

5-2023

**SUPPORTING REENTRY AT THE EGOCENTRIC LEVEL:  
INVESTIGATING THE ROLE SOCIAL NETWORKS PLAY POST  
INCARCERATION**

Jennifer Perretti

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd>



Part of the [Criminology Commons](#)

---

**Recommended Citation**

Perretti, Jennifer, "SUPPORTING REENTRY AT THE EGOCENTRIC LEVEL: INVESTIGATING THE ROLE SOCIAL NETWORKS PLAY POST INCARCERATION" (2023). *Electronic Theses, Projects, and Dissertations*. 1703.

<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/1703>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Office of Graduate Studies at CSUSB ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses, Projects, and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of CSUSB ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@csusb.edu](mailto:scholarworks@csusb.edu).

SUPPORTING REENTRY AT THE EGOCENTRIC LEVEL: INVESTIGATING  
THE ROLE SOCIAL NETWORKS PLAY POST INCARCERATION

---

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
Criminal Justice

---

by  
Jennifer Perretti  
May 2023

SUPPORTING REENTRY AT THE EGOCENTRIC LEVEL: INVESTIGATING  
THE ROLE SOCIAL NETWORKS PLAY POST INCARCERATION

---

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

---

by  
Jennifer Perretti

May 2023

Approved by:

Dr. Gisela Bichler, Committee Chair, Criminal Justice

Dr. Alexis Norris, Committee Member

Dr. Douglas Weiss, Committee Member

© 2023 Jennifer Perretti

## ABSTRACT

Reentry is an important subject matter to investigate. With high incarceration and recidivism rates it is essential to highlight ways to reduce the flow of offenders into the criminal justice system and understand how to foster desistance. Borrowing from social capital theory, this study investigates the barriers reentrants face, their ability to overcome these obstacles and the role supportive and non-supportive relationships play in reintegration. Exploring how offenders' networks constrain or support community reentry, this study found that structural characteristics indicative of higher social capital covaried with successful reentry. Thematic coding of open-ended survey responses revealed that quality of social relations and resources were critical to successful reentry. Results show that access to resources like housing, employment, and transportation, as well as emotional and psychological support and fortitude are critical to reentry. While family and associates play instrumental roles in the reentry process, cohesive supportive networks and minimally connected non-supportive networks may position reentrants to take advantage of resources and opportunities they are exposed to. These structural characteristics of egocentric social networks are observed to covary with reentry outcomes. Professional non-governmental agencies such as reentry programs aid in reentry efforts as correctional government agencies like parole affiliates create or maintain barriers, as perceived by the reentrant. These findings draw attention to the need

for reentry policy and programs to serve reentrant needs, as well as their most critical supporters.

Keywords: Reentry, Social Network Analysis, Relational, Social Capital, Personal Networks, Reintegration, Social Support.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my chair and mentor, Dr. Gisela Bichler who helped me when I was stuck, gave me the encouragement to continue and shared her abundance of knowledge with me. Thank you to my committee members, Dr. Norris and Dr. Weiss for always showing up for me. I would also like to recognize the organizations who collaborated with me, thank you for believing in me.

Most importantly, I would like to thank the participants who took the time to share their lives with me. It is because of all of you that I am so passionate about reentry. Thank you all for trusting me.

*“We all are deserving of second chances when we make mistakes. We are all deserving of dignity, opportunity and hope.”- J. Aguirre*

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Mama and Pops who never got the chance to see my degree come to fruition, I miss you both tremendously. Where is there is deep grief there is great love. I love you both.

To my daughter Charlize, I am so grateful for you. Thank you for making me a Mama. Everything I do, I do for the benefit of your future. Thank you for the constant motivation to better myself. I love you always.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
Introduction.....	7
Social Influence .....	8
Family .....	10
Reentry Programs.....	12
Social Capital Theory.....	14
Patterns of Connectivity .....	16
Difficulties Reintegrating .....	19
Housing and Transportation.....	20
Government Aid .....	22
Employment.....	23
Financial Burdens .....	25
Current Study.....	26
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY .....	29
Research Design .....	29
Survey Administration.....	29
Respondent Recruitment .....	30

Participants .....	33
CHAPTER FOUR: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS.....	39
Qualitative Analysis of Question One .....	39
Successful Reentry in Their Own Words .....	41
Question One Results .....	41
What Do Offenders Consider Successful Reentry? .....	41
CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS.....	47
Egocentric Social Network Framework .....	47
Network Generation .....	50
ESN Variables.....	52
Types of Support.....	63
Outcomes.....	64
Results.....	66
Difference Between Supportive and Non-Supportive Networks ....	66
Type of Connections .....	71
What Resources are Critical to Reentry Success? .....	75
Beneficial Resources .....	75
Supportive Alters and Their Resources:.....	75
Non-Supportive Alters and Their Hindrance:.....	79
CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION .....	88
Discussion .....	88
What is Successful Reentry? .....	88
How Does Structure and Composition of Personal Networks Covary with Reentry Outcomes? .....	90

What Resources are Critical to Reentry Success? .....	93
Future Research .....	94
Alters.....	94
Mental Health Support .....	94
Reentry Success.....	95
Internal Versus External.....	95
Limitations.....	96
Conclusion.....	98
APPENDIX A: SURVEY .....	100
APPENDIX B: WAVE ONE RECRUITMENT MESSAGE .....	110
APPENDIX C: WAVE TWO RECRUITMENT FLYER .....	112
APPENDIX D: WAVE THREE EMAIL RECRUITMENT .....	114
APPENDIX E: IRB APPROVAL .....	117
REFERENCES.....	119

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: ANOVA for Continuous by Wave (Nominal) .....	36
Table 2: Crosstabulation Tables for Dichotomous Outcomes by Wave (Nominal by Nominal) .....	36
Table 3: Participant Demographics.....	37
Table 4: Education and Relationship Status .....	38
Table 5: Color Coding Example .....	40
Table 6: Successful Reentry Themes and Responses .....	42
Table 7: Participants Assessment of Alter Relationships.....	49
Table 8: Example of Degree Percent Difference of Supportive and Non-Supportive Networks.....	68
Table 9: Percent Difference New Arrest vs. No New Crime .....	69
Table 10: Percent Difference Hours Worked .....	71
Table 11: Networks and Responses.....	72
Table 12: Resources Provided by Supporters .....	76
Table 13: Non-supportive Network Themes .....	80

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Two Types of Connectivity .....	17
Figure 2. Example Ego Networks .....	51
Figure 3: Structural Holes Example .....	54
Figure 4: Types of Cohesion.....	55
Figure 5: Density Example .....	57
Figure 6: Constraint Example .....	59
Figure 7: Effect Size Sample .....	61
Figure 9: ESN Structures.....	67
Figure 10: Aggregated Supportive Networks .....	73
Figure 11: Aggregated Non-Supportive Networks .....	74

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Each year thousands of offenders are released from state and federal prisons into local communities across the United States (Carson, 2019; Pearsons, 2014; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2020). The U.S. Department of Justice reported that in 2019 the number of state correctional inmates released was 557,309 and in 2020 there were 502,723 inmates released (Carson, 2021) and 404,346 released in 2021 (Carson, 2022). For the federal prison system 41,026 inmates were released in 2020, and 35,102 federal inmates were released in 2021 (Federal Bureau of Prisons, 2022).

This large influx of prisoners being released back into their communities raises concerns, especially when multiple studies by the U.S. Department of Justice (Alper, Durose, & Markman, 2018; Antenangeli & Durose, 2021; Durose & Antenangeli, 2021) show that over 60 percent of those released from state prisons are arrested within three years. Other estimates suggest that 71 percent of those released are arrested within five years after release and 83% are arrested within nine years after being released (Durose & Antenangeli, 2021; Alper, Durose, & Markman, 2018). Federal inmates do not fare much better, two comprehensive reports by the United States Sentencing Commission (Cotter, Semisch, & Rutter, 2021; Hunt & Dumville, 2016) found that almost 50 percent of

federal inmates are arrested within eight years after release, either on new charges, or revocation of their community corrections.

Given the high rates of incarceration and recidivism in the United States, it is critical that studies investigate the impediments to successful reintegration. For it is through understanding reentry experiences that it is possible to uncover what support mechanisms are needed to help newly released offenders reintegrate and desist from crime. As noted by Jonson and Cullen (2015), reentry extends beyond formal supervision like parole, to include the full set of the micro-level experiences a prisoner faces when they are returning to their community. Given that more than half a million individuals in the United States are experiencing this, it has been considered “one of the most significant social problems of our time.” (Petersilia, *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*, 2009, p. 249). Petersilia (2009) adds that the conversation and political disputes over which individuals should be incarcerated and what amount of time they spend imprisoned has been a focal point with almost zero regard to what will happen to these individuals and how communities and governments will help them once they return to the community.

Many studies (Barrick, Lattimore, & Visher, 2014; Berg & Huebner, 2011; Lee, Guilamo-Ramos, Munoz-Laboy, Lotz, & Bornheimer, 2016; Nhan, Bowen, & Polzer, 2017; Price-Tucker, et al., 2019; Travis & Petersilia, *Reentry reconsidered: A new look at an old question*, 2001) have shown the importance of support networks in regard to reentry and that the more support a newly

released offender has, the higher the chances they will reintegrate into their communities without revocation or recidivism. This is imperative to helping the undoing of mass incarceration, a problem America has faced for decades. Therefore, studies investigating the importance of aiding individuals on the micro level, capturing offender needs and the absence or presence of support via their network could be a valid resource.

While the availability of well-resourced community-level services may contribute toward reentry success, advancing correctional policy requires going beyond what is offered by institutional and community organizations, to understanding how individual support networks also contribute to resources that facilitate desistance (Price-Tucker, et al., 2019). Communities emerge from the local networks of individuals and communities may have emergent properties that differ from local experiences (Christakis & Fowler, 2009). Thus, it is critical to investigate offender reentry at the individual level, to determine the structural composition of, and aid offered by, individual supportive networks. It may be the case that at the individual level, some relations and support, which are considered key elements of reentry, may appear on the surface to offer great benefit, but are barriers to successful reentry. Developing a more nuanced understanding of these social processes can offer critical insight that will help to identify new ways social services can support the reentry process.

This exploratory study investigates the structure and impact of local social networks, using egocentric or personal network perspective. Mapping direct



contacts of each focal individual provides a method of systematically capturing the qualitative effect of social relations at the individual level, which can be aggregated to identify general trends. Understanding who and how the people in an offender's life post-release aid or hinder reintegration is a topic of research that is much needed. Capturing information about each actors' attributes, extends analytic capacity to uncover "the structure or mechanics of the relationships" (Dobbie, Reith, & McConville, 2018, p. 208) in which "mathematical models and graphical constructs to examine information exchange and diffusion" are used (Hersberger, 2003, p. 95).

The remainder of the thesis is organized in the following manner. Chapter two reviews the literature on social influence and discusses the theory of social capital. Then, the chapter provides an overview of the barriers, such as housing, transportation, government aid, employment and other financial burdens facing reentrants who are learning to navigate life post incarceration.

Chapter three describes the methodological protocols used for this retrospective survey. Administered in three sampling waves, the survey asked ex-offenders to describe their personal networks, to see (1) who enabled and disabled their reintegration process, meaning what types of relations were most supportive and least supportive, (2) whether network cohesion covaried with reentry outcomes, and (3) how support was given or hindered, upon and during the reentry process. Since the survey included relational, open-ended reflective

items, and close-ended quantitative questions, several analytic strategies were required and will be discussed separately in chapters four and five.

Chapter four examines qualitative analysis of respondents' characterization of what successful reentry is. After describing the thematic coding protocols, this chapter reports on the themes observed. This analysis helps to showcase reentrants voices and provides a deeper look into what successful reentry is from the reentrant's perspective. This analysis helps to contextualize why respondents nominated specific people in their network and labeled them as supportive or non-supportive.

Chapter five is an overview of the egocentric social network analysis and describes and illustrates the structure and composition of personal networks. Standardized relational data is also explored to identify aggregated patterns. This helps shine a light on information about alters and supports as to what network characteristics best support reentry. Thematic coding is used to identify the resources or challenges reentrants are exposed to through their social networks.

Chapter six continues with a discussion about the policy implications associated with the main findings. Drawing upon observed outcomes, in light of reentrants' responses and the structural characteristics of personal networks, reentry efforts should implement the fundamental principle of social capital; prosocial networks are able to provide a variety of resources and support that enable reentrants to transition and reintegrate back into their community, by

supporting not only the reentrant, but their network as well. The chapter concludes with a brief review of study limitations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

Social Network Analysis (SNA) is an interdisciplinary science focused on understanding how social relations shape access to information and resources and how this web of connected influences effect attitudes, beliefs, and behavior (Bichler, 2019). To study interdependence among a set of actors, scholars in this field developed “a set of methods used for mapping, measuring and analyzing social relationships between people, groups and organizations” (Djomba & Zaletel-Kragelj, 2016, p. 257). A utility of this approach is that methods are established for assessing networks at different scales. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on personal networks (ego). Personal networks, referred to as an egocentric network or egocentric social network (ESN), map the social relations of a focal individual. These social relationships include all direct connections (ties) the ego has with others (alters) and the associations among them (Djomba & Zaletel-Kragelj, 2016; Panebianco, Gallupe, Carrington, & Colozzi, 2016). Having the ability to map an ESN gives insight to who reentrants interact with and how these people influence the reentry process.

This chapter explains key theoretical concepts and current research findings to highlight and create a deeper understanding of social influence, ESN, and social capital theory. In addition, the discussion will review some of the most

critical barriers that individuals face during reentry when trying to acquire and maintain housing, transportation, government aid, employment, and meet other financial burdens.

### Social Influence

Individuals are embedded within a web of relations that provides access to opportunities to succeed in achieving life goals as well as opportunities to become involved in crime and delinquency (Bichler, 2019). The immediate, direct connections one has with others represents an individual's local social environment, which social network scholars argue has a profound influence on behavior. Panebianco et al (2016) state:

Social network analysis focuses on the individual's social environment, the attributes of network members (the "composition" of the network), and the content and structure of relationships. Relationships are seen as channels through which people receive information (Burt, 2005), and the network structural profile plays a role in determining the amount and form of social support available to members of the network (pg. 147)

This means that, applied to the reentry process, success or failure may be determined by how their social network impacts them as they navigate their lives post incarceration. With SNA and ESN the ability to realize how "resources, behaviors and ideas flow across a social system" (Leverentz, Chen, & Christian, 2020, p. 82) and how an individual's network and position within a network can influence their behavior and the "individual level outcomes" (Leverentz, Chen, &

Christian, 2020, p. 82) they may experience can be addressed. Social network methodologies provide strategies for mapping individual networks, which is helpful because rather than solely investigating the resources and services offered by and on the state, county, or city level, it can allow for the critical understanding of reentry at the individual level. Individuals may face significant barriers that impede access to reentry aids despite their existence at the macro level. Furthermore, preliminary findings of an ongoing study<sup>1</sup> applying a network approach to following inmates through prison and reentry showed that the relationships reentrants expected to have with alters outside of prison to aid them in the reentry never materialized and convoluted an already difficult integration process highlighting the need for studies such as this one (Leverentz, Chen, & Christian, 2020, p. 83).

Many distinct types of relationships can influence people. These social connections henceforth called alters, can include biological family, archetype relationships<sup>2</sup>, friends, peers, co-workers, mandatory correctional relationships like parole/probation agents, other persons labeled as offender or ex-offender and reentry programs (Bichler, 2019; Djomba & Zaletel-Kragelj, 2016). One of the most influential alters within a network can be a family member.

---

<sup>1</sup> Reentry Prison Inmate Networks Study (R-PINS)- This study in development examines how the in-prison social networks of prison inmates examined in the PINS study impacts post release experiences of selected inmates from the PINS study who have since been released.

<sup>2</sup> Those that are a typical example of a title and relationship but are not legally or biologically true. An example would be a lifelong family friend who was like a father.

## Family

This type of alter can be a significant factor in both reducing recidivism and creating and/or maintaining barriers for reentrants. Regarding supportive relations, the emotional support offered by family members is significantly associated with a reduction in recidivism and reincarceration (Alward, Caudy, & Viglione, 2020; Barrick, Lattimore, & Visher, 2014), and timing of (time to) reincarceration and family emotional support are significantly correlated (Boman & Mowen, 2017). Family and their support do work as a protective agent in terms of recidivism (Alward, Caudy, & Viglione, 2020; Boman & Mowen, 2017, 2019) and while family support did not safeguard against criminal peer influence in terms of substance abuse, it did safeguard against criminal peers' influence on crime (Boman & Mowen, 2017).

Significant relationships with family are also instrumental to uniting offenders with their community (Valera, Brotzman, Wilson, & Reid, 2017) and thus strong family support and family ties aided in reintegration (Alward, Caudy, & Viglione, 2020; Barrick, Lattimore, & Visher, 2014; Boman & Mowen, 2017, 2019). Supportive family and keeping family, including children, ties strong also has the ability to lessen the chances that an offender will adapt to and maintain an "inmate subculture" (Jiang & Winfree Jr., 2006, p. 49) mentality upon reentry, while equally fostering the chance for a successful reentry back into society and aiding in regression of institutionalization (Jiang & Thomas Winfree Jr., 2006; Liu, Pickett, & Baker, 2014; Western, Braga, Davis & Sirois, 2015). Supportive

networks and ties also assist in helping the offender find and maintain employment which is linked to a lower likelihood of recidivism (Cherney & Fitzgerald, 2016; Western, Braga, Davis, & Sirois, 2015)

While family support can have a positive impact on reentrants, family members do not always act in a supportive or helpful way, as they may create stress or maintain barriers for reentrants. Family members are often the ones bearing the “collateral consequences” (Hood & Gaston, 2022, p. 1176) for their loved one’s incarceration. These consequences include financial hardship, ignominy, and negative emotions. Mowen and Boman (2019) found that family conflict was considerably correlated with reincarceration, so much so that even in relation to peer deviance and coercion family conflict was still the most significant factor related to reincarceration. Sometimes family dynamics change during the reentrants’ incarceration and when the reentrant is unified with their family it makes it difficult for them to go back to their former role within the family unit which may cause stress for the reentrant (Travis & Waul, 2003). Attempting to resume or reestablish relationships after incarceration can be taxing for reentrants (Dolwick Grieb, et al., 2014). In fact, this reunification into a changed family dynamic can be “complex and countervailing” (Harding, et al., 2016) and so difficult that reentry “might be more appropriately referred to as entering for the first time.” (Stojkovic, 2017). Some reentrants identify their family as harmful to their reentry progress for reasons such as the family or family member(s) may be a push that drives reentrant back into criminal activity. This type of family



conflict has been correlated with criminal activity relapse (Datchi, Barretti, Thompson, & Sexton, 2016).

### Reentry Programs

As noted previously, the focal point of many debates has been about who should be imprisoned and for how long with almost no regard to what will happen to these individuals upon release and how communities and governments will aid in their reintegration (Petersilia, When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry, 2009). A support mechanism that reentrants may have access to is non-profit reentry programs. Some reentry programs start while individuals are incarcerated, to aid in preparing for reintegration and some are offered once reentrants are back in the community. These programs, when implemented well can benefit the community and reentrants (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Programs that meet the “effective” evidence rating can be found through website like the National Institute of Justice’s Crime Solutions webpage (National Institute of Justice, 2023), and the What Works in Reentry Clearinghouse website (The Council of State Governments, 2023). Many states have websites dedicated to aid in locating reentry programs. In California, the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation has a website noting four residential programs and two outpatient / drop-in programs (California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, 2023).

As with familial relations, reentry programs may also be associated with negative outcomes. Accessing the resources offered by programs can be difficult

if the reentrant does not have access to the internet, internet accessible devices, or technical skills needed to navigate the World Wide Web. In addition, reentry programs vary. Some programs may only offer one type of treatment such as substance abuse treatment, while others may offer multiple services. Some programs may be specific to the reentrant as well (e.g., programs for reentrants who were imprisoned for domestic violence). When program access is limited, reentrants may have difficulty finding a program that will accept the reentrant and offer the set of treatments and resources needed.

A meta-analysis of reentry programs (Wright, Zhang, Farabee, & Braatz, 2014) found that the top five services reentry programs offer are, substance abuse counseling followed by counseling, life skill classes, cognitive behavioral treatment and employment services. This is valuable information, because as Wright, Zhang, Farabee and Braatz (2014) note, the U.S. Department of Justice compiled data on what the rates of rearrest were per offender offense type. Offenders with drug offenses had a rearrest rate of over 66% indicating that substance abuse treatment may be a helpful treatment for reentry programs to offer. Unfortunately, not all programs may be able to offer such services. Finding programming to help with individualized needs is critical, and effective programs may have the ability to offer some support that the reentrant could find helpful. These types of support and services can aid in reintegration and quality of life for reentrants (Berghuis, 2018).

## Social Capital Theory

Social capital theory argues that one's pattern of connectivity to others influences their chances of success. Initially articulated to explain individual and organizational success within competitive business settings, Burt (1992, 2005) argued that variability in success among a set of people can be accounted for by a person's position within a social network. Some people are better positioned within a personal network in that they have direct relations to others who provide information benefits, i.e., they learn about new opportunities or resources before others (Burt, 2005). At the individual level, the quality, content, and structure of social relationships affect access to these information benefits that are flowing through the network thereby shaping the types of opportunities people are exposed to, and ultimately, influencing their life trajectory (Wright, Cullen, & Miller, 2001). People that are positioned to take advantage of these resources and opportunities first and who can control if others find out about them are said to have more social capital (Burt, 2005; Thieme, 2007).

However, success is relative to the individual and the cultural norms of the social network in which the person is embedded. This means that social capital can be used to explain both pro-social "success" and criminal "success" (Bichler, 2019). For instance, having connections to unique individuals or clusters of individuals, generates the advantage of learning about different ideas and new opportunities to sell illicit drugs or get a job at warehouse. Applied to release from incarceration, it could be said that those individuals who have access to a diverse

set of pro-social emotional and/or financial support and “access to information, enhanced personal credentials and recognition, reinforcement of identity” would avoid rearrest and reincarceration more than their newly released counterparts who do not have a network in which their needs can be met (Panebianco, Gallupe, Carrington, & Colozzi, 2016, p. 147). Alternatively, if the cultural norms of the network are oriented around criminal objectives, the same pattern of relational ties can facilitate criminal behaviors (Kjellstrand, Clark, Caffery, Smith, & Eddy, 2022). Alternatively, relations can “facilitate drug use by providing substance purchasing advice, money to buy drugs, and/or an appropriate place to use” (Panebianco, Gallupe, Carrington, & Colozzi, 2016, p. 147). It is also shown that when support is offered by an individual who is “toxic or coercive” (Kjellstrand, Clark, Caffery, Smith, & Eddy, 2022, p. 179) that support creates strain for the reentrant inducing anxiety and tension which can increase the likelihood of rearrest (Liu & Visher, 2021). Therefore, looking at both supportive and non-supportive networks is essential to understanding what helps and hinders the reentry process for individuals going through it and those who may be better able to help.

Burt (1992, 2005) also argues that weak relationships with others provide the most information benefit. Weak relations are those that involve infrequent or limited interaction, and thus do not facilitate a strong social bond, i.e., someone spoken to occasionally at a gym (weak) compared to a family member that the reentrant lives with (strong). Information benefits, which is information about new

opportunities and resources, are most often accessed through weak ties.

Panebianco et al. (2016) state that, “weak ties provide a different form of social capital. Being loosely connected to individuals who operate in different groups exposes a person to new information, ideas, influences.” (p. 147). This can clarify how relationships in a reentrant’s network, such as interactions with a parole officer, can be useful even if the tie is not as strong as it would be with an alter that is a figure like a mother.

### Patterns of Connectivity

Positional advantage is operationalized by specific patterns of connectivity (Burt, 1992; 2005). These connectivity’s are viewed through the lens of two ESN instruments, structural holes and cohesion (Burt, 1992) both of which can be seen in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1 illustrates opposite patterns of connectivity. Network A portrays a happy person in the center of a star shaped network. Notice how the only person in the network who is connected (by the lines) to everyone is the person in the middle (the ego). No connections are observed among the alters. This starlike pattern indicates there is no cohesion. Network B is at the other end of the spectrum and shows almost perfect cohesion, with nearly everyone in the network having a relationship or tie with one another illustrating this.

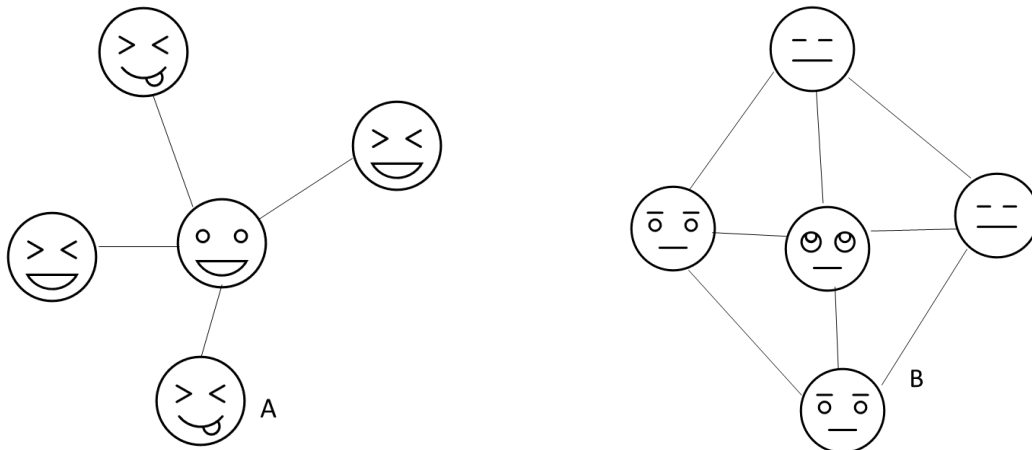


Figure 1: Two Types of Connectivity

In structural holes theory, Burt (1992) uses the term structural holes to indicate where individuals in a network are disconnected or where there is a non-redundant tie. Burt (1992) comments that there is a structural hole “between two people who provide nonredundant network benefits” (p. 19). An example of this can be seen in Network A. The individual in the middle is positioned in such a way that they have the opportunity to take advantage of diverse information which gives them power in the network. This power enables them to control the flow of information through the network, take advantage of unique opportunities, deciding what information they will share with others, and even the decision to arrange relationships if and when they choose to (Burt, 1992; Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000; Ho, Rousseau, & Levesque, 2006). The lack of ties, or the non-redundancy means that no one in Network A will offer the individual in the middle

the same information or opportunities. This disconnection between people in the network means that the network is not cohesive, i.e., the individuals within are not closely connected. This lack of connectivity gives the person in the middle not only power but freedom to take advantage of diverse information and opportunities.

Cohesion, structurally, is a network in which everyone is directly connected to many others. Cohesion is often considered to be synonymous with unity, togetherness, or representing a close bond (Merriam-Webster, 2023). Through Burt's (1992) structural hole theory, when people are embedded within a tight, interconnected group, they are not positioned to receive new information from others. Instead, the same redundant information recirculates throughout the group. Burt (1992) argues that cohesion reduces positional advantage. Cohesion within a network is a "source of rigidity that hinders the coordination of complex organizational tasks" (Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000, p. 183) and serves to take away an individual's independence (Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000). Therefore, networks that have a lot of cohesion are seen as networks that constrain the individual within. This constraint then prevents them from being able to take advantage of unique and/or diverse information that can lead to better opportunities (Burt, 1992; Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000; Ho, Rousseau, & Levesque, 2006)

In terms of reentry, a reentrant who has the advantage of being in a network surrounded by structural holes and that is low in cohesion and thus less

constraining can allow for diverse opportunities to flow to the reentrant without taking away their autonomy.

### Difficulties Reintegrating

To understand the need for support during reentry, it is crucial to recognize how reintegration can be a complicated process. For many newly released offenders accessing housing, employment, transportation, and government aid can be difficult. Barriers to accessing resources are compounded by a multitude of challenges, from reentrants being released back into the criminogenic and impoverished communities in which they came from, to lacking family finances needed to care for children in which they may not have the means to do so; almost half of state and federal inmates report having at least one child (Maruschak, Bronson, & Alper, 2016). Reentrants rely heavily on their families to aid in gathering resources, which can add to the stress of the family's finances and negatively impact the overall health of family unit (Mowen, Stansfield, & Boman, 2019; Naser & La Vinge, Family support in the prisoner reentry process, 2006). Alongside this is the daily struggle with the stigma and legal discrimination that comes with having a criminal history. While this paper's focus is on the pivotal role that offender's social networks play in helping or hindering their reentry process; understanding these difficulties lays the foundation to understanding why social networks are important during this transition from inmate to accepted community member.



There is a lot of value in focusing on barriers, because many of these impediments to reentry success are included in the terms and conditions of one's parole, in which the participant is mandated to follow. Supervision after incarceration, like parole, includes parole conditions<sup>3</sup> and sometimes special conditions<sup>4</sup> which the individual must comply with. Non-compliance can lead to revocation of parole and reroute the reentrant back into prison. Some parole conditions may include maintaining employment, attending classes and/or programing such as anger management, substance abuse counseling, drug awareness and parenting classes. Parole conditions may also include showing up for mandated parole meetings and maintaining stable housing. While these terms may help to keep reentrants from recidivating, there is a gap between what is best for the individual and what is obtainable. As noted above, while these terms are mandated, they are not easily obtained and thus can lead to high recidivism rates when offenders do not meet them.

### Housing and Transportation

When someone is released back into the community after being incarcerated immediate needs being met are an important part of successful reentry. This is especially true when considering reentrants are more likely to encounter homelessness than those who have never been incarcerated (Hamlin

---

<sup>3</sup> "Conditions of Parole – the general written rules you must follow" (California Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation, 2023)

<sup>4</sup> Special Conditions of Parole – these are special rules imposed in addition to the general conditions of parole and must also be followed. They are related to your commitment offense and/or criminal history and may be imposed by the Board of Parole Hearings, by the court, or by your parole agent. (California Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation, 2023)

& Purser, 2021; Roman & Travis, 2006) and that homelessness increases the likelihood of violating parole stipulations (Roman & Travis, 2006) which may result in reincarceration. These needs include housing, which can be costly (LeBel, Housing as the tip of the iceberg in successfully navigating prisoner reentry: Emergency shelter housing interventions, 2017) for a person who may have few job prospects and currently does not have any income. For housing, most reentrants will either have to rely on family assistance (Jonson & Cullen, 2015; LeBel, Housing as the tip of the iceberg in successfully navigating prisoner reentry: Emergency shelter housing interventions, 2017) or be faced with the task of finding and funding motel or hotel rooms. If the offender and/or their family is not able to meet these monetary demands, the offender is left with the uncertainty that comes with unstable living situations like residing in homeless shelters or sober living homes or even worse, homelessness (LeBel, Housing as the tip of the iceberg in successfully navigating prisoner reentry: Emergency shelter housing interventions, 2017). This is complicated by criminal records enabling landlords, renting agencies and public housing efforts to discriminate against this population and prevent them from accessing housing (Hamlin & Purser, 2021). Finding and affording reliable transportation can also be difficult (Nhan, Bowen, & Polzer, 2017). Issues also arise when offenders that are without immediate transportation need to find funds to help with mobility to and from parole and court mandated meetings and appointments as well as applying and interviewing for jobs and accessing social services (Nordberg, Davis, Patel,

Mattingly, & Leat, 2022). Transportation may also be needed to help with the everyday care of family members, like schooling for children and access to grocery stores. Having a strong and helpful network to rely on can prove to be beneficial in these areas, especially since one cannot always rely on social services, public transportation, and government aid.

### Government Aid

Having the ability to access immediate needs such as food is critical. When incarcerated persons get out of prison, they can also be faced with problems trying to obtain government and state assistance. Even if the offender, prior to conviction, was receiving assistance in the form of food stamps and/or cash aid, they may have a challenging time receiving these types of relief after conviction. In some states a person is automatically restricted or excluded from receiving aid if they have ever been convicted of a drug related offense (Western, Braga, Davis, & Sirois, 2015). Even if eligible for food stamps also referred to as Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), the amount may not be enough to meet the need. Although each state varies, Ohio's SNAP program provides \$121 dollar per month for a single person (The State of Ohio, 2019) and the SNAP programs in the states of California (Department of Social Services, 2019) and New York (New York State, 2019) offer a monthly allotment of \$194 dollars for one person; Massachusetts, for a single individual, grants \$200 a month (Western, Braga, Davis, & Sirois, 2015). All of these examples average less than seven dollars a day, equaling roughly two dollars per meal. Even when

aid is accessed, food stamps are often reduced or no longer offered once a recipient gains employment, in which their low wage and reduction of aid may not be enough to cover immediate needs for food for themselves and their children.

### Employment

Another part of successful reentry includes job placement and having strong ties within one's network can help aid in this matter. In one study, when the family members who had close ties to the offender were asked, what offenders needed the most help with, they were often cited as saying the offender needed the most help with job training and placement as well as financial assistance (Naser & Visher, 2006). Not surprisingly, reentrants find employment to be one of their biggest worries (Seiter & Kadela, 2003).

Employment is necessary for reentrants, not only is it usually a stipulation of their parole, but it is also needed to help them with the monetary demands they will face once released, like housing, food, transportation, and debts.

Job placement can be a cumbersome task for newly released offenders and the inability to access employment has been tied to the likelihood to recidivate (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010; Duwe, 2015). One reason job placement may be hard is due to the stigma of being incarcerated. If the offender is applying for a job in the neighborhood they are from, the employer may know them and about their incarceration. This may encourage employers familiar with the individual to be reluctant to hire the offender (Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001). In addition, if the employer is not aware of the individual's criminal

record, most applications state that one's criminal record must be disclosed upon applying for the job. Even if the application does not request the offender to list a possible prior criminal history, many employers rely on easily accessible commercial background check databases. Furthermore, some specific fields of employment are allowed to permanently exclude ex-offenders from gainful employment in that field, due to criminal records (Cherney & Fitzgerald, 2016; Harris & Keller, 2005; Paul-Emile, 2014). These records can create a stigma about the offender and lessen the likelihood that employers will hire them as employees (Cherney & Fitzgerald, 2016). Some research has been able to show that incarceration has such a negative impact on financial success, that offenders who were incarcerated before the age of 20 had issues with finding and maintaining employment along with receiving lower compensation, for a minimum of a decade after incarceration (Western, 2002).

It has also been established that the importance of finding a job is not only crucial to being able to be a productive member of one's family and society, but it also reduces the likelihood of reoffending, fosters desistance, and makes for a smoother transition back into society (Liu, Pickett, & Baker, 2014). Finding a job can also help alleviate many of the economic constraints that plague those who are transitioning back into society. Thus, supportive networks can aid in job placement assistance, not only by helping the reentrant look for employment but especially when they can vouch for the newly released offender. By maintaining ties with family, offenders have a better chance to be able to connect with future

employers and hear about job openings via their family (Cherney & Fitzgerald, 2016). Jobs that are gained via familial connections also tend to be more stable for the offender versus employment gained on their own, which seemed less likely to be stable or full time (Western, Braga, Davis, & Sirois, 2015). Therefore, strains that inhibit maintaining ties can create a hardship on the offender post release, yet supportive networks and ties can foster successful reentry.

### Financial Burdens

Financial pressure can become a great issue for the offender upon release. The newly released offender enters back into society with an immense amount of financial burden of their own yet little resources to pull from. Financial burdens can come from fines and restitution that have accumulated since the offender was initially sentenced (Travis & Waul, 2003). One side of court-ordered payments that is important to highlight is child support that the offender may have accrued while incarcerated. Not all states place a hold on or exempt a parent who is in prison from paying child support while incarcerated. Some states still have an expectation for the incarcerated parent to pay for child support even when incapacitated. This creates a challenge for the offender when there are little to no funds available for an inmate to pay for this type of court ordered obligation while incarcerated (Cammett, 2016; Pearson, 2014) and/or released from prison. The financial strain is only heightened when the reentrant is released and owes more due to back child support. Other monetary demands can come from bills including utilities, credit cards and medical debts, all of which

might have since gone to collections and/or have accrued interest (Travis & Waul, 2003). Lastly, there are debts that come from incarceration itself. Some states require offenders to pay “fees for pre-trial detention, security in the courtroom, medical expenses during incarceration, community supervision, drug screens, treatment classes, transfer of community supervision to a different state, registration (for convicted sex offenders) and electronic monitoring” and more (Evans, 2014). Keeping up with these pecuniary liabilities while finding job placement difficult, makes the burden on the offender overwhelming and formidable.

Overall, the literature shows that hundreds of thousands of reentrants enter into their communities annually. During this transition reentrants face an abundance of barriers in obtaining the basic needs to succeed in reentry and become self-sufficient. Although social supports do not always have the positive impact the reentrant may be seeking, networks can act as a bridge in closing the gap between resource and reentrant which can help reentrants desist from crime and stay out of the criminal justice system.

### Current Study

With the many issues offenders face upon reentry and given the high rate of recidivism, researching, and adding to the knowledge base of what aids these offenders in successful reintegration and desistance, is an important subject within but not limited to the criminal justice field. According to Burt's (2005)

conceptualization of social capital, the structure of direct associations contributes significantly towards personal success as well-positioned individuals can gain an informational advantage through their social relations (Burt, 2005) that can change the trajectory of their life (Wright, Cullen, & Miller, 2001). Individuals embedded within a local network that allows them to tap into resources they would not be able to access otherwise, may gain access to the advantages they need to overcome barriers. Applied to the reentry process, reentrants who are well-positioned, and thus, afforded more resource advantages upon release, may be less likely to recidivate and continue a life of crime. Examining the personal ties and networks of released offenders upon release can aid in fostering the supportive relationships that encourages social normative behaviors and knife off the relationships that impede reentry and lead to recidivism and continuation in a life of crime.

This exploratory study continues to add to this body of research by applying an ESN approach to understand the impacts of supportive and non-supportive networks on successful reentry. The primary objective was to answer three research questions:

1. What do offenders consider successful reentry?
2. How does the structure and composition of personal networks covary with reentry outcomes?
  - 2a. Does network cohesion and reentrant social capital covary with reentry outcomes?



2b. Individually and overall, what type of connections enable or hinder reentry?

3. What resources are critical to reentry success?

By asking ex-offenders to reflect on their reentry experience, this study identifies the types of support needed to successfully reenter society, and explores who (alters), like that of familial, associate or government ties, enabled or hindered reentry after incarceration.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### Research Design

This chapter describes the research methods used to retrospectively record information about the reentry experience of 60 former offenders. The aim was to answer questions about factors that support or hinder reentry. As described below, three survey administration protocols were deployed to ensure the respondents represented a diverse set of experiences. Due to COVID related research protocols, a questionnaire, found in Appendix A, was offered online via Survey Monkey and in person with masks and social distancing, from May of 2022 to February 2023. Applying a personal network framework, the questionnaire queried respondents using open- and close-ended questions about the supportive and challenging situations and relationships in their lives at the time of release. Following a description of participant characteristics, this chapter explains the person network framework and network generation. Lastly, structural metrics and outcomes are reviewed.

#### Survey Administration

## Respondent Recruitment

A diverse<sup>5</sup> set of respondents were sought for this inquiry. Inclusion criteria were kept to a minimum and only consisted of two factors: respondents must be between the ages of 18 and 65 and must have spent one year or more incarcerated. Exclusion criteria consisted of one main factor: Sex offender conviction and/or registrant. This exclusion is due to the unique needs and barriers faced by sex offenders and their registration process that this study does not focus on nor does the survey collect data on, such as sex offender registration issues and stigma, restrictions on locations (parks, schools), parole stipulation and more.

Participants were recruited via a California-based snowball sample with three distinct sampling waves involving several collaborations with several reentry programs and non-profit organizations. Recruitment efforts began in May 2022 and the survey officially closed February 14th of 2023.

*Wave 1: Online Recruitment of California Based University Affiliated Participants.* The first wave of snowball sampling was used in reaching participants associated with university campuses located in the state of California, some of whom may have been involved with prison outreach programs and online reentry support groups, as well as staff and students.

This wave of recruiting began in May of 2022. Persons in this group were given a pre-approved message, which can be found in Appendix A, inviting

---

<sup>5</sup> Diversity in race/ethnicity and gender

members to partake in the survey and to pass on survey information to others. The researcher's email information, reentrythesis2021@gmail.com was given in the case that participants needed further information or instructions. Twelve (N=12) participants completed the survey. This initial effort revealed how challenging it would be to access this population. At this time, no incentives were offered, and recruitment was entirely online. Subsequent efforts aimed to develop more informants associated with reentry programs.

*Wave 2: In-person Recruitment at a Reentry Non-profit Support Organization.* The initial snowball generated an informant with a standing relationship with a reentry non-profit support organization serving the greater Los Angeles region. Discussion with the research coordinator from this organization resulted in a modified recruitment and survey administration strategy. After reviewing the questionnaire and approving an application to do research, the non-profit partner requested onsite recruitment. In October 2022, the researcher traveled to a program site in Los Angeles, California to recruit participants. The researcher handed out a flyer, found in Appendix B. The flyer included an abstract about the study and both a QR code to scan and the web address for participants to access in the computer room.

Inside the building was a computer lab with a door. Participants who chose not to use their cell phones were invited by a representative of the non-profit to use the computer room. If participants had any questions while actively partaking in the survey, they were directed to this program staff member (the

research coordinator), so that the researcher on this study could ensure anonymity. This wave of participants received incentives from personal funds in the form of cash. Thirty-two (N=32) individuals participated within four hours. More participants would have been able to participate had the incentives not run out.

*Wave 3: Simultaneous Online Recruitment from two Reentry Non-profit Support Organizations.* The initial snowball also generated an informant with a standing relationship with a reentry non-profit support organization serving the greater Sacramento region. In June 2022, the researcher discussed the study with the program director who suggested e-card incentives were required to approve any recruitment of clients. A grant was applied for and approved in late 2022 and by February 2023 this study was able to gather Amazon gift card incentives. Subsequently, an email was sent out to clients, inviting them to take part in the survey (see Appendix C).

Additionally, a follow-up email was sent to the research coordinator associated with Wave 2 again in February of 2023, asking to forward the survey to more participants. This time the email instruction included a link to the survey and instructions on how to receive an Amazon gift card for an incentive. It is hard to say the number of participants who came from this third wave, because the same invitation was sent to a second non-profit during the same time. During this third wave, twenty-seven (N=27) responses were generated.

Initially, there were no incentives offered for participants, although as time passed low recruitment rates and advice from non-profit administrators, personal funds in the form of cash, and a grant through the Office of Student Research in the form of Amazon e-gift cards were offered. Incentives were used for two main purposes: (1) to encourage participation and more importantly (2) to mitigate feelings and thoughts of exploitation. Program and non-profit administrators pointed out that without incentives, participants may feel exploited, an issue that was taken very seriously.

### Participants

Eighty-five people completed the digital consent protocol and initiated the survey. However, missing data was problematic for 25 responses. Removing 25 responses that were missing answers to critical network items resulted in a final sample of 60 participants. Sample demographics were not available to investigate similarities or differences between participants who were kept and those who were dropped. Twenty percent of participants were recruited through wave 1, 55% were recruited in wave 2, and 25% of the respondents were recruited in wave 3.

Several cross-tabulations and one-way analyses of variance tests (ANOVA) were used to determine if the three survey administration waves constituted multiple samples or if they could be considered a single group. As used here, a failure to find a significant difference between means for each wave for dependent variables suggests that the three samples are similar and may be

combined into one sample. Formally stated, the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) of ANOVA is that there is no difference among group means. The alternative hypothesis ( $H_a$ ) is that at least one group differs significantly from the overall mean for dependent variables (new arrests, technical violations, and employment intensity measured by weekly hours worked). Notably, ANOVA assumes observations are independent and normally-distributed with homogeneity of variance, and cross-tabulations require minimal cell sizes.

Tukey's Honestly-Significant Difference (HSD) post-hoc tests were used in conjunction with ANOVA tests to determine, which pair, if any, of administration waves, exhibited significant differences. Tukey's HSD test allows us to see which means within a set of means vary from the rest. It was critical to explore Tukey's for key demographic variables which would indicate that all three waves should be included as each administration increased the diversity of the sample. Tukey is useful because ANOVA will reveal if there are differences overall, but not which group differences are significant. Additionally, it was critical to some demographic variables which would indicate that all three waves should be included as each administration increased the diversity of the sample.

Based on the results reported below in Tables 1 and 2, participants were consolidated into one group due to their likeness in outcomes and demographic characteristics. These factors aided in the decision to group all waves together as one sample for further analyses.

Variables. The following were used to determine sample wave likeness and differences:

- Employment Intensity: Number of hours worked on a weekly basis at any time after most recent release from prison.
- Age at the time of survey in number of years
- Age of first arrest in number of years
- Technical violations: 1 – the participant had any technical violations at any time after most recent release from prison; 0 – no technical violation.
- New Arrest: 1 – the participant had any new arrests at any time after most recent release from prison; 0 – no rearrest.
- Parole Discharge: 1 – yes, 2 – no If the participant has discharged parole at any time after most recent release from prison.
- Sex: 1 - Male, 2 - Female, 3 - In Transition, 4 - Non-Binary
- Race/Ethnicity: 1 for yes, 2 for no - White, Black, Hispanic, Asian or Asian American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, Other (Participants were able to mark More than one race or ethnicity)
- Education: What level of education has the participant completed: 1 - Did not attend school, 2- GED or high school diploma, 3 - Associate's degree or certificate from technical training program, 4 -



Graduated from college with a Bachelor's degree, 5- Completed graduate school (e.g., M.A., M.B.A, Ph.D.), Other (please specify).

- Relationship status: 1 - Married or in a committed relationship, 2 - single, or 3 - declined to state.

Table 1: ANOVA for Continuous by Wave (Nominal)

VARIABLE	METRIC	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	WAVE 3	OVERALL	df	F	Sig.
<b>Hrs Worked Weekly</b>	N	12	31	15	58	2/55	2.175	0.123
	MEAN	18.917	27.855	34.567	27.741			
	SD	19.294	19.772	18.577	19.774			
<b>Age</b>	N	12	33	15	56	2/53	0.639	0.531
	MEAN	42.42	41.00	38.07	40.550			
	SD	6.571	12.828	6.227	10.435			
<b>Age At First Arrest</b>	N	12	33	15	55	2/52	0.330	0.720
	MEAN	18.00	16.79	16.47	16.95			
	SD	2.892	6.465	2.532	5.104			

Table 2: Crosstabulation Tables for Dichotomous Outcomes by Wave (Nominal by Nominal)

VARIABLE	Percent	WAVE 1 (n=12)	WAVE 2 (n=30)	WAVE 3 (n=14)	OVERALL (56)	Chi Square	Sig.
<b>Tech Violations</b>	No	83.3	96.7	78.6	89.3	3.800	0.135
	Yes	16.7	3.3	21.4	10.7		
<b>New Arrest</b>	No	83.3	80.0	78.6	80.4	0.98	0.952
	Yes	16.7	20.0	21.4	19.6		
<b>Discharged</b>	No	25.5	43.3	7.7	30.9	5.646	0.059
	Yes	75.0	56.7	92.3	69.1		

Description of Sample Characteristics. Participants were adults who had been released from prison and may or may not still be on active parole. Most participants were male, and relatively diverse in terms of race and ethnicity, as seen in Table 3, with some participants marking more than one race or ethnicity. On average, participants were 40 years old at the time of the survey (SD 10.4 years).

Table 3: Participant Demographics

	Attributes	Frequency	Valid Percent
<i>Sex (n=58)</i>	Male	34	58.62
	Female	23	39.65
	In-Transition	1	1.72
<i>Race/Ethnicity (n=59)</i>			
	White	18	30.5
	Black	14	23.7
	Hispanic	27	45.8
	Asian or Asian American	3	5.1
	American Indian or Alaska Native	3	5.1
	Native Hawaiian or	2	3.4

	other Pacific Islander		
	Other	4	6.8

Fifty-four percent of participants had a high school diploma or GED, 26% had not completed high school and 16.7% had an associate degree or higher. Participants were mostly single at 66% and 25% were married or in a committed relationship, as seen in Table 4.

Table 4: Education and Relationship Status

<b><i>Education (n = 59)</i></b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>
<i>Did not complete high school</i>	16	27.1
<i>GED or High School Diploma</i>	32	54.2
<i>Associates or Certificate from technical training</i>	9	15.3
<i>Bachelor's degree</i>	1	1.7
<i>Other</i>	1	1.7
<b><i>Relationship (n=59)</i></b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>
<i>Married/Committed relationship</i>	15	25.4
<i>Single</i>	39	66.1
<i>Decline to state</i>	5	8.5

## CHAPTER FOUR

### QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

#### Qualitative Analysis of Question One

Data generated from open-ended questions on the survey were analyzed through manual thematic coding. This was done by first reading through respondent responses thoroughly three times. Doing this enabled the highlighting of themes. When themes began to emerge, they were written down and the responses were read again, to ensure the themes that were written were correct. An excel file noting themes was created. While creating the theme process participants were given fictitious names by looking up the 200 most popular names in 1910s through the Social Security Administration website (Social Security Administration, 2023) this allowed for the separation of the respondents initial identification numbers which enhanced anonymity while equally making it easier to read participants responses for the results section of this paper. Here responses to the aforementioned question were analyzed:

*Q1: What do you consider successful reentry? What led you to believe this is what "successful" reentry is?*

Once themes were created and respondents' fictitious names were generated, direct quotes were inserted in the rows of the excel file under the column of the corresponding name. To make themes and responses easier to

identify, a color-coding system was produced that linked answers to themes, an example of this can be found below in Table 5.

Table 5: Color Coding Example

<b>Raymond</b>	Change everything. The friends, network, focus must be aligned in a manner to shape positivity. Do not give up on your goal, and advocate for your self with the agencies that are their to assist. Have probation/parole integrated with your plan and ask them to help with books, training etc to help you from recidivism.							
<b>Arlington</b>	Get your id/social security first, then look for a job ASAP. Somewhere preferably close-by that you can commute to. keep strong ties with your family because no one else is going to help you out as much as them. if you have to join a program, make sure follow all there rules so you don't end up on the streets							
<b>Adele</b>	Connect with re-entry programs immediately and get a job right away.							
<b>Color Key</b>	<b>Network</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Plan</b>	<b>Mindfulness</b>	<b>Reentry Program</b>	<b>Basic Needs</b>		

To create reliability regarding the thematic coding, a diverse set of inter-raters were brought in, with backgrounds in communications, sociology, education and criminology. Inter-raters were used as a way to ensure consistency in theme identification and coding. By having multiple independent examiners evaluate and code that same information, realibility is checked to ensure the same themes are being identified and if not allows for a discussion as to why. All analyses were then collected and the level of agreement between examiners was measured. If agreeability is high, it indicates that data was interpreted consistently the same and thus reliability is high. While the language

used between inter-raters may have differed, the meaning was the same after discussions. For instance, while one inter-rater found the theme of “positive attitude” another labeled it “positive mindset”. There were fifty-five quoted responses on question one and fifty-nine quotes on question two of which all four inter-raters and the researcher agreed upon themes for, which are explained below.

### Successful Reentry in Their Own Words

#### Question One Results

The results of this portion of the study were comparable to findings of prior research-- employment, housing, transportation, as well as mindfulness (mental and emotional fortitude) seemed to be identified as significant aspects of successful reentry.

#### What Do Offenders Consider Successful Reentry?

It was important for this study to highlight the experience of reentrants. This study defined successful reentry as when an offender reenters their community and has since had 1) no record of revocation or 2) been sent back to prison either on a violation or rearrest, since last release date, as well as 3) parole discharge and 4) hours worked weekly. With that said, a great deal of information can be gained from listening to individuals who have experienced something firsthand. Therefore, in this chapter the formal definition was not used, instead participants were asked what they thought of as successful reentry.

Careful consideration of all responses to this question resulted in 16 concepts that were organized into six themes, see Table 6. Some themes were expected, and some were added as they arose. The unexpected themes are underlined.

Table 6: Successful Reentry Themes and Responses<sup>6</sup>

THEME	RESPONSES
<b>ACCESS TO RESOURCES</b> <i>EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, TRANSPORTATION, FOOD, EDUCATION, HEALTHCARE, PHONE</i>	49
<b><u>MINDFULNESS</u></b> <i>POSITIVE ATTITUDE/MINDSET, DEDICATION, PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT, PERSONAL GROWTH, SELF-SUFFICIENCY/RELIANCE, MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL STABILITY.</i>	23
<b><u>STABILITY</u></b> <i>STABLE EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING</i>	8
<b>NETWORK</b> <i>REINTEGRATION, INTEGRATION AND ENGAGEMENT</i>	8
<b>NOT RECIDIVATING</b> <i>NO TECHNICAL VIOLATIONS OR NEW ARRESTS AND STAYING SOBER.</i>	7
<b><u>NON-PROFIT / PROGRAMMING</u></b> <i>REENTRY PROGRAMS, N/A AND A/A PROGRAMS</i>	6

Access To Resources and Stability. First a note, while combining ‘access to resources’ and ‘stability’ was a consideration, these two themes were kept separate in the table due to the wording. The word ‘access’ can suggest simply having access to these things would enable success, while the other (stability)

<sup>6</sup> Non-profit/programming will not have direct quotes to ensure the anonymity of participants due to specific program names being shared.

alludes to the idea that one should have acquired and kept said resources like housing or employment, for a certain amount of time to be considered successful in reentry. Nonetheless, for the purpose of keeping resources together, both themes were combined in this section.

With the most responses/mentions, it was not surprising to find access to resources at the top. Prior research shows that access to resources such as employment, housing, transportation, and education are difficult for reentrants to acquire. Of the forty-nine responses, employment was the top mentioned resource followed by housing and transportation.

***Adele:*** Find support to help with finding a job and housing. I believe this is successful re-entry.

***Cornelius:*** Educational enrollment/graduation, stable housing, stable income, consistency, engagement w community.

Participants consistently brought these themes up in their responses, noting that this is an important part of successful reentry to those who are going through it.

Mindfulness. What was not expected was the theme 'mindfulness'. Many participants spoke to the idea that successful reentry has more to do with what is happening internally, emotionally, and mentally. The idea of staying dedicated, not giving up, persevering, taking responsibility for yourself, owning yourself and actions. This healthy coping mechanism may be an attribute that can push



individuals towards successful reentry because it helps decrease anxiety while increasing confidence and self-esteem (Hatzigeorgiadis, Zourbanos, Mpoumpaki, & Theodorakis, 2009) and is also linked to wellbeing (Lightsey, 1994). While this was not an expected theme it makes sense that individuals who are often so stigmatized in their communities would need positive self-talk to succeed, especially when odds are stacked against them.

***Sherry:*** *To me successful reentry is someone who has some ups and downs but is able to navigate them without going back to our behavior.*

***Emmerson:*** *It is being able to navigate the unfamiliar landscape with positive outcomes...*

Network. Network was the third most mentioned theme. Talk of integrating and reintegrating as well as community / social engagement was attributed to successful reentry. This may be because integration and engagement can signify oneness, which is to say, it may represent being a part of society which can indicate acceptance. If one is viewed as part of a whole and not an outsider or outcast, it could imply reentry has been successful. This could also represent that being engaged and integrated into a network affords reentrants resources, and the flow of resources through engagement allows housing, employment, transportation and the likes to become obtainable.

**Eloise:** *I see it as integrating back into society to become a prosocial and productive member.*

Not Recidivating. This theme followed closely to this study's definition, although it was not within the most mentioned themes, which may indicate that recidivism is not a major or most important factor that reentrants consider to be part of the reentry process or successful reentry. It may also mean that it is a given, that to reenter successfully one must desist and thus not recidivate.

**Blanche:** *Staying clean, get a job, stay sober and outta jail, getting off parole living, life on life's terms.*

**Franklin:** *Successful reentry is not going back to jail.*

Non-Profit/Programming. While this theme was not a surprising one, due to this study's collaborations with reentry programs and non-profit organizations, it is not known the way in which this theme equates to successful reentry for participants. Almost all participants, apart from two, mentioned a reentry non-profit program. They only mentioned their name, with no context. Programs that aim to help those who are disenfranchised and marginalized can have a positive impact on individuals' lives, especially reentry programs that can offer a multitude of resources such as legal aid and employment opportunities. Nonetheless, it is unknown how participants saw the programs themselves connecting to successful reentry itself and because of this, there is no quote that fits this theme.

Overall, there does not seem to be one correct answer that would aid in giving successful reentry a streamlined definition, although one can see that successful reentry may be defined uniquely dependent on the individual who is actively going or has gone through this process. It is clear that there are two types of mechanisms in which reentrants can obtain support, external and internal. Externally, access to resources seems to be the most critical and internally, emotional and psychological fortitude is very important, although it is not made clear which of those two hold the most importance.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

#### Egocentric Social Network Framework

##### Data Collection

Items posed in the questionnaire were organized using a personal network framework, that typically is comprised of one's family, associates, friends, and other connections like acquaintances, that "surround a focal person" (McCarty, Molina, Aguilar, & Rota, 2019). The objective of this type of personal mapping was to see both the supportive and non-supportive relationships that help or hinder a reentrants' ability to successfully reintegrate back into their community. To accomplish this goal, two matrix tables were created in Survey Monkey, one for supportive networks and the other for non-supportive networks. This question format allowed the participant to think about who in their network knew one another, thereby permitting participants to assess "the relationship between each individual pair of alters" (McCarty, Molina, Aguilar, & Rota, 2019). Alters are those people in the participants' network. Following conventional network methodological protocols, participants were asked to name no more than five alters per network (supportive / non-supportive) for a total of no more than ten alters total. This threshold was set to minimize potential bias associated with including people who are not truly important to the ego in terms of *most* supportive and *most* non-supportive (Bichler, 2019).

Respondents were instructed as follows:

*Thinking back to your most recent incarceration, upon release and during the first 12 months after release, many different people may provide support to assist with returning to the community. This support network might include family members, spouses, friends, peers, probation or parole officers and/or groups, agencies, programs, like government assistance, support groups, NA/AA groups or churches.*

*The support these people, groups, agencies and/or programs provide may come in different forms. The way they helped you the most can include with housing, money, transportation, finding employment, offering emotional and/or mental support, substance abuse treatment, mental health treatment and so forth.*

*Please take a minute to think of up to 5 people who helped you the most when you reentered back into the community after incarceration. It may help to write their names down on a piece of paper so that you can better answer questions about each of them, but please do not put their names in this survey, only their relation to you. You may list agency, program or group name in this survey.*

For each nominated person, recorded by the respondent under a pseudo name they determined, respondents were prompted with open-ended questions to describe their relationship to the person, how each person helped and what they provided. Then, they were asked to indicate if any of these people could contact each other directly using the following instructions and fillable relational matrix.

*Supportive networks are more cohesive when each supportive person connects with each other. This generates a more comprehensive safety*

*net. To figure out how cohesive your support network was when you were released, please record which of the above 5 supportive people were likely to talk to each other when you were or are not around during the first 12 months after being released from your most recent incarceration.*

In order to understand which alters within an ego’s network could interact, a matrix was created so that respondents could indicate connections between alters (see Appendix A on page 82).

The matrix used in the survey is shown below in Table 7. In this example, we can see that alter 1 could talk to alter 2 as indicated by the orange x but alter 2 could not talk to alter 1 as indicated by no response or an empty box. We can also see that alter 3 can talk to alter 1 and alter 1 can talk to alter 3, both indicated by a red x.

Table 7: Participants Assessment of Alter Relationships

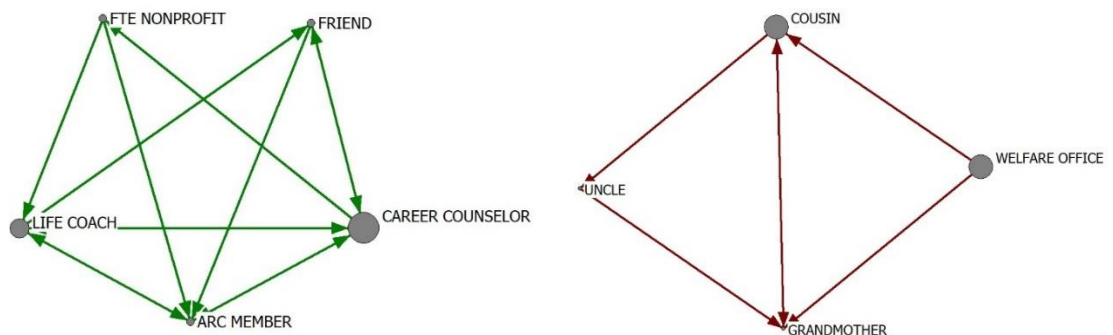
Alters	Alter 1	Alter 2	Alter 3	Alter 4	Alter 5
Alter 1			x		
Alter 2	x		x	x	
Alter 3	x				x
Alter 4		x			
Alter 5	x	x	x		x

This sequence of questions was repeated by asking about people who posed challenges.

## Network Generation

ESN were generated using the relational information provided as described previously. These networks include directed ties (referred to as arcs) from the ego to each person they nominate, as well as the perceived connections among those nominated (the alters). In visualizations, arrow heads indicate the direction of contact, who can contact whom. Double headed arrows indicate bi-directional communication channels. Each connection is valued as one point with one exception. If two different people were nominated as the same type of relation (two family members) then the circle would represent two people and the connecting arcs could have a value of 2, else they would be valued as one.

Figure 2 below illustrates non-standardized relations as personal networks for one of the respondents. Supportive connections among alters in green (panel a) and the direct relations among people who made reentry difficult (non-supportive) in red (panel b). The ego is not represented in these illustrative personal networks. As described above, arrowheads denote who can contact others directly. Notice that some people can receive information from many others in the group (e.g., grandmother) while others can only extend or send information (e.g., welfare office). The size of each actor's symbol (referred to as nodes) reflects outdegree centrality. Described shortly, this is a descriptive metric that represents the relative ability of each person to directly contact more alters—this is often taken to reflect who has the greatest potential influence in the group.



a) supportive relations (n=5)

b) difficult (non-supportive) relations (n=5; 2 cousins)

Figure 2. Example Ego Networks

Data obtained using an ESN can be aggregated to uncover commonalities regarding alters and/or agencies that can be more strategically involved in order to help the reentrant transition back into their community. As used here, this information is used to see if greater social constraint among supporters versus people who hinder reentry, improves outcomes. Social constraint is higher when everyone in an ego's personal network can interact with each other directly, and in doing so can reinforce subgroup norms and behavioral expectations in supportive pro-social networks (Christakis & Fowler, 2009). While this can be detrimental it can also be helpful, especially if what is flowing through and within the network are pro-social values and resources like employment opportunities or access to housing (inferring from Bichler, 2019).



To standardize respondents' nominations, associations were recoded to represent the type of relationship (how the person was related to them).

Questions were specific about naming types of relationship to help account for multiplexity during analyses. Types of relationships include the following:

- Family: biological familial relationships
- Associate: co-worker, friend, other offenders, neighbor, landlord
- Employer
- Educational Associate: professor, teacher, classmate
- Intimate Partners: spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend, partner, lover, wife, husband, fiancé.
- Government Correctional Relationship: Anyone mandated by the correctional system, as a stipulation of reentry such as: parole officer, mandatory class or meeting instructors, counselors, reentry program coordinator.
- Government support: social services, welfare, disability
- Law Enforcement: law enforcement agent or agencies
- Other: Religious Figures
- Professional Non-governmental: reentry non-profit organizations / programs, life coach
- Substance Abuse Programs

### ESN Variables

ESN Structural Metrics. Several metrics are proposed by Burt (1992) and others to capture social capital and cohesion of personal networks. While some of these metrics were authored or suggested by Burt (1992) some of the descriptions are adapted from the Introduction to Social Network Methods

(Hanneman & Riddle, 2005) digital textbook, which is a manual for UCInet 6.721 (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002), the SNA software selected for this study.

Structural Holes. Starlike patterns are associated with structural holes, or spaces within a network where there are no ties. Structural holes (Burt, 1992) are the gaps or holes in networks that are between the non-redundant ties (Bichler, 2019), also stated as, the holes in a network denote the absence of a tie (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Where you see ties or lines, a relationship between two nodes is indicated and thus there will be no structural holes. The presence of structural holes can indicate diverse opportunities (Bichler, 2019; Burt, 1992; Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Figure 3 below shows arrows pointing to where these structural holes can be found in a network. The nonexistent ties between alters are structural holes. Burt (1992) uses the term structural holes to explain the space between nonredundant ties and explains that this space, or hole, can act as an “insulator” (p. 18). The number of structural holes in an ego network is often viewed as a measure of social capital because of the lack of ties (non-redundancy). The lack of redundant ties may allow the ego to access a more diverse pool of resources and therefore social capital is created from this.

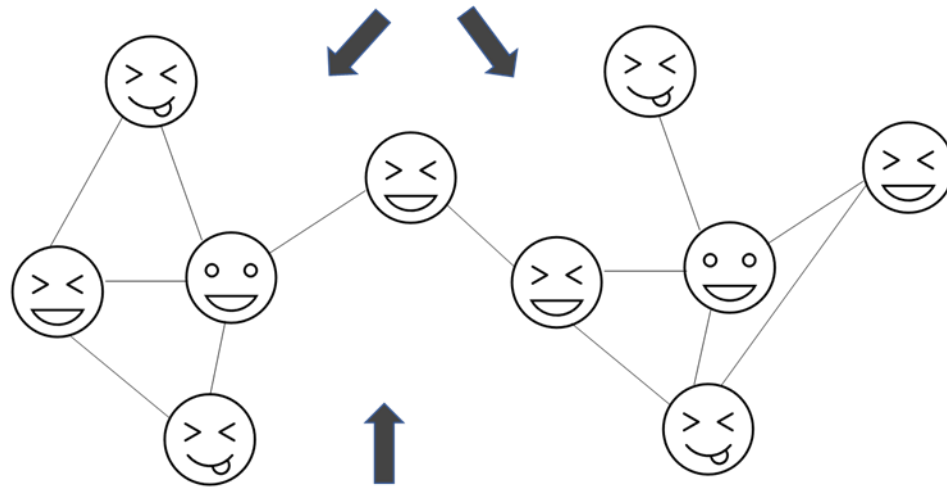


Figure 3: Structural Holes Example

Structural holes provide some indication of the potential cohesion an ESN may have. Cohesion requires a strong relationship between two nodes, this would be a redundant tie and is noted by Burt (1992) to be “redundancy by cohesion” (p 18).

Types of Cohesion. Figure 4 shows four ESNs. The black circle represents the ego and yellow circles represent alters; the line that connects them is the tie, symbolizing a connection or relationship. The composition and structure of each network varies in ways that can be assessed by the metrics discussed previously. An example of a strong, redundant tie between nodes could be seen in a mother and daughter relationship. In Figure 4 nodes D, F and G have perfect cohesion, everyone knows everyone, as indicated by the tie or

lines that connect them. Due to this redundancy by cohesion, it is presumed that each node would provide the same benefits or in the case of this study, the same resources, supports or barriers within the network (Burt, 1992).

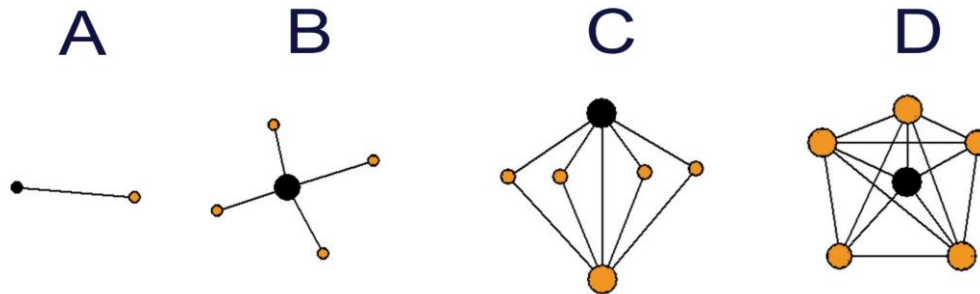


Figure 4: Types of Cohesion

Focusing on network A, a dyadic network, one can see this is not much of a network and the formulas used in this network analyses are not appropriate for dyadic networks, this is because cohesion is seen starting at the triadic level (a set of three nodes<sup>7</sup>) (Bichler, 2019). However, this network also gives a good example of what zero cohesion looks like. Participants in this study who only indicated a dyadic network, a degree score of two or less, were dropped from the network analyses leaving fifty-two participants. Dropping dyadic networks does not mean that these networks or this information is not valuable or relevant. Quite the opposite, because it shows that some individuals coming through reentry do

---

<sup>7</sup> “Nodes can represent any social agent – individuals, groups, organizations, nations and etcetera” (Bichler, 2019, p. 16)

not have much of a network if one at all, and this can have a meaningful impact on a reentrant's transition. Network B shows that the ego has the most social capital and the least constraint and cohesion. Network C shows that the ego and the alter at the bottom (nodes are same size) have the same amount of influence or power in the network because there is redundancy. Network D gives an example of minimized social capital, no structural holes, and most constraint. As a note, the star shape in Network D indicates high or complete cohesion. However, interpretation of structural effects is not simple. Considering the totality of both supportive alters and their unsupportive counterparts, reentrants are embedded within a complex community of actors. The structural characteristics of supportive networks must be such that they counter the negative influence of actors who hinder reentrant success.

Density. Refers to the connection between two nodes, and, more specifically, the strength of the connection. If a network or two nodes have high density, it means they have a strong connection. If the density is low, then the connection is not strong. Figure 5 shows an example of a high-density network as every node is connected to every other node. High density can denote a lack of diversity in terms of resources. This is neither a good or bad thing, it is all in the context in which one puts it. For example, high density can mean that everyone in a network is offering the same resource (redundant). In a supportive network, this could mean that everyone is able to offer the ego an employment opportunity. While this can be seen as a positive because it may increase the

chance that the ego gets a job, it can also be a negative because reentrants need access to diverse resources beyond employment only. If density is low, then it may mean that each alter has a diverse resource to offer. One alter may have an employment opportunity, another housing, and another transportation. Thus, low density networks can provide reentrants with greater levels of support. On the other hand, in a non-supportive network, high density and redundant offerings may come in the form of emotional stress. If everyone in the non-supportive network is offering stigma and shame, it can constrain the ego and embed them in a network that prevents them from receiving the help they need (Burt, 1992; Liu H., 2017).

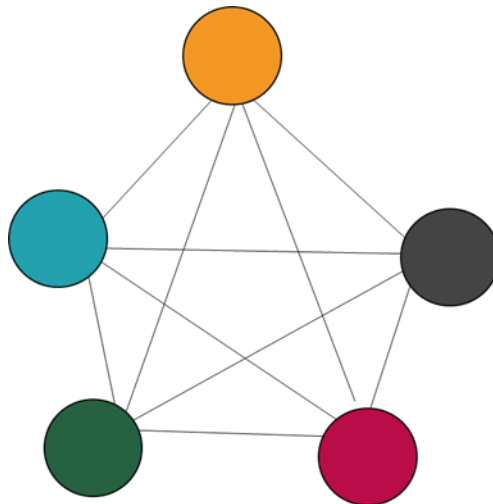


Figure 5: Density Example

Formally stated, density is the sum of existing ties in the network divided by the number of possible ties within the network (Carnovale & Yeniyurt, 2015).

Essentially, this shows “what percentage of all possible ties in each ego network are actually present” (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). High scores of density (a value close to 1 or 100 %) signify that all alters are connected to each other and the ego is embedded in a complete network.

Density aids in assessing network cohesion. When the ego is embedded in a cohesive network, it may have a positive or negative impact dependent on the context and network in which the cohesion is happening. That is if they are surrounded by pro-social people that aid in successful reentry or if the ego is surrounded by anti-social alters or alters that hindered them or maintained and/or created barriers. In a high or low density supportive pro-social network, one would expect to see a reentrant fall under the successful reentry category and on the other end, in an unsupportive or anti-social network that is dense, the expectation would be to see this individual struggle and end up reincarcerated.

Constraint. Another metric is constraint, which assesses ego’s access to structural holes, constraint “measure[s] the concentration of connections in redundant contacts, thus measuring ego’s lack of access to structural holes” (Burt, 2015). As Shown in Figure 6, constraint is just as it sounds, it constrains one within their network. Network A is an example of low constraint because it shows access to structural holes whereas Network B is an example of high constraint due to the lack of structural holes.

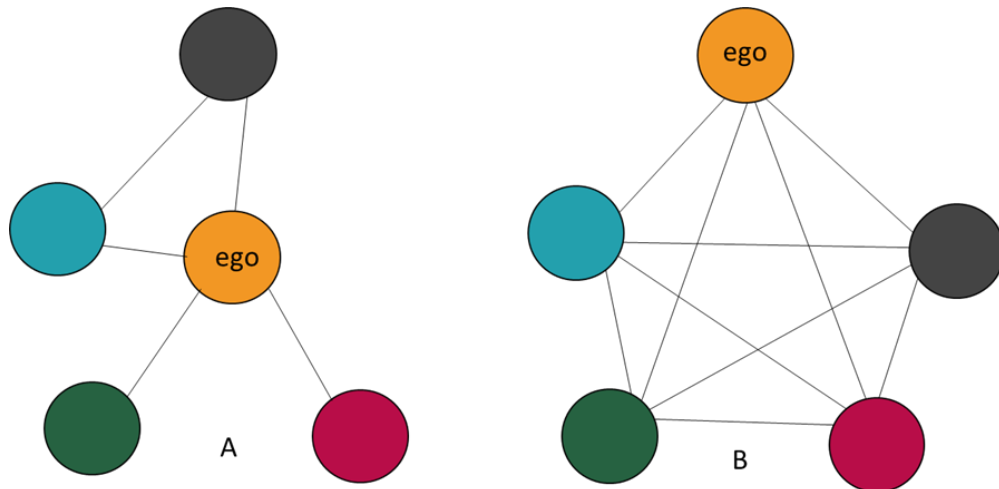


Figure 6: Constraint Example

Constraint in a network means lack of access to structural holes, which in turn means lack of access to diverse resources that may be needed to succeed. Again, this is not inherently good or bad. While it can have a negative impact for reasons just mentioned, it can have a positive impact. If an individual is in a network that has prosocial values, this network can constrain an individual's anti-social behavior, which can be seen as positive. If ego's partners do not associate with each other, "they cannot constrain ego's behavior." (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). This measures the extent to which a node is constrained.

Simply put, Hongjie (2017) states that "constraint is a combined measure of network size and density. Generally, constraint decreases when an ego has many alters (network size) and increases when an ego has many closely



connected alters (density).” (p. 3569). Lower constraint signifies more structural holes. More structural holes, in turn, offer more advantages in that if the ego is less constrained, they are able to take advantage of the unique non-redundant ties that may offer them new resources or information which can be helpful in reentry. Higher constraint can indicate less advantage, less resources, and less opportunities (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2018). (Hongjie, 2017)

Effect Size. Also referred to as effective size, effect size represents the number of non-redundant ties (Burt, 1992). Borgatti (2000) speaks to effect size stating, that effective size is a measure of structural holes and “is concerned with the notion of redundancy” (p. 1) and that redundancy represents those within the ego’s network that are connected to one another too. If alters offer the same resource and thus are redundant, then the effective size decreases. In Figure 7 below, Network A has a higher effect size than Network B because network B has a lot of redundant ties. Network A would have an effect size of four whereas Network B would have an effect size of 1. Effective size is a measure of structural holes because where there are non-redundant ties there are structural holes.

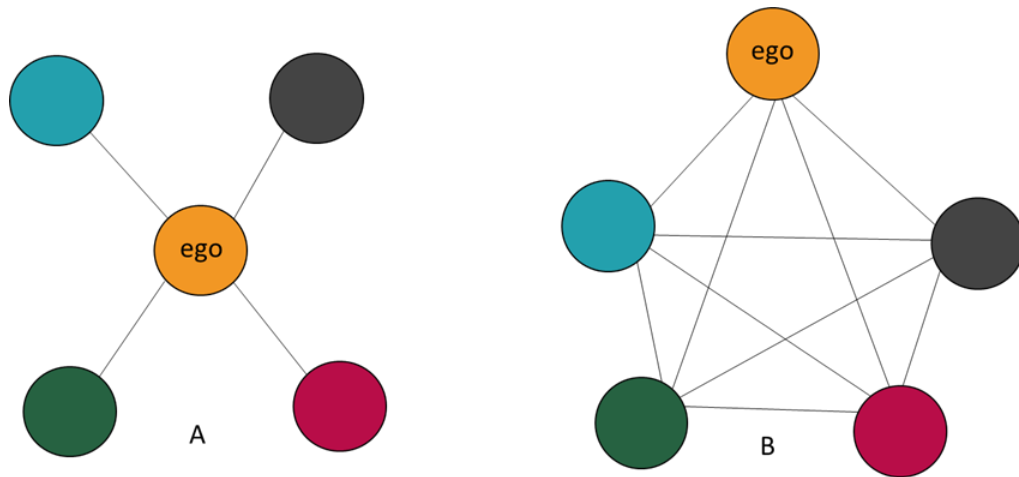


Figure 7: Effect Size Sample

Understanding the amount of non-redundant ties in a network is valuable because redundancy can allude to the plethora of one specific resource, or the absence of diverse resources and non-redundant ties can indicate a diverse set of resources. Burt (1992) speaks to effect by requesting that one looks at people within the network no longer as people, but as “ports of access to clusters of people beyond.” (p. 22). The information and resources an ego acquires through these ports or an alter who is also tied to other alters in the network has a higher likelihood of being redundant. The higher the effect size degree signifies that the ego has non-redundant ties with the alters and, therefore, the ego, “is likely to be able to exert more unique influence or control over the flow of resources.”

(Bichler, 2019, p. 192). Bichler (2019) shows that effect size and structural holes have a positive relationship.

The effect size of a network takes the number in the network (the amount of nodes) and adjusts it by the connectivity on the alters. This is calculated by summing the number of alters named and subtracting the average number of connections alters have with one another (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). This aids in seeing where there is redundancy or lack thereof. This is important because if effect size is low, there is a lot of connectivity between alters. This can mean that there is redundancy in types of support being offered which may enhance the likelihood of successful reentry if multiple of the same type of support is being offered. On the opposite side, when there is not a lot of connectivity, this contributes more value to ego's effect size. This means that the ego has more influence in the network; ego can play people off against each other, which in turn means their network has more structural holes in it. The non-redundant ties can offer the ego diverse opportunities to take advantage of.

Degree Centrality. This is a structural measure that enables the activity of the network to be highlighted (Short & Hughes, 2006). Degree centrality sums the number of direct ties and shows the relative measure of influence that nodes have within a network. The average of degree centrality, "tells us about typical connectivity. It tells us how many other actors someone is directly connected to on average -- in other words the average number of contacts each person has." (Bichler, 2019, p. 163). Degree centrality is generally interpreted to be a relative

measure of influence. When used to examine relations of an ESN, alters with high degree centrality have greater influence on egos. If the ego has the highest degree centrality, structural holes may be present that could enable the ego to play alters against each other.

Through these metrics many social network analyses using social capital and structural holes (Burt, 1992, 2015) studies have been able to gather and analyze ESN data, that can shine a light on factors such as social support (Hongjie, 2017).

### Types of Support

Respondents were asked to describe the types of support/resources that their alters provided that were instrumental to their successful reentry. Types of support may intertwine, with some support being more than one specific kind. This open-ended question format permitted respondents to nominate any resource. Responses for this portion of the survey were thematically coded and inter-raters were asked to aid in reliability. Qualitative coding protocol is described in more detail later in this chapter. These protocols were repeated for people posing barriers.

Sixteen types of resources were identified. Through inter-rater conversations and careful consideration, some themes were collapsed under an umbrella term and thus became subthemes. For instance, instead of having separate themes for housing, transportation, and employment, they were made subthemes under the greater theme of “access to resources”.

Barriers generated by alters in the non-supportive networks were also initially coded into sixteen themes. After careful consideration and input from inter-raters those themes were condensed under umbrella terms with some omitted completely because of too few responses. An example of this was one respondent mentioned the pandemic creating a barrier to finding work. While this is relevant, it was omitted because only one response mentioned the pandemic. Seven themes remained.

### Outcomes

Four reentry outcomes were used to measure successful reentry. The first two outcomes for this study explored whether or not the reentrant had 1) no record of revocation or 2) been sent back to prison either on a violation or rearrest, since their last release date. These outcomes were determined by asking the following questions:

*If you answered yes, at any time during this period of supervision, did you have any of the follow violations? Check all that apply.*

*No recorded violations*

*Technical violation (e.g., failure to pass drug or alcohol testing)*

*New conviction*

*Other (please specify)*

*Prefer not to answer*

To be clear, this is the researcher's definition, in the qualitative portion of this study participants were asked to state what they believed to be successful

reentry. This study found it necessary and valuable to let the voices of those who are actively going through and have gone through reentry share their insight and help define key terms in the manner they see fit.

Another two outcomes were added, not to necessarily signify “successful reentry” in relation to recidivism, but to signify a higher likelihood of social reintegration and completion of community supervision. These two outcomes are intensity of hours worked weekly and if participants discharged their parole (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010; Duwe, 2015). These outcomes were determined by asking the following questions:

*How many hours per week do you normally work for pay?*

*If you participated in the parole process during the first twelve months after your most recent incarceration, have you discharged your parole number?*

The intensity of hours worked weekly may indicate that respondents were able to secure full-time employment, a known barrier to successful reentry that has been correlated negatively with recidivism (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010; Duwe, 2015; Visher, La Vigne, & Travis, 2004). Parole discharge is included because in order to discharge parole the reentrant must have not violated parole conditions including not committing any technical

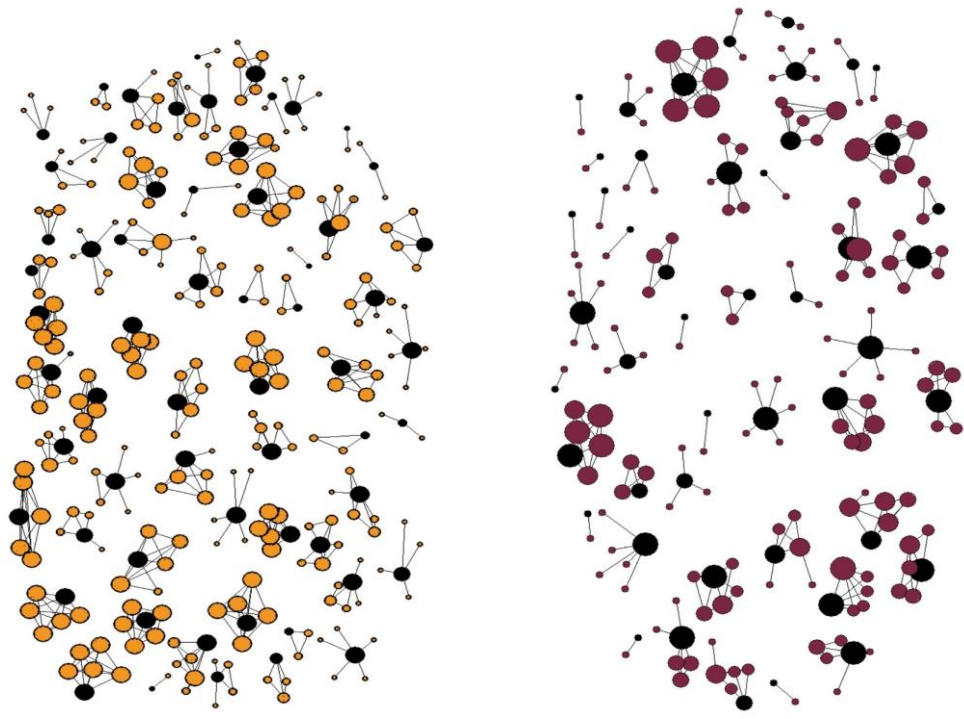
violations, being rearrested, and have met all parole stipulations for an extended amount of time. This may indicate success and be linked to successful reentry.

## Results

### Difference Between Supportive and Non-Supportive Networks

Respondents were asked to think about their relationships at the time of release and nominate up to 5 people who were instrumental in supporting their efforts to be successful, and up to 5 people who hindered their reentry. Fifty-two respondents provided information suitable for generating supportive ESNs and 46 respondents nominated connections among non-supportive alters.

Examining the structure of these personal networks provides an opportunity to investigate how the structure and composition of personal networks covary with reentry outcomes. Figure 9 illustrates all ESNs observed. The black circle identifies egos, and the colored circles identify alters. What this figure shows is that 1) there are more supportive networks than non-supportive and 2) supportive networks appear to have more alters and greater interconnectivity among them. However, visualizations can be deceiving, so network statistics must be used to understand structural characteristics.



(a) Supportive relations

(b) Non-Supportive relations

Figure 9: ESN Structures

To assess whether ESN structure, specifically whether cohesion and reentrant social capital covary with reentry outcomes, the difference between supportive and non-supportive ESN were calculated for all structural characteristics. For example, calculating percent difference for degree centrality with support as a reference, shows if there is a difference in the raw size between an ego's supportive network vs non-supportive network. An example of percent difference can be seen in Table 8.



Table 8: Example of Degree Percent Difference of Supportive and Non-Supportive Networks

<b>Ego</b>	<b>Supportive Degree</b>	<b>Non-Supportive Degree</b>	<b>Percent Difference</b>
<i>Ida</i>	5	5	0
<i>Wilbur</i>	4	2	50
<i>Annslee</i>	2	3	-50

In this illustrative example, Annslee nominated only two alters for her supportive network and three alters for her non-supportive network, showing that her negative network is 50 percent larger than her positive network. The question would be then, did Annslee have a successful reentry? Was she more likely to recidivate? Was she less likely to successfully discharge parole? While this is only a representation of degree and not cohesion, it is still relevant to showing how much more non-supportive influence Annslee may have been receiving during the first twelve months of reentry. The main takeaway is that positive numbers show that the supportive network has a higher score. As used here it would mean that their support network is bigger than their non-supportive network. Negative numbers represent a higher score of non-supportive networks, meaning the ego's non-supportive network is bigger than their supportive network. This enables the ability to explore for each ego, the relative difference in ESNs on all outcomes.

New Arrest. Table 9 reports the comparative structural metrics by the outcome measure, *new arrest*. Regarding constraint, those who were rearrested, on average had more constraint in terms of their non-supportive networks (-2.4) compared to their supportive networks. Egos that recidivated, were embedded in less dense supportive networks (sparser starlike networks) than those reporting no arrest. While structural holes were observed in their support networks, the relative impact was having less social capital than their non-reoffending counterparts. Degree centrality shows that recidivating respondents on average, were embedded in and nominated fewer supportive alters and more non-supportive alters. Taken together, these findings suggest that respondents reporting a new arrest experienced greater constraints within their negative relations in their non-supportive networks and had less social capital from supportive networks to counterbalance this influence.

Table 9: Percent Difference New Arrest vs. No New Crime

MEASURE	SUMMARY STATISTIC	PERCENT DIFFERENCE SUBGROUP SCORES			OVERALL
		No New Crime	New Arrest	NA (under supervision)	
CONSTRAINT (N=52)	MEAN	46.1	-2.4	56.7	<b>39.0</b>
	SD	58.9	63.1	53.4	<b>60.9</b>
DENSITY (N=52)	MEAN	63.5	25.9	47.5	<b>56.2</b>
	SD	60.3	74.4	86.2	<b>64.6</b>
NUMBER OF HOLES (N=38)	MEAN	28.5	9.5	88.9	<b>29.8</b>
	SD	90.4	107.1	19.2	<b>90.6</b>

DEGREE CENTRALITY (N=52)	MEAN	31.8	-18.9	33.8	<b>23.1</b>
	SD	53.2	109.4	54.4	<b>67.3</b>

Employment. Table 10 describes the structural attributes of ESN by levels of employment. Respondents working 0 to 20 hours per week were positioned within relatively cohesive support networks (high constraint, moderate density, moderate degree centrality and negligible structural holes). Taken together, this can be indicative of having less social capital in the pro-social network. While this network can counterbalance the influence of negative alters, the lack of social capital is linked to lower employment success. On the other hand, respondents working 31 hours a week or more, suggesting higher employment success, on average are embedded in influential support networks wherein there is relatively low cohesion and fewer pro-social alters, but they have comparatively more structural holes than their employment deficit counterparts. Notably, those respondents working 21-30 hours are best positioned to capitalize on the benefits afforded by social cohesion (efficient information exchange) and social capital (access to diverse information and resources).

Table 10: Percent Difference Hours Worked

MEASURE	SUMMARY STATISTIC	PERCENT DIFFERENCE FOR SUBGROUP SCORES ON HOURS WORKED WEEKLY			OVERALL
		0 -20 HRS	21-30 HRS	31+ HRS	
CONSTRAINT (N=51)	MEAN	60.8	34.3	28.9	<b>37.8</b>
	SD	41.8	67.9	63.6	<b>60.9</b>
DENSITY (N=51)	MEAN	54.2	40.3	64.8	<b>55.1</b>
	SD	65.9	72.6	61.5	<b>65.1</b>
NUMBER OF HOLES (N=38)	MEAN	5.2	69.0	15.7	<b>29.8</b>
	SD	126.7	39.4	87.4	<b>90.6</b>
DEGREE CENTRALITY (N=51)	MEAN	31.1	49.3	4.7	<b>22.6</b>
	SD	45.3	45.5	81.0	<b>67.9</b>

Type of Connections

Two other relational questions were investigated. Specifically, individually, and overall, what type of connections enable or hinder reentry? And what roles do criminal justice agencies and non-governmental reentry programs play in the reentry process? Table 11 reports on the number of alters nominated for each relational type. These results show that family and associates are more frequently identified as supporters, as well as non-supporters. This finding highlights the complexity of ESNs. To better understand the context of these relations, aggregate networks were generated.

Table 11: Networks and Responses

Supportive Networks		Non-Supportive Networks	
Relationship Type	# of Responses	Relationship Type	# of Responses
Associate	52	Associate	28
Corrections	13	Corrections	27
Educational	5	Educational	1
Employer	8	Employer	4
Family	73	Family	39
Government	1	Government	7
Intimate Partner	11	Intimate Partner	10
Other	10	Other	3
Professional Non-Government (i.e., reentry program)	52	Professional Non-Government (i.e., reentry program)	13
Substance Abuse Program	15	Substance Abuse Program	1
		Law Enforcement	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>240</b>		<b>143</b>

Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the aggregate structure of all ESNs observed (52 supportive networks and 46 non-supportive networks). Symbol size varies by degree centrality; larger symbols indicate that more of the alters nominated were of this type. Alter-to-alter connectivity is represented by lines, linking alters who could reach each other directly. The halo (curved tie) indicates interconnectivity among multiple alters of the same type. For example, if a respondent indicated that their mom and cousin could communicate directly, the ESNs would have a tie connecting family to family (halo). Line width varies to indicate the number of times the pair of alters are reported to communicate. Roughly, this approximates the number of respondents reporting that the pair of actors are in their network.

Notably, a distinctive triad of family, associates, and representatives from professional non-government support organizations appears in the aggregate supportive ESNs. A similar structure is not observed to dominate the non-supportive network.

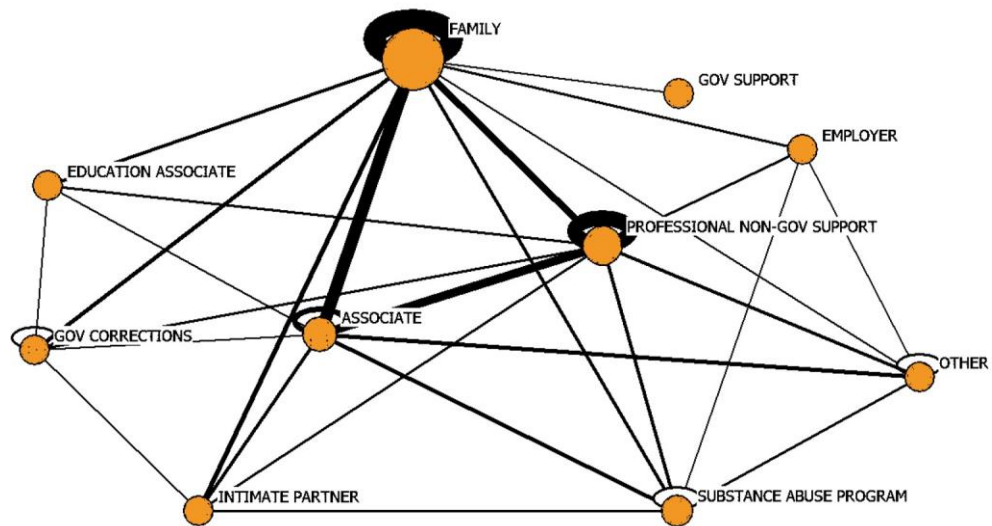


Figure 10: Aggregated Supportive Networks

Family, Non-government and Associates are the strongest and most important ties in the supportive networks as perceived by the reentrants. In Figure 10, the halo above family shows that family is often connected to family, and associates are often connected to other associates. The thick tie between the three is indicative of the strength of the relationship between one another. This means that for many of the respondents, the alters that are offering

resources have strong ties between one another and this increases social capital.

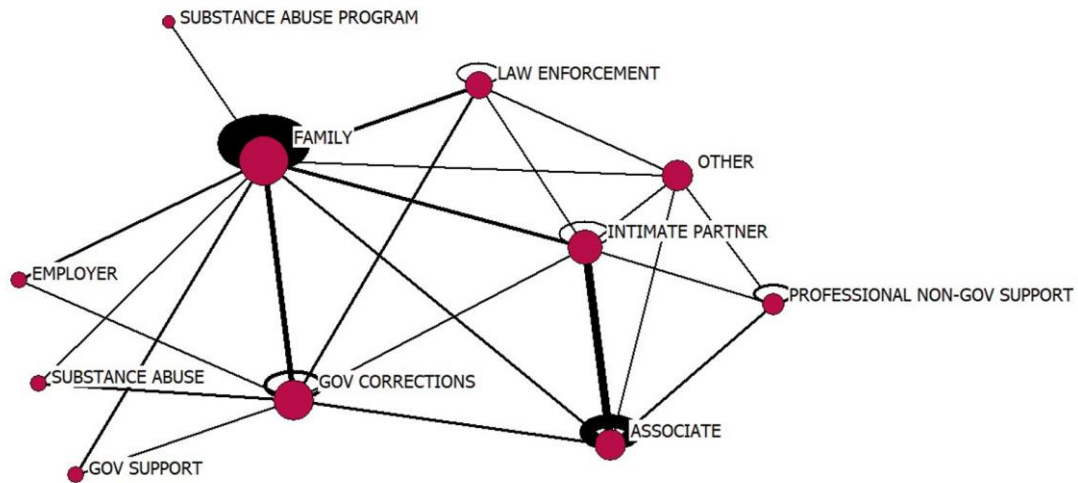


Figure 11: Aggregated Non-Supportive Networks

In Figure 11, many respondents nominated family members with connections to other family that posed challenges to reentry. Moreover, associates were interconnected and often linked to intimate partners. These are the relationship types that the ego believes create and/or maintain barriers in the reentry process and they are all connected to one another. This connectivity can enclose the ego and restrict new opportunities and information.

Considering the two graphics in tandem, it is clear that the influence that family members and associates can have on reentry is complex and types of relations alone are not sufficient to determine who might help or hinder reentry.

Also, the pattern in strength of ties and intensity of who communicates with who shows the interconnections among alters which may play a critical function in the reentry process.

### What Resources are Critical to Reentry Success?

#### Beneficial Resources

When respondents were asked to nominate supportive alters they were also asked to explain, “*What kinds of support did they provide to you? (Example: helped me find a job.)*” These alters were associated with sixteen total themes<sup>8</sup>. A few themes were excluded due to few mentions. Some themes were collapsed into one another to generate a larger umbrella theme, such as access to resources which included housing, transportation, education, financial, and employment. Mental and emotional support was also combined to have two sub themes including advice and accountability. After exclusion and the joining of sub themes, a total of seven themes remained.

#### Supportive Alters and Their Resources:

Table 12 gives a visual of the themes that were created and the number of mentions in participant responses. Below the table, types of support are categorized by which alter provided them.

---

<sup>8</sup> Themes were created using the same thematic coding method and analyses found in Chapter Four: Qualitative Analysis.



Table 12: Resources Provided by Supporters

THEME	MENTIONS
<b>ACCESS TO RESOURCE AND BASIC NEEDS</b> <i>HOUSING/SHELTER, TRANSPORTATION, EMPLOYMENT, FINANCIAL, EDUCATION AND OTHER BASIC NEEDS SUCH AS SHOWER AND FOOD.</i>	158
<b>EMOTIONAL AND MENTAL SUPPORT</b> <i>ENCOURAGEMENT, MORAL SUPPORT, LISTENING</i>	66
<b>SOBRIETY</b> <i>SUBSTANCE ABUSE TREATMENT, COUNSELING, RELAPSE PREVENTION</i>	26
<b>PROSOCIAL INFLUENCE</b> <i>GUIDANCE, ADVICE, ACCOUNTABILITY, ENCOURAGEMENT TO STAY 'OUT OF TROUBLE'</i>	9
<b>NETWORK</b> <i>INTEGRATION, REINTEGRATION, SENSE OF COMMUNITY FRIENDSHIP.</i>	3

Associate and Support. Associates such as peers can make a meaningful impact on reentrants. Peers can offer support where family cannot and they can be “protective factors” (Boman & Mowen, 2019, p. 698) during the reentry process. Peers can also aid in offering guidance and providing emotional and psychological support (Matthews, 2021). Peers have also been associated with helping the reentrant shed their perception of stigma and embrace prosocial views (LeBel, Richie, Maruna, Arrigo, & Ward, 2015).

**Mabel.** *She is the only person still in my life that I knew before my incarceration.... Love, friendship and understanding at the top of the list. I knew what I needed to do when I got out, I just wasn't sure on the how, so*

*the direction that she offered was great. My first pass was to her house, and she spent all day in the kitchen cooking all my favorite foods. It was awesome! She also gave me transportation, money, clothes.*

Corrections and Support. Parole officers can be a good source of support for reentrants by offering aid in finding employment and housing as well as substance abuse treatment. It has been shown that reentrants who perceive their parole officer to be supportive, trustworthy, and caring were less likely to violate parole or be reincarcerated (Bares & Mowen, 2019).

**Blanche.** *Believe it or not I had a great officer who wanted me to succeed helped with whatever issues I went to him with and went over and beyond his duty.*

**Leland.** *Help with finding a job, bus passes drug treatment.*

Education and Support. Alters who are within the educational sector can have a positive impact on reentrants' lives. Higher education can foster reentrant's desire to improve themselves and change their lives for the better (Halkovic, et al., 2013). Faculty can mentor and encourage reentrants and knowledge gained from class subjects can inspire reentrants to cultivate a meaningful change and prosocial attitudes (Halkovic, et al., 2013). One respondent mentioned that an alter in the higher education system provided her with multiple positive resources.

**Ida.** *Education, somewhere safer to study & learning opportunities.*

Employer and Support. Employers who choose to hire reentrants can offer reentrants the opportunity to become self-reliant by allowing reentrants to provide basic needs such as housing, food, and clothing for themselves and possibly their families. This can help with reintegration, not only by being part of the efforts to destigmatize reentrants but also by offering them community and the means to meet needs, including mandated correctional fines and fees.

***Agatha.*** *First job post incarceration. She didn't seem to mind that I was fresh out of prison.*

Family and Support. As mentioned previously in the literature review, family can offer an immense amount of diverse resources that ease the burdens reentrants face, from accessing housing and transportation, to helping financially, and providing emotional and psychological support (Alward, Caudy, & Viglione, 2020; Barrick, Lattimore, & Visher, 2014; Hood & Gaston, 2022). This sentiment was echoed throughout reentrants responses.

***Blanche.*** *Housing financial emotional mental health environment food basically everyway you could give support they gave.*

***Judith.*** *Housing and transportation and love.*

Intimate Partner and Support. Intimate partners can offer much of the support that family members offer. Respondents reported that intimate partners

offered them both external resources like housing and employment opportunities as well as internal resources like mental and emotional support.

***Julian.*** *They never stopped loving me or being there for me...*

***Augustus.*** *Helped me get a job, maintains a roof over my head.*

Professional Non-Government and Support. Non-profit and non-government programs can be a great asset to reentrants. These types of alters can offer support that addresses substance abuse, cognitive behavioral treatment, employment services, (Wright, Zhang, Farabee, & Braatz, 2014) as well as peer and community support. These programs and the types of much needed services and support they offer can aid in reintegration and enhance reentrant's quality of life (Berghuis, 2018).

***Mabel.*** *Match two connects outside people with prisoner's that don't get regular visits from friends and family. She came to see me once a month for 15 years. She came to pick me up the day i got out. She still calls monthly to make sure I'm living my best life. She is one of my go to persons when I'm not sure of things. She doesn't make me feel less then or stupid for not understanding certain aspects of the new world around me. The best support was being able to have someone listen to me, to what I wanted and felt I needed and then working with me to accomplish that.*

#### Non-Supportive Alters and Their Hindrance:

The same thematic process and coding was implemented for the ways some people made reentry more difficult. These barriers were posed by the

alters in the non-supportive networks. Here, a total of sixteen initial themes were found, with revisions and the joining of themes under umbrella terms a total of seven themes were identified, as seen in Table 13 below. Below the table follows results that are categorized by which alter made reentry more difficult and how.

Table 13: Non-supportive Network Themes

THEME	MENTIONS
<b>EMOTIONAL AND MENTAL STRESS</b> <i>INCONSIDERATE, JUDGMENTAL, INDUCING ANXIETY, NOT SUPPORTIVE</i>	39
<b>BARRIERS TO RESOURCE AND BASIC NEEDS</b> <i>HOUSING/SHELTER, TRANSPORTATION, EMPLOYMENT, FINANCIAL, EDUCATION AND OTHER BASIC NEEDS SUCH AS SHOWER AND FOOD.</i>	24
<b>LACK OF RESOURCES</b>	11
<b>ANTI-SOCIAL INFLUENCE</b> <i>BAD INFLUENCE, PEER PRESSURE TO DO THE WRONG THING.</i>	9
<b>DISCRIMINATION</b> <i>DOING SOMETHING TO THE EGO OR CREATING AND MAINTAINING BARRIERS BECAUSE OF THEIR PRIOR INCARCERATION / FELONY STATUS.</i>	7
<b>SUBSTANCE ABUSE</b> <i>SUBSTANCE ABUSE, RELAPSE</i>	6
<b>CRIMINAL ACTIVITY</b>	2

Associate Non-Support. Associates including friends and peers can prevent successful reentry if they encourage criminal activity and in literature are typically cited as a risk factor to recidivism, rearrest and “reentry failure” (Boman & Mowen, 2019, p. 682). Most responses cited that this was the case in that peers were exhibiting behavior that reentrants felt would pull them back into criminalistic lifestyles.

***Bert.** Not trying to do better, tempting (me) to return to criminal actions.*

Correctional Non-Support. Correctional alters such as parole agents can create and maintain barriers for reentrants. Parole officers may institute a fraternizing rule that can hinder reentrants from participating in educational programs (Halkovic, et al., 2013). Negative relationships with parole officers are correlated with increased recidivism, showing that this type of alter can have a meaningful impact on reentrants (Bares & Mowen, 2019). The correctional system in California is also tasked with helping the reentrants with “gate money”, money that is given to the reentrant the day they leave prison from the correctional facility they are leaving. This amount<sup>9</sup> is reported to be \$200.00 (Kamlager, 2022). This money is used to help with transportation and getting the reentrant on their feet, even though this amount has not been adjusted since

---

<sup>9</sup> Not all states give gate money and some states such as South Dakota issue \$50.00.

1973 (Kamlager, 2022) and is not enough support to access resources needed during reentry. One participant reported never receiving this money.

**Bennie.** *it is normal for parolees to receive money upon release from prison to aid with food, transportation, and shelter. I was released from state prison directly into the custody of REDACTED county sheriff's department and held in county jail for seven days due to a failure to appear warrant. This warrant had already been excused due to my incarceration being the reason I could not attend court date. end result, I spent seven days in county jail immediately after being released from state prison due to a "mix-up"... furthermore because I was technically released from county jail, I no longer qualified to receive the "gate" money given to inmates released from state prison.*

Another participant reported the correctional system losing all of their paperwork and having their parole agent pull out their weapon.

**Mabel.** *I had several po's in the 84 months that I was on parole. however, I had one officer that was fearful, which she later expressed, but she pulled a gun on my wife and then threatened to shoot my dog that was in the house. it was scary and tense for a minute, but truly she needed to not be in the field. I was informed that because I was a lifer the institution I was at, REDACTED, destroyed all of my personal documents. mind you it states, in their paperwork, that all your personal documents will be secured in their safe for the duration of your incarceration. the documents they destroyed were my birth certificate, naturalization papers, military identifications, driver's license, passport, social security card. everything that proves I am me they destroyed, causing so many problems for me. social security, dmv, REDACTED state dept., immigration, council person,*

*parole dept., no one could help me get my identification. I had to get an attorney to help me and that took a year. so, for my first year out of prison I didn't exist. mentally, that was a hard hurdle for me. sure, people joked about it, called me jack Reacher, but I had spent 29 years being told I was nothing, being treated like trash, to parole and be told I was no one was hard, hurtful. it did a number on the psyche.*

Lastly, parole has the ability to place stipulations on reentrants that may conflict with their other parole stipulations or goals to access resources needed for self-sufficiency. Parole can stipulate that reentrants need to participate in mandated programs while also mandating that reentrants need to maintain employment (Petersilia, 1999). This becomes an issue when a reentrant has to miss work to attend mandated program meetings which places them at risk of losing their job or the mandated program meeting times may interfere with seeking gainful employment.

***Sherry.*** *constantly forcing groups that did not apply to my life making a mandatory so getting a job or an education was not an option because the groups were mandatory and times or non-negotiable.*

Educational Non-Support. Reentrants may face barriers accessing financial aid and/or things needed for classes like books, due to their criminal history (Ross, 2019). The stigma that reentrants carry with them due to their criminal record is sometimes validated when they face educational staff and



students who meet them with negative attitudes (Halkovic, et al., 2013) or when they cannot meet class requirements due to their criminal history.

***Evelyn.*** *Could not attend certain classes due to the final project being a visit to a local detention facility. Being on parole, i would not be approved to attend the walk through of the prison. Instead of making accommodations, I was told to drop the class and change field of study to a more attainable goal. Was then made to repay financial aid received for those class units that semester.*

Employer Non-Support. Employers who require applicants to list criminal background information on applications, mandate background checks, or require high school diploma, prior work experiences and/or references create barriers that can discriminate against reentrants; intentional or not (Garland, Wodahl, & Mayfield, 2011; Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2022). This makes reentry difficult if not impossible if reentrants have no way to support themselves and cover basic needs such as housing and food.

***Evelyn.*** *Several local places of employment turned down applications based on appearance as well as criminal background.*

Family Non-Support. Family can act as a barrier to successful reentry for as many reasons as they can be helpful. Sometimes family dynamics can create stress for the reentrant (Dolwick Grieb, et al., 2014; Harding, et al., 2016; Stojkovic, 2017; Travis & Waul, 2003) which can make reentry more difficult.

Respondents reported that families could sometimes be unhelpful because they did not understand the reentrants' plight or offer the support they needed.

**Sherry.** *Not understanding that I had no adult knowledge, I went to prison at 17 and got out at 35.*

**Estelle.** *Showed no emotional, mental support.*

Government Non-Support. Reentrants can also face hardships trying to obtain aid from government agencies like the Department of Motor Vehicles, Social Security Administration, and Welfare and Social Services offices. One respondent noted,

**Constantine.** *Upon release you are not given proof of identification. Tracking down all the documents is difficult. For example, a birth certificate cannot be obtained without identification. Identification requires a birth certificate. To apply for assistance, you are required to have both. Yes, it is possible but difficult to navigate and they seem to not have time or seem to care to help to educate people on the process to obtain all identification documents required to even obtain employment.*

Obtaining identification is considered a critical first step (Mellow & Dickinson, 2006) especially when it is needed to acquire employment, health care, housing and more. Having to navigate multiple agencies to gather identifying information and the time it takes to actively receive that identification alongside the money it takes to acquire it can be detrimental to a reentrant who

may be in desperate need to start looking for employment, or housing and is also possibly trying to get social services benefits.

Intimate Partner Non-Support. Intimate partnerships during reentry can be challenging for the individuals and the relationship. Issues from when the reentrant was incarcerated can spill over into their reentry phase and reentry difficulties can create stress for the relationship and increase the likelihood of recidivism for reentrants (Comfort, et al., 2018). Partners who were left behind to carry the burden created by the reentrants absence during incarceration and then met with challenges to help the reentrant post-incarceration may leave little room for partners to hold space for their reentering partners (Comfort, et al., 2018) or meet them with compassion, patience and trust. Respondents confirmed these points and also pointed out that sometimes partnerships were non-supportive because their partner was still involved in a criminal lifestyle.

***Atticus.*** *Always watching me.*

***Bessie.*** *Being a control freak, withholding money from me.*

***Raymond.*** *Still in criminal activities. Old behavior.*

Law Enforcement Non-Support. This alter received relatively few mentions, although the responses all spoke to the perception that reentrants felt targeted, harassed, and discriminated against by law enforcement agencies and agents. These responses were specific to police officers and not parole agents

and this got their own category. Although, not much context was given to better evaluate responses and the meaning behind them.

***Atticus.*** *Always harassing me.*

***Alvin.*** *Pulled over on a constant basis.*

Professional Non-Government Non-Support. As mentioned previously, non-profit, and non-government programs can be beneficial to reentrants, although they can be difficult to navigate. Some reentry programs only offer one resource, or they may not have the ability to meet the specific needs of every reentrant, and this can be discouraging and frustrating for some reentrants.

***Mabel.*** *When I got out most re-entry programs were drug programs, which aren't set up for people that have done large chunks of time. Their insistence that I go to groups that I used to run when I was in prison was maddening. The curriculums were tailored for aa/na issues not for people that were trying to reacclimate into society.*

These qualitative questions get to the heart of answering the research question, *what resources are critical to reentry*. Through both ESN and qualitative data analyses the results show us that across-the-board access to resources: housing, employment, education, transportation is critical to reentry success. Although, internal resources such as emotional and psychological support and mindfulness seem to be critical to successful reintegration as well.

## CHAPTER SIX

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

#### Discussion

The goal of this study was to facilitate a better understanding of what successful reentry is, consider what resources are critical to reentry, and explore how personal network structures covary with reentry outcomes. This was accomplished through primary data collection and analyses using qualitative thematic coding and UCINet.

#### What is Successful Reentry?

Participants in this study believe that successful reentry correlates with multiple internal and external elements and resources. There were six themes that were correlated with the perception of successful reentry including access to resources, mindfulness, stability, network, not recidivating and non-profit programming. While access to resources was not only the most mentioned theme, it is also one of the most heavily studied topics in reentry. Literature shows that these resources (housing, transportation, employment) are some of the most difficult for reentrants to gain. Therefore, acquiring such resources or possibly even having the opportunity to access these resources could be perceived as successful reentry. It may also be that obtaining these resources may lead to what participants consider successful reentry.

Participants mentioned that their social networks play a pivotal role in their idea of what successful reentry is. They mentioned that integration and engagement in their community with prosocial attitudes is what successful reentry looks like. They also mentioned that not-recidivating, in itself, is enough to establish successful reentry. These three responses (mindfulness, integration and not recidivating) could indicate that it is not what you gain in terms of external, tangible resources but rather one's actions that determine successful reentry.

Lastly, non-profit programs were mentioned when asked what reentrants thought successful reentry was. While this theme was mentioned enough to garner its own category, as mentioned previously, it was not made clear through context why reentrants thought this or in what ways this theme was associated with being defined as a part of successful reentry.

Mindfulness, while not an expected theme, still makes sense. Reentry is a stressful transition. Reentrants come home to a barrage of demands and barriers to accessing those demands all while attempting to figure out their role in society where they may be met with stigma and discrimination. Having the psychological and emotional fortitude to push through and do their best to remain positive and confident seems to be perceived as a way to further their objectives and grasp the ultimate goal of successful reentry.

This aids in understanding that successful reentry is not a one-size-fits-all and that reentrants should be assessed individually so that they may find the

support they need to reenter their communities in the ways they see as benefiting them the most to guide them towards what they deem as successful reentry. It also helps by showing that reentrants have unique and complex needs outside of housing, transportation and employment as well as a desire to desist from crime and have a full life with community, emotional and psychological fortitude.

#### How Does Structure and Composition of Personal Networks Covary with Reentry Outcomes?

The composition of reentrants' networks mimic prior literature on how networks can create advantage or disadvantage (Bichler, 2019; Burt, 2005; Leverentz, Chen, & Christian, 2020; Panebianco, Gallupe, Carrington, & Colozzi, 2016) and the way in which networks (Barrick, Lattimore, & Visher, 2014; Berg & Huebner, 2011; Lee, Guilamo-Ramos, Munoz-Laboy, Lotz, & Bornheimer, 2016; Nhan, Bowen, & Polzer, 2017; Price-Tucker, et al., 2019; Travis & Petersilia, 2001) have the ability to impact reentry outcomes.

The examination of ESNs showed that respondents reported having more supportive networks than non-supportive networks. Supportive networks also had more alters and greater interconnectivity than their non-supportive networks. The implication is that most of these respondents who were recruited from a higher education and non-profit organizations may show that either the participant was able to access the programs and resources due to their supportive network and/or they had more support because they were in these programs. This may mean that having a network rich in cohesion and support can foster pro-social

attitudes and ideology that can either push one into a program that can offer them more of the support they need or pull them into the programs and help with cultivating supportive networks.

We also were able to see that having higher constraint in non-supportive networks was enough to influence the outcome of new arrest even with more structural holes observed in their supportive networks. Having more constraint in a non-supportive network and less social capital was correlated with recidivism. This shows that non-supportive networks and their social influence can have a real and damaging impact on reentrants when constraint is high in non-supportive networks. That is to say that when individuals are embedded in networks that do not offer them diverse resources and/or are feeding the individual negativity like stigma, coupled with not having enough social capital in their supportive networks to counterbalance the constraint and/or negativity, their likelihood of recidivating is increased. Less social capital in supportive networks was also linked to lower rates of employment success while those with more structural holes or diversity and less cohesion or rigidity in their supportive networks had greater employment success.

Taken together, this indicates that in supportive networks, pro-social influence, high social capital, and cohesion play a pivotal role in reentry success. Thus, if reentrants can develop and improve their supportive networks, then they may be able to achieve greater employment success while decreasing their likelihood of a new arrest.



Responses to questions asking which alters within a network have the most influence in terms of creating opportunity or barriers demonstrated what preceding research shows: family (Alward, Caudy, & Viglione, 2020; Barrick, Lattimore, & Visser, 2014; Boman & Mowen, 2017; Boman & Mowen, 2019; Cherney & Fitzgerald, 2016; Hood & Gaston, 2022; Jiang & Winfree Jr., 2006; Valera, Brotzman, Wilson, & Reid, 2017), non-profit/reentry programs (Berghuis, 2018; Wright, Zhang, Farabee, & Braatz, 2014), associates (Boman & Mowen, 2019; LeBel, Richie, Maruna, Arrigo, & Ward, 2015; Matthews, 2021) and intimate partners (Comfort, et al., 2018) play a critical role in the reentrant's reintegration experience. Within these supportive networks rich in family, non-government organizations and associates were most correlated with enabling successful reentry, especially when these three alters were interconnected, cohesive, and perceived by the reentrant as having strong ties between one another. The increased cohesion and social capital serve to act as a protective factors which may be able to ward off or counterbalance the negative interactions reentrants have with those in their non-supportive networks.

Non-supportive networks, on the other hand, were dominated by alters of family, associates and intimate partners. While these relationships also showed strong connectivity, their cohesion served to act as a barrier that closed off reentrants to the support and resources reentrants thought they needed.

Supportive network figures and the information gained from them show that alter dynamics can be complex and studying relational data alone (i.e.,

without context) makes it difficult at best to determine who helps and who hinders the reentry process.

### What Resources are Critical to Reentry Success?

Access to resources was the number one type of support respondents reported that their network alters offered and was in the top three barriers alters created or maintained. This would imply that those who support reentrants play a pivotal role in reentrants' success but also that they have a lot of influence in it as well. Those who support reentrants via providing external resources like financial help, housing, employment, and transportation should be supported as well, especially because of the stress that reentry and its "collateral consequence" (Hood & Gaston, 2022, p. 1176) can have on the family unit. Equally so, reentrants should be able to have others outside of their family and associates, to aid them in accessing resources, like reentry programs, even more so if it is the reentrant's family or associates that are the ones creating or maintaining the barrier to said resource.

The external resources mentioned above are just one part of the support reentrants reported needing during reentry. Internal mechanisms such as thinking positive and having emotional and psychological fortitude was reported as being the next best way in which reentrants were supported by their networks in this study. While this could imply that external resources were seen as being more important than internal support mechanisms, a low participation rate makes

this ungeneralizable. The importance of this on reentry is that the lack of this type of support was perceived as making reentry a more difficult experience. Thinking positive and having emotional and psychological support are intertwined in the sense that these types of support enable reentrants to remain hopeful and determined through the reentry process. Therapeutic mechanisms may be helpful to reentrants and their alters to complete a reentry guide such that both physical resources and internal mechanism, which are critical resources to reentry success and what reentrants perceive as success, can work in conjunction to support reintegration and desistance.

## Future Research

### Alters

Given the importance of successful reentry, future research may look into how alters in supportive networks feel they need to be supported. Alternatively, figuring out what alters in non-supportive networks believe they need to support reentrants or why they may not want to support reentrants would be equally helpful. Lastly, offering education to alters, specifically family, associates, and intimate partners about the importance of their role in the reentry process may be helpful for both alter and reentrant alike.

### Mental Health Support

Understanding how important the internal mechanism is to reentry, research comparing reentrants who received mental health support versus those

who did not should be looked at. Especially since decreased anxiety and tension is correlated with reduction in recidivism (Hatzigeorgiadis, Zourbanos, Mpoumpaki, & Theodorakis, 2009; Liu & Visser, 2021). Mental health treatment can also help reentrants deal with the stressors of family dynamic changes which can be stressful for the reentrant and make reentry difficult (Dolwick Grieb, et al., 2014; Harding, et al., 2016; Stojkovic, 2017; Travis & Waul, 2003) and increase the likelihood of recidivism (Comfort, et al., 2018). Thus, studying the difference between groups may prove to be useful in reentry studies.

### Reentry Success

Research on understanding what reentrants consider to be successful reentry may be helpful with the addition of finding out when reentry ends. It is unknown what reentrants believe to be the end, if there is one, to reentry. Is it only after the success of obtaining stable housing, employment and transportation is met? Is it only after reentrants no longer feel the stress of coming back into the community? Does reentry end when what reentrants perceive as success is met?

### Internal Versus External

Future research may also look into which reentrants perceive to be the most important and/or beneficial factors to their reentry process: internal or external support mechanisms. If there were to be a difference, then this could inform reentry programs and other non-profit organizations where to allocate their

monies as well as how other alters including family, associates and parole agents should focus their support.

### Limitations

This study has several limitations. First, low participation was a considerable limitation to this study. While the study aimed at gathering data from at least 100 participants, this population was particularly hard to access. While initially it was thought this was due to lack of incentives, as seen in wave one, wave three proved that this was not necessarily the issue. The largest gathering of information was done in combination of cash incentive and in-person recruitment. Unfortunately, this way of recruitment was not viable on a consistent basis and recruitment suffered because of it. Due to low participation rates, it is hard to generalize the results of this study. However, the results are consistent with those of other studies which found that access to resources are needed and are difficult for reentrants to obtain (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010; Cherney & Fitzgerald, 2016; Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001; Duwe, 2015; Hamlin & Purser, 2021; Hongjie, 2017; Jonson & Cullen, 2015; LeBel, 2017; Naser & Visher, 2006; Nhan, Bowen, & Polzer, 2017; Roman & Travis, 2006; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Western, 2002).

A second limitation pertains to the survey design. Using open-ended direct methods, this study applied a survey in which a matrix was offered to respondents to nominate alters. This method was used with intention yet is not

without its faults. The most important of these faults is that this method has an increased rate of non-responsiveness. This can impact the amount and quality of data collected. In this study, interestingly, most respondents dropped off after answering network questions.

A third limitation pertains to the recruitment strategy. While many participants noted non-profit organizations in their network/support, it should be highlighted that this may be a reflection of recruiting from such agencies making them more likely to talk about such agencies than the average reentrant might. One comment to make though, is that most participants do mention these agencies as helpful, therefore reentrants that are accessing this type of resource are finding it beneficial. This is the same for education. It is likely that the first wave of respondents were affiliated with an educational institution, therefore skewing the any reports associated with education, level or network wise, and equally misrepresenting the general reentrant population because these participants were able to secure a place at an educational institution, which is not always an easy task (Evans, St. John, Szkola, & Lyons, 2022). Their ability to do this may represent reentry success, a better ability to access resources or help, and/or possibly a more cohesive supportive network.

A fourth limitation pertains to question wording in the survey. Question one in the qualitative portion of this study was a two-part question, although consistently respondents only answered the first half of the question “What do you consider successful reentry?” and there were no replies to indicate that a

response was in reference to the second part of the question, "What lead you to believe this is what "successful" reentry is?". It is possible that alternative wording of questions may impact responses, although breaking the question down into two separate questions may have enabled more responses.

Finally, the degree of these ego networks is not fully represented and does not show all a reentrants entire network. The size of the network was contingent on the research question asking participants to only name up to five alters, and the network was based solely on the concept of reentry. There may be other alters and ties that have helped the reentrant in regard to desistance or access to resources which aided in reintegration that were not accounted for because participants were asked to think only about the top five supportive and non-supportive people within the first year of reentry.

## Conclusion

While reentry remains a critical topic to research, figuring out how to better help this population during this difficult transition is a key part of said research. This study explored what reentrants themselves defined as successful reentry and was met with a variety of answers, both external and internal in nature. Reentrant networks were also investigated, not only the composition and structure of them, but also how these networks operated in terms of supporting or not supporting the reentrant during their first year back in their communities. In both the qualitative and ESN portions of this study, the same external and

internal resources emerged and shined light on the types of relationships that were the most supportive and those who were not. While reentrants gave insightful information, they validated the complexity of network relationships and the diverse set of supports they need during the reentry process.



APPENDIX A  
SURVEY

**Developed by Researcher: Jennifer Perretti**

**Qualifying incarceration and release questions:**

1. How many years in total have you spent incarcerated?

2. How many times have you been incarcerated?

*The next set of questions relate to your most recent period of incarceration.*

3. What was the reason for the most recent prison term you served?

Parole Violation

Drug/Alcohol offenses (abuse / trafficking /smuggling)

Property Crime

Violent Crime

Other (Please Explain)

4. Upon release from prison, did you have to participate in mandatory supervision?

Yes

No

Other (please explain)

5. If yes to question 4, how long were you on supervision (in months)?

**Supervision and Reentry**

*Think back during the first 12 months after release from your most current incarceration and answer these questions according to those first 12 months.*

6. What type, if any, supervision were you released into?

Mandatory parole

Discretionary parole

Probation

Other (please specify)

7. If you participated in the parole process during the first twelve months after your most recent incarceration, have you discharged your parole number?

Yes

No

Other (Please Specify)

8. If you answered yes, at any time during this period of supervision, did you have any of the follow violations? Check all that apply.

No recorded violations

Technical violation (e.g., failure to pass drug or alcohol testing)

New conviction

Other (please specify)

Prefer not to answer

9. Were you offered the opportunity to enter into a reentry program during the first 12 months after your most recent incarceration?

(Yes/No)

10. If yes, what type of reentry program were you offered (check all that apply)?

Live-in programs

Residential programs

Outpatient programs

Drop-in programs

I don't know

Other (please specify)

11. If you participated in any reentry programs during the first 12 months after your most recent incarceration, did you or do you find this program to be beneficial in helping you reenter back into the community?

Yes

No

Other (please specify)

12. In general, did you feel that you had enough support during the first 12 months of reentry after your most recent incarceration?

Yes

No

Other (Please explain)

13. Which of the following services were accessible to you during your most recent incarceration before being released? (Check all that apply.)

Education/Job Training Program

Substance Abuse Treatment Program

Family Services Program

Mental Health Services

Other (please specify)

None of the above

### **Support Network**

Thinking back to your most recent incarceration, upon release and during the first 12 months after release, many different people may provide support to assist with returning to the community. This support network might include family members, spouses, friends, peers, probation or parole officers and/or groups, agencies, programs, like government assistance, support groups, NA/AA groups or churches.

The support these people, groups, agencies and/or programs provide may come in different forms. The way they helped you the most can include with housing, money, transportation, finding employment, offering emotional and/or mental support, substance abuse treatment, mental health treatment and so forth.

Please take a minute to think of up to 5 people who helped you the most when you reentered back into the community after incarceration. It may help to write their names down on a piece of paper so that you can better answer questions about each of them, but please do not put

their names in this survey, only their relation to you. You may list agency, program or group name in this survey.

13. Support Person/Agency 1

1. What is their relationship to you? (How do you know them? Example, brother or what agency are they.)
2. What kinds of support did they provide to you? (Example: helped me find a job.)

14. Support Person/Agency 2

1. What is their relationship to you?
2. What kinds of support did they provide to you?

15. Support Person/Agency 3

1. What is their relationship to you?
2. What kinds of support did they provide to you?

16.. Support Person/Agency 4

1. What is their relationship to you?
2. What kinds of support did they provide to you?

17. Support Person/Agency 5

1. What is their relationship to you?
2. What kinds of support did they provide to you?

18. Supportive networks are more cohesive when each supportive person connects with each other. This generates a more comprehensive safety net. To figure out how cohesive your support network was when you were released, please record which of the above 5 supportive people were likely to talk to each other when you were or are not around during the first 12 months after being released from your most recent incarceration.

	Support 1	Support 2	Support 3	Support 4	Support 5
Support 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support 5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Challenges

Some people are very helpful, others may not be so. Thinking about the first 12 months when you were released from your most recent incarceration, were there any people, groups, agencies and/or programs that made your transition back into your community difficult? This can include family members, spouses, friends, peers, probation or parole officers, government agencies, etc.

Take a few minutes to list up to 5 people/groups/agencies/programs that made reentry difficult. For individual people, it may help to write their names down on a piece of paper so that you can better answer questions about each of them, but please do not put their names in this survey, only their relation to you. You may list agency, program or group name in this survey.

### 19. Challenging Person/Agency 1

1. What was your relation to them (How do you know them? Example, brother or what agency are they.)
2. How did they make reentry more difficult?

### 20. Challenging Person/Agency 2

1. What was your relation to them?
2. How did they make reentry more difficult?

### 21. Challenging Person/Agency 3

1. What was your relation to them?
2. How did they make reentry more difficult?

### 22. Challenging Person/Agency 4

1. What was your relation to them?
2. How did they make reentry more difficult?

23. Challenging Person/Agency 5

1. What was your relation to them?
2. How did they make reentry more difficult?

24. Social networks can be supportive, but they can also trap you in a negative environment. To figure out how much constraint these difficult people/groups/agencies/programs exerted over you in the first 12 months after you were released from your most recent incarceration, please record which of the above 5 difficult people were likely to talk to each other when you were or are not around.

	Difficult Person 1	Difficult Person 2	Difficult Person 3	Difficult Person 4	Difficult Person 5
Difficult Person 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficult Person 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficult Person 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficult Person 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficult Person 5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Resource Availability upon Release**

25. Please rate how difficult it was to get access to the following resources during the first 12 months following your most recent release from incarceration

	already in place when released	easy (set up in the first week)	not too challenging (set up within the first month)	challenging (took over a month to 3 months)	difficult (took more than 3 months)	N/A
stable housing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
transportation / vehicle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
alcohol or drug counseling	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
health services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
social support (e.g., positive relationships)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
financial support	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
education / training	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
internet access / computer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
food and other basic necessities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
phone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
identification (example: ID card, drivers license, social security card)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

26. Which resources were the hardest to keep (maintain) during the first 12 months after release?

(check all that apply)

- stable housing
  - transportation / vehicle
  - job
  - alcohol or drug counseling
  - health services
  - social support (e.g., positive relationships)
  - Other (please specify)
  - financial support
  - education / training
  - internet access / computer
  - food and other basic personal necessities
  - phone
- 
- None of the above were hard to maintain.

27. In your opinion, what is the best support another person/group/agency/program can give to someone who is newly released from prison to help them be successful?

28. What do you consider successful reentry? What lead you to believe this is what "successful" reentry is?



29. If you could give advice to anyone being released from incarceration, what would it be?

**Personal Characteristics**

30. What year were you born?

31. How old were you at your first arrest?

32. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

did not attend school

GED or high school diploma

Associate's degree or certificate from technical training program

Graduated from college with a Bachelor's degree

Completed graduate school (e.g., M.A., M.B.A, Ph.D.)

Other (please specify)

33. How would you describe your race/ethnicity? (Check all that apply.)

White or Caucasian

Black or African American

Hispanic or Latino

Asian or Asian American

American Indian or Alaska Native

Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

Another ethnicity/race

34. Please indicate your current gender identity in those first 12 months.

Male

Female

Non-binary

In transition

Prefer not to state

35. Please describe your relationship status during those first 12 months.

Married or committed relationship

Not in a committed relationship (e.g., single, casual dating)

Decline to state

36. How many hours per week do you normally work for pay? (Fill in the Blank)

37. What best describes your living situation during those first 12 months?

Own home

Rent an apartment or house

Live with family or friends

Live with spouse or partner

Program supported housing (e.g., halfway home, shelter, drug treatment center)

Temporarily in a motel or hotel

Homeless

Other Please Specify

38. Did you have substance abuse issues at any time during the first 12 months after your most recent incarceration?

Yes

No

APPENDIX B  
WAVE ONE RECRUITMENT MESSAGE

Hello, my name is Jennifer Perretti, and I am a graduate student here at California State University, San Bernardino and I am currently working on my thesis project where I am trying to better understand the barriers individuals face when coming out of incarceration and back into their communities. If you or someone you know has ever been incarcerated, I am asking you to please help me by either taking the survey or passing it along to someone you know who can. Please see the information attached and thank you for your help.

**Tell us about your reentry process?** Those who leave prison and reenter their communities are faced with a lot of obstacles. This survey is for a graduate thesis by a criminal justice major at California State University, San Bernardino.

**The study aims to learn about the reentry process and what people, or agencies made this process easier or harder for you and how they made it easier or harder on you.**

This is a voluntary and confidential survey; it should take no more than 20 minutes of your time.

Please consider helping us out! To get started, all you need to do is follow this link-

**\*\*Survey link will be posted here when the study begins\*\***

Feel free to pass this invitation along to anyone over 18 years of age who has gone through the reentry process and might be interested!

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to email Jennifer at [reentrythesis2021@gmail.com](mailto:reentrythesis2021@gmail.com)

Thank you.

**This study has been approved by the California State University, San Bernardino Institutional Review Board.**

APPENDIX C  
WAVE TWO RECRUITMENT FLYER

You are invited to participate in a survey. This survey investigates the topic of reentry after incarceration, an important topic that impacts the lives of many individuals. This survey is for a thesis project by Jennifer Perretti at California State University, San Bernardino. This is a voluntary and confidential survey; it should take no more than 30 minutes to complete. Please consider helping by participating in this survey.

After the survey you will have an opportunity to collect \$20.00 cash from the researcher outside of the computer lab.

To get started, enter this link: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/ReentryStudy>

or scan this QR code:



If you have any questions during the survey, you may reach out to the computer lab employees or the research and data coordinator for your location who will be in the lab.

If you would like any further information about this study or the ability to access results, please contact Jennifer at [reentrythesis2021@gmail.com](mailto:reentrythesis2021@gmail.com). Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX D  
WAVE THREE EMAIL RECRUITMENT

You are invited to participate in a survey. This survey investigates the topic of reentry after incarceration, an important topic that impacts the lives of many individuals. This survey is for a thesis project by Jennifer Perretti at California State University, San Bernardino. This is a voluntary and confidential survey; it should take no more than 30 minutes to complete. Please consider helping by participating in this survey.

The first 50 individuals to complete a survey will be given a \$20 e-gift card. At the end of the survey, you will be directed to go to another website where you will be asked to enter the email address where you would like the e-gift card to be sent. You must go to the other website and use a valid email address to receive the e-gift card.

To get started, enter or click on this link: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/ReentryStudy>

If you have any questions, you may contact Jennifer at [reentrythesis2021@gmail.com](mailto:reentrythesis2021@gmail.com).

Thank you for your time.



APPENDIX E  
IRB APPROVAL

November 16, 2021

CSUSB INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Expedited Review

IRB-FY2021-299

Status: Approved

Prof. Gisela Bichler, Prof. Alexis Norris, and Ms. Jennifer Perretti

CSBS - Criminal Justice

California State University, San Bernardino

5500 University Parkway

San Bernardino, California 92407

Dear Prof. Gisela Bichler, Prof. Alexis Norris, and Ms. Jennifer Perretti

Your application to use human subjects, titled "Investigation into the Impact of Supportive and Non-supportive Social Supports on Reentry Success" has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of CSU, San Bernardino. The CSUSB IRB has weighed the risk and benefits of the study to ensure the protection of human participants. The study is approved as of November 16, 2021. The study will require an annual administrative check-in (annual report) on the current status of the study on November 15, 2022. Please use the renewal form to complete the annual report.

This approval notice does not replace any departmental or additional campus approvals which may be required including access to CSUSB campus facilities and affiliate campuses. Investigators should consider the changing COVID-19 circumstances based on current CDC, California Department of Public Health, and campus guidance and submit appropriate protocol modifications to the IRB as needed. CSUSB campus and affiliate health screenings should be completed for all campus human research related activities. Human research activities conducted at off-campus sites should follow CDC, California Department of Public Health, and local guidance. See CSUSB's COVID-19 Prevention Plan for more information regarding campus requirements.

If your study is closed to enrollment, the data has been de-identified, and you're only analyzing the data - you may close the study by submitting the Closure Application Form through the Cayuse Human Ethics (IRB) system. The Cayuse system automatically reminds you at 90, 60, and 30 days before the study is due for renewal or submission of your annual report (administrative check-in). The modification, renewal, study closure, and unanticipated/adverse event forms are located in the Cayuse system with instructions provided on the IRB Applications, Forms, and Submission Webpage. Failure to notify the IRB of the following requirements may result in disciplinary action. Please note a lapse in your approval may result in your not being able to use the data collected during the lapse in the application's approval period.

You are required to notify the IRB of the following as mandated by the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) federal regulations 45 CFR 46 and CSUSB IRB policy.

Ensure your CITI Human Subjects Training is kept up-to-date and current throughout the study.

Submit a protocol modification (change) if any changes (no matter how minor) are proposed in your study for review and approval by the IRB before being implemented in your study.

Notify the IRB within 5 days of any unanticipated or adverse events are experienced by subjects during your research.

Submit a study closure through the Cayuse IRB submission system once your study has ended.

The CSUSB IRB has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risks and benefits to the human participants in your IRB application. If you have any questions about the IRBs decision please contact Michael Gillespie, the IRB Compliance Officer. Mr. Michael Gillespie can be reached by phone at (909) 537-7588, by fax at (909) 537-7028, or by email at [mgillesp@csusb.edu](mailto:mgillesp@csusb.edu). Please include your application approval number IRB-FY2021-299 in all correspondence. Any complaints you receive regarding your research from participants or others should be directed to Mr. Gillespie.

## REFERENCES

- U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. (2020, December 12). *Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation: Incarceration and Reentry*. Retrieved from U.S. Department of Health & Human Services: <https://aspe.hhs.gov/incarceration-reentry>
- Alper, M., Durose, M. R., & Markman, J. (2018). *2018 update on prisoner recidivism: A 9-year follow-up period (2005-2014)*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Alper, M., Durose, M. R., & Markman, J. (2018). *2018 update on prisoner recidivism: A 9-year follow-up period (2005-2014)*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Alward, L. M., Caudy, M. S., & Viglione, J. (2020). Assessing the relative influence of individual attitudes, social supports, and neighborhood context on reentry outcomes: What changes matter most? *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 1487-1508.
- Antenangeli, L., & Durose, M. R. (2021). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 24 states in 2008: A 10-year follow-up period (2008–2018)*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Bahr, S. J., Harris, L., Fisher, J. K., & Armstrong, A. H. (2010). Successful reentry: What differentiates successful and unsuccessful parolees? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 667–692.
- Bares, K. J., & Mowen, T. J. (2019). Examining the parole officer as a mechanism of social support during reentry from prison. *Crime and Delinquency*, 1023-1051.
- Barrick, K., Lattimore, P. K., & Visher, C. A. (2014). Reentering women: The impact of social ties on long-term recidivism. *The Prison Journal*, 279-304.
- Berg, M. T., & Huebner, B. M. (2011). Reentry and the ties that bind: An examination of social ties, employment, and recidivism. *Justice Quarterly*, 382-410.
- Berghuis, M. (2018). Reentry programs for adult male offender recidivism and reintegration: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 4655-4676.

- Bichler, G. (2019). *Understanding criminal networks*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Boman, J. H., & Mowen, T. J. (2017). Building the ties that bind, breaking the ties that don't. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 753-774.
- Boman, J. H., & Mowen, T. J. (2019). Do we have it all wrong? The protective roles of peers and criminogenic risks from family during prison reentry. *Crime & Delinquency*, 681-704.
- Borgatti, S. P. (2000, January 24). *Structural holes: Unpacking Burt's redundancy measures*. Retrieved from Analytic Tech: [http://www.analytictech.com/connections/v20\(1\)/holes.htm](http://www.analytictech.com/connections/v20(1)/holes.htm)
- Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2018). *Analyzing Social Networks*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Borgatti, S., Everett, M., & Freeman, L. (2002). *UCINET for windows: Software for social network analysis*. Harvard, MA: Harvard Analytic Technologies.
- Burt, R. S. (1992). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, R. S. (1995). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burt, R. S. (2001). Structural Holes Versus Network Closure as Social Capital. In N. Lin, K. S. Cook, & R. S. Burt, *Social Capital: Theory and Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Burt, R. S. (2005). *Brokerage and closure: An introduction to social capital*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Burt, R. S. (2015). Reinforced structural holes. *Social Networks*, 149-161.
- California Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation. (2023). *Conditions of Parole*. Retrieved from California Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation: <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/parole/parole-conditions/#:~:text=General%20Conditions%20of%20Parole%3A&text=Yo u%20must%20report%20to%20your,new%20address%20before%20you%20move>.
- California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. (2023). *Reentry Services*. Retrieved from California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation: <https://www.cdcr.ca.gov/adult-operations/fops/reentry-services/>

- Carnovale, S., & Yenyurt, S. (2015). The role of ego network structure in facilitating ego network innovations. *Journal of Supply Chain Management*, 22-46.
- Carson, E. A. (2019). *Prisoners in 2019*. Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/p19.pdf>
- Carson, E. A. (2021). *Prisoners in 2020 – statistical tables*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/p20st.pdf>
- Carson, E. A. (2022). *Prisoners in 2021- statistical tables*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <https://bjs.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh236/files/media/document/p21st.pdf>
- Cherney, A., & Fitzgerald, R. (2016). Finding and keeping a job: The value and meaning of employment for parolees. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 21-37.
- Christakis, N. A., & Fowler, J. H. (2009). *Connected : The surprising power of our social networks and how they shape our lives*. New York: Little, Brown Spark.
- Clear, T. R., Rose, D. R., & Ryder, J. A. (2001). Incarceration and the community: The problem of removing and returning offenders. *Crime and Delinquency*, 335-351. doi:<https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/10.1177/0011128701047003003>
- Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Comfort, M., Krieger, K., Landwehr, J., McKay, T., Linqvist, C. H., Feinberg, R., . . . Bir, A. (2018). Partnership after prison: Couple relationships during reentry. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 188-205.
- Cook , J. (Director). (2012). *COM/SOC 375 at UMA: Getting ready for QAP regression* [Motion Picture]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n2aGOi1mEZw>
- Cotter, R., Semisch, C., & Rutter, D. (2021). *Recidivism of federal offenders released in 2010*. Washington, D.C.: United States Sentencing Commission. Retrieved from [https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/research-publications/2021/20210930\\_Recidivism.pdf](https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/research-publications/2021/20210930_Recidivism.pdf)

- Datchi, C. C., Barretti, L. M., Thompson, C. M., & Sexton, T. L. (2016). Family services in adult detention centers: Systematic Principles for Prisoner Reentry. *Couple and Family Psychology*, 89-104.
- Department of Social Services. (2019, December 3). *CalFreshFood*. Retrieved from Department of Social Services: <https://www.cdss.ca.gov/>
- Djomba, J. K., & Zaletel-Kragelj, L. (2016). A methodological approach to the analysis of egocentric social networks in public health research: a practical example. *Slovenian Journal of Public Health*, 256–263.
- Dobbie, F., Reith, G., & McConville, S. (2018). Utilising social network research in the qualitative exploration of gamblers' social relationships. *Qualitative Research*, 207-223.
- Dolwick Grieb, S. M., Crawford, A., Fields, J., Smith, H., Harris, R., & Matson, P. (2014). The stress will kill you: Prisoner reentry as experience by family members and the urgent need for supportive services. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 1183-1200.
- Durose, M. R., & Antenangeli, L. (2021). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 34 states in 2012: A 5-year follow-up period (2012–2017)*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Duwe, G. (2015). The benefits of keeping idle hands busy: An outcome evaluation of a prisoner reentry employment program. *Crime and Delinquency*, 559–586.
- Ekland-Olson, S., Supancic, M., Campbell, J., & Lenihan, K. J. (1983). Postrelease depression and the importance of familial support. *Criminology*, 253-275.
- Evans, D. N., St. John, V., Szkola, J., & Lyons, S. (2022). Regions of discrimination: Felony records, race and expressed college admissions policies. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 247-266.
- Fahmy, C., & Wallace, D. (2019). The influence of familial social support on physical health during reentry. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 1738-1756.
- Federal Bureau of Prisons. (2022, February 26). *Release numbers*. Retrieved from Bureau of Prisons: [https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics\\_inmate\\_releases.jsp](https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_releases.jsp)
- Federal Bureau of Prisons. (2022, February 26). *Release Numbers*. Retrieved from Bureau of Prisons: [https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics\\_inmate\\_releases.jsp](https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_releases.jsp)

- Gargiulo, M., & Benassi, M. (2000). Trapped in your own net? Network cohesion, structural holes, and the adaptation of social capital. *Organization Science*, 183-196.
- Garland, B., Wodahl, E. J., & Mayfield, J. (2011). Prisoner reentry in small metropolitan community: Obstacles and policy recommendations. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 90-110.
- Halkovic, A., Fine, M., Bae, J., Campbell, L., Evans, D., Gary, C., . . . Tejawi, A. (2013). *Higher education and reentry: The gifts they bring*. New York, NY: John Jay College of Criminal Justice.
- Hamlin, M., & Purser, G. (2021). "A program, not the projects": Reentry in the post-public housing era. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 806-834.
- Hanneman, R. A., & Riddle, M. (2005). *Introduction to social network methods*. Riverside: University of California Riverside. Retrieved from <https://faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/nettext/index.html>
- Harding, D. J., Morenoff, J. D., Dobson, C. C., Lane, E. B., Opatovsky, K., Williams, E.-D. G., & Wyse, J. (2016). Families, Prisoner Reentry, and Reintegration. In *Boys and Men in African American Families* (pp. 105-160). Springer Cham.
- Harris, P. M., & Keller, K. S. (2005). Ex-offender need not apply. *Journals of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 6-30. doi:10.1177/1043986204271678
- Hatzigeorgiadis, A., Zourbanos, N., Mpoupaki, S., & Theodorakis, Y. (2009). Mechanisms underlying the self-talk–performance relationship: The effects of motivational self-talk on self-confidence and anxiety. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 186-192.
- Hersberger, J. (2003). A qualitative approach to examining information transfer via social networks among homeless populations. *The New Review of Information Behaviour Research*, 95-108.
- Ho, V. T., Rousseau, D. M., & Levesque, L. L. (2006). Social networks and the psychological contract: Structural holes, cohesive ties, and beliefs regarding employer obligations. *Human Relations*, 459-481.
- Holzer, H. J., Raphael, S., & Stoll, M. A. (2022). *Can employers play a more positive role in prisoner reentry?* Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- Hongjie, L. (2017). Can Burt's Theory of Structural Holes be applied to study social support among mid-age female sex workers? A multi-site egocentric network study in China. *AIDS and Behavior*, 3567-3577.



- Hood, B. J., & Gaston, S. (2022). How families respond to the collateral consequence of incarceration and prisoner reentry. *Family Relations*, 1175-1190.
- Hubert, L. (1987). *Assignment methods in combinatorial data analysis*. New York: Marcel Dekker.
- Hunt, K. S., & Dumville, R. (2016). *Recidivism among federal offenders: A comprehensive overview*. Washington D.C.: United States Sentencing Commission. Retrieved from [https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/research-publications/2016/recidivism\\_overview.pdf](https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/research-publications/2016/recidivism_overview.pdf)
- Jiang, S., & Winfree Jr., T. L. (2006). Social support, gender, and inmate adjustment to prison life. *The Prison Journal*, 32-55.
- Jonson, C. L., & Cullen, F. T. (2015). Prisoner reentry programs. *Crime and Justice*, 517-575.
- Kamlager, S. K. (2022, May 19). *CDCR Gate Money Allowance Increase*. Retrieved from Senate.CA.Gov: [https://sd30.senate.ca.gov/sites/sd30.senate.ca.gov/files/images/Fact%20Sheet%20-%20SB%201304%20\(Kamlager\)%20Gate%20Money%20Increase%205.19.22.pdf](https://sd30.senate.ca.gov/sites/sd30.senate.ca.gov/files/images/Fact%20Sheet%20-%20SB%201304%20(Kamlager)%20Gate%20Money%20Increase%205.19.22.pdf)
- Kjellstrand, J., Clark, M., Caffery, C., Smith, J., & Eddy, J. M. (2022). Reentering the community after prison: Perceptions on the role and importance of social support. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 176-201.
- Krackhardt, D., & Stern, R. N. (1988). Informal networks and organizational crises: An experimental simulation. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 123-140. Retrieved from [https://www.heinz.cmu.edu/faculty-research/profiles/krackhardt-davidm/\\_files/1988-informal-networks-and-crisis---e-i-index.pdf](https://www.heinz.cmu.edu/faculty-research/profiles/krackhardt-davidm/_files/1988-informal-networks-and-crisis---e-i-index.pdf)
- LeBel, T. P. (2017). Housing as the tip of the iceberg in successfully navigating prisoner reentry: Emergency shelter housing interventions. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 891-908.
- LeBel, T. P., Richie, M., Maruna, S., Arrigo, B. A., & Ward, T. (2015). Helping others as a response to reconcile a criminal past: The role of the wounded healer in prisoner reentry programs. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 108-120.

- Lee, J. J.-H., Guilamo-Ramos, V., Munoz-Laboy, M., Lotz, L., & Bornheimer, L. (2016). Mechanisms of familial influence on reentry among formerly incarcerated Latino men. *Social Work, 199-207*.
- Leverentz, A., Chen, E. Y., & Christian, J. (2020). *Beyond recidivism: New approaches to research on prisoner reentry and reintegration*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lightsey, O. R. (1994). "Thinking positive" as a stress buffer: The role of positive automatic cognitions in depression and happiness. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 325-334*.
- Liu, H. (2017). Can Burt's theory of structural holes be applied to study social support among mid-age female sex workers? A multi-site egocentric network study in China. *AIDS and Behavior, 3567-3577*.
- Liu, L., & Visser, C. A. (2021). Decomposition of the role of family in reentry: Family support, tension, gender, and reentry outcomes. *Crime and Delinquency, 970-996*.
- Liu, S., Pickett, J. T., & Baker, T. (2014). Inside the black box: Prison visitation, the cost of offending, and inmate social capital. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 27(8), 776-790*. Retrieved from <https://journals-sagepub-com.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0887403414562421>
- Martinez, D. J. (2006). Informal helping mechanisms: Conceptual issues in family support of reentry of former prisoners. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 23-37*.
- Maruschak, L. M., Bronson, J., & Alper, M. (2016). *Parents in prison and their minor children*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/pptmcspi16st.pdf>
- Matthews, E. (2021). Peer-focused prison reentry programs: Which peer characteristics matter most? *Incarceration, 1-19*.
- McCarty, C., Molina, J. L., Aguilar, C., & Rota, L. (2019). Comparison of social network mapping and personal network visualization. *Field Methods, 145-162*. Retrieved from <https://journals-sagepub-com.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/doi/pdf/10.1177/1525822X06298592>
- Mellow, J., & Dickinson, J. M. (2006). The role of prerelease handbooks for prisoner reentry. *Federal Probation, 70-76*.

- Merriam-Webster. (2023, April 16). *Cohesion*. Retrieved from Merriam-Webster Dictionary: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cohesion?src=search-dict-box>
- Mowen, T. J., Stansfield, R., & Boman, J. H. (2019). Family matters: Moving beyond "if" family support matters to "why" family support matters during reentry from prison. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 483-523.
- Naser, R. L., & La Vinge, N. G. (2006). Family support in the prisoner reentry process. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 93-106.
- Naser, R. L., & Visher, C. A. (2006). Family members' experiences with incarceration and reentry. *Western Criminology Review*, 20-31.
- National Institute of Justice. (2023). *Crime Solutions*. Retrieved from National Institute of Justice: <https://crimesolutions.ojp.gov/rated-programs#-1>
- New York State. (2019, December 4). *Apply for SNAP*. Retrieved from The Official Website of New York State: <https://www.ny.gov/services/apply-snap>
- New York State. (2019, December 4). *Apply For SNAP*. Retrieved from The Official Website of New York State: <https://www.ny.gov/services/apply-snap>
- Nhan, J., Bowen, K., & Polzer, K. (2017). The reentry labyrinth: The anatomy of a reentry services network. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 1-19. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/10509674.2016.1257533>
- Nordberg, A., Davis, J. B., Patel, M., Mattingly, S., & Leat, S. R. (2022). Towards a reentry mobilities assemblage: An exploration of transportation and obligation among returning citizens. *Mobilities*, 517-528.
- Panebianco, D., Gallupe, O., Carrington, P. J., & Colozzi, I. (2016). Personal support networks, social capital, and risk of relapse among individuals treated for substance use issues. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 146-153.
- Paul-Emile, K. (2014). Beyond title VII: Rethinking race, ex offender status and employment discrimination in the age of technology. *Virginia Law Review*, 893-952.
- Pearson, J. (2014). Building debt while doing time: Child support and incarceration. *The Judges' Journal*, 4-12.

- Petersilia, J. (1999). Parole and prisoner reentry in the United States. *Crime and Justice*, 479-529.
- Petersilia, J. (2009). *When prisoners come home: Parole and prisoner reentry*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Popovic, M., Milne, D., & Barrett, P. (2003). The scale of perceived interpersonal closeness (PICS). *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy*, 286-301.
- Price-Tucker, A., Zhou, A., Charroux, A., Tenzin, C., Robertson, E., Abdalla, H., . . . Escalante, T. (2019). *Successful reentry: A community-level analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Institute of Politics. Retrieved from [https://iop.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/sources/program/IOP\\_Policy\\_Program\\_2019\\_Reentry\\_Policy.pdf](https://iop.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/sources/program/IOP_Policy_Program_2019_Reentry_Policy.pdf)
- QSR International. (2021, October 18). *Fueling academic research*. Retrieved from QSRInternational: <https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/about/nvivo/who-its-for/academia>
- QSR International. (2021, October 18). *Fueling Academic Research*. Retrieved from QSRInternational: <https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/about/nvivo/who-its-for/academia>
- Roman, C. G., & Travis, J. (2006). Where will I sleep tomorrow? Housing homelessness, and the returning prisoner. *Housing Policy Debate*, 389-418.
- Ross, J. I. (2019). Getting a second chance with a university education: Barriers and opportunities. *Interchange*, 175-186.
- Seiter, R. P., & Kadela, K. R. (2003). Prisoner reentry: What works, what does not, and what is promising. *Crime and Delinquency*, 360-388.
- Short, J. F., & Hughes, L. A. (2006). *Studying Youth Gangs*. Lanham, MD.: Alta Mira Press.
- Social Security Administration. (2023). *Top Names of the 1910s*. Retrieved from Social Security: <https://www.ssa.gov/oact/babynames/decades/names1910s.html>
- Sotiriadou, P., Brouwers, J., & Le, T.-A. (2014). Choosing a qualitative data analysis tool: a comparison of NVivo and Leximancer. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 218-234.
- Stojkovic, S. (2017). *Prisoner Reentry: Critical Issues and Policy Directions*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan .

- The Council of State Governments. (2023). *What Works in Reentry Clearinghouse*. Retrieved from What Works in Reentry Clearinghouse: <https://whatworks.csgjusticecenter.org/>
- The State of Ohio. (2019, December 4). *Food assistance*. Retrieved from Ohio.gov: <https://ohio.gov/wps/portal/gov/site/residents/resources/food-assistance>
- The State of Ohio. (2019, December 4). *Food Assistance*. Retrieved from Ohio.gov: <https://ohio.gov/wps/portal/gov/site/residents/resources/food-assistance>
- Thieme, J. (2007). The world's top innovation management scholars and their social capital. *The Journal of Product Innovation Management*, 214-229.
- Travis, J., & Petersilia, J. (2001). Reentry reconsidered: A new look at an old question. *Crime and Delinquency*, 291-313.  
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128701047003001>
- Travis, J., & Waul, M. (2003). *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities*. Washington D.C.: Urban Institute Press.
- U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. (2020, December 12). *Office of the assistant secretary for planning and evaluation: Incarceration and reentry*. Retrieved from U.S. Department of Health & Human Services: <https://aspe.hhs.gov/incarceration-reentry>
- Valera, P., Brotzman, L., Wilson, W., & Reid, A. (2017). "It's hard to reenter when you've been locked out": Keys to offender reintegration. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 412-431.
- Visher, C., La Vigne, N., & Travis, J. (2004). *Returning home: Understanding the challenges of prisoner reentry Maryland pilot study: Findings from Baltimore*. Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- Western, B. (2002). The impact of incarceration on wage mobility and inequality. *American Sociological Review*, 526-546.
- Western, B., Braga, A. A., Davis, J., & Sirois, C. (2015). Stress and hardship after prison. *American Journal of Sociology*, 1512-1547.
- Wright, B. J., Zhang, S. X., Farabee, D., & Braatz, R. (2014). Prisoner Reentry Research from 2000 to 2010: Results of a narrative review. *Criminal Justice Review*, 37-57.

Wright, J. P., Cullen, F. T., & Miller, J. T. (2001). Family social capital and delinquent involvement. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 1-9.

Wu, X., Wang, L., & Zheng, H. (2019). A network effect on the decoupling of industrial waste gas emissions and industrial added value: A case study of China. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 1338-1350.