

**LOYOLA UNIVERSITY MARYLAND**

**The “Revolving Door” of Mass Incarceration: What Keeps Baltimore City Safe?**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report seeks to clarify the complex and multifaceted relationships between the community of Govans and the Baltimore criminal justice system. It answers our two primary questions -- how does incarceration affect crime rates, and how does trauma from before and during incarceration impact communities -- through an IMRAD format.

Our Introduction section outlines our primary and secondary questions and provides operational definitions for certain terms referenced throughout the report as well as the socioeconomic background of Govans neighborhood. The next section explains our research methods. We used a variety of secondary and primary sources, including books, journal articles, reports, data, and interviews with Govans residents. Next, we explain our research findings. The first subsection explains the relationship between crime and incarceration. The second subsection documents the trauma linked to incarceration which manifests before and after release. In our final section, we summarize our findings and explain their implications.

Our research demonstrated that incarceration in Baltimore City is an ineffective system to manage crime. In fact, statistics from 1980 to 2014 show no correlation between incarceration rates and crime in Baltimore City. Traditional theories that incarceration incapacitates and deters individuals from committing crimes fail to materialize. Rather, complex problems like substance dependency, homelessness, and unemployment create a “revolving door” that keeps individuals incarcerated. We propose that preexisting organizations provide a much healthier way to manage crime by addressing the root causes.

Inadequate living conditions, such as homelessness, poverty, inadequate mental health care, and untreated substance dependencies represent traumas which increase a person’s risk of mental illness and incarceration. At the same time, the dehumanizing experiences of prison punishment leave lasting psychological maladjustment.

Burdened with both socioeconomic and emotional hardship upon release, the prison system makes formerly incarcerated individuals more likely to reoffend. High incarceration and recidivism rates disrupt child/family development and stagnate the community’s social and economic growth. And yet, local initiatives throughout Baltimore City provide the necessary infrastructure --housing, job training, and healthcare services-- to facilitate successful and stable community reentry.

Our report finds that incarceration is not only ineffective in preventing crime, but detrimental to the Govans community. Instead of relying on mass incarceration, we suggest that the city focus on supporting the plethora of existing community organizations in Govans-- to allow them to continue their work in preventing crime and empowering the entire neighborhood.

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## SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

This report will provide a historical and current narrative of the prison system in the Baltimore City/Greater Govans regions over the past 20-30 years. The purpose of this report is to craft a comprehensive account of the assets and deficits of both the prison system and the local community in reducing crime rates and recidivism among marginalized populations. Our report begins by laying out the city’s socioeconomic history for context, and then examining the connection between incarceration and crime rates, both historically and in modernity. Next, it will investigate the incarceration-based trauma, subsequent psychosocial damage, and community-based recovery for inmates upon release.

To target our research, we answer the following primary questions:

- Is mass incarceration effective in reducing crime and recidivism rates? If not, why?
- What factors contribute to disproportionately POC prisoner populations in the Baltimore City/Govans region?

We start by examining the relationship between incarceration and crime in Baltimore City:

- Why does incarceration appear to have no effect on crime?
- What community organizations in Govans, Baltimore can effectively reduce crime?

Next, we investigated the trauma of becoming a prisoner, how that process burdens an inmate’s psychosocial wellbeing and eventual reentry into society, and what local assets are available to help. We sought to answer the following:

- How does the trauma of incarceration manifest and echo from inmates to families and communities? To what extent does that trauma contribute to recidivism?
- How do community initiatives keep former inmates and residents of color struggling with mental illnesses out of the prison system?

This report focuses on the causes and impacts of mass incarceration within communities. To conduct our research, we used secondary sources, such as scholarly books, articles, and official city reports, in addition to our primary sources, such as interviews with Govans residents. These sources are further explained in the Methods section. In the Results section, we detail the specifics of our findings. The Discussion section connects our findings to our research questions, and we discuss how these findings apply to Govans on a larger scale in our Conclusion Section.

### Operational Definitions

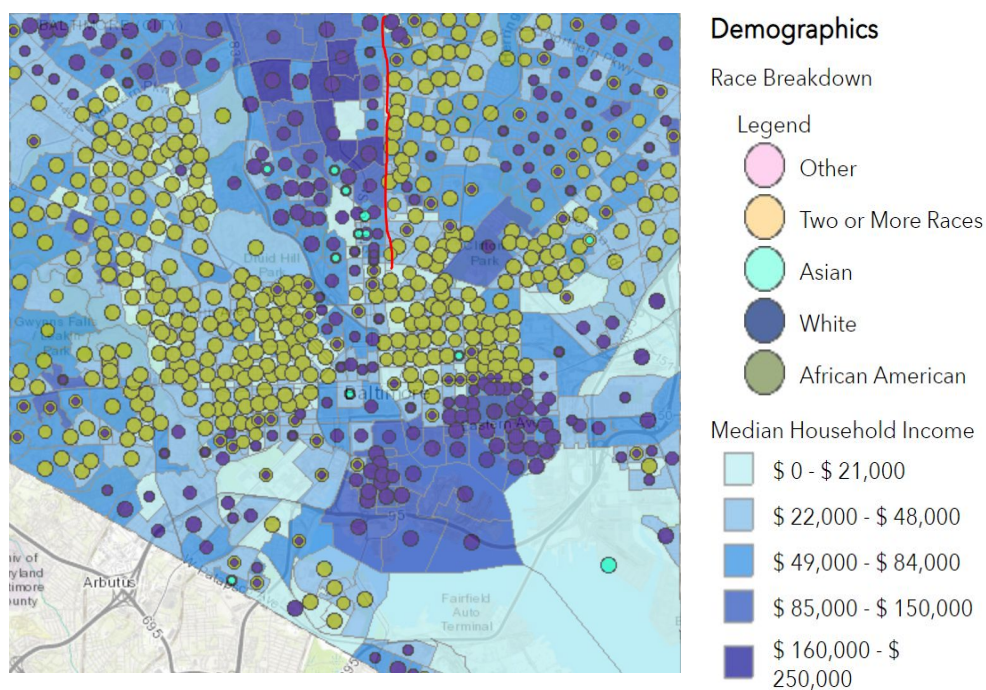
To craft a transparent and thorough report, we define the key terms and concepts on which we will base our analyses:

- *Prisonization*: the incorporation of prison life norms into one’s habits of thinking, feeling and acting (Haney, 2002).

- *Mass Incarceration*: the accelerated growth and expansion of incarcerated individuals within the past four decades (Alexander, 2012). This report considers incarcerated individuals as those held in either prison or jail.
- *Recidivism*: the tendency of individuals convicted of a crime to commit another crime while on parole (Meehan, 2019).
- *Pains of Imprisonment*: five fundamental deprivations that characterize prison life -- loss of liberty, desired goods and services, heterosexual relationships, autonomy, and security -- and create stress (Sykes, 1957/2007)
- *Reentry*: transition of offenders from prison to community supervision (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020)
- *Familial Incarceration*: the experience of having an immediate family member absent because they are locked away in jail or prison (Bell, Brown, Patterson, 2016).

### **Socioeconomic Background**

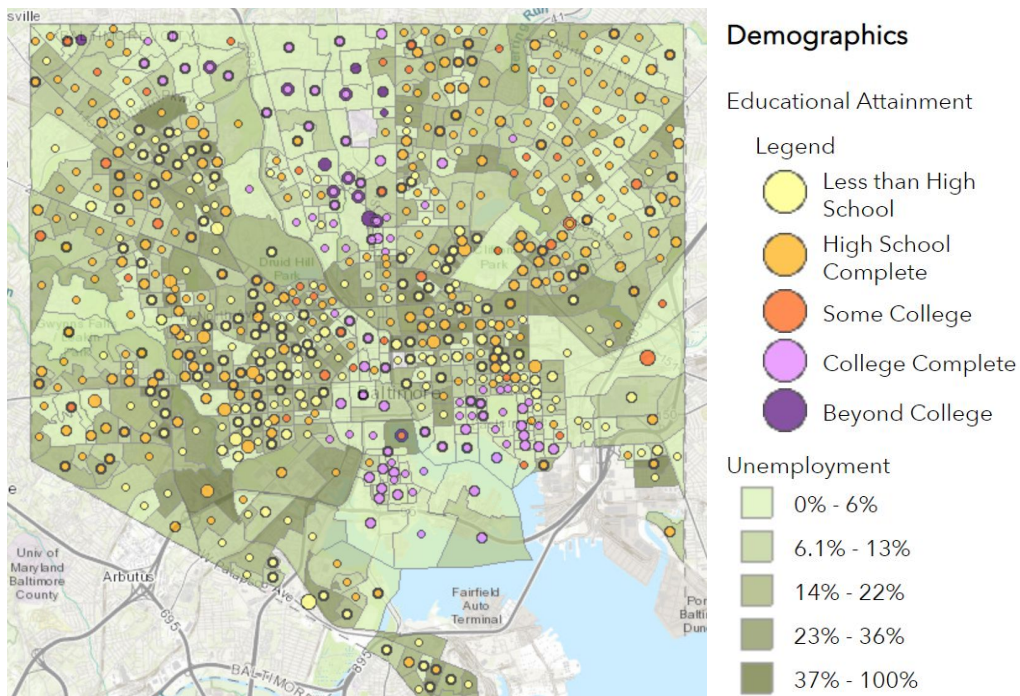
Facilitating a complete discussion of crime in Baltimore requires an understanding of the city’s socioeconomic context. The nuances of Baltimore’s socioeconomic history exceed the scope of our report, so we briefly explain how redlining practices formed the “Black Butterfly” and “White L,” terms coined by Dr. Lawrence Brown in 2016 to describe the shape of the city’s geographic and cultural racial divide. We highlight the modern impact of this divide using maps by demonstrating the distribution of various socioeconomic factors: educational attainment, income level, and unemployment rates.



**Figure 1:** The Baltimore Department of Planning’s interactive map demonstrates the geographic distribution of Black, white and Asian Baltimoreans atop median household income. The Black neighborhood’s “wings” and the white “spine” exist in an unmistakable contrast, and the dividing line --York Road-- is highlighted in red.

Figure 1 reflects the city’s current racial segregation due to historic redlining practices. Because the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) deemed predominantly Black neighborhoods as risky, “undesirable” areas for investment in the 1930s (Mapping Inequality), Black families were excluded from federal housing loans and forced to move to densely populated, urban regions. Receiving little government stimulation compared to their white suburban counterparts, the burdens of redlining and persistent racial segregation propelled other societal issues within Black communities, like unemployment, poverty, and economic distress.

Although the 1964 Civil Rights Act formally outlawed racial segregation, the city’s demographic structure lingered. As a result, systemic division exists between Black neighborhood “wings” on either side of York Road and affluent white regions along the “spine.” The East and West sides of York Road (Figure 1) resemble different worlds racially and economically: the West is overwhelmingly white with \$49K - \$250K median incomes, while the East contains predominantly African-American communities with lower incomes. Compared to the white suburban regions, Black neighborhoods face a history of systemically racist policies which have slowed socioeconomic growth.

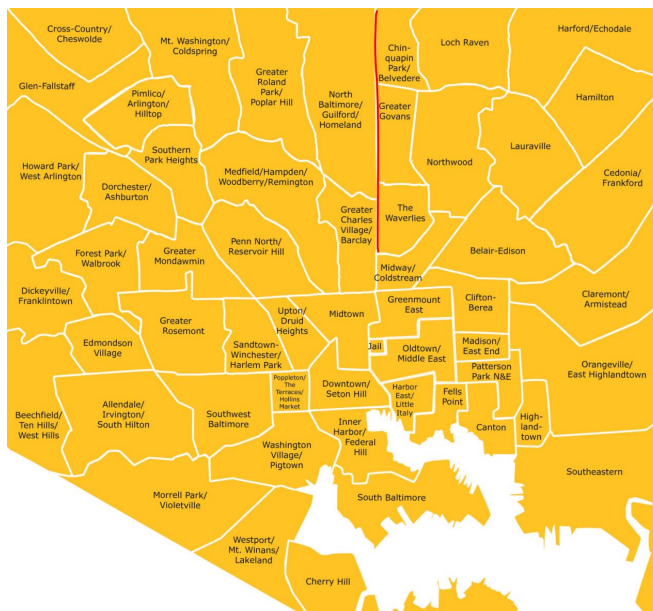


**Figure 2:** This Baltimore City Planning Map indicates levels of educational attainment and unemployment rates throughout the city. Orange and yellow dots signify a high school diploma or less, while purple and pink indicate a college degree or more. Unemployment rates range from low (light green) to high (dark green).

Establishing the current racial divide allows us to map two of many city struggles: educational attainment and unemployment rates. Figure 2 reflects a similar “butterfly” shape; the Black neighborhoods in the “wings” have high school diplomas or less with greater unemployment rates, while the white “spine” residents have mostly completed college and are employed. The massive socioeconomic inequities among Baltimore City neighborhoods fuel various community struggles, including but not limited to: unemployment, poverty, housing vacancies, substance abuse, police brutality, and crime.



Finally, we position this socioeconomic context alongside our research on the Greater Govans neighborhood. Figure 3 provides a basic outline of all Baltimore City neighborhoods, and again we have highlighted York Road in red. The line represents the stark cultural juxtaposition between the under-resourced Black neighborhoods and affluent white ones despite being a street apart. This disparity emerges in crime statistics as well: homicide accounts for 4.2% of deaths in Greater Govans and 0.6% of deaths in the Guilford/Homeland region (NHP 2017).



**Figure 3:** Map from Baltimore City Neighborhood Profile (2017) depicts the city’s communities in relation to Greater Govans.

## SECTION 2: METHODS

Using primary and secondary research, we investigate the following primary research questions using an asset-based approach:

- Is mass incarceration effective in reducing crime and recidivism rates? If not, why?
- What factors contribute to disproportionately POC prisoner populations in the Baltimore City/Govans region?

To effectively answer this question, we will review the relationship between the city’s criminal justice system and crime rates:

- How does mass incarceration affect crime rates?
- What community organizations can effectively reduce crime?

After this historical review, we explain the psychological impact of incarceration on low-income communities as well as the local initiatives aimed at minimizing crime and recidivism:

- How does the trauma of incarceration manifest and echo from inmates to families and communities? To what extent does that trauma contribute to recidivism?
- How do community initiatives keep former inmates and residents of color struggling with mental illnesses out of the prison system?

Using primary and secondary research, we investigated the correlation between crime rates and incarceration in Govans to evaluate whether mass incarceration is effective in reducing crime, and, if not, explore community assets in Govans which better address these complex issues.

To find data on incarceration rates, mass incarceration in Baltimore City, and incarceration-based trauma, we studied various secondary resources, such as books, articles, and peer-reviewed studies. We reconciled any remaining information gaps using interviews with local community members as primary sources.

We anticipate that our report will be posted on the Govans Heritage website, so the information we have gathered and analyzed will be available to a wide audience of students as well as community members, teachers and leaders.

## Secondary Research

### **Incarceration and Crime**

#### *Incarceration Data*

A clear documentation of the incarceration rate was critical to our report. Although our initial questions centered around incarceration in Govans, Baltimore, we were unable to find data that specified incarceration in Govans. As a result, we widened the scope of our research to include Baltimore City in its entirety. A dataset from the Vera Institute of Justice provided data on prison and jail populations in Baltimore City from 1983 to 2015. We combined the total prison population with the total jail population to find the number of incarcerated individuals for each year.

#### *Crime Data*

To understand the way incarceration affected crime, we needed to examine how crime rates changed over time. Although data on crime in Govans neighborhood was available, we opted to use data on Baltimore City to better compare it to the incarceration trends. Our dataset, entitled “Violent Crime and Property Crime by County: 1975 to Present,” comes from the Open Data Portal on the Maryland Government Website. This dataset includes violent crime and property crime as reported by the Maryland Statistical Analysis Center. To get an understanding of the crime trends in Baltimore City, we examined the total property crime and the total violent crime documented each year. Although the dataset provides data on crime rates from 1975 to 2017, we only used data from the years we also had statistics on incarceration (1983-2015).

*Scholarly Books*

Todd Clear’s *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse* was useful in understanding the theory behind incarceration. Clear describes two mechanisms of incarceration—incapacitation and deterrence—that, theoretically, should reduce crime rates. Clear then unpacks these mechanisms to understand their effects on crime. The book was essential in understanding our data crime and incarceration trends.

*Peer-Reviewed Articles*

Peer reviewed articles helped us to explain the results of our data on crime and incarceration. Jennifer Copp’s “The Impact of Incarceration on the Risk of Violent Recidivism” was important in understanding the effect of incarceration on crime rates. We also found studies on crime and incarceration in specific regions of the United States to be helpful in understanding the trends we observed. “The Right Investment? Corrections Study in Baltimore City,” published under the Justice Policy Institute and Prison Policy Initiative, assessed the cost of mass incarceration in Baltimore. Finally, several journal articles were useful in understanding why crime occurs, so we could better understand what Govans community members could address the root causes of crime more effectively than mass incarceration. These articles included “The Influence of Socio-Economic Factors on Crime” by Grzegorz Pieszko and Pamela J. Fischer’s “Criminal Activity Among the Homeless: A Study of Arrests in Baltimore.”

**Psychopathology of Incarceration***Local Reports and Statistics*

To highlight the restorative component to our inmate experience investigation, we referred to the 2018 Maryland Reentry Resource Guide, which lists over 200 reentry-based institutions for former inmates to seek legal, socioeconomic, educational and health-based aid in Baltimore City. We highlighted resources in the Greater Govans area by limiting our search to that zip code (21212) and slightly beyond.

ReThink Health’s 2016 report, “Understanding the Impacts of Incarceration on Health” allows us to analyze the complex cyclic relationships between community, individual health, incarceration, and recidivism in a visual manner. “Reinforcing Loops” illustrate the process of incarceration as a series of causal, interlinked events. These graphics are useful in providing an accessible and digestible foundation for understanding the prison system’s cyclical nature.

The 2011 report titled, “Still Serving Time: Struggling with Homelessness, Incarceration, and Reentry in Baltimore” examines the disadvantages of criminalizing homelessness by surveying formerly incarcerated Baltimore City residents, many of whom were low-income. The researchers found a destabilizing impact of incarceration on housing and employment stability as well as what socioeconomic factors are likely to prevent incarceration.

### *Peer-Reviewed Articles*

Recognized for his work surrounding prison conditions, solitary confinement and prisonization, we referred to social psychologist Dr. Haney’s “The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment.” Although adaptation to prison conditions is not inherently pathological, Haney lists several destructive behaviors that inmates are almost certain to adopt to survive in prison. Understanding the changes that inmates undergo to survive in their environment helps us visualize the long-term fundamental damage.

Armour’s “Mental Health in Prison: A Trauma Perspective on Importation and Deprivation” investigates inmate mental illness as a byproduct of incarceration by considering both the pre-prison adversities and the internal prison conditions which endanger inmates. The number and severity of traumas—particularly pre-prison ones—burden an inmate’s experience.

## **Primary Research**

### **Incarceration and Crime**

#### *Interview with GEDCO/CARES volunteer*

On November 16, 2020, we spoke with a volunteer at GEDCO/CARES Career Center. As a formerly incarcerated individual and a resident of Govans, he is well-informed on the issues facing Govans neighborhood, caused by drug abuse and high incarceration rates. His work at GEDCO/CARES and experience within church communities and Bible study groups has given him insight on effective ways to reduce crime and drug abuse without relying heavily on mass incarceration. His perspective on the problems facing Govans and community organizations that could effectively respond were an invaluable part of this report.

### **Psychopathology of Incarceration**

#### *Interview with A Step Forward*

On December 3, 2020, we conducted a phone interview with Lela Campbell, the founder and director of A Step Forward, one of Baltimore City’s 200 community reentry resources. The organization offers transitional housing as well as clinical treatment for mental and substance abuse disorders. Situated in Sandtown-Winchester and Harlem Park neighborhoods, A Step Forward works with former inmates to combat homelessness, drug abuse, and, subsequently, recidivism rates.

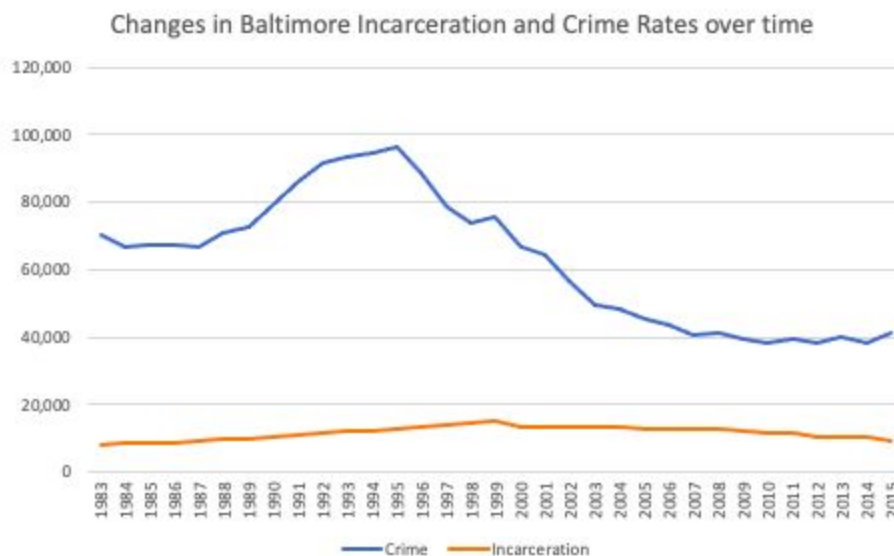
## SECTION 3: RESEARCH RESULTS

The following highlights the findings of our primary and secondary research. We investigated the link between crime and incarceration rates in Govans, then the trauma of incarceration in disadvantaged communities. We found intrinsic problems with mass incarceration, both in its ineffectiveness with reducing crime and the prolonged socioeconomic and psychological burden on incarcerated and general populations. In response, community organizations like GEDCO/CARES Career Connection, Marian House, and A Step Forward provide basic housing, healthcare and employment aid, which can reduce crime and recidivism rates more effectively than mass incarceration.

### Incarceration and Crime

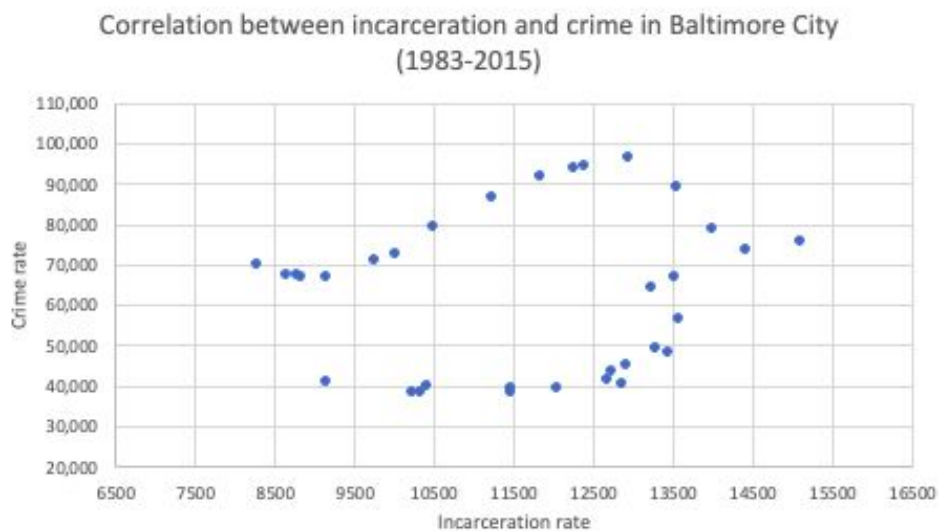
#### Correlation Between Incarceration and Crime

We examined the correlation between incarceration and crime trends using data provided from the Vera Institute of Justice and the Maryland Open Data Portal. Figure 4 illustrates that although incarceration rates remained relatively stable between 1983 and 2015, the number of crimes committed in Baltimore City peaked in 1996 before falling dramatically.



**Figure 4.** In 1983, 70,080 violent crimes and property crimes occurred. Although the number fell slightly between 1983 and 1987, after 1987 it began to rise quickly, reaching 96,243 crimes by 1995. After 1995, however, it began to drop steadily until 2007, when it reached 40,558. From 2007 to 2015, crime rates in Baltimore City remained around 40,000 per year. The number of incarcerated individuals remained relatively constant, compared to crime rates. In 1983, 8,287 individuals were in either jail or prison. This number rose slightly, peaking at 15,110 individuals in 1999, before falling to 9,152 individuals by 2017.

A scatterplot with crime rate on the Y-axis, incarceration rate on the X-axis, and each point representing a single year, shown in figure 5, confirms the weak correlation between crime and incarceration. The scatter plot demonstrates weak positive correlation. This means that, between 1983 and 2015, crime rose slightly when incarceration rates increased. A correlation coefficient is a number between 1 and -1, with 1 representing a strong positive correlation, -1 representing a strong negative correlation, and 0 representing no correlation. The correlation coefficient for the relationship between crime and incarceration was 0.107, demonstrating almost no correlation between the two trends. With no obvious outliers in the scatterplot, there is no reason to assume any single year is weakening the correlation.



**Figure 5.** There is a slight positive association between incarceration rates and crime rates in Baltimore City between 1983 and 2015. However, this correlation is very weak, and no linear pattern is obvious.

### Why Is Incarceration Ineffective?

Two theories—incapacitation and deterrence—have been used to justify mass incarceration. However, research by the criminologist Todd Clear and the criminal justice professor Jennifer E. Copp suggests that both these theories have serious flaws and neither accurately depicts the complex relationship between individuals, society, and the prison system.

The first theory, incapacitation, posits that incarceration can reduce crime because “the crimes a person would have committed are averted because the person is in prison” (Clear, 2009, p. 15). In theory, individuals who committed crimes in the past are more likely to commit them in the future, so by removing them from society, incarceration reduces crime. However, in his book *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*, Clear gives two reasons why the theory that prison incapacitates criminals is untrue:

1. First, many crimes are committed in groups. Imprisoning one person for a crime fails to stop criminal activity. In fact, it may even encourage the group to recruit a replacement

for the incarcerated individual, increasing the number of people involved (Clear, 2009, p. 36).

2. Second, while most individuals become less likely to commit a crime as they get older, Clear suggests that this might not be the case for incarcerated individuals. Rather, it is possible that “the experience of a typical prison stay of a couple of years or so amplifies later criminality upon release from prison” (Clear, 2009, p. 37). Upon release, an individual may commit many of the crimes he or she would have committed while incarcerated.

Because of these two factors, incarceration does little to incapacitate individuals and may even amplify the numbers of crimes in a community.

The second theory that has been used to justify mass incarceration is deterrence. According to Clear, the idea that incarceration can reduce crime rates is based on the idea that “the thought of going to prison is sufficiently undesirable that people shape their behavior to comply with the law in order to avoid going there” (Clear, 2009, p. 15). There are two types of deterrence.

The first type, *general deterrence*, suggests that if people fear the idea of the punishment enough, they will avoid it. However, as Copp explains in her article “Incarceration and Violent Recidivism,” the reasons driving and preventing criminal activity are incredibly complex and vary between individuals. The underlying factors that encourage criminal activity often override fear of incarceration. Therefore, Copp challenges the idea that a blanket measure of deterrence, like the threat of incarceration, can effectively prevent crime across the population (Copp, 2020, p. 776).

The second type of deterrence, known as *specific deterrence*, proposes that “the experience of punishment itself discourages future offending” (Copp, 2020, p. 777). However, Copp suggests that the experience of being incarcerated is ineffective in preventing an individual from committing crimes after their release. By looking at recidivism rates among formerly incarcerated individuals, she concludes that “the effect of prison is either null or slightly criminogenic” (Copp, 2020, p. 782). Other studies support these findings. A 2002 meta-analysis of 117 studies on recidivism found no difference in recidivism rates in those sentenced to prison versus those on probation (Clear, 2009, p. 26). In fact, a 2002 study suggested that offenders that went to prison had, on average, higher recidivism rates than individuals placed on probation. The study concluded that “prison—at least when compared to probation—does something to people that damages their chances of staying out of prison” (Clear, 2009, p. 27).

Copp provided four suggestions on why specific deterrence is ineffective in reducing crime.

1. Living closely with other prisoners can increase criminogenic behavior.
2. The harsh supervision, unpleasant conditions, and threats of victimization that characterize prison life can create behavioral problems upon release.
3. Prison isolates individuals from their family and friends, preventing them from receiving community support.

4. Formerly incarcerated individuals face stigmatization after returning home, further isolating them from their community and making necessary tasks, like finding a job and housing, more difficult. (Copp, 2020, p. 280).

Because of the socialization within prisons, harsh prison conditions, the isolation in prisons, and the stigmatization upon release, incarceration can increase the likelihood that an individual will commit another crime. Therefore, specific deterrence not only fails to prevent crime, but actually encourages it. In fact, as Todd Clear and Jennifer Copp show, neither specific deterrence, general deterrence, nor incapacitation can prevent crime.

### **“Revolving Door” of Incarceration**

In Govans, incarceration fails to deter crime because it ignores the root causes. Theories like incapacitation and deterrence do not recognize offenders as complex individuals that act according to societal influences. Incarceration punishes the offender, but it does not fix the societal influences that led the individual to break the law.

The GEDCO/CARES volunteer interviewed on November 16, 2020 explained this phenomenon based on his experience in Govans. In his interview he described incarceration as a revolving door, where the process of committing a crime, getting arrested, serving time in prison, getting out, and committing another crime repeats again and again. According to the volunteer, prison fails to deter crimes; rather, it teaches individuals how to be better criminals. Without treating the root cause of crime, the cycle will continue. According to the GEDCO/CARES volunteer, ending the “revolving door” of incarceration requires work by both the individual and the community.

Three factors often contribute to crime within a community: drug addiction, homelessness, and unemployment.

1. The cyclical nature of the prison system is partly because of the connection between drug addiction and crime.

Govans neighborhood struggles with drug-related crime. In 2018, police responded to 42.1 narcotics calls per 1,000 residents (Baltimore Neighborhood Indicator Alliance, 2019). Incarcerated individuals rarely receive the adequate treatment for drug addictions, so after they are released from prison, they continue with the same illegal and self-destructive behavior.

2. Homelessness is another factor that contributes towards the “revolving door” of incarceration.

Several studies demonstrate a relationship between homelessness and criminal activity (Fischer, 1988, p. 46). Furthermore, recent trends towards the “criminalization of homelessness” make homeless individuals even more likely to be incarcerated (National Law Center of Homelessness and Poverty, 2014). In Baltimore, laws regulating loitering, soliciting, or obstructing the street all target homeless populations, making them more likely to be incarcerated. As incarceration often



leads to deeper poverty, this cycle from homelessness to incarceration back to homelessness contributes to the “revolving door” of incarceration.

3. Unemployment is yet another contributor to this “revolving door.”

In his article, “The Influence of Socio-economic factors on crime,” Pieszko describes how, “if an individual is affected by long-term unemployment, he or she starts to be affected by the consequences of such a situation, namely a sense of exclusion, injustice, and finally a lack of hope of finding a legitimate source of income” (Pieszko, 2016, p. 19). As a result, unemployed individuals are more likely to commit a crime and become incarcerated. The stigma of incarceration makes finding employment more difficult for incarcerated individuals, perpetuating this cycle. In fact, a study by the Prison Policy Institute found that the unemployment rate for formerly incarcerated individuals was five times higher than the average rate in the United States (Prison Policy Institute, 2018). Thus, unemployed individuals are more likely to be incarcerated, making them even more likely to remain unemployed after they are released, further perpetuating the “revolving door.”

While this list is far from exhaustive, it provides three examples of why crime often occurs within a neighborhood. None of them can be addressed through incarceration.

### **“One Down, We All Down”**

The GEDCO/CARES volunteer we interviewed emphasized the role of the community in reducing criminal activity in Govans. A successful community, he argued, must operate like a family, where family members pick each other up and work for each others’ success. He described the importance of creating spaces in Govans that replicate this dynamic, like forming a grassroots group of people from Govans that want to find solutions to drug and crime problems in their neighborhood. As the group grows, more and more individuals would be able to contribute to the common good.

Pre-existing community organizations demonstrate that groups that address residents’ physical and mental needs create a safer society without relying on incarceration. In fact, primary and secondary research suggests that incarceration is not the most effective or efficient way to reduce crime in Govans. Rather, local institutions and organizations run by members of the community can better address the root causes of crime while reducing costs and avoiding the need for mass incarceration. Copp suggests granting probation to more offenders, arguing that “although we tend to focus on probation as an option for certain low-risk offenders, a potential counterargument is that it may actually be more beneficial to offer non custodial and community-based alternatives to high-risk populations to ‘soak them in services’ that may not otherwise be available in the prison setting” (Copp, 2020, p. 791).

Fortunately, Govans is already equipped with many programs that support individuals by helping them out of situations that may encourage crime. Organizations in Govans, such as Maryland New Directions and GEDCO/CARES Career Connections, provide job counseling for individuals searching for employment. Employment provides much needed income, as well as a

sense of stability and a feeling of belonging and purpose in the community, all of which are crucial in reducing crime.

Homelessness is another root cause of crime that many community assets in Govans strive to reduce. For example, Micah House on York Road provides shelter for individuals and families struggling with homelessness, as well as three meals per day, physical and mental health services, and other support. Harford House, specifically for men, and Marian House, specifically for women, are two other community assets that provide aid to individuals struggling with homelessness.

Faith communities play a major role in community building, helping to reduce crime and recidivism rates. The GEDCO/CARES volunteer, for example, found help from faith discussions and Bible study groups after he left prison. Through church organizations, he found a safe and healthy place in the community. Several churches in Govans neighborhood provide services that meet both the physical and emotional needs of residents. Govans Presbyterian Church offers weekly meals through Soul Kitchen, where community members have the chance to eat a warm, family-style meal with other community members and volunteers. Likewise, Shepherd Heart Missionary Baptist Church operates a weekly food pantry that aims to “minister to those who not only need physical food, but spiritual food as well.”

These organizations are just a few examples of Govans’ many assets that strengthen the community. Unlike incarceration, the work of these organizations address the root causes of crime in order to shape a safer and stronger community.

## **Psychopathology of Incarceration**

### **Trauma in the Institutionalization Process**

Armour’s “Mental Health in Prison: A Trauma Perspective on Importation and Deprivation” investigates the link between mental illness and the prison experience with a fundamental question: do prisoners carry mental illness with them when they are imprisoned, or do factors associated with being imprisoned cause mental illness to develop? She argues that the prevalence and accumulation of traumas--both before and during imprisonment--contribute to mental illness.

Two theories of maladaptation exist: importation and deprivation:

1. importation (“pre-prison factors”): an inmate’s poor mental health is carried into prison and is potentially a reason for the arrest.
2. deprivation: poor mental health emerges due to “pains of imprisonment.”

Researchers conclude that these two theories function concurrently, so Armour first highlights some of the most prevalent pre-prison characteristics facing inmates upon or before arrival:

- lack of educational experience/formal qualifications, distressing childhood home environments, homelessness, little access to healthcare/social services, and abusive experiences (SEU, as cited by Armour 888).

During their sentence, inmates accumulate new “pains of imprisonment”:

- overcrowding, violence, social isolation, employment insecurity, poor/lacking physical and mental health services, lack of privacy and solitary confinement (WHO, as cited by Armour 888).

Inevitably, the frequency of pre-prison traumas coupled with the dehumanizing prison experience create a “cumulative effect” which “greatly increases the likelihood of individuals developing a mental illness” (Armour 890). In other words, excessively harsh and, in turn, counter-effective prison conditions exacerbate traumas which are already present.

Considering Armour’s “pre-prison risk factors,” we investigate the impact of socioeconomic conditions -- homelessness, unemployment, and healthcare access -- in Baltimore City and Greater Govans based on the 2011 Healthcare for the Homeless report:

*Homelessness:* “About 74% reported that stable housing would have prevented their incarceration ...people experiencing homelessness are often arrested and incarcerated due to the lack of accessible and affordable housing” (HCH p. 22).

Reported barriers to stable housing (HCH p. 4) include:

1. issues with substance abuse (39%);
2. issues with mental health (37%); and
3. unemployment (57%).

*Unemployment:* 61% of respondents reported that employment opportunities would have helped prevent their incarceration. In reentry, those who cannot find work can be re-incarcerated for technical parole violations and/or difficulty maintaining independent living.

Barriers to finding work upon release may be connected to:

1. lack of job training and education. Half of respondents who participated in job training programs while incarcerated reported being employed after release. (HCH, p. 23).
2. criminal records. Because most job applications inquire about prior convictions, those with criminal records face a disadvantage despite their previous work experience.

*Healthcare Access:* Only 59% of inmates received drug treatment and mental health care in prison, despite those services being a Constitutional right (HCH, p 21). The following believed that access to comprehensive health services could have prevented incarceration (HCH, p. 20):

1. substance abuse (55%)
  - a. One third of respondents believed that substance abuse treatment was the “single most important factor” that could have prevented their incarceration.
2. mental health (40%)
  - a. “64% of all prison and jail inmates suffer from a mental health illness, with the highest prevalence in local jails” (HCH p. 22).
  - b. Of the 5500 adults with mental illness in Maryland jails and prisons, only 33% of state prisoners and 17% of jail inmates received treatment (HCH, p. 22)

“I have work history all the way up until 33 years old. I’m always turned down because of my record. Corporate doesn’t see me as a person. They don’t know I’m a changed person. It’s like we got a disease. They look at my record like it’s a disease” (HCH, p. 23).

“The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment” describes how the goal of incarceration has shifted from rehabilitation to severe punishment, a transformation whose conditions require dysfunctional prison behaviors.

Historically, incarceration relied on prisoner rehabilitation to ensure successful societal reentry, but this fundamental goal transformed in the mid-1970s. Hardened by Nixon’s “war on drugs” campaign, prison became a fully punitive institution, whose uncompromising objective --to punish (“just deserts”), disable (“incapacitation”), and/or contain wrongdoers-- reduced overall interest in prisoner wellbeing. The punitive approach diminished mental and behavioral health services, meaningful transitional programs, and basic prisoner safety (Haney, p. 78) as well as increased sentence lengths for POC.

Alongside these changing perceptions, American incarceration rates during the 1990s were consistently between four and eight times those of other nations (Haney, p. 78). Although prison populations have increased, the expected funding, staffing, and social services remain stagnant. This imbalance between overflowing prison populations and resource/staff availability creates more extreme, repressive punishments (e.g., solitary confinement) and, in turn, a hostile, dangerous, and violent prison environment.

Upon arrival, inmates quickly realize that they must survive these abnormal surroundings by adopting dysfunctional ways of thinking, acting and feeling. This process of absorbing prison norms --“prisonization”-- emerges in several ways (Haney, p. 81-82):

- *Hypervigilance, interpersonal distrust.* Self-protection from internal violence is crucial in survival, so prisoners adopt a hardened exterior --“prisoner mask” -- to avoid appearing weak. If an inmate seems vulnerable in the prison environment, others will prey on him.
- *Emotional alienation and psychological distancing.* To maintain this tough appearance, inmates have no choice but to control every emotion with extreme caution. By

suppressing emotional reactions and avoiding relations with others, they defend against potential exploitation and damage from others.

- *Social withdrawal and isolation.* Although this rule of aloofness protects inmates from prison violence, the “prison mask” forces a debilitating and persistent apathy. Having learned to evade vulnerability, inmates struggle to maintain social-emotional bonds with others. As they isolate themselves, they appear disconnected, lethargic and untrusting.
- *Incorporation of exploitative norms of prison culture.* Because no alternative to prison culture exists, inmates are forced into assimilation. Many carry prison norms, which glorify violence, domination and interpersonal distrust, into the free world. Returning to one’s community still attached to a prison mindset hampers the potential for social and emotional reintegration.

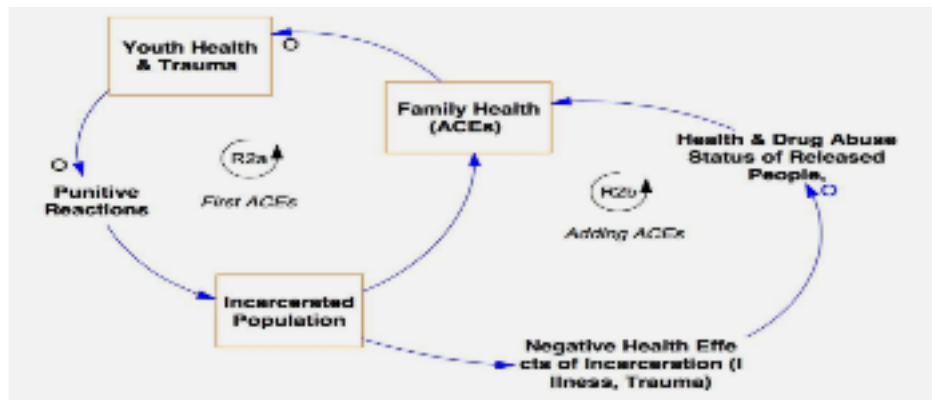
### Reentry and Recidivism

“Understanding the Impact of Incarceration on Health” illustrates the impact of institutional barriers on community wellbeing using evidence-based frameworks called reinforcing loops, which *represent an action that influences a result, which creates more of that action and exponential growth* (Becker & Alexander, 5).

Health is measured using various “conditions of the community” (Becker & Alexander, 3):

- family structure, education, neighborhood, housing, economic opportunity, access to health care, and incarceration

These conditions contribute to the average citizen’s societal experience and depend upon one another. The goal, therefore, is to understand incarceration as not an isolated incident, but rather one of several cogs driving the machine of community wellness.



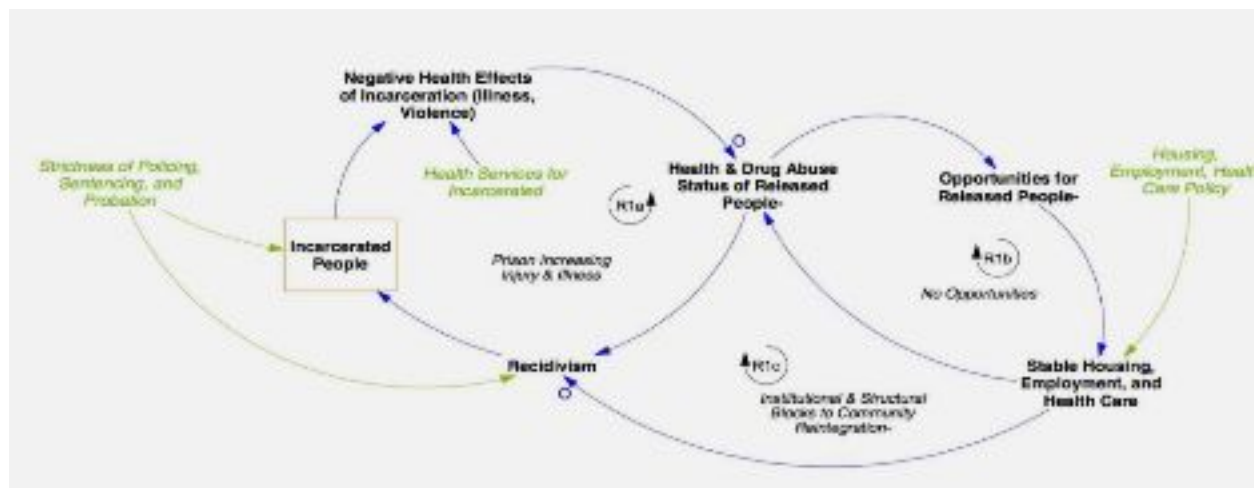
**Figure 6:** This reinforcing loop describes the cyclic burden of an incarcerated individual in reentering the community.

Figure 6 represents the effects of incarceration on individual reentry. Starting with “Incarcerated People,” the incarceration experience provokes or worsens poor mental health. Because few health services are available to address the incarcerated, these negative health effects -- mental or substance abuse disorders -- persist upon release into the free world. From here, two paths exist:

1. maladjustment to the community can spark interpersonal conflict and subsequent recidivism, or
2. formerly incarcerated individuals attempt societal integration but are excluded due to stigma.

As a result, difficulties procuring stable housing, employment, and healthcare exist, and newly released people lack necessary community structures. The stress associated with this personal and financial vulnerability exacerbates pathological symptoms.

Familial incarceration disrupts child development and community ties. Losing a parent to the prison system is a traumatic and adverse childhood experience (ACE) because of the disorienting burden on the child’s education, familial/emotional bonds, and economic stability.



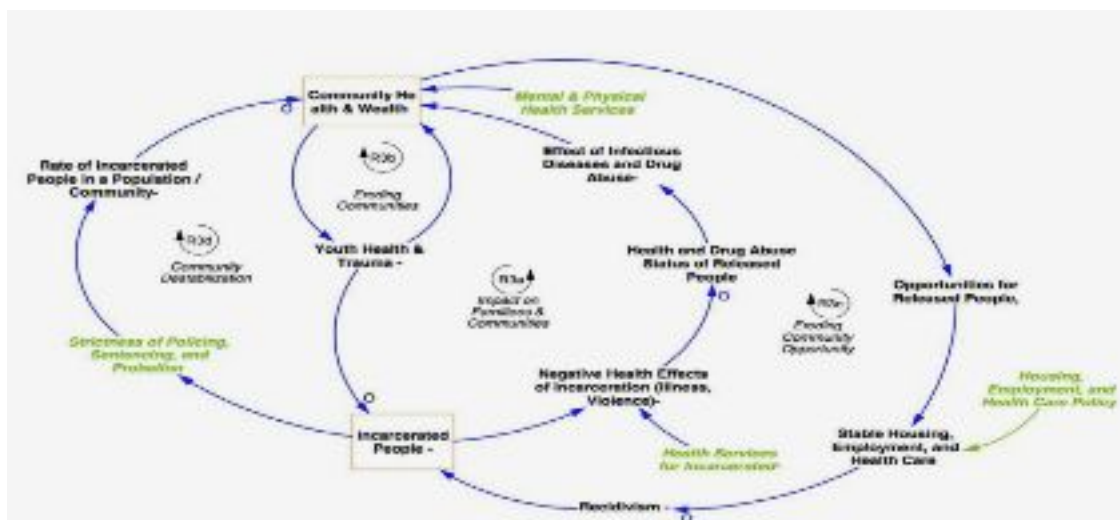
**Figure 7:** This reinforcing loop explains the trauma that children of incarcerated parents experience throughout their lifetime.

Figure 7, again, begins with “Incarcerated Population,” an event which damages familial stability. A tumultuous home situation worsens a child’s mental health, which further deteriorates the family’s wellbeing. Kids act out within the family, among peers, classmates, and community members, and the natural response from outside authority is to punish their wrongdoings. This constant penalization, coupled with familial tensions, feeds a child’s sense of ostracism and risk of incarceration. From there, the lifelong cycle of health concerns from Figure 6 is recreated.

The repercussions of incarceration -- stricter policing and sentencing and an influx of untreated substance abuse disorders and mental illnesses -- severely damage community wellness. This

community “eroding” (Figure 8) and exposure to criminality places greater emotional burden and incarcerative risk on youth populations.

Incarceration also threatens economic opportunities, household incomes, familial cohesion, and educational success while stimulating mental illness and substance abuse disorders to cope with the absence (Becker & Alexander, p. 8). With notably less opportunities for community growth, disinvestment in employment and housing complexes occurs, creating even more of a hotbed for incarceration and recidivism.



**Figure 8:** This reinforcing loop outlines how incarceration disrupts community health.

*Interview with Lela Campbell, Director of A Step Forward Inc.*

Nonprofit community organizations like A Step Forward (ASF) function to empower Baltimore City residents struggling with mental illness and substance abuse disorders. Situated in neighborhoods with some of the highest incarceration rates, ASF provides transitional housing programs, network referrals and clinical services to those who are formerly incarcerated, unemployed, homeless, mentally ill and/or abusing substances.

To learn more about ASF’s role in reducing recidivism in Baltimore, we interviewed founder and director Lela Campbell. She estimates that 19% of her clients have been incarcerated, and 15% come from Govans. In the following, we have paraphrased the remainder of her responses.

1. Why are stable housing and employment so important in reducing patterns of substance abuse and mental illness symptoms?

According to Campbell, providing stable housing helps to lessen the prevalence of substance abuse and mental illness. She references the second stage of Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (Figure 9): “making sure a person has a safe place to reside, getting in touch and having infrastructure is foundational.”



**Figure 9:** According to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, having stable survival necessities allows individuals to reach their social and professional potential.

Concerning employment, Campbell was excited to discuss ASF’s collaboration with a community campaign sponsored by BUILD Baltimore, Turnaround Tuesday. The coalition’s efforts center on building and securing employment opportunities for the formerly incarcerated through employer partnerships. The two complement each other, as Turnaround Tuesday’s weekly training sessions prepare those temporarily residing with ASF to return to the workforce.

## 2. How is poverty linked to recidivism?

To answer this question, Campbell places us in the position of a newly released individual. Coming 10-20 year-long sentences, and despite eagerness to start fresh, debilitating obstacles stand in the way. Starting “from scratch” in the free world, they need assistance performing daily living activities: taxes, résumé updating, working, transport, food shopping, and owning a home.

For instance, inmates preparing for reentry once had access to job readiness programs (mandatory for employment upon release) within the prison system years ago, but these services have since been cut from the institution’s budget. Therefore, unless the individual has a reliable support system upon release, they are likely to face poverty.

Even those who are employed may face poverty, as most available, entry-level jobs pay below minimum wage. Although many generally overcome this financial stress by taking on multiple jobs, finding employment is already a complicated and stigma-ridden process for a former inmate. To make ends meet with necessities like rent, food, and transportation, Campbell discloses that “many resort to the ways they already know -- selling drugs.”

## 3. In your experience, do you find that people who were formerly incarcerated often receive a dual diagnosis (mental illness + substance abuse) ? What services do they receive?

Most receive a dual diagnosis but do not realize that they have a problem, so the treatment plan begins with psychoeducational work. When counselors (or other patients) define the etiologies, symptoms and types of mental illness and addiction, patients find themselves relating to that information with surprise and relief.

Because they are in the early stages of their recovery process, relapse is expected. Naturally, Campbell describes the course of treatment as “slow” and not always guaranteed, as approximately 50% of dual diagnosis symptoms are curbed substantially. Although Campbell encourages patients to stay the full six months, some don’t stay as long because they either do



not fully recognize the extent of their problem or have external pressures (work and family obligations) limiting their time.

## SECTION 4: DISCUSSION

In the following section, we answer our initial questions. Mass incarceration proves ineffective at reducing crime and recidivism because it neglects and exacerbates the socioeconomic burden that low-income communities and formerly incarcerated individuals face. Local initiatives work to fill in these socioeconomic gaps and defend communities against the prison cycle.

### **Incarceration and Crime**

Our first primary question asked *is mass incarceration effective in reducing crime and recidivism rates? If not, why?* Our research allowed us to determine that in Baltimore City, incarceration is not effective in reducing crime rates. Data collected from Baltimore city and the Vera Institute of Justice demonstrate no significant correlation between incarceration rates and crime rates, indicating that incarceration does not accomplish what it is intended to do. Furthermore, the weak correlation between crime and incarceration in Baltimore is consistent with researchers’ findings across the nation. This implies that higher incarceration rates are unable to reduce crime rates, and crime rates can fall without increasing incarceration rate.

Books, articles, and interviews explained why incarceration is not the panacea for crime, answering the second prong of our question. The misconception that incarceration incapacitates individuals who would otherwise commit crimes demonstrates a misunderstanding of why crime occurs and the effects of incarceration. Furthermore, incapacitated criminals fail to account for situations that drive crime and the trauma caused by the experience and aftermath of incarceration, leaving these theories fundamentally flawed. In fact, retributive justice models like mass incarceration fail to acknowledge and address the root causes of crime, like substance dependency, homelessness, and unemployment.

Unlike incarceration, which does little to reduce crime, community organizations can play a substantive role in addressing the root causes of crime. Our research has shown that factors like homelessness, unemployment, or substance dependency often encourage crime. Organizations that help individuals deal directly with these issues can play a much larger role in reducing crime. Fortunately, Govans neighborhood already has organizations like this, including career centers, homeless shelters, and churches. Organizations that address homelessness, unemployment, and substance dependence are instrumental in reducing crime while minimizing harm caused by prisons and jails. By investing money in these organizations and nonprofits, Govans can avoid the damaging effects of mass incarceration while also fostering a safe and equitable community.

## Breaking the Cycle

In response to our secondary research question -- *how does the trauma of incarceration manifest and echo from inmates to families and communities? To what extent does that trauma contribute to recidivism?* -- we found that a cyclic relationship exists between incarceration, individual and community health, and socioeconomic limitations.

As the goal of incarceration shifted from rehabilitation to purely punishment in the 1980s, the prison environment became overly traumatizing -- violence, social isolation, humiliation, and destitute living conditions. Self-protection requires inmates to adopt prolonged dysfunctional behaviors like hypervigilance, psychological distancing, and interpersonal distrust (Haney). These survival-based changes remain ingrained in inmates even after they're released. Retaining these harmful social patterns makes community readjustment extremely difficult.

Poverty, homelessness, and inaccessible healthcare amplify poor mental health as well as the risk of incarceration. If someone is living on the streets because they cannot afford a home, have a mental illness and/or a criminal record, they are likely to interact with or sell drugs and alcohol. Being caught with substances places them in jail or prison, where they are exposed to crime, violence, and other psychological distresses for several years. Because they are released without rehabilitative institutional support --job readiness programs and adequate healthcare -- they end up in a worse situation than when they began.

The primary catalysts for trauma, then, exist as structural barriers to basic living -- especially after incarceration. The hierarchy of needs demonstrates that homelessness and financial insecurity can both produce and exacerbate psychopathological stressors. These stressors obstruct an individual's chances at personal success and emotional stability.

Children of incarcerated parents face strained familial/social ties and a compromised financial situation. This traumatic parental loss also disrupts their education, as they misbehave in school from stress. High incarceration rates also damage the community's reputation, catalyzing stricter policing and disinvestment, so neighborhoods receive significantly less opportunities for employment and housing.

Because homelessness, unemployment and inaccessible health care are widespread in Baltimore City, community initiatives fill the gaps to facilitate successful reentry. Over 200 Baltimore City organizations exist, all dedicated to improving one's quality of life and facilitating successful reentry. These services are necessary to start over and avoid reoffending. Because restoration also depends heavily on the individual's mindset, successful outcomes are not always guaranteed, but local initiatives pose a promising challenge to the prison cycle.

## CONCLUSION

Our report sought to understand how incarceration affects the Govans neighborhood, examining its impact on crime, socioeconomic status, and mental health. Our research led us to draw three important conclusions about incarceration:

1. Incarceration does not reduce crime rates in Govans, despite crime reduction being the primary intention of jails and prisons.
2. Incarceration is a traumatic experience which damages the community ties, financial stability, and general wellness of incarcerated people and their families.
3. Incarceration poses devastating and regressive effects on neighborhoods like Govans rather than contributing towards community safety.

The leading notion that incarceration reduces crime dismisses the socioeconomic factors perpetuating criminal activity. Homelessness, unemployment, untreated mental illness and substance abuse make individuals more vulnerable to incarceration, and the pains of imprisonment exacerbate these problems. Indeed, incarceration cannot effectively decrease crime because the poor living conditions contributing to imprisonment worsen upon release. As a result, low-income communities suffer from the counterproductive and cyclical nature of incarceration, called the “revolving door.”

Fortunately, the Govans neighborhood comprises many community organizations to address the root causes of crime and the trauma caused by incarceration. GEDCO/CARES, Marian House, and ASF, as well as a myriad of churches provide support for individuals struggling with unemployment, homelessness, or substance abuse. These initiatives pose a tremendous benefit for Govans residents because they ensure one’s basic needs are met. When these living standards are satisfied, there is significantly less reason to commit crime. These organizations, therefore, reflect an invaluable community tool for not only disrupting the “revolving door,” but also rebuilding the Govans community.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Incarceration Rates and Crime Rates in Baltimore 1983-2015

<b>Year</b>	<b>Jail and prison population</b> <i>From Vera Institute of Justice</i>	<b>Violent and property crime</b> <i>From Maryland Open Data Portal</i>
1983	8287	70,080
1984	8830	66,877
1985	8642	67,375
1986	8788	67,345
1987	9142	66,659
1988	9765	71,124
1989	10034	72,380
1990	10495	79,145
1991	11240	86,512
1992	11846	91,531
1993	12250	93,568
1994	12400	94,276
1995	12948	96,243
1996	13540	88,871
1997	13989	78,808
1998	14429	73,615
1999	15110	75,842
2000	13522	66,791
2001	13234	64,453
2002	13566	56,550
2003	13293	49,263

2004	13454	48,314
2005	12914	45,061
2006	12722	43,657
2007	12872	40,558
2008	12668	41,165
2009	12060	39,290
2010	11477	38,045
2011	11471	39,181
2012	10227	38,457
2013	10413	39,988
2014	10337	38,321
2015	9152	41,124

## Appendix B: Interview with GEDCO/CARES Career Connection volunteer on November 16, 2020

1. When were you incarcerated?
  - a. 2010 Started in his 30s
  - b. “going down the wrong path in the drug gang”
  - c. Everybody trying to make money
  - d. “don’t get high on your own supply” “drugs like that were making you do things you wouldn’t do”
  - e. Bad: people get hooked, shooting, trying to rob destroys the neighborhood
  - f. Recovering addict
    - i. Did foolish stuff when went to jail
    - ii. People go to jail to jail to jail
    - iii. Not always the man jumping out at us, just the neighborhood you were in
    - iv. More crimes you do in the neighborhood police lights everywhere
  - g. Whole different neighborhood, less than half a mile
    - i. Loyola side = no drugs
    - ii. Other side = drug side
      1. If they want to change things, those people got to want to change
      2. People get used to that life grew up in that neighborhood (comes from Warfore)
  - h. Driving an 18 wheel when he broke law
    - i. Went to prison
2. What was your experience like while you were incarcerated?
  - a. You learn a lot when you go there
  - b. A lot of guys I went to highschool with
  - c. You better have some heart
    - i. Females and men
    - ii. Some women doing things you wouldn’t usually do
    - iii. Different world
    - iv. The strong eat the weak that’s how it is
    - v. if you like beautiful things, stay with those beautiful things
  - d. We got plenty of churches around here
    - i. But the church can’t do so much if the people are not willing to get the help
    - ii. In prison, all you have is Bible study
  - e. Come out thinking about what you’ll do next, or let the system get into you mind, thinking I’m a felon
    - i. Come home with the knowledge, not the situation you got yourself in
3. Did you face any problems after leaving prison?
  - a. Hard: what’s your next move when your free now
    - i. Freedom and peace = things of valuable
    - ii. Some people don’t see them as valuable looking for the shortcut, are you willing to put the work in?
    - iii. He got where he’s at with help from his friends
      1. Trust issue



2. Nobody is trustworthy when it comes to a dollar
3. Envy and jealous
- iv. Old people: I didn't get this way being stupid
  1. If you hang with 9 criminals, you're gonna become number 10
  2. For him, hanging with broke people on York Road for decades
4. How have you seen incarceration affect Govans?
  - a. People come in sick: can't get drugs with Medicaid
  - b. Saw his brother almost OD
    - i. Drug affected him mentally
    - ii. People get drunk so bad that they can't tell the truth
    - iii. Not natural thing: affect your body and mind
    - iv. Hit your pocket: do what you got to do to get that money
      1. Do something foolish --> shooting
      2. Burn somebody: sell fake drugs --> all that money you stole you'll be on the hook for
      3. Creates a lot of problems; solves nothing
    - v. Someone might shoot family for something you did
  - c. Comes up here often: the guys who know that he was using don't ask him no more
    - i. Clean for 6 years
    - ii. Nobody asks him about drugs – that's a good thing
    - iii. Money in his pockets: eating good, dressing good, look good
    - iv. When he got off drugs (still in facility), most scared of:
      1. He was valuable
      2. Delt with big boys they liked what they see
        - a. Making thousands of dollars
        - b. Part of the stories in the Wire
      3. Has the same skills, but he doesn't use: most scared that they would try to bring him back in
        - a. Doesn't want to go back
        - b. A lot of things he doesn't want to go through again
  - d. If you're trying to help yourself, that's when someone helps you
    - i. He's making an effort now, then we'll start seeing the progress in him
    - ii. Already knows the outcome
5. Do you have any ideas about how these problems would be effectively addressed?
  - a. Raised to do better than our parents
  - b. York Road: generations and generations in the same place; same trench
  - c. Break the pattern:
    - i. Certain group of people
    - ii. Tell the truth: let's go do something for God
    - iii. Cleaning up the community
      1. Faith without work is dead
      2. Give them something to deliver the faith part
      3. Doing something have a conversation about something
        - a. Have a solution for that problem
      4. 5 of us going to get 5 more: then it'll grow

6. What community organizations helped you after you left prison?
  - a. Struggle at first
  - b. Went to Salvation Army: let him work, etc.
    - i. Still had pride, ego: that was my weakest part
    - ii. Class A CDL license (18 wheel)
    - iii. Only reason he's here: get himself clean always trying to take a shortcut
  - c. Had to go back into Salvation Army
    - i. This time, went with respect
    - ii. Talking to God now
    - iii. Very good program: out of town, out of state
  - d. In prison:
    - i. 30 days: what did I do to get here??
    - ii. Classes: Bible study, reading more
      1. Put all his knowledge back into Baltimore
  - e. Went home: found a Church home
    - i. How do you get a Sunday school?
    - ii. Loves Sunday school kept going
    - iii. At Sunday school, not worried about impressing people, etc.
      1. Mothers of the Church took care of him
    - iv. At one point, had to go study with the Bishop
      1. Built a relationships with him
7. How long have you been involved with GEDCO/CARES? What portions of their services have you found to be the most helpful?
  - a. Learned about it from Church
  - b. So angry with the people from Govans
    - i. Directly across the street from where he'd been drinking, etc. but never knew about it
    - ii. People knew he could get ahead if he knew it existed
  - c. People at GEDCO come from all different communities
    - i. Only one person working here from Govans
  - d. In Govans, people come to take, not to give back
    - i. Need group he described early
    - ii. Grow it slowly
    - iii. Not knocking anyone for smoking weed, having a beer
      1. Concerned about the hard stuff
    - iv. Family rule growing up: **One down, we all down**
      1. Pick him up
      2. Street rules
8. Is there anything else you think I should know about the relationship between mass incarceration and crime?
  - a. Call prison a revolving door
  - b. Learn how to become a better criminal
    - i. How not to get caught
    - ii. Become a criminal and get high come back through that door
  - c. Recovery: they say jail, institution (rehab, etc.), or death
    - i. Institution is also a revolving door

- d. Look at it with a sober mind, or think you have the drugs under control
- e. 9 times out of 10, it's a revolving door
  - i. That's what they have in common
- f. When he got off, doesn't worry about police
  - i. Not trying to get back into the revolving door
  - ii. When you get locked up once
  - iii. 98% of people locked up under the influence (over 10 thousand people)
  - iv. Some people have no choice but to go back there have nowhere else to go
- 9. How would you like us to identify you in our report?
  - a. By name is fine.

**APPENDIX C: Notes from Interview with Lela Campbell, founder and director of A Step Forward on December 2, 2020**

Could you tell me a little bit about your organization? How long has your organization been running?

- Housing and services to formerly incarcerated people, those with mental health issues, vets, those who need help with mental health and substance abuse
- In operation for a little over 20 years

How many of your clients have been incarcerated?

- 19%

How many of your clients are from Govans or surrounding neighborhoods in Baltimore City?

- About 15%

Why are stable housing and employment so important in reducing patterns of substance abuse and mental illness symptoms?

- Stable housing is the main thing -- based off Maslow's hierarchy of needs, security and basic necessities are essential
- Make sure a person has a safe place to reside, getting in touch and having infrastructure is foundational

How is poverty ("Financial Deprivation") linked to recidivism?

- To get a job, they need to go through a job readiness program
- Job readiness programs in jails were really useful, but they were cut from the budget years ago, so now people have to find job training elsewhere
- Many people come from 10-20 year sentences, so they have missed out on a lot. They're eager to start over but since they're at a new time in their life (often mid-adulthood), they're unfamiliar with performing daily living activities --taxes, resumes, transportation, cooking, owning a home-- for themselves, depending on their support system.
- Many are in poverty even with jobs that pay below minimum wage, may resort to ways they know --selling drugs-- to make ends meet.

In your experience, do you find that people who were formerly incarcerated often receive a dual diagnosis? What services do they receive?

- Most are dual diagnosis -- for weed, heavy drugs, alcohol
- Most don't realize that they have a problem
- The recovery work is slow and not always guaranteed; approx. 50% outcome success rate
- Many patients are eager to have a normal life immediately, but restoration takes time, and they can become impatient

- Services: direct care, mental illness and drug abuse counselors, residential services, community partnerships
  - Turnaround Tuesday provides job training to those looking to restart their lives by connecting with Baltimore employers
- Services begin with psychoeducational work: defining mental illness and substance abuse, then engaging in individual and group therapy
  - Patients learn about mental illness and substance abuse first, so they are able to identify their own experiences with the symptoms
  - Often surprised or relieved
- Limited stays -- can be up to 6 months, but many don't stay as long because they don't fully recognize they have a problem or have external pressures (work, family) that limit their time