities and reentry, because as of now we don't know much (Moreoff and Harding 2014). Moreover, given urban sociology's focus on housing and neighborhood attainment. Former prisoners seem like a ripe population for inquiry, given that upon release former prisoners living arrangements are very unstable. We know very little about the role of housing attainment and its relationship with neighborhood attainment specifically for people with records. Mass incarceration has permanently shaped cities across the country. Much has been written on the causes and consequences of mass incarceration but less so about how this has shaped cities. While outside of the scope of this study- learning the effect of housing on rearrest provides a window into this profound intersection (housing insecurity and mass incarceration) that has had an impact on the urban world, especially among people of color who occupy these spaces.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORY

Theory on Housing and Incarceration

As noted above there is has been surprisingly little theorization about the intersections of race, incarceration, and housing. Only recently has an empirical study looked at this nexus with theoretical considerations (Jacobs and Gottlieb 2020). In their study of probationers experiencing housing insecurity in San Francisco, they hypothesize that the cycle of homelessness and incarceration can possibly be explained by General Strain Theory (Agnew 1992) and/or Rational Choice Theory (Becker 1968). The first, applied to housing insecurity and incarceration asserts that the strain of being in this position would somehow lead to criminal offending. Rational choice on the other hand would explain this nexus by asserting that criminal offending is a simple cost benefit calculus, with the benefits of criminal activity outweighing the costs if one is housing insecure.

Both theories outlined by Jacobs and Gottlieb (2020) are good foundations upon which to start thinking about a theoretical explanation for the cycle of homelessness. However, each theory misses pivotal components of this nexus, namely race and the racialized nature of both homelessness and the criminal justice system in America. Yes, strain and stress can certainly produce emotions and may facilitate the development of maladaptive coping mechanisms. However, the source of the strain i.e., housing insecurity cannot be seen apart from the strain

caused by racial inequality (Brown 2015). Moreover, the interaction of race and the institutions and cannot be separated from the cycle of incarceration either.

This study examines, what I argue is a process shaped by two systems that are themselves rooted in historical racial inequality. The results from this study show that disadvantage can literally add up by day increasing one's risk of rearrest. Moreover, it is likely that individuals in this study already had life status differentials that continued to snowball over time. This is not to suggest a perfectly linear accumulation of disadvantage. This studies' focus is two intermittent status differentials, having a criminal record, (Wakefield and Uggen 2010) and being housing insecure, while also considering a systemic racial (Feagin 2010) understanding that non-white people start at different place in the game in the United States. Further, outlined below, the results suggest that the risk of rearrest over time is in alignment with this way of looking at these data. The results later discussed suggest that there comes a breaking point in disadvantage until a person is rearrested and then the cycle starts all over again. This disadvantage that gets worse over time due to the maze of constraints that people with records face and is the cause of "burden" (Williams and Rumpf 2020) in the lives of the formerly incarcerated.

Empirical Data on Housing and Incarceration

The fields of sociology, criminology, and political science have generated important research about how criminal records impact employment outcomes (Pager 2008), voting rights and civic engagement, (Uggen and Manza 2006; Uggen and Manza 2005; Williams 2015; Flores and Cossyleon 2015; Owens and Walker 2018), and the overall stigma that aids in these consequences (Lebel 2012). However, there is less known about the housing insecurity among former prisoners. Scholars often focus their attention on the intersection of homelessness and

incarceration (Metraux et. al. 2007). In studies researchers have often measured the degree to which these populations are the same. Just as homelessness is a common experience among persons incarcerated in jails and prisons, having had an incarceration experience, be it jail or prison, is a common occurrence among single adults who are homeless (Metraux et. Al 2007). When we try to make sense of this relationship, homelessness is the dependent variable, where scholars seek to measure the impact of incarceration on future homelessness.

Thus, we know that there is a cyclical relationship between homelessness and incarceration with many studies highlighting the fact that people are often in both corrections systems and homeless management systems (Metraux et al 2007). Further, Incarceration is associated with future homelessness, housing instability, and lower employment earnings (Metraux and Culhane 2004; Geller and Curtis 2011; Hebert et al. 2014; Coulout 2018). In addition to these negative effects of incarceration there is also some indication that stable housing reduces recidivism (Lutze et. Al 2014). More than that, there are several “mitigating factors” or “Buffers” (Herbert et. al 2014) that shape this relationship. These factors include substance use issues, mental health challenges, and histories of incarceration. As noted above we also know that housing discrimination is prevalent among the formerly incarcerated for both legal (see above) and cultural reasons (Lebel 2012). As noted above there has been a rise in the scholarship on this important topic, there are however some gaps in our understanding. One, there is still a need to establish more evidence on the nature of housing insecurity on reinvolvement with the justice system. There is much more evidence that suggests the effect of incarceration on future housing but less with housing as the independent variable; And when studies do measure housing’s impact there is little discussion on how race shapes these

experiences. Furthermore, although urban scholars have examined urban homeless governance, they have not examined it at the intersection of that governance with the criminal justice system. This omission has precluded any detailed examination of *how* these systems interact to either uphold the cycle of homelessness and incarceration and/or what ways that this interaction is beneficial for residents. Lastly, there has been a dearth of information comparing jurisdictions, to examine ways in which systems of homelessness and incarceration are the same or different in different geographies. This study fills those gaps by adding to the burgeoning literature that examines housing as an independent variable; by conducting a semi-comparative case study of two county jurisdictions on similar questions and characteristics; analyzing differences between shelter use versus other kinds of services that individuals may receive through the HMIS system; also includes comparisons by charge type (in Polk County) and type of institution (In Palm Beach County). Further, this analysis includes the jail population. It is increasingly recognized that most of America's confined people are in county jails (Sawyer and Wagner 2020). More than that, mass incarceration is said to have evolved into "mass probation" (Phelps 2017; Bocanegra 2019) and other forms of non-custodial confinement. The types of charges and the kinds of institutions that people come from are important to understanding the cycle of incarceration and housing insecurity. In what follows is a description of the research method and data used to answer, what is the effect of housing insecurity on rearrest? and does this differ by race, institution type, or charge?

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHOD AND DATA

The Geographic Context of Housing Insecurity and Incarceration

In this study two counties are examined to assess the impact of housing insecurity on rearrest. Polk County Iowa and Palm Beach County Florida. These sites were not randomly selected, rather, site selection was due to convenience and availability of data. Relationships were formed through employment with the Heartland Alliance in Chicago. At the time the PI for this project was on staff at Heartland Alliance working on a project aimed at coordinating better homelessness and employment services in communities across the United States. Over the course of this engagement the subject of incarceration and homelessness rose to the surface on numerous occasions. Not soon after the start of this project, the City of Baltimore published a report that combined homelessness data and incarceration data. This report revealed a cycle of incarceration and homelessness. More than that, they discovered that a substantial amount of those incarcerated had expungable records that suggest this cycle is most felt by those charged with low level offenses. That report sparked the thinking behind this present project. In the analysis that follows I will utilize two sets of administrative data to assess the impact of housing insecurity on rearrest, and the effect of race. Both analyses include uniform measures from the Homeless Management Information System (HMIS). These data are then matched with county level incarceration data in Palm Beach County Florida, and County Jail data in Polk County Iowa. The incarceration data have some uniform measures, but some have data points that the

other doesn't, which limits direct comparisons. There are several contextual factors in both counties that have implications for policy recommendations and future research. The following section outlines characteristics for both counties taken from publicly available national data.

County Demographics for Polk and Palm Beach County

Table 1 presents data on Palm Beach and Polk County characteristics obtained from the American Community Survey. The graphs reveal some differences between the two counties. For one, Palm Beach County is much larger Polk County in terms of total population. Known as a retirement oasis it is no surprise that Palm Beach County is much older than Polk County. Both counties are majority white, however Palm Beach County is more racially diverse than Polk County. There are almost equal percentages of people in poverty in both counties. The unemployment rates in each county remained similar in each county from 2016 thru 2017. However, black people in each county had disproportionate rates of unemployment. Median income and education are similar as well with most residents having a high school diploma or higher. On these socioeconomic characteristics the counties are similar but are different in terms of age and racial composition.

Although the counties are socioeconomically similar the housing burden on renters in Palm Beach County is much higher than in Polk County. The burden is measured by looking at households that spend more than 30% of their income on their rent. The American Community Survey reveal important similarities and differences of both counties. Palm Beach County is larger, more diverse, and older than Polk County, while sharing similar poverty rates, income, and education levels. Finally, the housing cost burden for renters in Palm Beach County was significantly higher in Palm Beach County 2015-2019. These characteristics are important to

consider when thinking about the larger context in which housing insecurity and incarceration occur. This study argues fundamentally that the intersection of these phenomena is necessarily tied to racial and economic forces in each respective county.

Table 1. Polk and Palm Beach County Demographics

	Polk County	Palm Beach County
Population	479,612	1,465,027
AGE		
Under 18	25.29%	19.64%
18-34	24.64%	19.55%
34-64	38.34%	38.07%
65 and over	11.72%	22.74%
White	85%	74.50%
Poverty Rates	11%	13.30%
Unemployment rate of black people	11.00%	14.00%
Median Income	\$61,384	\$55,277
High School Equivalent or more	87.90%	91%
Proportion of renters with housing cost burden	43%	56%

Mass Incarceration in Polk and Palm Beach Counties

The proliferation of mass incarceration is well documented as a nationwide phenomenon that did not impact all people equally, but the growth and expansion of the criminal justice system occurred in virtually every state in the U.S. Both Florida and Iowa's prison and jail populations jumped significantly in the early 1980's (Prison Policy Initiative 2021). However, Florida's prison population jumped more dramatically than Iowa's. Further, Florida's prison and jail populations are much larger than Iowa. Florida ranks number 9 in the country in their state imprisonment rate and Iowa ranks number 35 in the country. Florida spends a considerable amount more on corrections than Iowa. Spending a staggering 2.9 billion on corrections while 430 million is spent in Iowa. While Iowa's incarceration rate is lower than Florida's, Iowa ranks number three in black, white disparity in incarceration rates in Iowa. From this snapshot both

states were impacted by increased incarceration rates in the United States. Both have troubling statistics. Iowa and Florida has kept a relatively stable rate of incarceration, especially of black people. The racial disparities in incarceration in Iowa have persisted for several decades. Florida, while not highest ranked in terms of racial disparities, have outpaced most states in the growth and expansion of their prison and jails. The size of Florida jails and prisons are among the highest in the country. And while not as stark as Iowa Florida still incarcerates its black residents more than its white ones. Furthermore, because of its size Florida spends a substantial amount more on corrections than Iowa, but both spend a large amount of their state budgets on incarceration. These larger trends highlight the importance of any analysis that examines the intersection of housing and incarceration that includes the contemporary and historical dimensions of race.

Housing in Polk and Palm Beach Counties

Nationally, black home loan applications are denied 19 percent of the time for conventional loans and 17 percent of the time for FHA loans. Zooming in closer to look at Polk County, one study estimated that black people in Polk County Iowa were denied at 24% more often than others in the county. In an analysis of race and housing in De Moines Iowa, (the most populous city in Iowa) researchers note that there was also covert discrimination in the form of steering that subsequently shaped a segregated housing market in the city (Landeck 2019). Further, Polk County, (De Moines) unlike other Midwestern cities, even of different sizes and diversity; each show that the legacy of redlining and segregation remain with many neighborhoods having high concentrations of one racial group.

Much like in Polk County Iowa, Palm Beach County Florida also has a history of specific housing policies that shaped the experiences of black people. On the local level there were a series of patterns and practices that prevented the expansion of housing opportunities for minorities and the poor, thereby maintaining racial and socio-economic segregation. This legacy is evidence in present day Palm Beach County. A report released by the Palm Beach County Community Services Department revealed that between the years 2014-2017 77 percent of its emergency shelter users were black compared to just 20% of whites during that time. Adjusted for each group's respective total population the disparities in housing insecurity are stark. Furthermore, the number of households with a cost burden related to housing was at 40% in the county in 2017. This burden is measured by calculating the percentage of gross income relative to housing costs. Thus, in Palm Beach County in 2017 almost half of its residents were experiencing cost burden paying for housing.

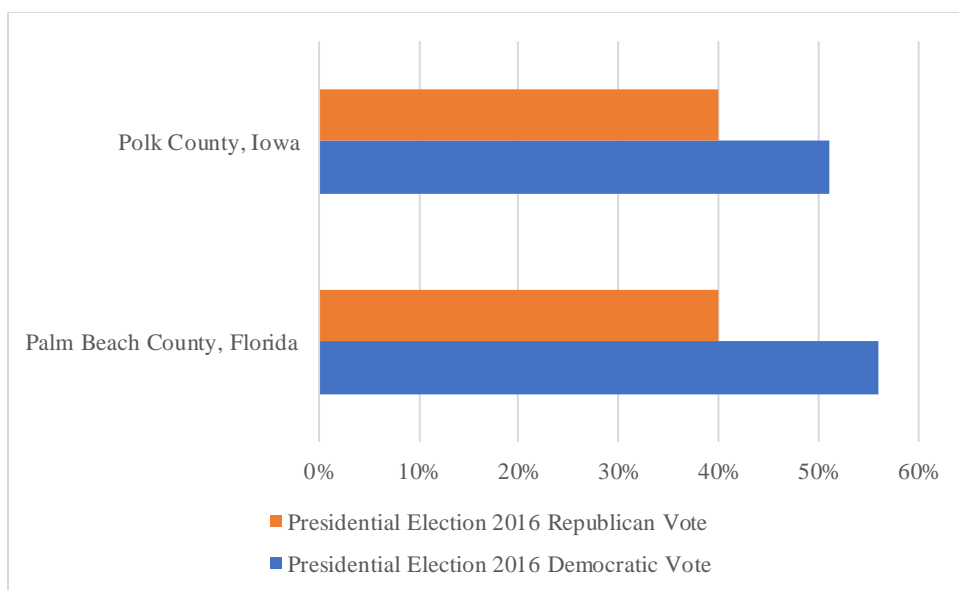
The Political Context of Polk and Palm Beach Counties

Polk and Palm Beach County are different in overall size, racial makeup, and socioeconomic characteristics. However, they are similar in important ways that are relevant to this analysis. Both counties incarcerate more non-white residents, non-white residents also have lower socioeconomic status than their white counterparts, and in both places the cost burden of housing falls most harshly on renters. Another important macro consideration is the overall political context of both counties.

First, both Polk and Palm Beach Counties reside in states that are important to United States politics. Florida is a swing state that has been the source of election controversies over the years. Iowa is the stomping ground for incumbents and would be Presidential hopefuls. Figure 2

shows the share people who voted Republican or Democrat in the 2016 election. The 2016 election is seen by many as a pivotal turning point in American politics. Former reality star and businessman Donald Trump was elected the nation's 45th president. Both Polk and Palm Beach County had larger percentages of people who voted for Hillary Clinton. This pattern was somewhat different in Polk County when it came to the senatorial elections. In Polk County more voters voted Republican than Democrat in those elections.

Figure 2. 2016 Presidential Election Voting by Democrat and Republican



The Homeless Management Information System

Communities across America have attempted to respond to homelessness using what is called the Homeless Management Information System. A Homeless Management Information System (HMIS) is a local information technology system used to collect client-level data and data on the provision of housing and services to homeless individuals and families and persons at risk of homelessness. Both Polk and Palm Beach Counties have mandated systems of homelessness governance. Jurisdictions across the United States have what are often referred to

as continuums of care. Each Continuum of Care (CoC) is responsible for selecting a Homeless Management Information System (HMIS) software solution that complies with HUD's data collection, management, and reporting standards.

Instituted by Housing and Urban Development in 1994 to promote the streamlining of homelessness services HMIS systems, this was later strengthened by the Obama administration, through the HEARTH Act to include metrics for tracking progress (HUD 2021) towards each communities' goal of ending homelessness. The HEARTH act made it so that the federal government required jurisdictions to operate this way and established uniformity across the country to combat homelessness. On the one hand some may see this system as an example of supportive governance, while others, outlining the increased surveillance may view this as disciplinary governance, or even punitive (Willse 2008). Either conceptualization is important for this study. On the one hand, the ideals of a more coordinated system seem reasonable, however given scholars noting of the criminalization of homelessness it is also reasonable to suspect that governance would have more of an interest in social control than social welfare.

Both Polk and Palm Beach County have histories of segregation and discrimination like many other American cities. Moreover, these histories have left a legacy that is observable present day. In both places its African American residents are overrepresented in systems designed to track housing outcomes and in penal institutions. This context makes it necessary that in examinations of housing and incarceration, race must be named explicitly and included in the theoretical framing and empirical analysis. To date, research on housing and incarceration has highlighted the role of incarceration on future housing, where housing is the dependent variable (Metraux and Culhane 2004; Geller and Curtis 2011). Many works looking at housing's

impact on reentry outcomes is qualitative in nature (Geller and Curtiss; Western 2018) outlining the everyday struggles of formerly incarcerated people in the housing market, and descriptive (Prison Policy Institute 2021) by outlining the overrepresentation of people incarcerated who are housing insecure. Few studies have attempted to assess the relationship between housing insecurity and reentry outcomes. Those that have conducted studies have produced mixed results. Fischer et al.'s (2008) longitudinal study of 207 mentally ill homeless individuals found that being homeless (both on the streets and in shelter) predicted increases in non-violent crime, and sheltered homelessness and symptomatic severity predicted increases in violent crime. Other studies have made this association. Recently (Remster 2021) found that becoming homeless post incarceration was associated with increased risk of reincarceration, particularly he found that late onset homelessness was associated with increased risk. Gottlieb and Jacobs (2020) also find an association between housing precarity and future engagement with the criminal justice system. This study adds to this body of work by adding more empirical evidence using longitudinal methods to track individuals over time. Moreover, this study employs an analytical strategy that includes two geographic locations, which has been noted as a limitation of previous studies (Remster 2021). Further, this study allows for meaningful comparisons between types of incarceration in Palm Beach County Florida, and distinctions by charge type in Polk County. Secondly, this study does some initial theorizing on the relationship between housing and incarceration. Despite evidence on the nature of housing and incarceration, there has been a dearth of theorizing generally, but especially theories that describe intersectional and systemic racial oppression. Thus, this study will put empirical findings in conversation with theories that call attention to systemic racism (Feagin 2013). Black people are over-represented in the

homeless population in the United States and Black people are over-represented in Jails in Prisons in the United States. Therefore, it is the argument of this study that any analysis of housing and incarceration must pay close attention to race and the social structures e.g., housing market that are the context within which people's reentry outcomes are situated. In what follows is a description of the research method and design.

Research Design

This study is a longitudinal event history analysis that is semi-comparative. It is comparative in the sense that both jurisdictions have Homeless Management Information Systems that track uniform data on people experiencing homelessness. It is not, because the criminal justice data track different indicators in each data set. Palm Beach County data measures years of education and federal state and local data on people entering back into Palm Beach County. Polk County is only county jail data and does not include any variables for years of education.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the federal partners, along with other planners and policymakers use aggregate Homeless Management Information System (HMIS) data to better inform homeless policy and decision making at the federal, state, and local levels. The HEARTH Act, enacted into law on May 20, 2009, requires that all communities have an HMIS with the capacity to collect unduplicated counts of individuals and families experiencing homelessness. Through their HMIS, a community should be able to collect information from projects serving homeless families and individuals to use as part of their needs analyses and to establish funding priorities. The Act also codifies into law certain data collection requirements integral to HMIS. With enactment of the HEARTH Act,

HMIS participation became a statutory requirement for recipients and subrecipients of the Continuum of Care (CoC) Program and Emergency Solutions Grant (ESG) funds.

This study, in line with previous studies (Remster 2021) combines administrative data to assess the effect of housing on rearrests. The first set of administrative data (described above) is the HMIS data. The second set of administrative data is corrections data from Palm Beach Counties RENEW system, and data from the Polk County Jail. Data was matched by the data administrator in Palm Beach County. The Palm Beach Data includes individuals who were released from state federal or local jail in Palm Beach County. Of the individuals who were released during the observation period (see below) there is a subset of individuals who were also in the HMIS system during this time. There is also a subset of individuals who were not in HMIS during the observation period. This approach allows for meaningful comparison between those who had an indication of housing insecurity and those that didn't those who were rearrested and those who were not.

In the Polk County data, the approach is similar but there are some differences. Like Palm Beach County there are individuals who were released during the observation period and individuals who were also in HMIS during this time. There were also individuals who were never in HMIS and individuals who were not arrested during the observation period. This approach allows for meaningful comparisons between individuals with similar characteristics in each dataset.

Research Method

To examine housing instability and rearrest in Polk and Palm Beach Counties. I will perform an event history analysis on longitudinal data tracking individuals are entered into the

Homeless Management information system (HMIS) and jail systems. Event history analysis is appropriate in cases where there is a *qualitative* change that occurs at some point (Allison 2014). The various 'points' identified in the data would be entry into the HMIS system, and a final exit point out of the system. Using this method will allow me to track individuals with criminal histories who have experienced housing instability over time. These data are right-censored. Censoring occurs if there is some information about the failure time of individual failure time is not yet known with certainty.

There are 3 types of censored observations: 1) right-censored (right censoring), 2) left-censored (left censoring), and 3) the interval censoring. Right censored happens if an event occurs after the observation started. Right censored there are two types.

One of the most popular regression techniques for survival analysis is Cox proportional hazards regression (Cox 1972), which is used to relate several risk factors or exposures, considered simultaneously, to survival time. In a Cox proportional hazards regression model, the measure of effect is the hazard rate, which is the risk of failure (i.e., the risk or probability of suffering the event of interest), given that the participant has survived up to a specific time. In what follows is an analysis using Cox Regression methods to assess the effect of housing circumstances on rearrest in Polk and Palm Beach Counties.

CHAPTER 4

PALM BEACH COUNTY RESULTS

Palm Beach County Results

What is the effect of housing instability on rearrest in Palm Beach County Florida for people returning to the county from federal, state, or local confinement? This contact with the HMIS system is being used to identify spells of housing insecurity or homelessness in line with previous research using HMIS data (Remster 2019; Geller and Curtis 2011; Metraux and Culhane 2004). This study relies on this proxy as well, however other kinds of services are identified and analyzed e.g., permanent supportive housing, rapid re-housing, and street outreach. Adding the other categories available in these data allow for meaningful comparisons between different types of services one might receive when entering the HMIS system. Further, this study is conceptualizing all this contact as housing insecurity more broadly. Previous studies have noted that many people that leave situations of confinement have an actual roof over their heads, but many studies point out that while not outright roofless these housing situations are very precarious (Geller and Curtis 2011; Western 2018). This precarity before contact with the HMIS system is outside of the scope of this study, however it is reasonable to believe that many people who end up in the HMIS system are there due, in part, to the lack of stable housing upon release.

When a person is entered into the system the type of housing support that they received is noted. In these data many individuals needed emergency shelter others were connected to

Permanent Supportive Housing, and others were simply engaged by street outreach teams from various organizations. Thus, to have contacted the HMIS it is almost certain that an individual is experiencing housing difficulty. Therefore, to answer this question an event history analysis was conducted measuring the impact of one or any of these spells on a person's chances of being rearrested. Event history analysis is a longitudinal record of when events happen to a sample of individuals (Allison 2014). For the purposes of this analysis a proportional hazards model (or Cox model) was fit to assess the effect of HMIS contact of arrest post-incarceration, while controlling for other factors. Moreover, the Cox model used in this analysis was extended to allow for explanatory variables that change over time. This analysis uses data from both the HMIS, and Palm Beach County's RENEW system, which captures individuals who have been contacted for enrollment into a Palm Beach County Reentry program. This analysis follows individuals released from jail, state, or federal prison between January 1, 2015, and June 30, 2016, until their first observed arrest or the end of the observation period, which in this case the last observed arrest is June 27, 2019. In Polk County people who were released between 2017-2018 are observed until first arrest or censoring. The last observed arrest was in 2019 like Palm Beach County. Two hypotheses were tested using the Cox Regression models:

- (1) Hypotheses 1: Formerly Incarcerated people who have had contact with the HMIS system are more likely to be arrested than those who did not within the observation period.
- (2) Hypotheses 2: Formerly Incarcerated people of color who have had contact with the HMIS system are more likely to be arrested than white people who have had contact with the HMIS system.

Description of the Sample

Table 2 shows the characteristics of the sample. There were 291 subjects (N=291) in the analysis, and 342 observations. The additional observations represent the 57 subjects who were released during the observation period and had more than one contact with the HMIS in Palm Beach County. Age is measured in years and is the age they were when they were released from jail, state, or federal prison. The average age of individuals released is 44. Race was coded as 0-1 dummy variable with white being the reference category for the non-white's subjects in the study. 38% of the sample is white and 61% of the sample is non-white. Non-white includes racial categories "Black," "multi-racial," "pacific islander," and American Indian." These were collapsed into "non-white" because there were only a total number of 11 cases that were non-white other than black. Education is measured in years completed at the time of release. Some values for Education had to be imputed due to missing cases. To impute, a regression linear regression on education by age was conducted and the coefficient*age was imputed to the missing cases. With the imputed years of education, the average year completed of education for this sample is 11 years or less than high school. Institution type is also a 0-1 dummy variable with those being released from state or federal prison being the reference category. Coded this way, about 65% of the sample were released from state or federal prison and 35% released from a local jail. The sample is overwhelmingly male at 85%. 31% of the sample had contacted the HMIS at least once during the observation period. Some people in the sample contacted the HMIS system more than once during the observation period (19%) for this a 0-1 variable was created to track whether someone in the sample was inhmis at a particular time. This variable was added to the model to assess the ways in which being in HMIS interacts with time relative to

the subject's risk at said time. Finally, the dependent variable "arrested" measures if a person was arrested during the observation period. About 40% of the sample were rearrested during the observation period. An important component of conducting event history models is to be able to measure time. In the case of this sample time is measured in days from release until first rearrest or no arrest at the end of the observation period, for which those cases will be considered censored since we do not know what happened to those subjects after that period. The analysis time spans 1610 days.

Table 2. Characteristics of the Sample (Palm Beach County)

N=291	Number of cases	Percent of Total	Mean	SD
<i>Control Variables</i>				
<i>Age at entry</i>	291		44	11.5
<i>Race</i>				
White	111	38.1		.4865
Non-White	180	61.86		
<i>Education at entry</i>				
	291		11	
<i>Institution-type</i>				
Stateorfed	189	64.85		.4782
Jail	102	35.15		
<i>genderid</i>				
Male	249	85.67		.3510
Female	42	14.33		
<i>Independent Variable</i>				
<i>hmiscontact</i>				
Yes	91	31.27		
No	200	68.73		
<i>Dependent Variable</i>				
<i>Arrested</i>				
Yes	119	40.6		
No	174	59.3		

Summary of the Results

Figure 3 shows the Kaplan-Meier Hazard curve for the sample. Here we can see for the whole sample the probability of being arrested (or being arrested) past time t . The graph shows a consistent steady increase in risk of failure as time goes on with the probability of arrest flattening out at about a 50% chance of rearrest around the 1100th day of the observation period.

Figure 3. Kaplan Meier Hazard Curve: Probability of Being Arrested (Full Sample)

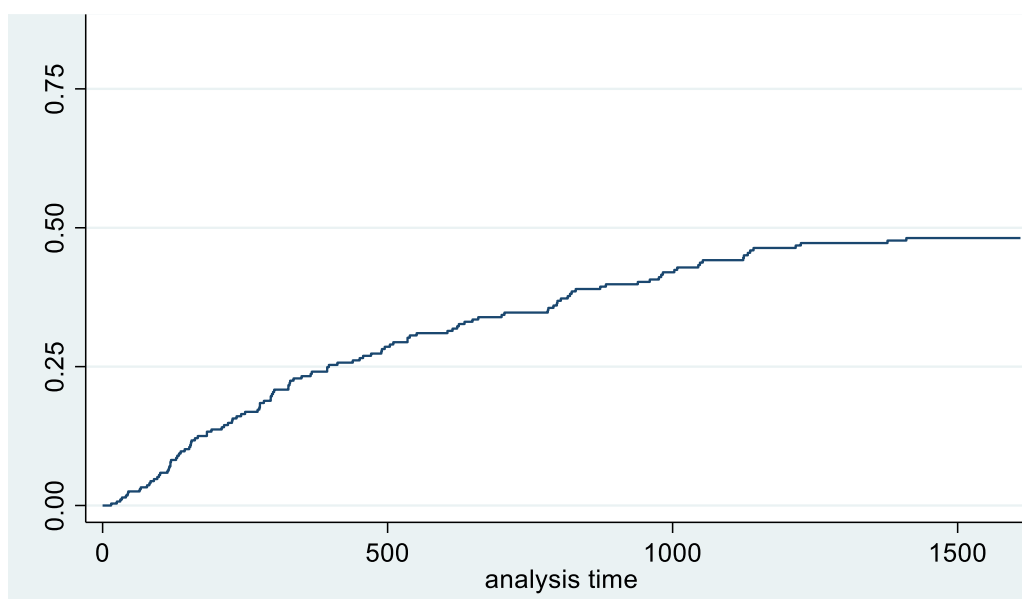


Table 3 shows the average survival time for the entire sample and then by race, and then by hmis contact. Average overall survival time for the sample is 1,069 days or almost 3 years. White people's average survival time is 1128 days compared to 1033 days for non-white people. Those who had at least one hmiscontact had an average survival time of 944 days compared to 1094 days for those with no hmis contact during the observation period. These average survival times indicate that there is some difference between incidents of rearrest race and hmis contact. So far there is some support for the above hypotheses. When we compare average survival times by race and hmiscontact we see that non-white people that had contact with the hmis system

have almost the same survival time as white people who had contact with the hmis system with only a five-day difference (938 vs 933 average survival times). Comparing the same groups, but those who had not had contact with hmis, non-whites in the sample faired a little worse with an average survival rate of 1,047 days compared to 1,174 for whites. This is not surprising given the disproportionate number of non-white people in jails in prison on in given day in the United States. Without considering the effect of housing, scholars have noted extensively how black people, in particular black men are more likely to be under confinement than whites (Nellis 2021). These results give some indication that race and hmis contact make a difference in whether someone is rearrested in this sample. To interrogate this further I fit 3 cox proportional hazards models, with the final model including the time varying inhmis variable controlling for age, education, race, institution type, and gender.

Table 3. Incidence Rates

Variable	Average Survival Time (days)
Entire Sample N=291	1,069 days
White	1,128 days
Non-White	1,033 days
HMIS contact	944 days
No Contact	1094
White with HMIS contact	938
Non-white with HMIS contact	933

Detailed Analysis

Table 4 shows the results from the Cox proportional hazards regression which estimate the factors that increase or decrease the likelihood that the event of interest occurs, that is, that a person released from jail, state or federal prison is rearrested. I display the hazard ratios to facilitate the interpretation of results. This implies that an effect is positive if the hazard ratio is above 1, and negative if below 1. Model 1 is a baseline model that includes all control variables. Model 2 adds the dummy variable highlighting contact with the hmis system or not, and model 3 adds the time varying inhmis variable. The first model shows a significant effect for insitutiontype, age, and gender. People in the sample leaving from jail as opposed to state or federal prison in this model have an 71% increased risk of being arrested. Men have an 80% increased risk of being arrested and each year of age decreases the risk of rearrest by 16%. Surprisingly race and education do not have a significant effect on rearrest. The second model includes the variable indicating if someone who has ever had contact with the HMIS at all. The same variables that were significant remained so, however although HMIS contact increases someone's risk of rearrest by 42% this effect is not significant. However, in the third model the time varying 0-1 indicator for inhmis is significant. Over time the hazard for someone in HMIS increases slightly at 1.00944 for each day a person is in HMIS. At first glance the number may seem small but, as the days go on this starts to add up rather quickly.

Table 4. Cox Regression Models Predicting Probability of Rearrest

Model 1	Haz. Ratio	SD	Model 2	Haz. Ratio	SD	Model 3	Haz. Ratio	SD
Race (nonwhite)	1.27	.253	Race (nonwhite)	1.26	.252	Race (nonwhite)	1.30	.261
Gender (male)	1.80*	.564	Gender (male)	1.83*	.576	Gender (male)	1.75*	.552
Age at release	.984*	.008	Age at release	.981*	.008	Age at release	.981*	.008
Institution (Jail)	1.71**	.332	Institution (Jail)	1.61*	.320	Institution (Jail)	1.57*	.315
Education in years	.980	.054	Education in years	.991	.056	Education in years	.991	.055
			HMIS Contact	1.42	.329			
						TVC (inhmis)	1.000944*	.0004

Table 5 shows the increased risk at ten, one hundred, and 365 days. These results suggest that the longer someone is in the HMIS there is an increased risk for rearrest. Thus, we find support for the above two hypotheses with hmis contact being a significant factor in rearrest to people in the sample. However, this factor is contingent on length of time in HMIS. There were also differences within the group that had been exposed to HMIS.

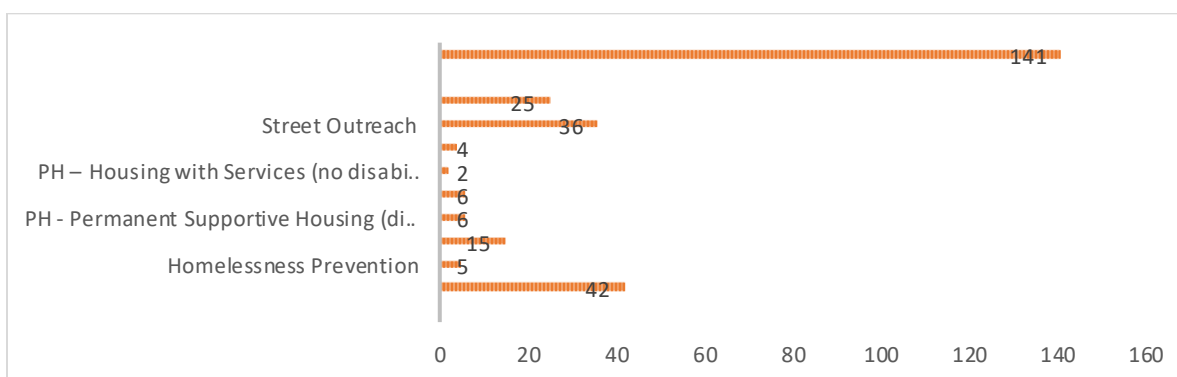
Table 5. Risk of Rearrest by Time Spent in HMIS

10 days	100 days	365 days
.9% increased risk	9.4% increased risk	34.4% increased risk

Figure 4 shows the kinds of services and individual may be connected to via HMIS and the share of those individuals in the sample who were arrested. These services range from emergency shelter to permanent supportive housing. Since time in HMIS increases the likelihood

of rearrest compared to those who hadn't spent time in HMIS, a dummy variable was created to look within the HMIS risk group to see if there are any observed differences. The dummy variable is 1 for less intensive services that signal a more acute need for housing and 0 for more services. Less intensive services included emergency shelter, homeless prevention, navigation, and street outreach. More intensive services included both transitional housing and permanent supportive housing. The variables were coded this way because, an emergency shelter is often designed to address an acute housing need while Permanent Supportive Housing is designed to help people permanently avoid homelessness by providing an indefinite place to stay as well as other wrap around services. Understanding differences between this group has important implications in how formerly incarcerated people experiencing homelessness are engaged.

Figure 4. Types of Services (Palm Beach County)



In Table 6 are the results of a cox model that included the variable ptype, and from this we can see that a person in HMIS that then had fewer intensive services was 66% more at risk over and above those that received more intensive services. Each day a person is in HMIS it increases their risk of rearrest, however, this risk increases depending on the kinds of services a client is matched with. Further, Table 7 records the incidence ratio between people who received more and less services. From this we see that between the less and more intensive service groups.

People who received fewer intensive services had 2.04 times the risk of being arrested than people who received more services.

Table 6. Cox Regression Model Including Program Type

	Haz. Ratio	SD
Race	1.309	.262
Age	.9824 *	.008
Institutiontype	1.590 **	.315
Education	.9877	.055
Gender	1.768 *	.555
Ptype	1.66 *	.413

Table 7. Incidence Ratios Between Service Types

Less services

2.046946 *** Increased Risk in Comparison

In all the models the most predictive factor controlling for other variables other than gender is the type of institution one comes from. In sum, people returning from local jails have the highest relative risk of being arrested compared to those coming from state and federal prison. Age is the only protective factor in the models with older age comes less risk to be rearrested. Last, exposure to hmis increases one's risk of rearrest as time goes on. Finally, it is important to note that of those who had hmis contact who were rearrested 64% percent of them, at the time of their engagement with hmis were the most severely housing insecure as indicated by the type of service they were provided. The 64% were either engaged for emergency shelter and/or through street outreach. This suggests that it matters where on the spectrum of housing insecurity individuals find themselves.

Chapter Summary

Overall, the hypotheses were partially supported by the analysis. HMIS contact alone in this sample did not significantly increase someone's chances of rearrest. However, over time HMIS contact does increase a person's chances of rearrest; and the type of service people were plugged into also matters. Individuals who needed emergency shelter or who were engaged by street outreach carry more risk to be rearrested than those who received other kinds of services. These individuals are most likely dealing with a crisis and are roofless making them more vulnerable to be arrested. This finding also adds to my contention that HMIS contact is an indicator of housing instability. Receipt of services is not what is making people more likely to be arrested it is their housing status. Nevertheless, this may also mean that more or certain kinds of services are needed to intervene here. Scholars have long noted the "Criminalization of homelessness" noting that crimes such as sleeping in public, loitering, trespassing, public urination, and panhandling make people experiencing homelessness particularly vulnerable to law enforcement (Aulette and Aulette 1987; Fischer 1992; Robinson 2019). Prolonged exposure or multiple exposures to hmis in a period from release from incarceration suggests that someone may be chronically housing insecure which may contribute to their risk of being rearrested. Men were more likely to be arrested than women, but these results are skewed in that the sample was overwhelmingly male, and it is generally understood by social scientists that men generally have more justice system involvement than women. Jail having a significant effect suggest arrests for more petty crime which has also been associated with people experience homeless as noted above. Although in this analysis we cannot tell whether someone was reimprisoned we can only see arrest. There were differences in experience by race but not significantly in this sample. It

could be because there is not a large enough sample to accurately assess differences by race or it could be that housing status matters more in risk for rearrest for individuals in Palm Beach County specifically. This underscores the importance of examining multiple localities to potentially observe similarities and differences. Both of which could yield insights and questions that will further research in this arena.

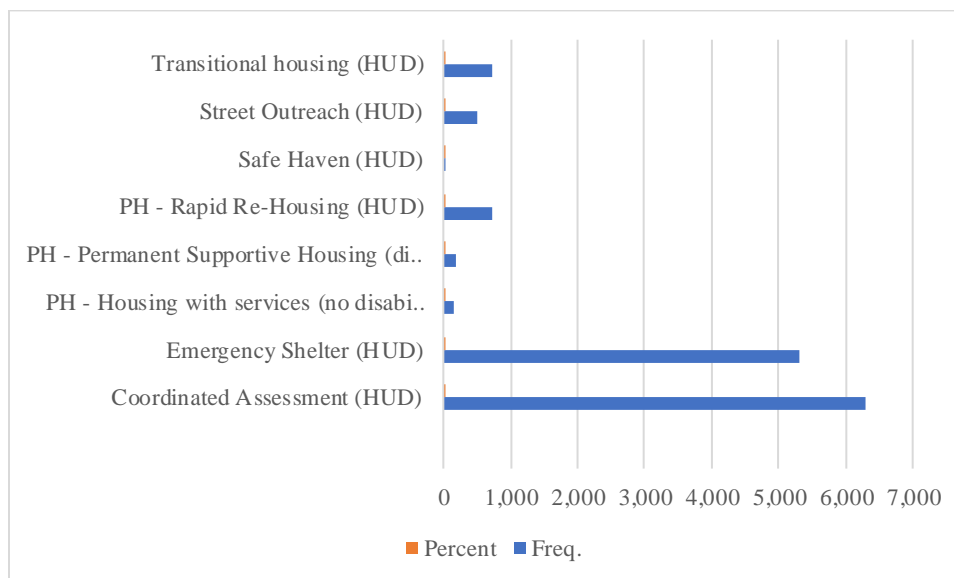
CHAPTER 5

POLK COUNTY RESULTS

Introduction

What is the effect of housing insecurity on rearrest in in Polk County Iowa? Like the analysis with the Palm Beach County data, HMIS contact is being used to identify periods of housing insecurity in the sample. Also, emergency shelter is being used a proxy for housing insecurity along with the other kinds of services that a person can be connected to through the HMIS. One difference is that in these data only people from the county jail are included, so, unlike with Palm Beach County no comparisons can be made between the outcomes of federal, state, and local correctional facilities. However, these data do allow for comparisons to be made by offence type. Like Palm Beach County the services that individuals were connected to vary on the spectrum from Emergency Shelter services to Permanent Supportive Housing. Figure 5 shows the number of people who received various types of services. A large share of Individuals in this sample received coordinated assessments or were connected to emergency shelters. Less services were more common than housing with more services or that was more permanent. A coordinated assessment is a mandate from HUD for each Continuum of Care (CoC) to establish a centralized system that connects people experiencing homelessness with appropriate resources. It is not clear from these data what resources people were connected to, but this is an indication that an assessment and an attempt was made. These and emergency shelter services were by far the most common.

Figure 5. Types of Service in Polk County



An event history was performed measuring the impact one or any HMIS spell on a person's chances of being rearrested after being released from Polk County Jail custody. A proportional hazards cox model was fit to assess the effect of HMIS contact on rearrest post custody in Polk County Jail. This analysis follows individuals who were released at some point from the Polk County Jail between January 1, 2017, Through June 30, 2018. For this analysis the earliest observed release until the first observed arrest from that release date were included. Individuals who were rearrested multiple times after the first observed arrest were dropped from the analysis and only the observed first arrest was included. Two hypotheses were tested using the Cox Models:

- (1) Hypotheses 1: Formerly Incarcerated people who are housing insecure are more likely to be arrested than those who did not within the observation period.
- (2) Hypotheses 2: Formerly Incarcerated people of color who are housing insecure are more likely to be arrested than white people who have had contact with the HMIS system.

Description of the Sample

Table 8 shows the characteristics of the sample. There were 29,517 subjects (N=29517) with 48,972 observations. Like Palm Beach County the additional observations represent individuals who were in the HMIS system multiple times. The average time until arrest was a little over a year at 379 days. The average age in the sample is 31 years old, which is younger than the Palm Beach County sample. Race was coded as a 0-1 dummy variable 1 for “non-white” and 0 for “white.” 31 percent of people were non-white. 67 percent of the sample was male. The variable charge type was coded 0 for “Parole or Probation Violations” and 1 for all other charges. The reason for this decision is that in the data parole or probation violations were by far the most frequent kind of offense type in the data. All other kinds of charges were spread even across the sample. This coding also is consistent with recent scholarship on the effect of housing on a cohort of probationers in San Francisco (Jacobs and Gottlieb 2020). That research found that “low risk” people such as people on probation for low level offenses were among the most vulnerable to rearrest stemming from housing insecurities. These data allow to test if this also holds in Polk County Iowa. Moreover, in recent years scholarship on mass incarceration has begun to shift to look at other auxiliary forms of imprisonment such as electronic monitoring, parole, and probation (Phelps 2017, 2018, 2020 Bocanegra 2019). The main independent variable of interest, InHMIS is a 0-1 variable, with 68 percent of the sample having no HMIS contact during the observation period in these data. 31 percent of people in the sample had at some time during the observation period had some contact with the HMIS system. The dependent variable Arrested is a 0-1 dummy. 22 percent of people in this sample were arrested after their first observed release 77% were not arrested. Like the Palm Beach County data

InHMIS is also measured over time as some people that had HMIS contact had contact on multiple occasions. Thus, a model includes InHMIS as a time varying variable to assess the impact of time relative to HMIS contact.

Table 8. Description of the Sample

N=29517	Number of Cases	Percent of Total	Mean	SD
Control Variables				
Age	29517	N/A	31	9.2
Race				
White	20507	69.40%		
Non-White	9190	31.10%	N/A	
Gender				
Male	19892	67.30%		
Female	9706	32.80%		
ChargeType				
Parole or Probation Violation	4,162	8.5% %		
All Other Charges	44,810	91.5%		
InHMIS				
Hmis contact ever	9337	31.60%		
No hmis contact	20308	68.80%		
Dependent Variable				
Arrested				
Arrested after first observed release	6667	22.50%		
Not Arrested after first observed release	22850	77.40%		

Summary of Results

Figure 6 shows the Kaplan Meier Hazard curve showing the risk of being arrested after time t for the entire sample. The graph depicts a clear upward trajectory as the risk for rearrest appear to increase over time, with a substantial jump between the 400th and 600th days. Table 5.4 shows the average survival time for the entire sample, and by race and HMIS contact the two variables of interest. The average survival time for the entire sample is a little over a year and a half. The biggest difference is the average survival time between those who had and had not been in HMIS. Here we see that the average survival time for people with HMIS contact is three months shorter than those who did not have contact with HMIS. White people's survival time is 23 days more than non-white people in the sample. Survival time was virtually the same for white and nonwhite people with or without HMIS contact. This suggests that HMIS contact is a factor irrespective of race. Thus, these results suggest that HMIS contact does impact the risk of rearrest. To explore further four cox proportional hazard models were fit, with the final model including the time varying InHMIS variable controlling for age, race, chargetype, and gender.

Figure 6. Kaplan Meier Hazard Curve for Full Sample

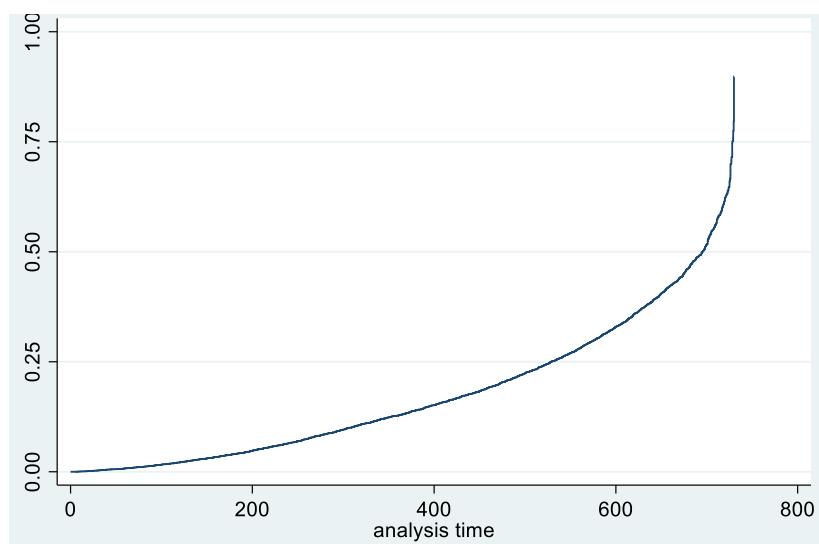


Table 9. Average Survival Time

Variable	Average Survival Time (days)
Entire Sample	634.482
White	609
Non-White	586
HMIS contact	540
No Contact	631
White with HMIS contact	540
Non-white with HMIS contact	540

Detailed Analysis

Table 10 shows the results of the first two cox proportional hazards regressions which estimate the factors that increase or decrease the risk of being rearrested. I display the hazard ratios to facilitate the interpretation of results. Model one includes race and gender in the model which shows that non-white people are at a 23% increased risk compared to whites and women had an 11% reduction in risk of rearrest compared to men. In model 2 I add charge type and age to the model. Here race is still significant, however when adding age and charge type gender is no longer significant. Also, somewhat surprisingly in this model each year in age is associated with increase in risk of rearrest. What is most telling in this model is charge type. People who were rearrested for parole and probation violations were at a 73% increase of risk to be rearrested compared to all other offense types. Other offense types range from serious offenses such as murder and arson to non-violent drug possessions and theft. The only offense category that added up to more than five percent collectively were charges for technical violations of probation and parole.

Table 10. Cox Regression Models 1 and 2

Model 1	Haz. Ratio	SD	Model 2	Haz. Ratio	SD
Non-White***	1.23295	0.031	Non-White***	1.23	0.038
Female***	0.8892	0.023	Female	0.97	0.031
			Parole or Probation Violation***	1.726	0.077
			Age	1.001	0.93

Figure 7 shows the distribution of offenses that are classified in this analysis as technical violations (probation and/or parole violations) versus all others. At first glance this seems as if technical violations are a small share of the data, however this must be understood in the context of the sheer numbers. There is no other single offense category that is more than 500 cases. Probation and Parole violations on the other hand represent over five thousand cases. This pattern has been observed in other jurisdictions (Jacobs and Gottlieb 2020) and may reveal an insidious cycle of homelessness and community supervision.

Figure 7. Charge Types Compared to Technical Violations

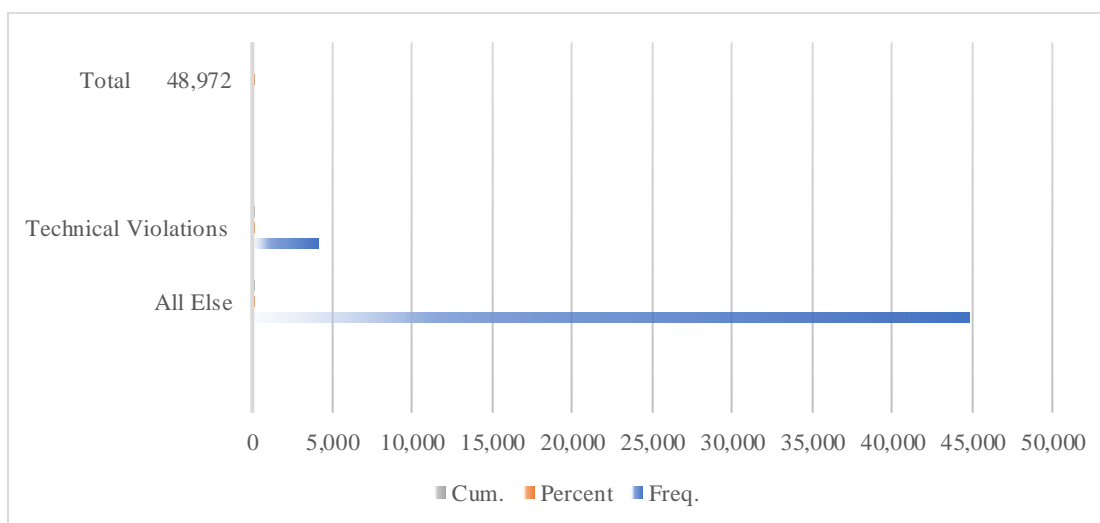


Table 11 displays models 3 and 4 where the HMIS variables were added. Age then is associated with a reduction in risk. HMIS contact is associated with increase in risk of rearrest

with those who had contact were 2 times more at risk compared with people who were not at some time in HMIS during the observation period. Thus, the hypotheses that people with HMIS contact would be a greater risk than those who did not is strongly supported as well as the hypotheses that non-white people would be at greater risk for rearrest than white people. Further, when the time varying variable is added to the final model, similarly to Palm Beach County each day a person is in the HMIS system is associated with 1.001165 increase in risk of rearrest each day in HMIS. 10 days equal 1.165% increase in risk, 11.65% at 100 days, and 42.5% after a year. The longer someone is in a state of a precarious housing situation they are more at risk to be rearrested. HMIS contact is being used for the purposes of this analyses to be an indicator of unstable housing. The exact nature of a person's housing situation is outside of the scope of this project. However, there is some indication as was in the case in Palm Beach County that people who need Emergency Shelter Services are at greater risk than those who receive other kinds of services. To assess this further a fifth model was fit that includes a dummy variable 1 for emergency shelter services and 0 for all other types. When this variable is added age and gender are still significant but less so and being in emergency shelter services is associated with a 98% increase in risk in rearrest compared to people who received other kinds of services. Each day is also associated with increased risk of rearrest but is no longer significant. What this suggests, is that the level of housing insecurity matters irrespective of time.

One final model was constructed to slice the variable to measure race more finely. To do this I created 4 dummy variables, each 0-1 for Black, Hispanic, and White Non-Hispanic. Another combined measure was created that included Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native Americans. Each non-white category was compared to White Non-Hispanics. The results from

this model again confirm that each day spent housing insecure is associated with greater risk of rearrest. However, the findings do complicate the race story. Above non-whites were significantly more likely to be rearrested than whites; a finer slice indicates some variation. The first observation is that Hispanics in the sample were 65% less at risk to be arrested than White Non-Hispanics when controlling for other racial groups and variables. The combined measure that includes Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans revealed that they were 70% more at risk to be arrested than white non-Hispanics. Further, black people in the sample are shown to be at greater risk by the hazard ratio, however it is not statistically significant.

I originally hypothesized that people of color would be more likely to be rearrested than white people and this was supported in the earlier models. Disaggregating the race variable revealed that all people of color were not at the same risk of rearrest when compared to each other. First, Hispanics were less likely to be rearrested than white non-Hispanics. This was an interesting finding that reveal certain groups in the “people of color” grouping were driving that significance in the “non-white” category. Exploring what this nexus means for different racial groups requires further interrogation. The overall racial disparities within the Polk County Criminal Justice system are their starkest between Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans and black and white people who leave the county jail. That said black people as a standalone group is a greater risk, but it is not statistically significant. More discussion and research are needed in this area to better explicate the role of race in housing insecurity and rearrest. Furthermore, more research is needed to assess the impact of mass incarceration on indigenous populations.

Table 11. Cox Regression Models 3 and 4

Model 3	Haz. Ratio	SD	Model 4	Haz. Ratio	SD
Non-White***	1.13	0.036	Non-White***	1.13	0.036
Female***	0.847	0.027	Female**	0.839	0.027
Parole or Probation Violation***	2.23	0.104	Parole or Probation Violation***	2.2	0.105
Age***	0.989	0.001	Age**	0.989	0.001
InHMIS***	2.3	0.079			
			InHMIS (TVC)***	1.001165	0.0000765

Chapter Summary

In the Polk County sample, the two hypotheses proposed at the start of this chapter are supported by the analysis. People with HMIS contact are at greater risk to be rearrested after their release from the Polk County Jail than those who had no contact. People of color were at greater risk than white people in the sample when taken together compared against white people. When these categories were detangled Hispanics were shown to have a decrease in risk, while the combined Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans group more at risk when compared to white non-Hispanics. Having a probation or parole violation is associated with greater risk than all other kinds of offenses in the sample. Further, each day in HMIS in model 4 is associated with a small increase in risk with each day, however this is risk relative to time goes away when you add the kind of services individuals were connected to with the HMIS contact. Those who were connected to Emergency Shelter Services fared far worse than people who received other kinds of services. This is telling since many people who had HMIS contact were connected to either Emergency Shelter or a Coordinated Assessment was performed. Of those that had HMIS contact (N=9337) 67% of those people were connected to emergency shelter services. Thus, it appears that the most common service offered in Polk County is also indicative of very precarious housing situations that are not mitigated by shelter services. Further, it appears

that young, men of color who are housing insecure are at greatest risk of rearrest. Similar patterns were observed in the Palm Beach County data, but there were also important differences. The next chapter will outline those similarities and differences and put into context with the circumstances of each jurisdiction such as the availability of affordable housing and the share of individuals cycling in and out of their correctional facilities. This discussion adds to the emerging literature on housing and reentry by adding local context as a consideration.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

One of the advantages of this study is that it includes more than one jurisdiction, which has been identified as a gap in this kind of research (Remster 2019). It is not a precise 1:1 comparison but the variable(s) of interest relating to housing are the same in each place. Table 6.1 shows the similarities and differences of results in each county.

Table 12. Results Comparison

Palm Beach County	Polk County Iowa
In Palm Beach County each day spent in HMIS increases risk of rearrest.	HMIS Contact significantly predicts the risk of rearrest compared to people who had not been in the HMIS system.
People leaving the county jail in Palm Beach were at greater risk of rearrest than those from state, and federal prison	Each day in HMIS increases risk, EXCEPT for when you control for program type-then contact has a protective effect.
Emergency Shelter users were at increased risk of rearrest compared to those who received other services like permanent supportive housing.	Emergency Shelter users were significantly more at risk than other HMIS users
	People of Color were significantly more at risk than white people (when disaggregated black people were the only minority group that were at increased risk in the sample)
	People who had technical violations for probation and parole were significantly more at risk of rearrest than ALL other kinds of charges are 2 times as likely than all other kinds of charges.

Similarities

In both counties Emergency Shelter users are at higher risk of rearrest than other kinds of housing services that are offered. It is important to note that in Polk County most housing services offered were emergency shelter services, whereas in Palm Beach County there was a more varied continuum of options for people experiencing homelessness. This finding is important, as it has already been established that shelter use is a good proxy to identify someone's housing situation. Further, emergency shelter services indicate a state of housing precarity that greatly contributes to risk of rearrest in both Polk and Palm Beach County. Another similarity is that in both counties the effect of time is important. In both counties the risk of rearrest increases a small percentage each day a person is in the HMIS system. As discussed above this more than likely means that the longer a person is in a state of housing insecurity the greater the risk of rearrest is. This suggests that returning residents in both Polk and Palm Beach County need a connection to stable housing as soon as possible in the reentry process or the risk of re-arrest is likely. In a study evaluating a program in Washington State that provided wrap around services and housing for formerly incarcerated people Lutze et. al (2013) found that those services reduced the risk of new convictions. However, they found that the program did not significantly reduce "revocations" which are what are considered "technical" violations, where there was not the commission of a new crime. These findings are consistent with those findings in that this study also finds that extended periods of homelessness increase risk for rearrest, particularly for people on probation and parole. Jacobs and Gottlieb (2020) also show worse outcomes for people on probation and parole. These similar results demonstrate that in both counties time and type of housing insecurity matters. Returning residents utilizing emergency

shelters in both counties are at great risk of being rearrested and the longer that they are there that risk increases.

Differences

As discussed previously in both Polk and Palm Beach County Emergency Shelter use over time is associated with greater risk to be rearrested later. Despite this important finding there were also important differences to note. The first and most surprising, was that race had no significant effect in Palm Beach County. This could have been for several reasons, one of which the sample size (N=291) may have been too small to capture this point of difference. The other reason could be that Palm Beach County has greater heterogeneity within the sample. Further, in the Palm Beach County analysis, there are people from federal, state, and local jail that adds more diversity to the sample as well.

In Polk County this was not the case. People of color were found to be significantly more at risk of rearrest than their white counterparts. This comes as no surprise given the abovementioned racial disparities in the criminal justice system in Polk County Iowa. However, when examining racial differences further it was found that the picture is more complicated in that it appears that select non-white groups are driving the differential outcomes by race. This doesn't take away from the black white disparities that exist in Polk County across the board. Black people make up a small percentage of the overall population but make up more than half of the county jail population (Countyoffice.org;2021). This disparity is alarming. A similar pattern exists within the homeless population as well with black people making up a disproportionate number of the people experiencing homelessness in Polk County (United Way of Central Iowa 2021).

Another difference between the two counties was in the type of facility. Where they were the same is in the fact that there appears to be greater risk among the jail population. In Palm Beach County returning residents leaving county jail were more at risk of rearrest than those who were returning from state or federal prison. There was no such comparison group in Polk County, because all the people were returning from the county jail. There has been increased attention to the issue of pre-trial incarceration and its impact on employment and family life, (Wakefield and Anderson 2020) future crime and convictions, (Dobbie et. al 2018) and the overall size and populations of these institutions (The Sentencing Project 2021). These findings suggest the need for more research on the role of pre-trial detention, especially in an era where pre-trial reforms are being piloted in jurisdictions around the country (The Civic Federation 2021).

Another important point of difference in the data is the ability to compare by charge type. In Polk County this was possible. Each person in the analysis that returned from the county jail during the observation period had a range of offenses. Table 6.2 shows a small sample of some of the charges. Recent attention has been paid to other more subtle forms of incarceration such as community supervision (Phelps 2017; Bocanegra 2019) and electronic monitoring. These more subtle forms are often the alternatives to arrest and incarceration that jurisdictions and some advocates see as a more humane replacement for the material structure of the prison (Kaylor 2022). Having the ability to distinguish by charge type in Polk County revealed that people who had technical violations were 8 times more at risk of rearrest compared to all other offense categories in Polk County.

Table 13. Sample of Charge Types

THEFT 2ND DEGREE
NARCS - POSSESSION SCH I - MARIJUANA
THEFT 2ND DEGREE
POSSESSION OF DRUG PARAPHERNALIA (SMMS)
POSSESSION OF A CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE
NARCS - POSSESSION SCH I
ASSAULT CAUSING BODILY INJURY
WILLFUL INJURY - CAUSING BODILY INJURY
PROBATION VIOLATION
POSSESSION OF DRUG PARAPHERNALIA
NARCS - POSSESSION SCH I
ANIMAL TORTURE - 1ST OFFENSE
OPERATE VEHICLE WITHOUT OWNERS CONSENT-- Motor Vehicle
POSSESSION OF A CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE
INDECENT EXPOSURE
ASSAULT (SMMS)
CONSUMPTION / INTOXICATION
CRIMINAL MISCHIEF 5TH DEGREE
PROBATION VIOLATION
PAROLE VIOLATION

Taken together these findings confirm and strongly support the above hypothesis that housing insecurity increases the risk of rearrest even when controlling for age, gender, race, charge type (Polk County) and institution type (Palm Beach County). This being the case in two jurisdictions is an important contribution to the literature examining the cycle of housing and incarceration. This study demonstrates that a very important part of the cycle is the one that begins when one steps foot out of any correctional facility. As mentioned above many studies examining the relationship between housing and incarceration looked at the effect of incarceration on future housing instead of the effect of housing on future incarceration. Both analyses have implications for reentry, however the latter reveal how the cycle of incarceration might be disrupted. In taking a closer look in both counties, the type of services offered made a

difference. Emergency shelter use is the strongest predictor amongst those who were engaged through the homeless management system. The use of emergency shelter was the most utilized strategy to address homelessness in both counties with Palm Beach having more varied services in the sample. Thus, the use of emergency shelter presents a challenge for people with records experiencing homelessness. It seems that there is a need to address an acute housing need, but also examine how we meet that need. In the face of lack of affordable housing and diminished earning potential of former prisoner's emergency shelter may be the best option. Furthermore, for decades scholars, advocates, and community base organizations have focused, rightly so on the link between employment and incarceration. This work highlighted the importance of employment on future justice involvement. Employment remains an important predictor in future justice outcomes, these results show that housing should be a part of any reentry strategy, in addition to employment.

The results regarding race were less clear. I hypothesized that non-white people would be at greater risk of rearrest than their white counterparts. This was the case in Polk County, but there was no statistical difference between whites and non-whites in Palm Beach County. As mentioned above this may be due to sample size and greater heterogeneity in Palm Beach County, or it could mean that something about the way that the homeless governance system is structured is mediating these effects. In Polk County non-white people were at greater risk to be rearrested. However, when breaking the categories down further the relationship becomes less clear. Even so, black people were still observed to be at greater risk than whites. This is not surprising given Polk County being aa county that has some of the highest racial disparities in the country as it relates to incarceration and homelessness. The results in Polk County

underscore the need to address race in analyses of the cycle of homelessness and incarceration.

Overall, results in both counties confirm the importance of housing, race (in Polk County) offense type, and institution. These findings strengthen the existing literature and add new dimensions of understanding. Strengthens the existing literature by adding to the developing literature examining housing as the independent variables, and adds to our existing understanding, by looking at two regions, and including measures previously not included in other research e.g., charge type and facility type.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In March of 2020 the world was thrown into a global pandemic. The Covid-19 virus claimed the lives of millions of people across the globe. Communities of color, the elderly, and people with disabilities were the most impacted (Center for Disease Control 2021). In addition to the pandemic existing inequalities were exacerbated (Schleimer 2021). Communities already struggling with socioeconomic and other inequalities were hit especially hard during the pandemic. Another important group hit hard by the pandemic were currently incarcerated people.

Advocates were concerned about the spread of the coronavirus inside of prisons given the lack of personal protective equipment (PPE) inability to social distance, unsanitary conditions, and correctional officers not adhering to CDC standards. Attention then turned to how to get people out of prison. For abolitionists who envision a world without prisons, the coronavirus was an opportunity to call for the release of those serving long sentences, the elderly, people with non-violent cases, and those close to the end of their sentence. These calls were contested by those with fears amid rising crime across the country, but there was a larger problem even for those jurisdictions that had comprehensive plans to release people. That problem was the availability of safe and affordable housing for people with records in the pandemic. The problem of housing for people with records was on full display. Even with willingness to release certain inmates the question then became where would these individuals go?

In May 2020, the CDC released guidance halting the clearing of outdoor encampments which changed homeless governance in many cities in the United States. Dozens of cities implemented these efforts to which advocates viewed as further criminalization of homelessness. Public health experts and advocates say that the enforcement of anti-homeless legislation such as this compromises public health and safety.

More than different enforcement, as stated above people with criminal records continue to face barriers in obtaining rental housing. Landlords often use criminal background screening when evaluating tenant applications, and people with criminal records are often ineligible for public and supportive housing programs. All these barriers disproportionately impact people of color and contribute to the cycle of housing insecurity and incarceration.

Before the Covid-19 pandemic people with records struggled with housing insecurity. The people represented in this study go up to one year before the 2020 pandemic. The pandemic revealed patterns of housing insecurity among the formerly incarcerated that had not been addressed. As stated above, much of the discussion about reentry is centered around employment. This study aimed to assess the effect of housing insecurity and race on rearrest in Polk and Palm Beach Counties using Homeless Management Information System Data and available criminal justice data. An event history analysis was performed because this technique reveals how key variables interact with time. In this study I wanted to know if a person is housing insecure does that increase their risk of rearrest? The results support the hypothesis that housing status does indeed impact risk of rearrest. These results suggest that the longer a person is in a precarious housing situation such as Emergency Shelter they are at greater risk of rearrest than those who were not in that situation as evidenced by not being in the HMIS system at the

time of the analysis. Furthermore, the results suggest that non-whites are at greater risk of rearrest than whites. In Palm Beach County the effect was not as pronounced but there, nonetheless. In addition to the main findings this study also demonstrates that the type of facility one re-enters from is important. Individuals leaving jails are at greater risk than those leaving state or federal prison. Furthermore, the analysis revealed in Polk County that people with probation or parole violations were at greater risk of rearrest than all other kinds of offense categories. Thus, it appears that the cycle of housing insecurity and incarceration is more pronounced among people who are charged with low level offenses. These findings are like those that Gottlieb and Jacobs (2020) in that they found that this cycle is rooted in people's inability to meet the demands and requirements of their probation and parole terms. Being unable to meet the requirements of probation and parole would be difficult if a person is housing insecure, but the criminal justice system is not equipped to address housing needs of people leaving their facilities. Moreover, homeless governance as represented by the local CoC's across the country also seem to not be able to meet the unique needs and challenges of individuals returning from incarceration. To be fair neither system is designed to address this overlapping and intersectional issue. Taken together with the literature on the likelihood of future housing instability following incarceration and studies examining the role of housing on future incarceration reveal failures in both systems to adequately get people what they need.

The other aim of this study was to have a direct conversation about the role of race in the discussion of the cycle of housing insecurity and homelessness. Many studies do not center the role of race in their analyses. Although, not a comprehensive review, this study aimed to put the current context of housing insecurity and incarceration in the longer historical context of racial

discrimination in housing in the United States. This disproportionate impact on non-white people did not just appear. It is the result of, on the one hand non-white people being excluded from securing various forms of housing in this country, and the overrepresentation of non-white people in the criminal justice system because of a failed war on drugs and other policies that were rooted in fear and control (Hinton 2018).

The era of mass incarceration created a new class of people that are formally excluded from many societal benefits including housing. In addition to the material deprivation, individuals with records face stigma, which even in the face of new laws can still be present and impact outcomes. The dual mark of race and a criminal record (Pager 2010) cannot be understated. This “Mark” was clearly articulated by the late Devah Pager as it relates to employment. It has been the argument of this study that this dual mark also impacts other domains including and especially housing. The abovementioned segregation is tied to the current concentration of mass incarceration. Robert Sampson highlights what he terms “punishments place”:

Overall, we demonstrate that mass incarceration is a phenomenon that is experienced locally and that follows a stable pattern over time. Hot spots for incarceration are hardly random; instead, they are systematically predicted by key social characteristics.

Mass incarceration as a local phenomenon that is concentrated in communities that have high rates of poverty, high unemployment, family disruption, and racial isolation. Sampson, calls these factors, “self-reinforcing.” A perpetual cycle that I argue started well before the advent of mass incarceration. In many ways what we see now is perhaps a logical continuation of age-old systemic racism (Feagin 1999). Mass incarceration rendered the promise of the Fair Housing Act unattainable for mostly black and brown people with records. Mass incarceration has allowed for

the legal discrimination of black people to continue in the name of public safety. Not necessarily a “new” Jim Crow (Alexander 2011) but it is certainly an old obdurate social fact that as it relates to housing non-white people are worse off than whites. The aim of this study was to bring this important nexus into the scholarly debate, because without an accounting for the historical subjugation of non-white people in housing and the criminal justice system in America an analysis of the cycle of housing and incarceration is incomplete.

Furthermore, these findings highlight what I have called elsewhere “the burden of post-incarceration life.” This burden is what characterizes post-incarceration life. The work of reentry, (Welsch and Rajah 2014) the stigma of having a criminal record, (Goffman 1963) and the routine demands of meeting material needs and planning for the future shape this burden (Williams and Rumpf 2020). Returning residents in Polk and Palm Beach County who have trouble meeting the material need of housing in the short-term following their incarceration; it is likely that they will be back in jail. Being unable to have a stable place to stay is the core of the burden. In 2013, Mary Pattillo proposed a new agenda for the sociology of housing, focused on the way that rights to housing are created, distributed, and enforced (Pattillo 2013). This approach has yielded insights beyond “neighborhood effects” and point at the attention that needs to be paid to the broader systems that create neighborhoods. Therefore, housing and incarceration are overlapping systems that create, sustain, and operate within racial inequality. Racial gaps in homeownership, for instance, leave fewer options for black and brown returning residents compared to white ones, leaving them more vulnerable to housing insecurity.

Finally, this study sought out to assess the effect of housing on rearrest to center the importance of housing as an important feature of contemporary inequality. Lack of safe,

affordable, and stable housing not only has socioeconomic consequences, but have consequences that create a vicious cycle from prison and jail to housing insecurity, right back to jail or prison. Poverty is perpetuated by housing insecurity and helps to funnel people likely already disadvantaged into jails and prisons, which then further relegates people to worse opportunities and life chances. If we care about the effects of housing insecurity, then we must take seriously how this impacts reentry if we want to support communities in urban areas especially as mass incarceration has become a permanent feature of urban communities in the United States.

Racial Capitalism

As mentioned above one of the aims of this study was to insert the role of race in discussions regarding homelessness and incarceration. Furthermore, I wanted to begin to think about how to best frame this phenomenon in the complicated racial history of the United States. Earlier I cite the work of Michelle Alexander (2010) and her landmark book that provocatively compared the current era of mass incarceration and criminalization of black people. She argues that mass incarceration is akin to the Jim Crow era. My use of that work was intentional in that I think it is a useful frame in revealing the durability of racism. This new manifestation called mass incarceration has created the conditions upon which this study rests. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was not created with this societal transformation in mind and has thus left millions of Americans with records in a web of incarceration, housing insecurity, and poverty. And unfortunately, this web has primarily impacted black people.

The foundation upon which this current situation rests in histories of discrimination and segregation. Black people have long been denied access to housing in various ways. Recent scholarship has shown that through banking and real estate practices black people were blocked

from homeownership (Taylor 2021). It is not surprising that to subjugate a people or hoard power, that property would be the nexus by which this can be done effectively. Urban space has both use and exchange value, (Logan and Molotch 2002) and as such there are deliberate actions that create hierarchies of access and profitability. This hierarchy often falls along racial lines. Particularly, the whole project of advanced capitalism can be said to have followed “racial directions” (Robinson 1983). That is, the winners and losers in the economic system often break down along racial lines. Moreover, these racialized economic forces permeate societal institutions. Housing can both support wealth creation and stability and simultaneously is often the unattainable asset that keeps many black people and other people of color in their socio-economic statuses throughout generations.

Keeanga Taylor (2021) outlines the ways in which after discrimination was formally banned in the United States discrimination persisted. After the practice of redlining, the exploitation continued. She demonstrates how race and profit often go hand in hand in the housing market. This is the context in which the men and women in this sample live. More than that, as the results show how the racialized economics of housing influence the prison and jail systems, which are also themselves racialized. This all then begs the question if the profit motive is not to extract money from people with records, then who benefits from this arrangement? Turns out that the 2.9 billion spent on corrections in Florida and 430 million in Iowa is an apparatus that indeed has financial consequences and the truth is that housing individuals in prisons instead of in safe and affordable housing is at the same time more expensive, but for some more profitable.

The above works rightly note the influence of racial capitalism on the reproduction of racial inequality. The housing market is particularly rife with mechanisms that perpetuate racial inequality. These mechanisms are also connected to the racialization of crime and criminal justice in America. Housing discrimination impacts all black people and other people of color and is situated in a system of racial capitalism; the above analysis shows how other sites of racialization feed the larger overall system. Through the web of discrimination, risk assessment, and economic deprivation people with records, especially those of color, are especially locked out of safe, secure, and affordable housing. Thus, racial capitalism is further entrenched vis a vis the criminal justice system that in many ways cements the subjugation that was already present.

Disrupting Disadvantage and Relieving Burden

How have communities responded to these challenges? These problems are massive and will require a multi-system response. Siloed efforts addressing housing and incarceration will not work. This study has shown that housing insecurity is a strong predictor of rearrest, and previous studies have shown that going to jail impacts future housing prospects. So how do we get out of this vicious cycle? First, criminal justice system and housing systems actors need to work together to co-create solutions to this cycle. If housing stakeholders don't take seriously the needs and challenges of people returning from incarceration, housing will continue to be a challenge in counties. Additionally, criminal justice system actors need to work closely with housing stakeholders to ensure the effective reentering of society. Departments of Corrections generally have limited options on how to address the housing needs of the people in custody. This is in part due to the limited scope of services that these institutions are required to have. As jurisdictions around the country continue to "reimagine" the future of public safety and move

away from the dominant punishment paradigm to one that is, in both word and deed explicitly rehabilitative. To achieve this kind of holistic collaboration there will need to be an improvement in data quality in both systems. One of the limitations of this study is the data itself. HMIS data has been flagged for its limitations (Mosites et. al. 2021) in studies and so has criminal justice data. Therefore, before any meaningful collaboration can occur the proper data infrastructure to rightly understand problems should be high on the list of priorities.

Secondly, one of Desmond's (2016) recommendations on how to address the problem of eviction and its subsequent bad outcomes for poor people. He calls for a universal housing voucher program. To this point he says:

“What we need most is a housing program for the unlucky majority -the millions of poor families struggling unassisted in the private market-that promotes the values most of us support: Security fairness, and equal opportunity. A universal housing voucher program would carve a middle path between the landlord's desire to make a living and the tenant's desire simply to live.” (Desmond 2016:308).

The premise of this intervention is a strong one. A universal program that balances the profit-motive of landlords and property owners, and the material needs of poor people. However, for a program like this to be most effective it would have to have some clauses and protections for individuals with records. Even with the prospects of financial benefit landlord sometimes still choose to not rent to individuals with records, and even in public housing situations there are still many restrictions on people with records (Butrago et. al. 2020). Thus, any “universal” solution needs to be truly universal by being intentionally inclusive of people with conviction histories. Nothing short of this will truly change the scope and impact of the housing insecurity on people of color.

Thirdly, the finding that each day of precarious housing increases risk for rearrest, there needs to be longer term transitional housing for people leaving prisons and jails. On the jail front this will be a much harder task given that local jails are ill-equipped to help with a transition to stable housing. Furthermore, the release processes of jails have received little attention in the “reentry” literature despite it holding a larger share of individuals in custody than any other form of confinement (The Sentencing Project 2021). Additionally, there needs to be research examining the processes and conditions under which people are released from local jails. Jails are currently a point of contention in the criminal justice reform debate as jurisdictions across the country have enacted bail reform measures. As these reform measures take hold and absorb the ensuing backlash it will be important to pay close attention to how jails take in and release people. There is an opportunity here to better coordinate services for individuals returning, even from jails.

Fourth, one of the most surprising things in this study was the heightened risk of rearrest for individuals with probation and parole violations compared to other kinds of charges. This was surprising because it seems particularly insidious to violate probation or parole, in part because of your unstable housing situation. Parole and probation offices could be the bridge between individuals and this kind of housing, or at the very least notice and pay attention to situations that may not be the best for people and provide help wherever possible.

A fifth possibility is connected to the last point. Probation and Parole officers can only do so much. Even with the most benevolent of officers, if there is not enough housing stock that is affordable and/or free of the above barriers there is not much that the criminal justice system can do. This issue of lack of affordable housing is a central issue that impacts all Americans, but

especially non-white people and especially non-white people with criminal records. This housing stock does not exist, and it needs to be created. The political will and economic ability to achieve this is uncertain.

Limitations

This study has made important contributions to the study of the role of housing insecurity and its role in the reproduction of inequality by looking at its impact on rearrest. Further, this study is the first to compare jurisdictions and compare by institution or charge type and is one of few that examine the role of housing insecurity using longitudinal methods. Furthermore, this study rightly puts the cycle of homelessness and incarceration in the empirical and theoretical context of racial inequality in America.

Despite the strengths this study, as mentioned above, used administrative data that is often chalked with errors and even with the best cleaning still cannot overcome the likelihood of human error in the collection of the data. Also, the study was not exactly comparative in the sense that the criminal justice measures were not the same in each data set. Third, this study did not include any measure of income or employment which would have strengthened the results by making the case that housing matters just as much, if not more than income. Future studies should analyze this comparison.

Conclusion

The title of this study is not merely a pithy statement to highlight the consequences of housing insecurity, it is also a reflection of two truths that were discussed and that emerged from this study. One, the promise of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 has not been realized to its fullest, and two, -as revealed by the results of this study the longer an individual is housing insecure the

greater the risk to be rearrested. It doesn't get better with time is unfortunate on many fronts, but namely that these perpetual inequalities have many harmful effects that impact generations of people of color. The great grand kids of people impacted by housing discrimination now face the same kinds of barriers, except that contemporarily they are connected to the massive criminal legal system. Time has not fundamentally changed the disparities between white and non-white people. Secondly, the results indicated empirically that for people in these samples each day in their housing state made them at greater risk to be arrested. This highlights the urgency to get people into a stable situation as soon as possible and/or as mentioned above provide prolonged transitional housing services that better prepare or support individuals in gaining and keeping stable housing. Time has not been on the side of those experiencing homelessness and incarceration, and the cycle is vicious. The good news is that there is still time.

APPENDIX A
DATA MATCHING PROCESS

Data Notes

Palm Beach County

Data for Palm Beach County was matched by data administrator from The Lords Place a local non-profit that provides services for formerly incarcerated persons experiencing homelessness. This produced the smaller data set used in the study.

Polk County

Matching Steps:

1. Data was merged and match in excel on the following categories:
 - a. First Name, Last Name, Race, Gender, Date of Birth.
 - b. The Concat feature was used to identify matching cases for a total of 2,282 matches. (note * matches include people who were in both Polk County Jail Data and Polk County HMIS data.)
2. Once data was matched in excel PI used the “_merge” function in Stata Statistical Software.
 - a. merge joins corresponding observations from the dataset currently in memory (called the master dataset) with those from filename.dta (called the using dataset), matching on one or more key variables. merge can perform match merges (one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one, and many-to many), which are often called joins by database people. merge can also perform sequential merges, which have no equivalent in the relational database world.
 - b. The master data set in this case was the Polk County Jail data which contained 71k cases.

3. Observations were dropped where individuals were arrested before their first observed release. Thus, any previous arrests were not considered in this analysis.
 4. There are many ways to match data and not a right or a wrong way necessarily. The method to match used in this study is not the only way to do it. For the purposes of this analysis this matching method worked.
-

APPENDIX B
SUPPLEMENTARY COUNTY MATERIALS

Measures of Housing Stability Polk County:

1. Approximate date homelessness started
2. Residence Prior to Project Entry
3. Regardless of where they stayed last night - Number of times the client has been on the streets, in ES, or SH in the past three years including today
4. Total number of months homeless on the street, in ES or SH in the past three years
5. Does this client qualify as Chronically Homeless
6. HMIS Start Date (Goes back as far as 1998)
7. Housing Status
8. HMIS End Date
9. Entry Exit Provider Program Type Code (Type of program housing)
 - a. Coordinated Assessment (HUD)
 - b. Emergency Shelter (HUD)
 - c. PH - Housing only (HUD)
 - d. PH - Housing with services (no disability required for entry) (HUD)
 - e. PH - Permanent Supportive Housing (disability required for entry) (HUD)
 - f. PH - Rapid Re-Housing (HUD)
 - g. Safe Haven (HUD)
 - h. Street Outreach (HUD)
 - i. Transitional housing (HUD)
 - j. (blank)
10. Exit Destination
11. Destination Considered Permanent
12. Housing Move in Date
13. Zip Code of Last Permanent Address
14. County from Zip Code of Last Permanent Address
15. State from Zip Code of Last Permanent Address

Reentry Measures Polk County:

16. Book date
17. Release date
18. Number of Charges
19. Type of Charges

Demographics:

Polk County Jail

20. Date of Birth
21. Ethnicity
 - a. Hispanic/Latino

- b. Non-Hispanic/Non-Latino
 - c. (blank)
 - 2. Gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - 3. Race
 - a. American Indian or Alaska Native
 - b. Asian
 - c. Black or African American
 - d. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
 - e. Unknown
 - f. White
 - g. (blank)
-

HMIS

- 1. Date of Birth
- 2. Age at First Entry
- 3. Age Category at Entry
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
- 4. Gender (Will need to recode in the match)
 - a. Client refused
 - b. Data not collected
 - c. Female
 - d. Gender Non-Conforming (i.e. not exclusively male or female)
 - e. Male
 - f. Trans Female (MTF or Male to Female)
 - g. Trans Male (FTM or Female to Male)
 - h. (blank)
- 5. Race
 - a. American Indian or Alaska Native (HUD) (Will need to recode in Match)
 - b. Asian (HUD)
 - c. Black or African American (HUD)
 - d. Client doesn't know (HUD)
 - e. Client refused (HUD)
 - f. Data not collected (HUD)
 - g. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (HUD)
 - h. White (HUD)
 - i. (blank)

6. Ethnicity
 - a. Client doesn't know (HUD)
 - b. Client refused (HUD)
 - c. Data not collected (HUD)
 - d. Hispanic/Latino (HUD)
 - e. Non-Hispanic/Non-Latino (HUD)
 - f. (blank)
7. Disabling Condition
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
8. Veteran Status
 - a. Client doesn't know (HUD)
 - b. Client refused (HUD)
 - c. Data not collected (HUD)
 - d. No (HUD)
 - e. Yes (HUD)
 - f. (blank)
9. Domestic Violence Survivor
 - a. Client doesn't know (HUD)
 - b. Client refused (HUD)
 - c. Data not collected (HUD)
 - d. No (HUD)
 - e. Yes (HUD)
 - f. (blank)
10. Fleeing Domestic Violence
 - a. Client doesn't know (HUD)
 - b. Client refused (HUD)
 - c. Data not collected (HUD)
 - d. No (HUD)
 - e. Yes (HUD)
 - f. (blank)
11. Total Monthly Cash Income
12. Income From any Source
 - a. Client doesn't know (HUD)
 - b. Client refused (HUD)
 - c. Data not collected (HUD)
 - d. No (HUD)
 - e. Yes (HUD)
 - f. (blank)
13. Number of people in Household
14. Count of Children

15. Head of Household

- a. No
 - b. Yes
 - c. (blank)
-

Measures of Housing Stability Palm Beach County:

1. Enroll Date-The date client enrolled in homeless service program
2. Engagement Date- Street outreach (Navigation?) date that client wants to start seeking housing
3. Residential Move-in Date- Date client moved into any kind of housing including non-programmatic housing (Date from program enrollment to move-in)
4. Exit Date- Exit out of the program that they enrolled in
5. Program
6. Program Type *
 - a. Emergency Shelter
 - b. Homelessness Prevention-This could be somewhat who is at risk of being homeless
 - c. Navigation- People who call in seeking assistance (could see living situation at time of call to know if they are homeless or not)
 - d. PH – Housing with Services (no disability required for entry)
 - e. PH - Permanent Supportive Housing (disability required for entry)
 - f. PH - Rapid Re-Housing
 - g. Services Only-for example meals, showers, indicates that they are currently homeless
 - h. Street Outreach- Engaging people who are currently homeless to attempt to place them in housing.
 - i. Transitional Housing
 - j. (blank)
 - k. Path street outreach- Street based case management for individuals who are homeless and have mental illness
7. Destination at Exit-Exit from the program
 - a.
 - b. Client doesn't know
 - c. Client refused
 - d. Emergency Shelter, including hotel or motel paid for with shelter voucher
 - e. Hotel or Motel paid for without emergency shelter voucher
 - f. Jail, Prison, Juvenile Detention Facility
 - g. Long-term care facility or nursing home
 - h. N/A

- i. No exit interview completed
 - j. Permanent housing (other than RRH) for formerly homeless persons
 - k. Place not meant for habitation (e.g., a vehicle, an abandoned building, bus/train/subway station/airport or anywhere outside)
 - l. Rental by client with RRH or equivalent subsidy
 - m. Rental by client, no ongoing housing subsidy
 - n. Rental by client, other (non-VASH) ongoing housing subsidy
 - o. Rental by client, VASH Subsidy
 - p. Residential project or halfway house with no homeless criteria
 - q. Staying or living with family, permanent tenure
 - r. Staying or living with family, temporary tenure (e.g., room, apartment or house)
 - s. Staying or living with friends, permanent tenure
 - t. Staying or living with friends, temporary tenure (e.g., room, apartment or house)
 - u. Transitional Housing for homeless persons (including homeless youth)
 - v. Unknown
 - w. (blank)
8. Living Situation- This is at entry into the program
- a.
 - b. Client doesn't know
 - c. data not collected
 - d. Emergency shelter, including hotel or motel paid for with emergency shelter voucher
 - e. hotel or motel paid for without emergency shelter voucher
 - f. Jail, prison or juvenile detention facility
 - g. Permanent housing (other than RRH) for formerly homeless persons
 - h. Place not meant for habitation (e.g., a vehicle, an abandoned building, bus/train/subway station/airport or anywhere outside)
 - i. Psychiatric hospital or other psychiatric facility
 - j. Rental by client, no ongoing housing subsidy
 - k. Residential project or halfway house with no homeless criteria
 - l. Safe Haven
 - m. Staying or living in a family member's room, apartment or house
 - n. Staying or living in a friend's room, apartment or house
 - o. Transitional housing for homeless persons (including homeless youth)
 - p. (blank)
9. Housing Status-Also at entry into the program (different situations may not be part of a category)
- a.
 - b. At imminent risk of homelessness
 - c. Category 1 - Homeless
 - d. Category 1 - Homeless

- e. Category 2 - At imminent risk of losing housing
 - f. Category 2- At imminent risk of losing housing
 - g. Client doesn't know
 - h. data not collected
 - i. Stably Housed - Rent
 - j. (blank)
10. Homeless Start Date- The date that their most recent homeless episode began
11. Times Homeless in the Last 3 Years
12. Months homeless in the last 3 Years
13. On the Night before Stayed on the Streets
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. (Blank)

Reentry Variables

14. Type of facility (if it is missing can find out depending on the program that they enrolled in)
- a. Federal
 - b. Local
 - c. State
 - d. (blank)
15. Homeless at Release-need to figure out when this is recorded
- a. In HMIS
 - b. In HMIS (No program)
 - c. No
 - d. Yes
 - e. Blank
16. LSI Score *
17. Reassess LSI
18. Release Date (Did not run Frequency)
19. Rearrest
20. Second Rearrest

Demographics:

HMIS:

21. Date of birth
22. Gender
- a. Male
 - b. Female

- 23. Race
 - a. Black or African American
 - b. data not collected
 - c. Multi-Racial
 - d. White
 - e. (blank)
- 24. Ethnicity
 - a. data not collected
 - b. Hispanic/Latino
 - c. Non-Hispanic/Latino
 - d. (blank)
- 25. Disability
 - a.
 - b. Data Not Collected
 - c. No
 - d. Yes
 - e. (blank)
- 26. Veteran Status
 - a.
 - b. Data Not Collected
 - c. No
 - d. Yes
 - e. (blank)
- 27. DV Experience
 - a.
 - b. data not collected
 - c. No
 - d. Refused
 - e. Yes
 - f. (blank)
- 28. Disabling Condition
 - a.
 - b. Data Not Collected
 - c. No
 - d. Yes
 - e. (blank)

RENEW Reentry Demographics

- 29. Date of Birth
- 30. City

31. Zip Code (18% from 33404-Riviera Beach, FL, North Palm Beach, FL, Lake Park, FL, Palm Beach Shores, FL-Predominantly African American)
32. Race
 - a. American Indian or Alaska Native
 - b. Black
 - c. Multiracial
 - d. Pacific Islander or Native Hawaiian
 - e. Unknown
 - f. White
 - g. (blank)
33. Education (measured in Years*)
34. Gender
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. (blank)
35. Program Start
36. Program End
37. Program Completion (75% of Program)
 - a. Administrative-If someone dies or moves out of town-left the program for reasons out of the programs control
 - b. Successful
 - c. Unsuccessful
 - d. (blank)

Exit from HMIS Programs-

Exit to stable housing

Exit to unstable housing

Jail/prison

Death

Hospital

Required a higher level of care

Unknown/disappeared

Violation of lease/program rules

Declined further participation

Relocation

Program transfer

Exit from a RENEW Programs-

Completed >75% of service plan goals (Successful exit)

Transfer to another program (e.g., a housing program with case management)

Jail/prison

Death

Unknown/disappeared

Violation of program rules

Declined further participation

Relocation

RENEW

It doesn't capture everyone, only those that have received prerelease reentry services and/or who have been contacted to receive post release reentry services. For the sake of consistency we were only going to follow those clients who end up enrolling in the reentry services and are released in that date range.

LSI Score:

The Level of Service Inventory–Revised (LSI-r) is a quantitative survey of offender attributes and their situations relevant to levels of supervision and treatment decisions. The LSI–r helps predict parole outcome, success in correctional halfway houses, institutional misconducts, and recidivism. The 54 items are based on legal requirements and include relevant factors needed for making decisions about risk and treatment. The LSI–r manual explains the use of the LSI–r and summarizes research studies on its reliability and validity. This system utilizes objective assessments of the inmate's criminogenic needs that, when compared to risk factors and classification criteria, result in a prioritized list of recommended programs which consider security, program availability and other factors.

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VITA

Dr. Williams examines how mass incarceration has shaped contemporary urban society, and how it is underpinned by historical and current racial tensions. As the program officer for the Gun Violence Prevention and Justice Reform program at The Joyce Foundation, Dr. Quintin Williams leads reform initiatives addressing racial equity, reentry for formerly incarcerated citizens, and police reforms. Dr. Williams previously was a project manager at Heartland Alliance where he led that organization's campaign for criminal justice reform in Illinois. His work included testifying before lawmakers in Springfield and mediating between business and community leaders in the aftermath racial unrest in Chicago in 2020. He also has advocated for ending "permanent punishments" and restoring rights to people with criminal records. Dr. Williams holds a bachelor's degree from Concordia University, and masters and doctoral degrees in sociology from Loyola University. His dissertation examined how housing insecurity affects formerly incarcerated people reentering society.