

**Process and
Impact
Evaluation of
Philadelphia's
Project Safe
Neighborhoods
(PSN)
Call-in Program**

Final Report

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I. Introduction and Overview of the PSN Call-in Program

Introduction

This report describes the operations of the Philadelphia Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) Call-in Program, a partnership between the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections (PADOC), the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole (PBPP), now referred to as Parole Field Services (PFS)¹, and the United States Attorney’s Office – Eastern District of Pennsylvania (USAO-EDPA) aimed at reducing gun violence. Philadelphia PSN’s Call-in Program follows the focused deterrence strategy developed by David Kennedy and partners in the Boston Gun Project in the mid-1990s (Kennedy, Piehl, & Braga, 1996; Kennedy, 2011). The Call-in Program is aimed at individuals (not street groups) and relies on a carefully-crafted **call-in notification meeting** as its central activity. In Philadelphia, the main entity overseeing the Call-in Program in its day-to-day operations is PFS; their staff oversee initial eligibility and utilize dedicated parole officers to serve Call-in participants. As described in more detail in this report, the Call-in Program began in 2013 targeting one Police District in North Philadelphia, and since then, has expanded to more areas across the city.

In 2019, when the Call-in Program was already underway, the PADOC was awarded a federal grant through the portfolio known as “Innovations in Supervision: Community Corrections Collaborations to Reduce Violent Crime and Recidivism.” The grant dollars originated from the U.S. Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) and were awarded to the Council of State Governments (CSG), who put out a call for proposals. CSG acts as the intermediary granting agency and provides training and technical assistance to grantees. At CSG, the activities fall under the Director of Corrections and Reentry Division at the CSG Justice Center. The Director maintains communication with the agencies involved in the project to ensure the Call-in Program is operating and following the requirements of the grant and facilitates monthly meetings where grantees come together to share successes and lessons learned. CSG also lends technical expertise to the Call-in Program. The General Counsel at the Association for Prosecuting Attorneys provides technical training assistance (TTA) for prosecutors around the country. The National Police Foundation (NPF) offers TTA to advance policing through innovation and science. The Advancing Correctional Excellence (ACE) at George Mason University also partnered with CSG to provide TTA for the PSN Call-in Program.

¹ On October 19, 2017, Governor Tom Wolf announced a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the PADOC and PBPP resulting in the combination of some functions, while keeping both agencies separate. However, community supervision of individuals on parole, as well as all reentry services operate under a combined centralized chain of command under PADOC. In March 2021, the PA Senate gave final approval to legislation that would officially complete the merger. Throughout this report, when we are referring to the both corrections and field services, we will use the acronym PADOC, when we are specifically referring to aspects of Parole Field Services, we will use PFS.

The Research

In addition to using the CSG grant funds to expand the strategy, PADOc asked staff in the Department of Criminal Justice at Temple University to join the PSN Call-in Program effort as a research partner to provide process data and analyses as needed for program expansion and feedback. A year after the BJA/CSG grant was awarded, additional grant funds from the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ)'s Project Safe Neighborhoods funding portfolio was added to support an outcome evaluation focused on past Call-in Program cohorts (2013 through 2019). The U.S. DOJ PSN funding flowed from the federal government to the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency (PCCD). PCCD then, in turn, made an award directly to Temple University. Combined, the research funding facilitated both a process and outcome evaluation.

More specifically, the research team developed the following two overarching goals, the first of which was modified over time as the global COVID-19 pandemic took hold and stopped the call-in meetings and provider fair:

1. Use a logic model approach to assess the processes that support or hinder the expansion of the PSN Call-in Program; and provide interim feedback and analyses of the process data to strategy leaders to support serving the new Call-in cohorts in 2020. In doing so, more specifically assess the data systems and structure that Call-in Program partners have in place for determining eligibility for the program and the systems they use for understanding service referral and receipt of services and provide recommendations for improvement, if needed.
2. Evaluate the impact of the program on rearrest and reincarceration of the earlier cohorts (before the expansion in 2020). The main hypothesis to be tested is: *PSN Call-in participants will have lower levels of rearrest and state reincarceration and "survive" in the community longer than a matched set of individuals on state parole who are not part of the PSN Call-in Program.*

To accomplish these goals, the research team collected data from multiple sources:

- Administrative record data from PADOc;
- Administrative record data on arrests histories from the Pennsylvania State Police (PSP);
- Administrative crime incident data;
- Administrative record data on federal prosecutions and related outcomes for Call-in participants;
- Surveys of two current PSN Call-in cohorts –a baseline survey administered immediately before the call-in meetings and a follow-up survey (30-60 days post call-in meeting) of Call-in participants in the 2021 cohorts;
- Notes from regular strategy meetings;
- Semi-structured interviews with partner leaders and staff;
- Semi-structured interviews with selected providers who were a part of a post-call-in open house highlighting social services providers;

- A newly designed performance data tracking sheet (in Excel) for PSN participant cohorts starting in 2021;
- Detailed discussions with parole officers about their training and use of referral and treatment tracking databases; and
- Observation of call-in meetings and open houses of social services.

The original intent of the process component was to assess the dosage and intensity of service referrals and engagement to determine whether and how the partnership was meeting its stated goals and objectives around service enhancements beyond “business-as-usual” supervision. But due to the pandemic and the stay-at-home orders by the state, PSN did not hold any call-in notification meetings or service provider fairs and workshops in 2020, and for the most part, parole clients were not able to obtain social services that required in-person meetings and activities. This severe curtailing of activities was not unique to Philadelphia PSN, as programs and social services geared to supporting communities and reducing crime throughout the country (and world) were greatly impacted (Alderden & Perez, 2021; Mok, Ku, & Yuda, 2021; Parker-Pope, Caron, Sancho, 2021). The pandemic also prevented the research team staff from being co-located at PFS and working closely with parole agents and supervisors, and other administrative staff to understand the data entry and reporting processes associated with tracking aspects of social service referrals and receipt. The research team also learned during the first year of the evaluation that PADOC was working to revamp their entire risk assessment process and there would be a new assessment tool that would replace the use of the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R).

The LSI-R (Andrews & Bonta, 1995) is a well-known risk assessment tool that has also been deemed effective in Pennsylvania as providing a method to link a client’s risk to an individualized treatment plan and reentry success (GEO Reentry Services, 2017; Guastaferro, 2012). Given the impending new assessment tool and likelihood that the process of creating individualized service plans and priorities for state parole supervision would change in the near future, as well as the other research challenges due to the pandemic, it was no longer appropriate for the research team to focus deeply on the parole agent process of matching services to needs, the service referral process overall, and building a strategy for performance measures into the existing data system. Instead, we prioritized providing other types of data and feedback on the strategy and PSN Call-in Program clients, such as (but not limited to) conducting hotspot analyses of violence throughout the city, reporting on resident locations of past clients and other measures relevant to strategizing, and developing and administering surveys to future PSN Call-in Program clients to obtain detailed feedback on the call-in notification meetings.

It should also be noted that although the research components include a process and impact analyses, the process analyses focused mostly on *prospective* programming covering the PSN expansion to West and South Philadelphia and the impact analyses was *retrospective* in nature, covering past cohorts—from inception in 2013 through the end of 2019. With the stoppage of

call-in meetings, the research team spent a large amount of time working through the processes of how data and information is captured, stored and utilized by parole agents and higher-level administrators. The research team obtained data from PADOC on hundreds of fields in hope that it could be used for understanding the progress of parole clients and how supervision under the PSN Call-in Program might differ from “business-as-usual” parole supervision.

When the Philadelphia PSN Call-in Program began in 2013, the program only targeted those eligible individuals returning to zip codes in the 22nd Police District. Then in 2015, the program expanded to also include high crime zip codes in the 39th Police District, and further spreading in 2017 to include high crime zip codes in 24th and 25th Police District. The call-in meeting that was supposed to occur in March 2020 but was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic, included participants from South and West Philadelphia as well (1st, 3rd, 12th, 18th, 19th Police Districts). Table 1 lists the cohorts by call-in meeting date, eligible Police Districts and number of confirmed participants attending each call-in meeting.

Table 1. PSN Call-Ins and Cohorts from Program Inception

Call-In #	Date	Eligible Police Districts	Call-in Program Participants^a
1	6/26/2013	22nd	16
2	10/1/2013	22nd	17
3	1/7/2014	22nd	16
4	4/10/2014	22nd	13
5	7/8/2014	22nd	16
6	11/12/2014	22nd	17
7	3/24/2015	22nd & 39th	16
8	8/11/2015	22nd & 39th	18
9	2/4/2016	22nd & 39th	17
10	6/2/2016	22nd & 39th	19
11	10/1/2016	22nd & 39th	18
12	3/1/2017	22nd & 39th	21
13	7/13/2017	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39th	24
14	10/24/2017	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39th	22
15	5/10/2018	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39th	22
16	10/24/2018	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39th	18
17	6/6/2019	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39th	25
Total			315
Cohorts below not part of retrospective impact analyses			
18	6/29/2021	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39 th , 1 st , 3 rd , 12 th , 16 th , 18 th & 19 th	26
19	12/10/2021	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39 th , 1 st , 3 rd , 12 th , 16 th , 18 th & 19 th	15
20	3/31/2022	22nd, 24th, 25th, & 39 th , 1 st , 3 rd , 12 th , 16 th , 18 th & 19 th	19

^aFor some cohorts, there were discrepancies by partner agency on the final number of eligible participants. The research team only counted those fully confirmed as eligible and attending.

Background – The PSN Model

Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN)

As a result of persistently high gun violence rates throughout the 1990s, the George W. Bush Administration in 2001 launched a nationwide initiative to combat gun violence called Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN). The initiative continues to operate as a set of community violence reduction strategies that involves partnerships between local, state, federal and tribal law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, as well as community members and organizers, with a goal of reducing gun violence. The initiative was renewed in 2017 and the DOJ awarded \$18 million to support PSN programs in the fiscal year 2020.

The PSN strategy varies by district and site, but at minimum incorporates the program's five core components: (1) leadership; (2) partnerships; (3) data-driven targeted enforcement; (4) prevention of violence; and (5) accountability in violence reduction outcomes (McGarrell et al., 2009). PSN applies evidence-based models to determine which individuals with a history and/or current crimes of violence law enforcement and prosecutors should prioritize. The targeted enforcement models include, but are not limited to focused deterrence, the group violence intervention (GVI), and hot spots policing. Violence reduction efforts are paired with efforts to increase the public's awareness of the strategy and build community partnerships with local organizations to provide individuals with resources to disengage from crime. For the most part, PSN programs often include researchers or a research team, who assist with data reporting, strategic guidance and accountability processes. Research at the national level indicates call-in notification meetings have been widely utilized across sites (McGarrell et al., 2009).

To date, there have been two systematic reviews of focused deterrence strategies that utilize call-in notification meetings. The second meta-analytical study built on the first, and both were conducted by Braga and Weisburd (Braga & Weisburd, 2012; Braga, Weisburd, & Turchan, 2018). In both studies, the overwhelming majority of eligible evaluations reported statistically significant reductions the outcome variables employed. But it should be noted that only a few of the reviewed studies were programs that targeted individuals; the majority targeted street groups. Regardless, the meta-analytic results, synthesizing the results of these studies, showed that focused deterrence has a medium-sized effect in terms of lowering crime and violence.

II. Philadelphia PSN

Philadelphia's Call-in Program began in 2013 through a partnership involving PADO (including PFS) and the USAO-EDPA. The stated purpose of Philadelphia's Call-in Program is to reduce violent crime and prevent high-risk individuals in targeted areas from re-offending. In 2012, when the key partners wrote their first grant application to the U.S. Department of Justice for funds to support a pilot "Offender Notification Forum" they documented two main reasons they wanted to implement the strategy: (1) it has been shown to reduce homicides and gun violence in the communities where it was implemented and (2) there are few to no costs

associated with the forums, making it a viable strategy in times of tight budgets. As stated above and shown in Table 1, in Philadelphia, the program was first implemented in the 22nd Police District and later expanded to the 39th, 24th and 25th police districts.

Figure 1 displays the program logic model. There are two fundamental components to Philadelphia's strategy: (1) a "call-in" notification meeting between the local law enforcement, state, and federal representatives with high-risk state re-entrants; and (2) a service provider orientation and fair and an individually-targeted cognitive behavioral training soon after the call-in to showcase the extensive array of supports that PFS has available to individuals on parole. In the initial implementation of the call-in program, the Eastern Regional Office of PFS would identify up to 20 high-risk individuals returning to the community on a quarterly basis and require their participation in a call-in meeting. During the call-in meetings, the Philadelphia Police Department (PPD), Philadelphia District Attorney's Office (DAO), officials from USAO-EDPA, and other federal law enforcement agencies delivered messages regarding the consequences of continued offending. Participants are warned that they are under strict scrutiny under the jurisdiction of federal authorities because of their past criminal history and may be charged and prosecuted with maximum sanctions for potential future offenses. Usually, speakers delivering the message provide specific instances of long sentence lengths under federal prosecution. Through direct communication and action, law enforcement partners commit to changes in the certainty, swiftness and severity of punishment. The intent of the strategy ultimately is to be heavy on the verbal messaging, through the notification meetings, but low on law enforcement actions because the threat of deterrence through clear messaging should engender reductions in violent behavior.

The "focused deterrence" message is paired with emotional appeals and narratives from community members who are victims and co-victims of violence. This moral message conveys that violence will not be tolerated; the committed messaging creates a sense of urgency. Participants are then presented with information about community resources and social service providers. Participants are encouraged to take advantage of services in order to make positive changes and avoid severe future sanctions for continued criminal offenses. These components together should increase perceptions of the legitimacy of policing and fairness of actions connected to the criminal justice system (Kennedy, 2011; Braga and Kennedy, 2020).

The second component includes a service provider orientation and "fair" and additional cognitive behavioral programming delivered by Community Resource Parole Agents (CRPAs). These events usually happen within two weeks of the date of the call-in meeting. A CRPA is a specialized agent who conducts parole orientation workshops, provides information on resources, and conducts workshops or one-on-one meetings for clients in and around the surrounding areas of district and sub-offices for parole.

When an individual on state parole has been tapped for PSN, he changes to a dedicated PFS field agent. Like other high-risk individuals or specialized caseloads, Call-in participants and their collateral associates are in frequent contact with their PSN parole agents. Participants are

required to attend all required PSN programming and adhere to other parole stipulations. The Philadelphia PSN program relies on partnership, communication, and collaboration between the key partners.

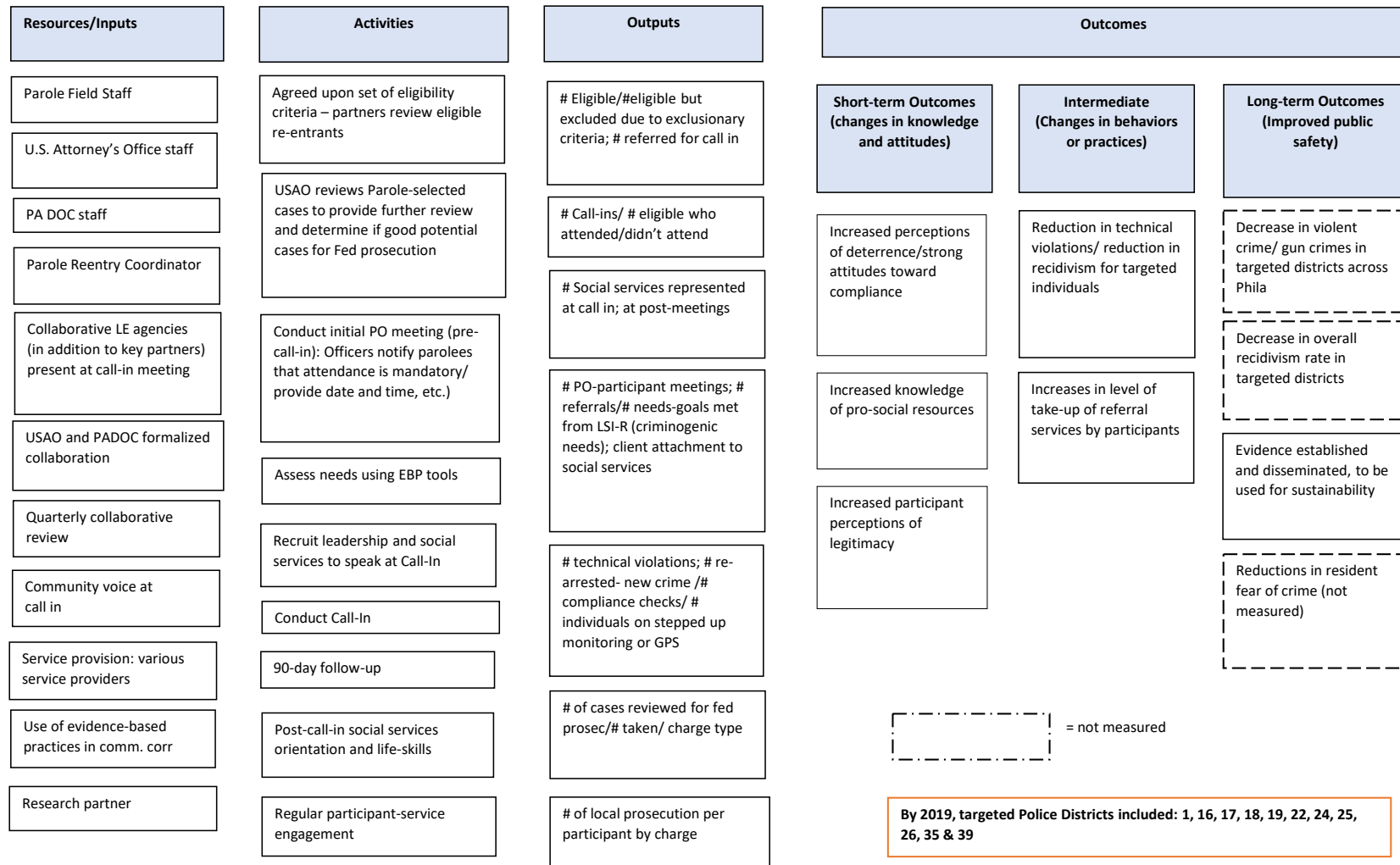
Administrative Structure of Philadelphia PSN

Within PFS, the PSN Call-in Program is led by the Regional Director of the Eastern Region (there are three regions). The Parole Manager who helped start PSN in 2012/3 was promoted in 2016 and a new Parole Manager took over PSN in April 2017. Within the region, various PFS staff are responsible for overseeing the supervision of Call-in participants, supervising Call-in participants and coordinating other elements such as the cognitive behavioral “life skills” programming and service provision. The District Director of Philadelphia and the three Deputy District Directors for the respective “Divisions” in Philadelphia are part of the key strategy team. The current Deputy District Director for the Northeast Division of Philadelphia worked on the program since its inception. The District Director of Philadelphia began working on PSN in May 2015. The Deputy District Directors of the Northwest and West Divisions of Philadelphia began working on the program in February 2020. The three Deputy Directors are responsible for the initial selection process before the list of individuals is sent on to the USAO.

PFS field agents notify the individuals selected for the program and communicate that their attendance is mandatory for the call-in event. PFS provides community supervision to the individuals selected for the program, with designated parole agents to ensure proper tracking for program outcomes and resource referrals. One week after the PSN call-in event, PFS agents are responsible for following-up with participants and ensuring that they participate in the resource fairs as well as specialized cognitive-behavioral programming on the topics of violence prevention, education, accountability, etc. PFS agents continue to supervise the participants and report any parole violations or new arrests of Call-in participants. Note that neither the parole agents nor the supervising agents are on the PSN strategy team.

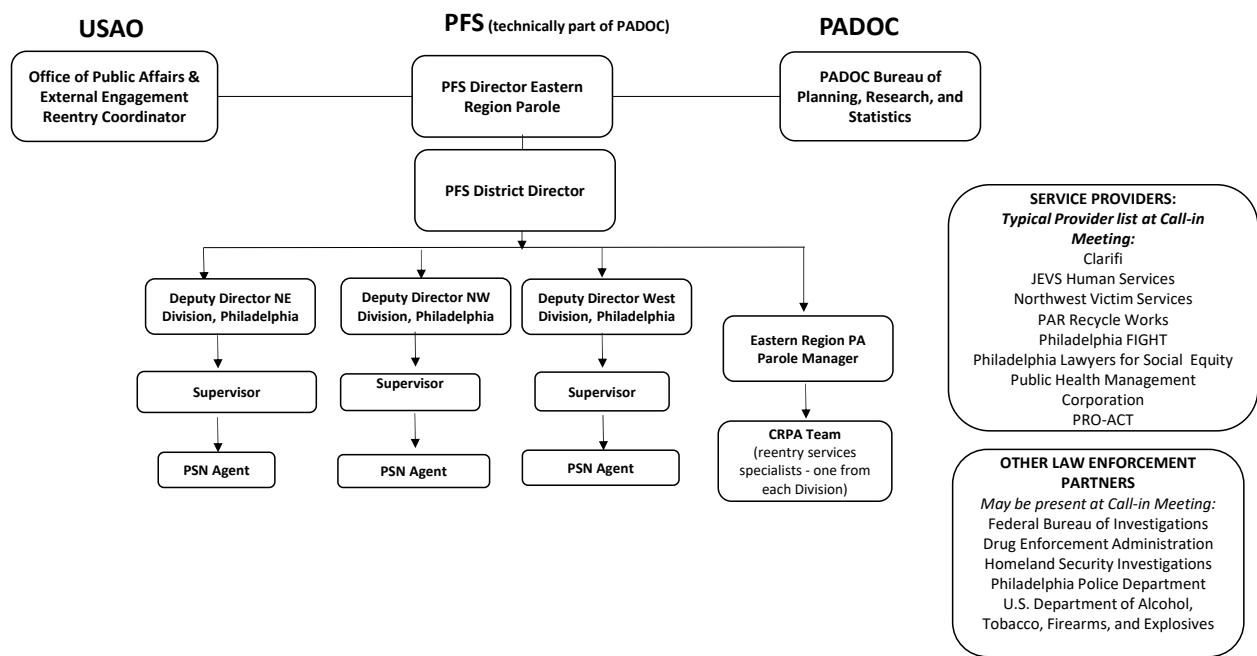
As PFS sits within the PADO, staff at the PADO also play a role in PSN. The Secretary of the PADO was supportive of the program from its inception. Staff from PADO’s Bureau of Planning, Research and Statistics regularly communicate with PSN PFS leaders and the research team to provide data as needed. The Director of the Bureau of Administration is responsible for all fiscal matters and budgeting related to the PSN Call-in Program and research funding. Since the program’s inception, PADO Bureau leaders have provided the initial list of eligible individuals, baseline statistics characterizing the PSN Call-in cohorts and annual reports on PSN Call-in Program outcomes. PADO Bureau leaders were instrumental in drafting the grant proposal for the 2019 BJA award (Innovations in Supervision Initiative: Community Corrections Collaborations to Reduce Violence Crime and Recidivism).

Figure 1. Philadelphia PSN Call-in Program Logic Model



The Reentry Coordinator at the USAO-EDPA in the Office of Public Affairs and External Engagement has one of the most crucial roles on the USAO side of the Call-in Program. This staff person oversees all reentry programs in the Eastern District of PA and provides a collaborating relationship with PADOE to pair the effects of enforcement with supportive services. They also assist in vetting potential service providers for the program and assist PADOE with capacity-building in terms of connecting clients with support services. The Reentry Coordinator meets with Assistant U.S. Attorneys (AUSAs) within the Violent Crime Unit to review eligibility of potential participants. The AUSAs review arrest information when a PSN participant is arrested and discuss with PSN partner leaders whether the USAO will take the case from local law enforcement authorities.

Figure 2. Philadelphia PSN Call-in Program Organizational Chart



The USAO-EDPA also is responsible for coordinating and facilitating communication between the agencies involved in the program. The USAO-EDPA staff works closely with the PFS to establish a schedule for call-in meetings. The USAO coordinates call-in meeting dates and locations, notifies law enforcement agencies of upcoming call-in meetings, identifies community service providers, and previously incarcerated individuals to speak at the meetings, and otherwise to serve in a coordinating capacity in advance of and as a follow up to the call-in. The USAO-EDPA's Reentry Coordinator holds systematic strategy meetings before each call-in meeting and a debriefing meeting after each call-in across core PSN Call-in Program leaders/staff to obtain feedback and discuss whether any changes in processes and activities are needed.

Within the USAO-EDPA, those involved in the program can include Assistant U.S. Attorneys in the Violent Crime Unit of the office's Criminal Division. They are involved in the review of arrest reports, the prosecution of the most violent individuals, and play a role in the delivery of the focused-deterrence message during call-in meetings to emphasize a united front from law enforcement actors. The U.S. Attorney or their designee also speaks at every call-in.

In addition to the core partners discussed above, representatives from the Philadelphia's District Attorney's Office (DAO) participate in the call-in meetings and provide the program with information that may assist with program implementation. Assistant District Attorneys have spoken at multiple call-in meetings.

Community Resource Parole Agents (CRPAS)

The Parole Manager for the Eastern region manages the Community Reentry Parole Agents (CRPAs) and is responsible for all cognitive-behavioral programmatic interventions. CRPA agents, formerly known as ASCRAs,² do not have caseloads in the way that field agents do, instead working with individuals on parole on a needs basis. CRPAs establish connections and agreements with service providers to help Call-in participants more quickly receive needed services. For the Call-in Program, CRPAs facilitate the required "life skills" component that occurs after the call-in meeting. CRPAs also serve as a resource to regular field agents by assisting in service connection and managing referrals.

These specialized agents also collect and disseminate information about programs available to parole clients, including both BCC vendors and community programs. Though it varies by division, some CRPAs send weekly emails to field agents with information about job opportunities, treatment facilities, transportation, housing, and other services. PSN field agents reported that they can direct their clients to contact a CRPA, who will then take over the service referral process.

III. How Philadelphia's PSN Call-in Program Works

As part of the process study researchers met with PADOc staff to become familiar with all aspects of the program and after signing nondisclosure and confidentiality agreements, were given direct access to parole data. The research team were trained on data sources and staff began to examine how parole agents utilize the data systems to capture activities, tasks and progress. Data on Call-in participants is primarily captured by parole agents and staff in their daily course of business and stored on PADOc systems and servers. In their daily routines, agents are in frequent communication with supervisees and their collateral contacts, such as

² Effective Jan. 2, 2020, PADOc changed the title of the staff who worked as reentry specialists from Assessment Sanctioning Community Resource Agents (ASCRAs) to Community Reentry Parole Agents (CRPAs). This action was taken to make the position more in line with its job description and to reduce the silos between the institutional reentry parole agents and the community reentry parole agents, and in turn, reinforce the team concept in the agency's reentry initiatives.

family members, landlords, neighbors, employers, and service providers who may provide updates to the agents on a client's progress. Notes from all agent interactions with supervisees or others are required to be entered into the Captor database, with any relevant documentation or developments uploaded to the OnBase and Treatment Tracking databases within three days of a contact. Below we provide a brief description of these systems. (Note: Parole staff use more than three unique databases and administrative interfaces daily.)

- *Captor*. Captor is where agents report any contact with supervisees and “collateral” representatives, which could include family members, neighbors, service providers, etc. Notes are recorded chronologically in Captor and agents differ somewhat in their documentation habits, with varying levels of frequency, immediacy, and detail. Some PFS staff referred to Captor as the central method to take document a client's progress, using the system to note on any discussions with clients related to progress on goals, referrals and follow-through on referrals.
- *OnBase*. OnBase is a database to which agents can upload scanned documents, including stipulations, sanctions, and collateral. “OnBase is great, it's easy to see and pull things up,” one staff person said. Official PSN notification letters are uploaded to OnBase.
- *Treatment Tracking (TT)* is a feature of the PFS Intranet, and primarily functions as a way to track the completion of *mandated* treatment conditions, such as those pertaining to substance use or mental health. If a participant does not complete a required program/treatment, it would be marked “unsuccessful” in the TT database and indicates a sanction. TT is also used to track enrollment in the PSN Call-in Program, and attendance of the required PSN events such as the call-in meeting and life skills programming. Importantly, TT only captures start and end dates for *mandated* services; notes related to progress would go in Captor (and adding notes is at the discretion of the agent).

After training on the databases, the research team relied on these databases for triangulation of information provided through strategy meetings and semi-structured interviews and by the PADO. In the sections below, we provide more detail on Call-in Program activities and key features.

Program Eligibility – Inclusion and Exclusion

There are a number of inclusion and exclusion criteria for a person to be considered eligible for Philadelphia's PSN Call-in Program. The process of participant selection begins with the research staff at PADO, who run customized code in the Crystal Report system to generate a large list of potential participants based on small set of key eligibility criteria. To prepare for an upcoming call-in meeting, this list is usually generated at least a few months before the call-in meeting. The list is then sent to PFS staff who review certain criteria and evaluate potential participants' Integrated Case Summaries (ICSA) before sending a list to the USAO for final review. The eligibility criteria are listed below.

- *Release date*. Part of the code for the Crystal Report system includes the release date from prison. The original intent was for Call-in participants to come from a pool of individuals released from state incarceration within the last 90 days. But overtime, the

“time-since-prison-release” criterion expanded and staff have utilized an informal rule that up-to-six months since prison release is appropriate. Staff noted that they were having difficulty finding eligible individuals (e.g., to meet the other criteria) who were in the community less than three months since incarceration. (Note: the parole data show that for the PSN Call-in cohorts between 2013 and 2019, the average number of days from prison release until call-in meeting was 230 days (the median was 155 days). There were a number of Call-in participants who had been in the community for nine months and longer before they are selected to be part of the program.)

- *Time remaining on parole.* To maximize program benefits, Call-in participants should have at least 1 year remaining on parole. This criterion is also part of the code for the Crystal Report list and is additionally checked by PFS and the USAO during their review process.
- *Residential address within targeted districts.* A reentrant must have an approved home plan address that falls within specific high crime zip codes within the target police districts (see Table 1). The number of districts has expanded over the years, beginning in 2013 with only the 22nd police district comprising the target area, then expanding in 2015 to include the 39th, and further spreading in 2017 to include the 24th and 25th. In 2019, the program was expanded again to include the 1st, 3rd, 12th, 18th, and 19th Police Districts.³ Program leaders determine address eligibility first through the zip codes that intersected with the police districts. This is initially put into the code for the Crystal Report, and staff at PADOCC review active address listing to ensure that the reentrant has not moved. If the listed address is part of a relevant zip code, program staff look up the home address to ensure that the address itself falls within the relevant PDs for the PSN program at that time.
- *High risk of recidivism.* Potential Call-in participants are targeted based on scores from the assessment tool Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R). PADOCC has designated summary scores that correspond to low, medium or high risk. Those designated high risk are eligible for the program.
- *Instant offense/criminal history.* Specific instant offenses (i.e., those related to the most recent incarceration), and criminal histories are targeted for the program. These include the following:
 - Violent offense: Murder; Voluntary Manslaughter; Aggravated Assault; Assault of a Law Enforcement Officer; Kidnapping; Rape; Robbery; Robbery of a Motor Vehicle (i.e. Carjacking); and Burglary.
 - Drug offense: a crime for which the individual was convicted that involves the manufacturing, delivery, possession with intent to deliver (“PWID”), and

³ The call-in meeting that was supposed to occur in March 2020 was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

conspiracy also fits one or more of the following criteria: a large scale dealer; an organizer, supervisor, or manager of the drug distribution operation; the individual used a firearm or other deadly weapon; the drug operation could be characterized as a “gang,” crew, or organization; the drug operation was ongoing.

- Weapons offense. A non-violent weapons offense can make an individual eligible—such as a Violation of the Uniform Firearms Act (VUFA) (any firearms crime related to the use, transfer, possession, manufacturing, and sale of firearms) but PSN leaders usually only take an individual with a VUFA instant offense if that individual has a history of violence that includes at least two prior adult convictions for crimes of violence or drug distribution.

The relevant instant offense codes are initially entered into the Crystal Report system to produce the initial list of possible eligible participants. These offenses, and criminal histories, are reviewed by PFS District Supervisors through a reentrant’s Integrated Case Summary Application (ICSA). The ICSA provides summary information on an individual’s juvenile and adult offense history, social and mental health history, supervision history and institutional adjustment. After PFS Division Directors review and pare down the list generated by the Crystal Reporting system, the pared-down list is passed onto partners at the USAO. Criminal history is particularly important in the review by the USAO, as potential Call-in participants should have criminal histories that warrant federal prosecution for any future conviction. The USAO team reviews the potential list, particularly focusing on violence (burglary, robbery, multiple aggravated assaults) and weapons (use, possession) convictions. They also consider drug-related offenses to be important, but these need to be associated with higher-level drug crimes, rather than lower-level possession and dealing. Examples of notes on participants whose criminal histories were *not* extensive/relevant enough are listed below:

- Low-level drug offense as instant offense
 - Drug delivery with firearm
 - Instant offense aggravated assault with serious bodily injury but only adult offense history was two DUIs
 - Stolen car where a gun was recovered, violation of probation, no drug dealing
 - 19 years old at arrest, first arrest, no guns, no drugs
- In addition to the targeted instant offenses and criminal history, potential Call-in participants are excluded if they have been convicted of offenses related to sexual assault.
 - *Mental health.* This exclusion criteria is not part of the Crystal Report and is first considered by staff at PFS during their review of the ICSAs. Mental health is evaluated by a counselor while still incarcerated and is given a letter grade based on the level of support that is felt to be needed once released. Potential participants are excluded if they

have a C or higher and those with B's are flagged for follow-up to see whether they are currently in need of mental health support.

- A: Inmate does not require mental health services at this time
 - B: Inmate has a mental health history, but requires no mental health services at this time
 - C: Inmate has a mental health history and requires mental health services and is followed by the Psychiatric Review Team (PRT)
 - D: Inmate has a mental health history and requires significant monitoring by the Psychiatric Review Team (PRT)
- *Sex.* Being female is not an exclusion criterion, but females often do not have serious or extensive enough criminal histories to warrant inclusion in the PSN Call-in Program. To date there have been no female Call-in participants.
 - *Employment.* Up until roughly 2020, there was no specific criterion related to employment, but in recent years PFS has been reviewing employment codes and selecting only those listed as currently unemployed to remain on the list of potential Call-in participants. This change was implemented because PFS believed the program might potentially be disruptive to those who have already established themselves with jobs and were meeting all their field supervision requirements.
 - *Age.* While there is no explicit age cut-off for PSN Call-in Program participation, the USAO tends to screen out older individuals, especially if their criminal history (while extensive) is old as well. They consider older individuals likely to have already aged out of significant criminal participation.

Participant Entry Into the Call-in Program

The process for letting individual on parole know they have been selected for the program begins with the dedicated PSN agents and field agents of record making individual contact with participants to explain the program and what would be expected. Parole agents engage the participants' family members as well, in order to increase buy-in. As there may be mixed messages from the different parole agents, today, participants are required to attend a "pre-call-in" meeting designed to explain the program in more detail and prepare participants for the formal call-in meeting with law enforcement and service providers. Parole staff mentioned that the individual notification process is helpful in mitigating participant confusion and resistance to program selection.

In addition, call-in participants receive and sign a letter from their supervising agent notifying them of their selection into the program and providing details of when and where to report. The letter also emphasizes the potential for federal prosecution if the individual engages in violence, drug trafficking or gun-related crimes.

Call-In Meetings

Typically, PSN Call-in Program leaders aim to have at least three call-in meetings each year. Each call-in meeting represents a “new” cohort of Call-in participants. The meetings are collaboratively organized by the USAO and PFS, although the USAO partners do the majority of convening stakeholders and providers for the meeting. The two-fold message that is the core of the focused-deterrence strategy of the call-in program is delivered by law enforcement agents, community members, and service providers. The message is that there will be severe consequences for those who commit violent or gun crimes, and that positive alternatives are available. The structure of the call-in consists of a roughly two-hour meeting. Law enforcement officials begin with lectures and presentations. Community members speak briefly about how violent crime has impacted each of their lives. An individual who was previously incarcerated may discuss how they decided to step away from a life of crime and made positive choices to improve their lives. Finally, there is a presentation on the different opportunities and resources available to participants.

Essentially, the call-in meetings are designed to address the three mechanisms of change: perceptions of risk, law enforcement legitimacy, and community norms (Braga and Kennedy, 2020). High-ranking officials from the USAO, PFS, Philadelphia DA, PPD, ATF, DEA, FBI, and HSI communicate, using assertive terms, the consequences that attendees of the call-in will receive if they continue to commit crimes. Call-in participants are told they are receiving strict scrutiny and heightened monitoring from law enforcement, a message intended to increase perception of risk to their freedom if they re-offend. The high-ranking officials usually include the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania and an Assistant U.S. Attorney, the Philadelphia Police Commissioner, the Chairman of the PA Board of Probation and Parole, The Regional Director of PFS, the Philadelphia District Attorney and an Assistant District Attorney.

The second main component of the call-in message is that participants have the ability and resource to make positive life choices. Community members speak directly after law enforcement, and often include a family member of a homicide victim and a previously incarcerated individual who has been successful in the reentry process. Most call-in meetings have included well-known street outreach workers who are part of Philadelphia CeaseFire and Cure Violence Philadelphia. All throughout both components, agency and organization leaders emphasize that the choices of the attendees impact their community, their family and community cares about them, and help is available. Call-in participants are provided with materials to review (handouts, pamphlets, worksheets, etc.). The participants then have an opportunity to initiate registration for these services and ask questions.

Conducting the call-in meetings in a procedurally fair way and emphasizing that law enforcement will help those who seek to make positive changes is intended to increase participants' perceptions of legitimacy. Delivering the call-in message with respect and impartiality is key to increasing perceptions that law enforcement are legitimate authorities, and that they will act fairly (Braga and Kennedy, 2020).

Client Supervision

Call-in participants are supervised by dedicated PSN parole agents. When the program expanded in 2019 to include West and South/Southwest Philadelphia, there were three dedicated PSN agents, one for each Division. As discussed earlier, to be eligible for the program, a individual must be designated “high risk” through his LSI-R score. In general, supervision levels for all types of caseloads are determined primarily by the LSI-R score unless the reentrant falls into a high-risk category that requires an override to a higher level of supervision. Examples of overriding categories include individuals convicted of sexual assault, those with serious mental health issues, and those convicted of domestic violence.

Since the inception of the PSN Call-in Program in Philadelphia, all participants are moved to maximum supervision upon entry into the program. The participants remain at this supervision for at least the first six months of supervision. After that, they can be reviewed for stepdown to the medium level of supervision if they have shown a positive adjustment and are in compliance with their conditions of supervision. Participants in the program remain with the PSN agent for 18-months. If the reentrants do not receive any medium or high-level sanctions within those 18 months, they are transitioned to a general supervision agent after the 18-month period.

In September 2019, PFS added a new supervision level known as the “Violent Offender Protocol (VOP).” A few PFS staff have commented that this VOP level of supervision somewhat resembles the characteristics of parole for Call-in participants, but without requiring the person to attend a call-in meeting.

Three agents supervise PSN Call-in Program caseloads, one in each of the three participating PSN divisions. Past and current PSN agents have been selected based on, among other criteria, experience with specialized caseloads and interest in a service-based approach. Agents track the progress of their clients similarly to how they would track a caseload of clients who were not enrolled in PSN. The agents have a direct report to their supervisor, and they use the typical reporting procedures as prescribed by PFS training and policies. Supervisors can generate a report on the PSN Call-in Program caseload by utilizing a “Treatment Tracking” code specific to PSN. Agents have been trained by PFS to focus on the required stipulations of an individual’s parole. For instance, if an individual was ordered to complete substance abuse treatment as part of their parole requirements, the agent would regularly track referrals, contacts and progress. Currently, there is no stipulation for agents to systematically track referral and service uptake for programs that are not mandated as part of parole requirements. Some agents are more consistent than others on documenting all referrals as well as detailed notes when referral follow-up and engagement is discussed with a client. Essentially, PSN field agents differed in their supervision and documentation styles. Agents entered significantly different numbers of case notes per participant per month, though this does not necessarily indicate higher levels of contact or more consistent follow-up. For example, an agent may do a weekly case note summarizing all updates via call, text, or visit, while others log each contact/collateral separately, in real time. Field agents also differed in their level of contact with Community Reentry Parole Agents (CRPAs),

with some agents relying heavily on their Division's CRPA to connect participants with services, and others utilizing CRPAs very little.

Parole agents and supervisors involved in the program do not currently hold regular or dedicated meetings about PSN Call-in Program operations. Instead, the program is discussed primarily in the course of normal supervisory oversight, or in the case of an emergency such as a crisis or rearrest. PSN field agents are not involved in decisions regarding participant eligibility or program strategy. Multiple agents remarked that they would like to be "more involved" in the Call-in Program strategy and operations, and that field agents would bring a helpful sense of program fit. Though multiple parole staff acknowledged that dedicated PSN Call-in Program meetings would be beneficial, they also noted capacity as an issue, especially for field agents.

Specialized/Dedicated Services as Part of the PSN Call-in Program

Within a few weeks after the call-in meeting, participants are required to attend a life-skills and provider meeting with representatives from different services. For the first three years of the program, the provider meeting was a one-day event. But in late 2015, the strategy team expanded the follow-up component to consist of a two-to-three day set of events that involved meeting with the CRPAs for life skills training and sessions geared toward getting to know the providers. This follow-up component is designed to facilitate and initiate linkages to needed services. As an example of the service providers who might be part of the resource fair, the June 2021 cohort of Call-in participants attended a follow-up meeting with the following service providers: Clarifi, PRO-ACT, Northwest Victim Services, Philadelphia Health Management Corporation, Uplift Solutions, Philadelphia FIGHT, and Philadelphia Lawyers for Social Equity.

The two-day life skills program is a truncated version of the programming that all high-risk supervisees are supposed to receive within three months of release. The life skills program is based on a skill-based training program referred to as the Carey Guides. The evidence-based training curricula is designed to address criminogenic needs and enhance case management. The program features interactive workbooks for both clients and agents, with modules that can be individualized. Although it is the CPRAs who work directly with the Call-in participants during the life skills training, all PFS field agents are trained in evidence-based practices for supervising and supporting individuals on parole.

With regard to specific suites of services that are uniquely available to Call-in participants, while PFS works with many employment programs to support parole clients, the BJA/CSG grant provided five funded positions in a commercial drivers' license (CDL) training program, a unique opportunity offered to Call-in participants. Field agents and PSN leaders have remarked that there has been very positive feedback from participants. Beyond these funded slots for CDL training and licensing, the life skills session and the meet and greet with providers, other services available to Call-in participants are the same as those available to other individuals on state parole.

Service Provision and the Provider Perspective

Service providers offer a valuable external perspective on the PSN program; the Temple research team interviewed a range of leaders from social service providers who take referrals from PFS or have partnered with PFS in a more formal capacity over the years. Most of the providers interviewed had attended call-in meetings and the post-call-in service provider fairs, where they met Call-in participants. However, most providers reported that they had received no confirmed referrals from the PSN program. This could be due to a participant “walking in” to a program and not identifying themselves as someone in the PSN Call-in Program. Additionally, while a provider might be aware that a client is on parole, CRPAs or agents making referrals do not necessarily share PSN status with the service provider. As such, it is possible that Call-in participants have more extensively utilized the services of the providers that were interviewed than is reflected in responses we received.

Interviews with providers also provided insight on how referral processes might be improved. Most organizations and programs reported that they require a generalized release of information as an initial step in referral/registration. This release, signed by the client, is also usually required in order for the program to provide updates or information to parole agents. Multiple providers also remarked that the referral process could be initiated at the call-in meeting. Providers reported no regular contact from parole staff or other PSN stakeholders regarding the program. Providers’ main interface with other PSN stakeholders is reportedly the call-in meetings and post-call-in provider fairs.

The Impact of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic greatly impacted the operations of virtually all institutions and public services, including justice agencies. One major challenge was the inability to safely congregate indoors, impeding the core call-in component of the PSN program. The CSG grant was awarded a few months before the pandemic lockdown in Pennsylvania, scuttling plans for the first call-in meeting scheduled for Spring 2020. While many continue to conduct in-person field work, much office work and documentation shifted to be conducted remotely by both agents and supervisors. In moving forward with in-person PSN call-in meetings, leadership met frequently to discuss mandated public health guidelines and how to maintain the fidelity of the intervention. Once CDC recommendations were relaxed to a distance of three feet with masks, PSN call-ins were continued. The first call-in meeting post-2020 occurred on June 29, 2021.

The pandemic also influenced the decision to shift from a required “pre-call-in notification meeting” conducted in-person to a family notification letter instead. These letters served to notify supervisees of their selection into the PSN program, and what will subsequently be required of them moving forward. This documentation is uploaded into OnBase and corresponds to initiating the PSN program in the Treatment Tracking data system.

Over the pandemic period, Philadelphia’s gun violence crisis continued to intensify, making security concerns a focus of PSN planning. Concerns were raised about participants coming

together in one room from different neighborhood territories. Due in part to this, the call-in meetings that have been held since the onset of the pandemic have had a pronounced presence of law enforcement and security measures.

Federal Prosecutions of Philadelphia Call-in participants

When a PSN participant is arrested, Parole sends an arrest report, and it is referred to the USAO-EDPA for the office's consideration for federal prosecution. Since 2013, there were 114 total arrest reports of Call-in participants sent to the USAO-EDPA. Between the inception of the Call-in Program in 2013 and Summer 2022, the USAO-EDPA picked up 10 PSN cases and prosecuted them through the federal system. The list of federal charges related to the 10 cases included:

- 18 U.S.C. § 922(g)(1), Unlawful shipment, transfer, receipt, or possession of a firearm by a felon (7 cases);
- 21 U.S.C. § 841(a)(1), Manufacture, distribution, dispense, or possession with intent to distribute a controlled substance (1 case); and
- 18 U.S.C. § 1951(a), Robbery which interfered with interstate commerce (also known as “Hobbs Act” Robbery) (2 cases).

All cases were successfully prosecuted except one, which was dismissed. Across the 9 successful cases, outcomes varied from a maximum sentence of 384 months to 4 months imprisonment. A few are still awaiting sentencing. The U.S. Attorney's Office in the Middle District of Pennsylvania also prosecuted 2 cases for federal firearms and drug offenses.

All arrest notifications and reports are thoroughly reviewed by the Chief or Deputy Chief of the Violent Crime Unit and scrutinized to determine whether the office can prosecute. Since the program's inception, the most common reason USAO-EDPA declined to prosecute was because of lack of federal jurisdiction, meaning, a PSN participant who reoffended did not commit a federal crime. Examples of cases that were denied due to lack of federal jurisdiction included driving without a license, possession of a controlled substance, theft, and aggravated assault. Another common reason for declining a case was that the underlying facts and circumstances did not make the crimes appropriate for federal prosecution. All cases were successfully prosecuted except one, which was dismissed. Across the 9 successful cases, outcomes varied from a maximum sentence of 384 months to 4 months imprisonment. At the time this report was written a few defendants were still awaiting sentencing.⁴

⁴ The research team was unable to conduct interviews with AUSAs involved in PSN.

IV. PSN Call-in Participant Perceptions of the Program – June and December 2021 Cohorts

As part of the *prospective* research component, when the call-in meetings resumed in 2021, the research team conducted a pre- and post-call-in survey with two cohorts of participants—the June 2021 and December 2021 cohorts. For each of the cohorts, the survey was administered to participants at two points in time: (1) immediately before the call-in meeting begins at the call-in meeting site (“baseline” survey), and (2) between 30-60 days after the date of the call-in meeting. Although pre-post sample size is quite small, the research team hoped to detect some positive changes in perceptions between the baseline survey and the post-call-in survey. PSN leaders had asked the research team to include survey items to obtain feedback from participants on whether the participants believed their service needs were being met, whether the PSN agents were helpful in securing services, and how participants regarded the call-in meeting. Most of the survey items included on the survey were derived from extant surveys/previous research, but some items were developed specifically for this project. Items on meeting evaluation and perception of risk, including likelihood of arrest and punishment for various offenses, were based on survey items used in Indianapolis (see Chermak, 2006; Chermak & McGarrell, 2004). Items on access to community resources were derived from surveys used by Campie and colleagues (2017) to evaluate the Safe and Successful Youth Initiative; items on procedural justice policing were based on survey items documented in Murphy, et al., (2014) for an examination of procedural justice policing.

With regard to the survey administration process, participants were asked to complete the baseline survey upon entry to the call-in meeting and then after 30 days have passed. Participation was voluntary. During the baseline survey at the call-in meeting, members of the research team were available to discuss the survey process with the participants, answer questions and obtain consent for the paper-and-pencil survey. The post-call-in survey was completed by paper and pencil or via a Qualtrics survey link. The post-call-in survey was administered either in person with the participant’s parole officer and then the confidential survey was sealed in a manila envelope for return to the researchers, or at a participant’s home or other location on a computer or on a smart phone. For any smart phone or electronic completion, individualized survey links were distributed to parole agents, designated for each parole participant. At baseline, participants were asked either to sign a written consent on paper (for paper and pencil administration) or via clicking forward in the Qualtrics electronic form. The survey took about 10 to 15 minutes to complete. The response rate varied from 94% to 87% depending on cohorts and phases (i.e., pre versus post). A copy of the survey questions for the baseline survey appears in Appendix A (the baseline survey is very similar to the follow-up).

Table 2 shows the total responses for the baseline survey for each cohort and provides information on the number of days a participant was in the community (since release) before he was tapped for PSN and attended a call-in meeting. The average days between prison release and PSN program entry was much longer than PSN leaders anticipated/encouraged—with roughly

three months before the call-in for the June cohort and 5.5 months for the December cohort. Note that those tapped for PSN get transferred to their new dedicated PSN agent upon their entry to PSN.

Table 2. Release Information for June 2021 and December 2021 PSN Call-in Cohorts			
	June (n=21)	Dec (n=14)	Total (n=35)
Number and percent released to a community corrections center	2 (10%)	3 (21%)	5 (14%)
<u>Average</u> number of days from release to call-in	98	165	126
<u>Maximum</u> number of days from release to call-in	240	510	510

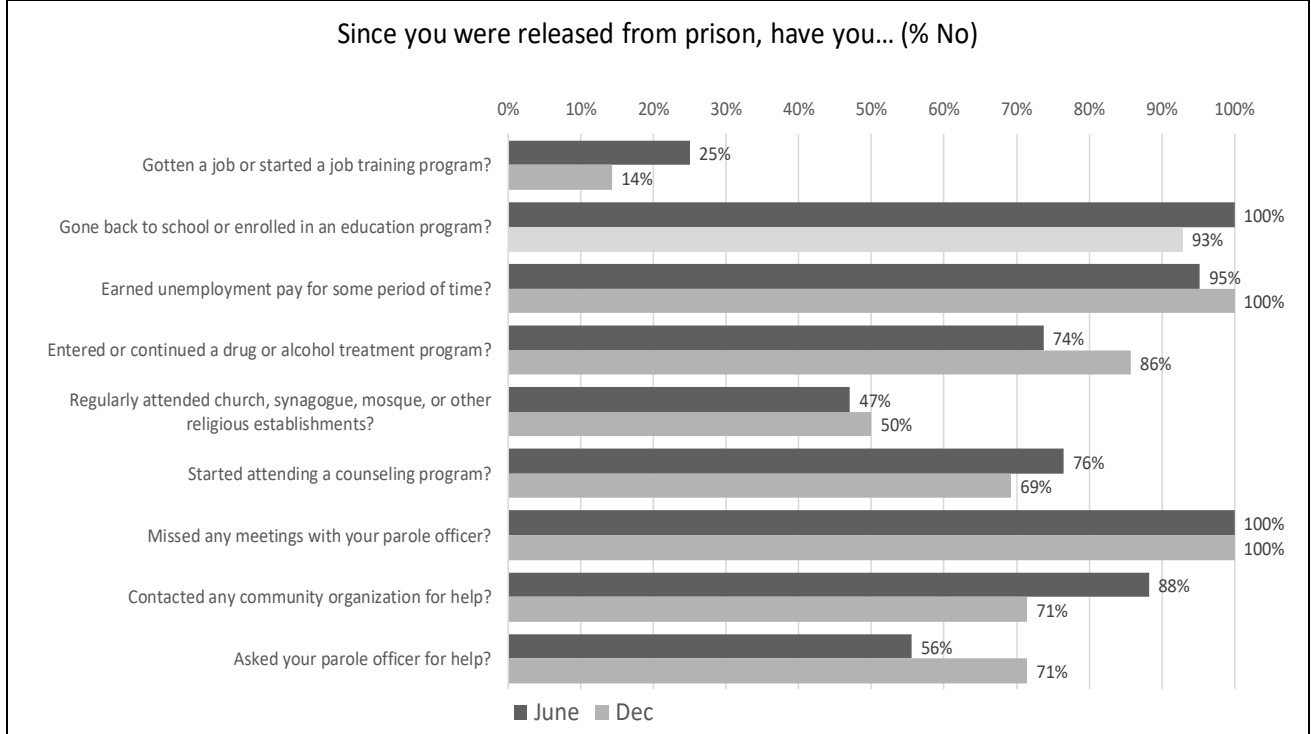
Results from Participant Surveys - Comparing Two Cohorts

Figures 3 through 8 show the difference between baseline responses for the participants from the June 2021 and December 2021 PSN Call-in cohorts on selected survey items. Figure 3 shows that there were large differences between cohorts on their views of the most helpful PSN call-in meeting program component. The participants in the December cohort appeared to view the law enforcement component as most helpful and important, followed by the provider discussion and then the community member component. This was almost opposite for the participants in the June cohort, who perceived the community component to be the strongest, followed by the providers and then law enforcement. The differences may be due to the makeup of the components, with the December call-in meeting only having one speaker for the community component (a mother who lost her son to gun violence) when the June call-in as well as other call-ins have had additional community speakers). Roughly the same percentage of participants from each cohort indicated that none of the components appeared helpful (10% of June call-in participants and 8% of December call-in participants).

Figure 3. Cohort Comparison (June and December 2021 Cohorts) of Baseline Measure of Most Helpful Call-in Component, 2021



Figure 4. Cohort Comparison (June and December 2021 Cohorts) of Baseline Measures of Accomplishments since Prison Release, 2021



The results from the baseline survey shown in Figure 4—questions about contacts with parole agents and providers and the status of service acquisition—show that, for the most part, the overwhelming majority of participants from both cohorts do not reach out to service providers for support, nor do they ask their parole agents for help when they return from incarceration. [Note: Figure 4 shows the percent responding “no.”] The majority appear to focus on work—with roughly three quarters of respondents having either started a job training program or gotten a job between release and the baseline survey. Figure 5 shows responses to questions about how participants perceive community resources (percent of respondents who *strongly* or *mostly* agree with the statements at the left side of the graph). Only half of respondents perceive their community has sufficient resources overall, with a similar percentage responding the same way about employment programs. Not surprisingly, respondents indicated there were few resources related to affordable housing—a problem that has been publicly acknowledged by city leaders and made worse by increasing housing and rental prices due to the pandemic (Jeremiah, 2022). For both cohorts, there tended to be a similar percentage of respondents agreeing across question items, except for the items about substance abuse treatment and AA and public transportation.

Figure 5. Cohort Comparison of Baseline Measures of Perceptions of Community Resources, 2021

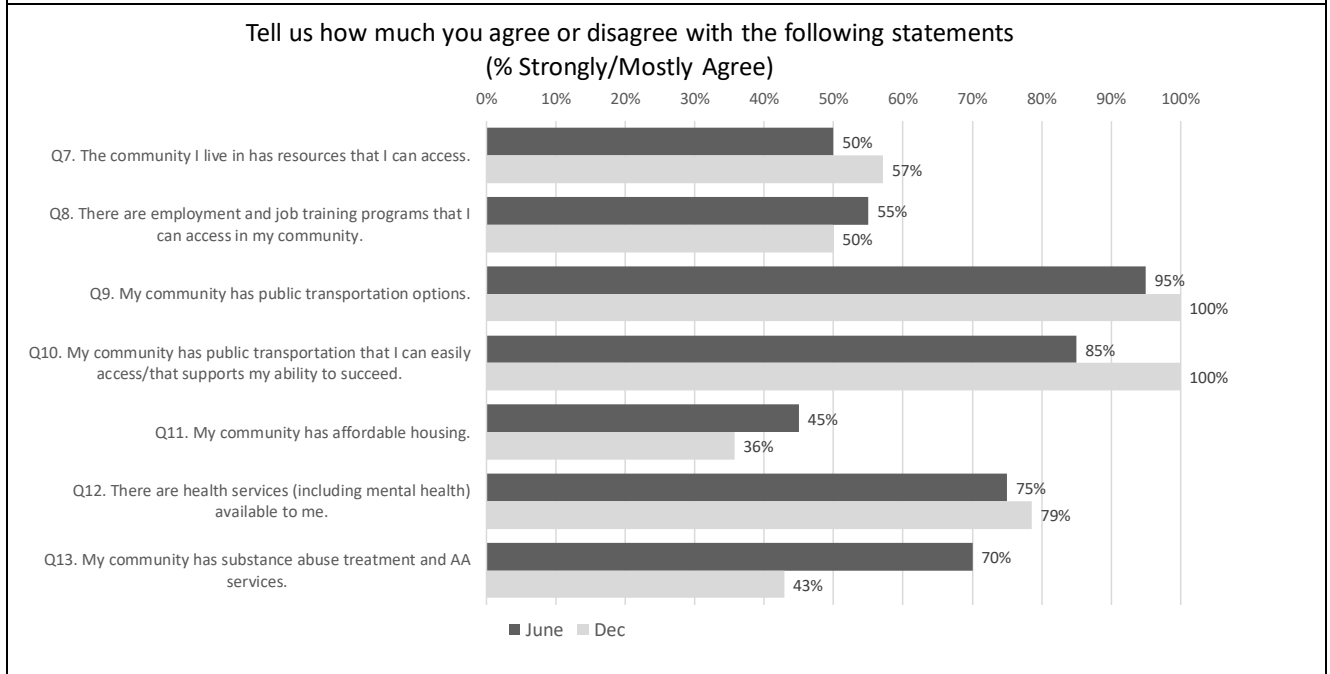
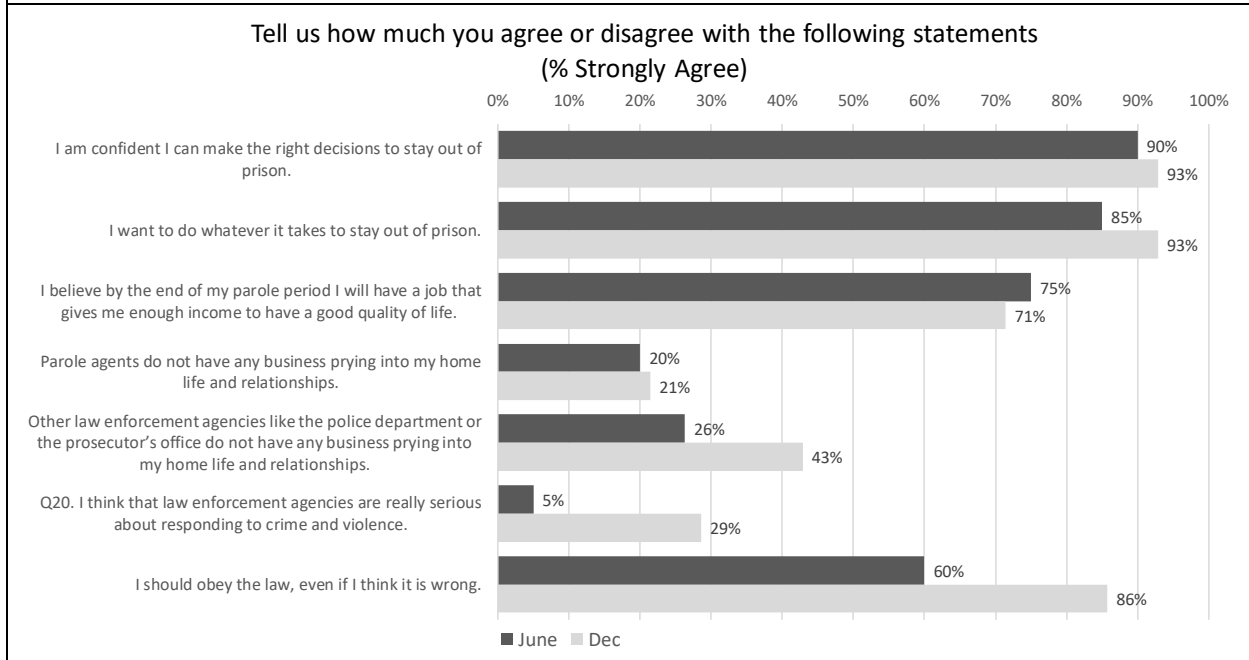


Figure 6. Cohort Comparison of Baseline Measures of Perceptions of Law Enforcement, 2021



Figures 6 and 7 provide participant feedback on perceptions related to personal choices with regard to the law and procedural justice policing. As shown in Figure 6 (percent who *strongly agree*), the majority of participants of both cohorts are confident they can stay out of prison and succeed in the community. The participants in the December cohort tended to agree more that law enforcement agencies are serious about responding to crime (29% of December cohort compared to 5% of June cohort) and that they “*should obey the law, even if I think it is wrong*” (86% from December compared to 60% from June). Many of the response patterns in Figure 7 indicate the same picture—respondents from the December cohort appear to view aspects of the call-in meeting more favorably in general than the June cohort. December participants were less likely to simply view the law enforcement message as a scare tactic and more likely to believe that they would be supported while on parole.

The larger percentage of respondents from the December cohort viewing the call-in more favorably in general could be related to the actual delivery of the components during the call-in meetings. As discussed above, a much higher percentage of December cohort participants (than the January cohort) believed that the law enforcement component was helpful (see Figure 3), compared to the community and service provider component. Another possible reason for the difference between responses across cohorts could be the pandemic. The earlier cohort was likely to have been released from prison at the height of the pandemic and hence, more likely to have been answering these survey questions while reflecting on the stark realities of resource issues

under the pandemic. It would require additional evaluation resources (e.g., long-term follow-up with surveys, or in-depth interviews, etc.) to determine whether these views could have an impact on behavior (e.g., reduce or increase recidivism) in the long term.

Figure 7. Cohort Comparison of Baseline Measures of Perceptions of Call-in Meeting, 2021

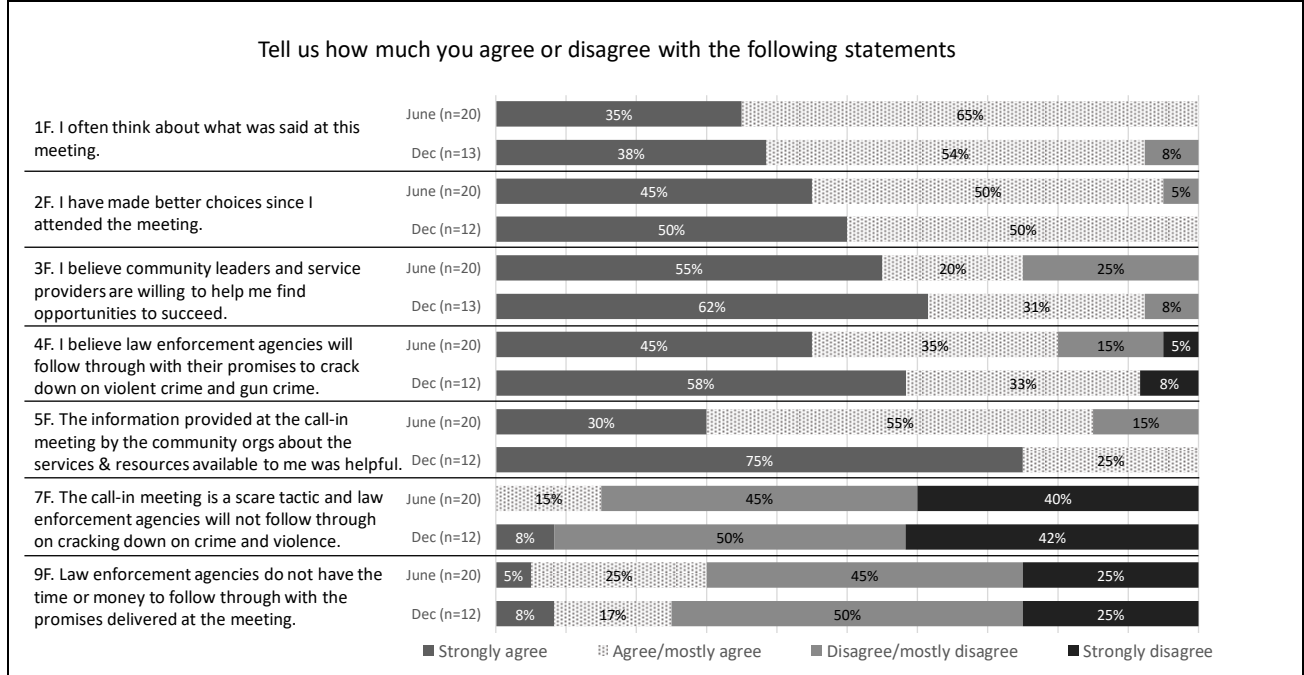
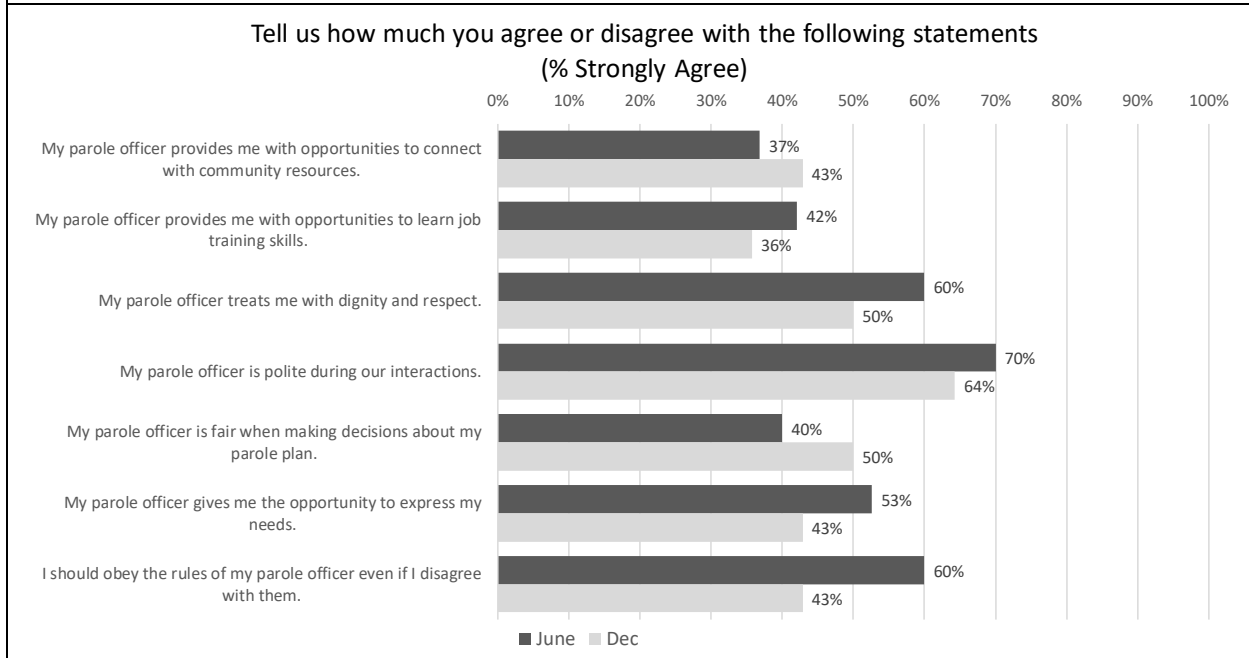


Figure 8 highlights responses to survey items about perceptions of one’s parole agent. Interestingly, there are no consistent differences between the June and December cohorts—for some items, participants from the June cohort had more favorable opinions, but for others, the December cohort were more likely to strongly agree with the statements.

Figure 8. Cohort Comparison of Baseline Measures of Perceptions about Parole Agent, 2021



Results from Participant Surveys – Examining Changes Pre-Post Call-in Meetings

Tables 3 (June 2021 cohort) and 4 (December 2021 cohort) provide the results from t-tests to examine whether there were any changes within participant responses over time (between baseline survey and follow-up). T-tests are used to determine whether there are significant differences between the means of two groups. Paired t-tests take into account the dependent nature of these two groups of means (people measured at two time periods), and therefore tests whether the difference between responses is significantly different from zero. These analyses only include participants who answered the related question in both the baseline and follow-up surveys. Responses were coded as: strongly agree = 4; agree/mostly agree = 3; disagree/mostly disagree = 2; and strongly disagree = 1. A higher mean statistic therefore suggests higher agreement. For the December cohort, three question sets indicate there is significant change in responses at the follow-up (highlighted in gray); there was only one significant differences in responses over time for the June cohort - over time the December cohort participants were more likely to believe that they could go do federal prison for purchasing drugs.

Table 3. Pre-Post Changes in Survey Responses, PSN, June 2021 Cohort					
Survey item	Time period	N(Obs)	Mean	STD	p value
Q7/Q11. The community I live in has resources that I can access.	Baseline	17	2.35	0.93	Sig; p=.02*
	Follow-up	17	2.94	1.03	
Q15/Q12. I am confident I can make the right decisions to stay out of prison.	Baseline	17	3.88	0.33	Non-sig; p=.33
	Follow-up	17	3.76	0.44	
Q16/Q13. I want to do whatever it takes to stay out of prison.	Baseline	17	3.82	0.39	Non-sig; p=1.00
	Follow-up	17	3.82	0.39	
Q17/Q14. I believe by the end of my parole period I will have a job that gives me enough income to have a good quality of life.	Baseline	17	3.53	0.80	Non-sig; p=.33
	Follow-up	17	3.65	0.61	
Q18/Q15. Parole agents do not have any business prying into my home life and relationships.	Baseline	17	2.65	0.87	Non-sig; p=.50
	Follow-up	17	2.41	0.61	
Q19/Q16. Other LE agencies like the PD or the prosecutor's office do not have any business prying into my home life and relationships.	Baseline	16	2.94	0.93	Non-sig; p=.15
	Follow-up	16	2.50	0.82	
Q20/Q17. I think that law enforcement agencies are really serious about responding to crime and violence.	Baseline	17	2.41	0.80	Sig; p=.01*
	Follow-up	17	3.06	0.97	
Q21/Q18. I should obey the law, even if I think it is wrong.	Baseline	16	3.50	0.63	Non-sig; p=1.00
	Follow-up	16	3.50	0.63	
Q27/Q24. My parole officer provides me with opportunities to connect with community resources.	Baseline	16	2.94	1.06	Non-sig; p=.11
	Follow-up	16	3.38	0.96	
Q28/Q25. My parole officer provides me with opportunities to learn job training skills.	Baseline	16	2.94	1.18	Non-sig; p=.75
	Follow-up	16	3.00	0.89	
Q29/Q26. My parole officer treats me with dignity and respect.	Baseline	17	3.29	0.99	Non-sig; p=.16
	Follow-up	17	3.65	0.49	
Q30/Q27. My parole officer is polite during our interactions	Baseline	17	3.59	0.62	Non-sig; p=.33
	Follow-up	17	3.76	0.44	
Q31/Q28. My parole officer is fair when making decisions about my parole plan.	Baseline	17	3.18	0.81	Sig; p=.05*
	Follow-up	17	3.59	0.71	
Q32/Q29. My parole officer gives me the opportunity to express my needs.	Baseline	16	3.25	0.86	Non-sig; p=.30
	Follow-up	16	3.50	0.63	
Q33/Q30. I should obey the rules of my parole officer even if I disagree with them.	Baseline	17	3.47	0.62	Non-sig; p=.83
	Follow-up	17	3.41	0.71	

*p < .05 (two-tailed hypothesis test); Obs=observations; STD=standard deviation

Table 4. Pre-Post Changes in Survey Responses, PSN, December 2021 Cohort					
Survey item		Paired t-test			
		N(Obs)	Mean	STD	p value
Q7/Q13. The community I live in has resources that I can access.	Baseline	12	2.33	0.98	Non-sig; p=.08
	Follow-up	12	2.83	1.11	
Q15/Q14. I am confident I can make the right decisions to stay out of prison.	Baseline	11	3.91	0.30	Non-sig; p=1.00
	Follow-up	11	3.91	0.30	
Q16/Q15. I want to do whatever it takes to stay out of prison.	Baseline	11	3.91	0.30	Non-sig; p=.34
	Follow-up	11	4.00	0.00	
Q17/Q16. I believe by the end of my parole period I will have a job that gives me enough income to have a good quality of life.	Baseline	12	3.75	0.45	Non-sig; p=.34
	Follow-up	12	3.92	0.29	
Q18/Q17. Parole agents do not have any business prying into my home life and relationships.	Baseline	11	2.27	1.01	Non-sig; p=.51
	Follow-up	11	2.09	0.83	
Q19/Q18. Other law enforcement agencies like the PD or the prosecutor's office do not have any business prying into my home life and relationships.	Baseline	12	2.92	1.08	Non-sig; p=.50
	Follow-up	12	2.75	1.14	
Q20/Q19. I think that law enforcement agencies are really serious about responding to crime and violence.	Baseline	12	2.92	0.90	Non-sig; p=.14
	Follow-up	12	3.42	0.51	
Q21/Q20. I should obey the law, even if I think it's wrong.	Baseline	11	3.82	0.40	Non-sig; p=.19
	Follow-up	11	3.55	0.69	
Q27/Q26. My parole officer provides me with opportunities to connect with community resources.	Baseline	12	3.08	0.79	Non-sig; p=.10
	Follow-up	12	3.50	0.52	
Q28/Q27. My parole officer provides me with opportunities to learn job training skills.	Baseline	11	2.64	0.92	Non-sig; p=.09
	Follow-up	11	3.27	0.79	
Q29/Q28. My parole officer treats me with dignity and respect.	Baseline	11	3.36	0.50	Non-sig; p=.34
	Follow-up	11	3.55	0.52	
Q30/Q29. My parole officer is polite during our interactions.	Baseline	11	3.55	0.52	Non-sig; p=.68
	Follow-up	11	3.64	0.50	
Q31/Q30. My parole officer is fair when making decisions about my parole plan.	Baseline	12	3.25	0.75	Non-sig; p=.10
	Follow-up	12	3.58	0.51	
Q32/Q31. My parole officer gives me the opportunity to express my needs.	Baseline	12	3.25	0.75	Non-sig; p=.10
	Follow-up	12	3.67	0.49	
Q33/Q32. I should obey the rules of my parole officer even if I disagree with them.	Baseline	12	3.42	0.51	Non-sig; p=.08
	Follow-up	12	3.67	0.49	
Q35a/Q33a. Most serious thing if you got caught... Using a gun while committing a crime.	Baseline	12	6.00	0.00	Non-sig; p=.24
	Follow-up	12	5.58	1.16	
Q35b/Q33b. Most serious thing if you got caught... Illegally carrying a gun.	Baseline	12	6.00	0.00	Non-sig; p=.34
	Follow-up	12	5.67	1.15	
Q35c/Q33c. Most serious thing if you got caught... Selling drugs.	Baseline	12	5.92	0.29	Non-sig; p=.49
	Follow-up	12	5.67	1.15	

Q35d/Q33d. Most serious thing if you got caught... Purchasing drugs (not counting marijuana).	Baseline	12	5.92	0.29	Non-sig; p=.24
	Follow-up	12	5.33	1.56	
Q36a/Q34a. Likelihood that case would go to federal court: Using a gun while committing a crime	Baseline	12	8.25	2.42	Non-sig; p=1.00
	Follow-up	12	8.25	3.36	
Q36b/Q34b. Likelihood that case would go to federal court: Illegally carrying a gun.	Baseline	12	8.08	2.71	Non-sig; p=.88
	Follow-up	12	8.25	3.36	
Q36c/Q34c. Likelihood that case would go to federal court: Selling drugs.	Baseline	12	6.17	3.46	Non-sig; p=.06
	Follow-up	12	7.67	3.37	
Q36d/Q34d. Likelihood that case would go to federal court: Purchasing drugs (not counting marijuana).	Baseline	12	5.67	3.31	Sig; p=.05*
	Follow-up	12	7.25	3.77	

*p < .05 (two-tailed hypothesis test); Obs=observations; STD=standard deviation

V. The Retrospective Impact Analysis

This section describes the results of analyses that utilize a retrospective quasi-experimental design to examine whether the PSN treatment significantly reduced parole sanctioning, rearrest, and state re-incarceration. This analysis includes individuals who were invited and attended a PSN call-in meeting between June 26th, 2013 and June 6th, 2019. As shown earlier in Table 1, across this period a total of 315 individuals on state parole attended 17 call-in meetings. Call-in participants were matched to a comparison sample of individuals released to parole between January 1st, 2013 and December 31st, 2019.

The data used in this analysis come from PADOc and the PSP. The research team worked with researchers at the PADOc to retrieve both DOC and PSP data. DOC data includes variables related to incarceration and parole, while PSP data capture a participant's entire arrest history (throughout Pennsylvania). These data were used to create variables used as covariates as well as outcome measures. For instance, incarceration "move" data were used to create prior incarceration history variables, in addition to reincarceration variables as one set of outcomes. Data were collected for all individuals through June 24th, 2022.

Outcome Variables

Three main outcome measures were used to assess the effectiveness of PSN. Two of these measures relate to recidivism, while one (parole sanction) could relate to a technical violation, as opposed to a new crime.

- *Parole sanction.* Parole sanction data were derived from the PADOc records. A sanction could be either an arrest or a technical violation. Individuals who were missing from this dataset were considered not to have had any parole sanctions, as advised by PADOc research staff.

- *Rearrest.* Rearrest data came from two sources: the Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) records and PADOCC records on parole sanctions that resulted in an arrest. For these analyses, we included arrests for all types of crimes.
- *Reincarceration.* Participants were considered to be re-incarcerated if their PADOCC-derived data indicated an admittance to state prison as a parole violator or for a new crime.⁵

Independent Variables

- *PSN treatment.* The treatment variable was a dummy variable (PSN) coded 0 (comparison group) or 1 (PSN). Call-in participants were determined using cross-checked lists from PFS and the USAO.
- *Race.* A dichotomous race variable was used to distinguish between Black (1) and other (0) race. Because the retrospective period of this evaluation is very lengthy –almost 10 years—a recent, phased change in the way PADOCC captures race information in their databases made it difficult for the research team to determine, with validity, other racial categories besides Black.
- *Age.* Age was calculated based on date of birth (DOB) obtained from the PADOCC data. Current age was calculated from the date of June 30th, 2022 and rounded to the nearest year.
- *Education.* Highest grade completed (0-16) was provided by the PADOCC for study participants.
- *Prior incarceration history.* Two variables related to incarceration history were also created from PADOCC data and incorporated into the research: (1) total previous days incarcerated, and (2) previous stints of incarceration.
- *Prior arrest history.* Prior arrest history variables were calculated from PSP arrest records. These included flags for previous serious drug charges, weapon charges, and violent offense charges (0=No and 1=Yes). In addition, counts for all of these types of charges were also included as predictors and controls, including variables for previous criminal conspiracy charge and juvenile charge counts as well. *Age at first arrest* was also calculated from the DOB provided by the DOC data and the first charge in the PSP arrest data. (Note: a variable for previous criminal conspiracy charges was also created but excluded from models due to high correlation from the count variable for criminal conspiracy charges.)
- *Index offense type.* “Index” offense represents the offense that led to the individual’s incarceration in state prison (excluding parole violations). This offense is also referred to sometimes as the “instant” offense. Index offense data were provided by PADOCC, matched to the relevant release date in the comparison group or period of incarceration prior to the call-in for Call-in participants. Using categories from the PSP arrest data, these index offenses were coded into dummy variables for violent offense (1=violent offense and 0=non-violent offense), drug offense (1=drug offense and 0=non-drug offense), weapon offense (1=weapon offense and 0=non-weapon offense), and other offense (1=other offense and 0=one of the previous categories of index offenses).

⁵ The data available to us from PADOCC do not separate reincarceration for a new crime vs a technical parole violation.

- *LSI-R scores.* The LSI-R is an assessment tool to gauge risk of recidivism, with higher scores indicating greater perceived risk. The total score, which ranges from 0 (no risk) to 54 (highest risk), was used in the propensity score models and as a control, in addition to all of the LSI-R subscales: criminal history, education, employment, financial, family/marital, accommodation, leisure/recreation, companions, alcohol/drug problem, emotional/personal, and attitude/orientation.

Selecting a Comparison Group

Call-in participants were matched to a comparison sample of individuals released to parole between January 1st, 2013 and December 31st, 2019. To start the process of selecting potential comparison group members, the research team asked PADOE to pull a data set of individuals leaving prison in those years (between 2013 and 2019) and to limit to a coarse set of factors that reflected key characteristics of the PSN Call-in clients: (a) returning to high-crime zip codes after release from incarceration, (b) under 50 years old, (c) non-White, (d) having an LSI-R score between 7 and 40, and (e) individuals who had instant offenses that matched the 37 instant offenses of the Call-in participants. We created this first step in matching in order to limit the amount of data that would then be requested from PSP on arrest histories.

Then from the “early potential” matches provided by PADOE that met the above criteria, a combination of propensity score (PS) and exact matching then was used to derive the comparison group. For matching procedures, we used strata of propensity scores + release cohorts to determine how the sample should be weighted. We followed a few studies in the medical field that use exact and propensity score matching (Austin et al., 2021; Burden et al., 2017; Chen et al. 2012). In addition, across criminology, Dooley et al., 2014 and Piza, 2018 used similar approaches. Logistic regression models were then employed to create the propensity scores using all available variables that might be prognostic of the outcome, as suggested by Austin, 2014 and Garrido et al., 2014. We then used the “cem” command in Stata (Blackwell et al., 2009) to weight the sample using a coarsened version of the propensity score (split to create 12 equal groups, a caliper of roughly 0.05) and cohorts based on a combination of release year and call-in date for Call-in participants. The variables used to create the propensity scores were:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| • Race (Black) | • Weapon index offense (Y/N) |
| • Age (as of June 30, 2022) | • Sum of juvenile charges |
| • Highest level of education | • Sum of violent charges |
| • Prior incarceration (days) | • Sum of drug charges |
| • Prior incarceration (stints) | • Sum of criminal conspiracy charges |
| • Any drug charge history (Y/N) | • Sum of gun charges |
| • Any gun charge history (Y/N) | • Overall LSI-R score |
| • Any violent charge history (Y/N) | • LSI-R Alcohol & drug subscore |
| • Age at first arrest | • LSI-R Criminal subscore |
| • Violent index offense (Y/N) | • LSI-R Employment subscore |
| • Drug index offense (Y/N) | • LSI-R School subscore |

- LSI-R Financial subscore
- LSI-R Family subscore
- LSI-R Accommodation subscore
- LSI-R Leisure subscore
- LSI-R Companion subscore
- LSI-R Emotion subscore
- LSI-R Attribute subscore

Regarding the exact matching portion of weight creation, because the PSN Call-in clients might have attended a call-in meeting in a year different from their release (one that occurred in a calendar year *after* release), we sought matches using the PSN participant call-in year by matching to release year of potential comparison group members. Essentially, we wanted to ensure Call-in participants were matched with a control who left prison within the same cohort time period and hence, exact matching was conducted after the calculation of the propensity score.

These procedures resulted in all 315 Call-in participants being among strata with similar comparison group members weighted to make all comparison group members within each stratum to be fractional to the distribution within the treatment group. The weighted sample after the “*cem*” procedure is N=3,005, with six potential individuals dropping out from the comparison group after using these scoring procedures. The balance table is shown below (Table 5). The first set of columns for “treated” in Table 5 can also be viewed as providing demographic and descriptive statistics for the treatment group. All Call-in participants in cohorts 1 through 19, except for 12, were Black. On average, participants completed 11th grade and almost all participants had a least 1 violent charge in their arrest history. The average age at first arrest was roughly 18 years of age, and the majority had an instant offense that fell into the violent category. There were very few participants with a history of conspiracy (average sum was 1.9) but there was a high number of mean juvenile charges (9.08).

Outcome Models – Survival Analyses

We employed Cox proportional hazard regression models for the outcome analyses. Cox models allow us to estimate differences in time on the street until either rearrest or reincarceration and then tests for significant differences between the hazard curves of the treatment versus the comparison group. A hazard ratio of one means that there is no difference in survival between the two groups. If the treatment group has a statistically significant hazard ratio less than one, that would signify that Call-in participants survived on the street longer than the comparison group. Our models are run adjusting for all the factors that were used to create the propensity models. Including these covariates provides a more robust process (Bang & Robins, 2005; Hernán, 2018). Before each final model was run, we verified that the proportional hazards assumption was met (Hernán, 2010) for those models.

We assessed all outcomes within a follow-up period of 24 months, with the starting point of the 24-month period beginning at 98 days after release for the comparison group and immediately after the call-in date for the treatment group. The release + 98 day starting point for the

comparison group was undertaken to simulate the gap between release and call-in date for Call-in participants (98 days was the 25th percentile of the gap between release and call-in date for Call-in participants)—essentially all Call-in participants were successful in the community for at least 3 months until their entry into PSN. Without this fix, individuals in the comparison group would have been at a disadvantage in the survival analyses, as the risk of recidivism tends to be highest when one first leaves prison. Any comparison group member who did not survive (either because of rearrest or reincarceration) to the 98th day was dropped from the potential matched comparison sample. Then outcomes for time to failure for the comparison group were calculated from 97 days after release so that both groups, comparison and PSN, could fail on day 1 (after the call-in or after the 97-day release survival window).

Figure 9 shows the percentage of individuals who had any rearrest, any parole violation, and state reincarceration, respectively, within the follow-up period, comparing the PSN treatment group to the matched controls. Although fewer Call-in participants were rearrested compared to controls (32.1% compared to 33.2%), the difference was not statistically significant. Interestingly, Call-in participants had significantly more parole violations, which likely influenced their higher reincarceration rate than controls. However, the difference in the levels of reincarceration was not statistically significant.

The statistics output from the hazard ratio models, shown in Table 6, tell a similar story—the only outcome showing a significant difference between the treated group and the controls was for parole violations—with Call-in participants having a *higher hazard of failure*. Even using the Bonferroni correction, we still find significance for the measure of parole sanctions.⁶ Given that the research team was not part of the partnership during the years these cohorts were involved in PSN, we are unable to form data-informed opinions on why participants might have been violated at higher rates.

With regard to the null findings related to client recidivism—the finding that PSN Call-in clients *did not have a lower rate of recidivism compared to a matched control group*—it is important to note that many extant community corrections-focused studies that examined a variety of “intensive” supervision populations have found that the closer scrutiny from more intensive or structured correctional oversight often translates into higher levels of violations and revocations (Grattet & Lin, 2014; Petersilia & Turner, 1993). The higher rate of parole failures typically then, influence the higher (than controls) rate of return to prison.

⁶ It is recommended that one should divide the critical P value (*alpha*) by the number of comparisons being made. For example, since three hypotheses are being tested, the new critical P value would be $\alpha/3$. So instead of determining that a value is significant when it is less than 0.05, the new p-value would be less than 0.017.

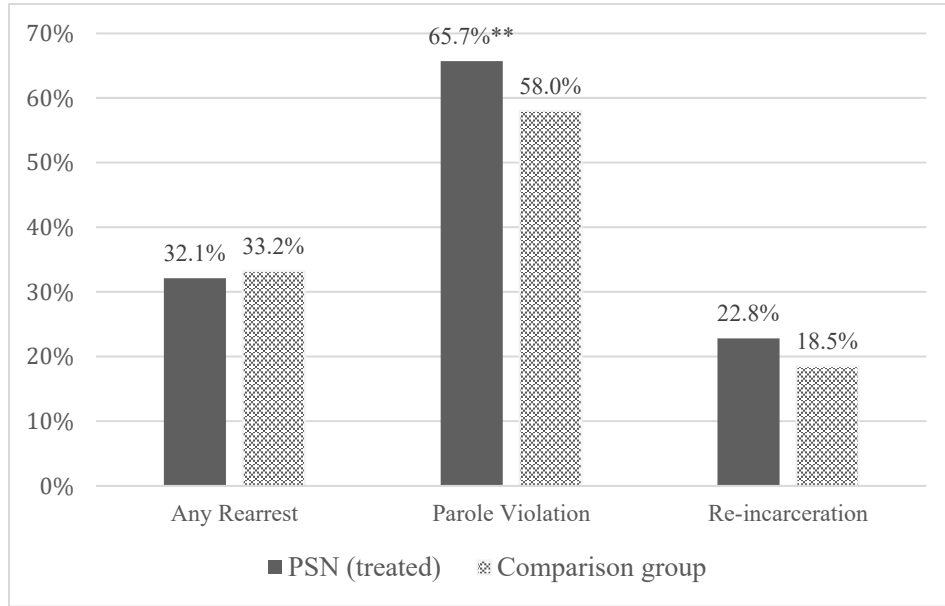
Table 5. Balance Table - Treated Group (PSN) and Comparison

Variables	Treated		Comparison							
	n=315		Unweighted				Weighted			
	Mean	Variance	Mean	Variance	Std-diff	Var-ratio	Mean	Variance	Std-diff	Var-ratio
Black	0.96	0.04	0.85	0.12	0.35	0.34	0.95	0.05	0.02	0.93
Age (as of June 30, 2022)	41.07	86.57	39.04	56.55	0.24	1.53	40.77	66.94	0.03	1.29
Highest level of education	10.95	1.85	11.06	1.79	-0.09	1.03	11.00	1.84	-0.04	1.00
Prior incarceration (days)	2683.3	4214090.0	1896.56	2651519.0	0.42	1.59	2648.5	4173568.0	0.02	1.01
Prior incarceration (stints)	1.96	2.00	1.77	1.54	0.14	1.30	1.97	2.00	-0.01	1.00
Drug charge history (Y/N)	0.60	0.24	0.75	0.19	-0.33	1.30	0.61	0.24	-0.03	1.01
Gun charge history (Y/N)	0.65	0.23	0.58	0.24	0.15	0.93	0.66	0.22	-0.02	1.02
Violent charge history (Y/N)	0.95	0.05	0.86	0.12	0.30	0.42	0.94	0.05	0.01	0.95
Age at first arrest	17.77	19.14	17.77	15.70	0.00	1.22	17.74	13.06	0.01	1.47
Violent index offense (Y/N)	0.65	0.23	0.37	0.23	0.58	0.97	0.64	0.23	0.03	0.98
Drug index offense (Y/N)	0.15	0.13	0.42	0.24	-0.61	0.53	0.16	0.13	-0.01	0.98
Weapon index offense (Y/N)	0.15	0.13	0.17	0.14	-0.05	0.92	0.16	0.14	-0.02	0.96
Sum of juvenile charges	9.08	165.02	9.03	176.53	0.00	0.93	8.91	191.92	0.01	0.86
Sum of violent charges	14.25	110.60	12.38	127.47	0.17	0.87	14.26	121.15	0.00	0.91
Sum of drug charges	2.70	11.80	3.57	12.57	-0.25	0.94	2.77	12.16	-0.02	0.97
Sum of criminal conspiracy charges	1.18	3.01	0.91	2.01	0.17	1.49	1.14	2.51	0.03	1.20
Sum of gun charges	1.89	4.73	1.68	4.61	0.10	1.03	1.91	5.01	-0.01	0.94
Overall LSI-R score	24.46	43.84	22.40	44.15	0.31	0.99	24.15	44.44	0.05	0.99
LSI-R Alcohol & drug subscore	3.42	5.48	3.12	5.55	0.13	0.99	3.40	5.81	0.01	0.94
LSI-R Criminal subscore	6.22	3.14	5.69	3.56	0.29	0.88	6.19	3.19	0.01	0.98
LSI-R Employment subscore	2.11	1.55	1.90	1.28	0.18	1.21	2.07	1.28	0.03	1.21
LSI-R School subscore	3.57	3.12	3.31	3.06	0.15	1.02	3.53	2.99	0.02	1.04
LSI-R Financial subscore	0.84	0.55	0.84	0.51	0.01	1.08	0.85	0.53	-0.01	1.03

Table 5. Balance Table - Treated Group (PSN) and Comparison

	Treated		Comparison							
	n=315		Unweighted				Weighted			
			n=2696	Balance		n=2690	Balance			
LSI-R Family subscore	1.42	1.09	1.28	1.09	0.14	1.00	1.43	1.19	0.00	0.92
LSI-R Accommodation subscore	0.95	0.55	0.85	0.46	0.14	1.19	0.92	0.50	0.04	1.11
LSI-R Leisure subscore	1.13	0.79	1.11	0.79	0.02	1.00	1.11	0.77	0.02	1.02
LSI-R Companion subscore	3.33	1.02	3.15	1.25	0.16	0.82	3.29	1.04	0.03	0.98
LSI-R Emotion subscore	0.83	1.17	0.63	0.82	0.20	1.42	0.77	0.92	0.06	1.27
LSI-R Attribute subscore	0.68	1.36	0.55	0.91	0.12	1.49	0.64	1.04	0.04	1.30

Figure 9. PSN Outcomes Across 24-Month Follow-up Period, Cohorts 1 to 17



**p < 0.01.

Table 6. Cox Proportional Hazards Regression^a on Time to Re-Arrest, Parole Violation and Re-Incarceration

Variables	Rearrest		Parole Violation		Reincarceration	
	Haz. ratio (st.d)	p-value	Haz. ratio (st.d)	p-value	Haz. ratio (st.d)	p-value
PSN (treatment)	0.964(0.102)	0.730	1.203(0.090)	0.013*	1.235(.157)	0.097

*p < .05; ^amodels adjust for all covariates listed in the balance tables but not shown here.

VI. Reflections on the Findings and Recommendations for PSN Stakeholders

The PSN strategy has been in place in Philadelphia since 2013 and has achieved a number of intermediate process-related successes with regard to sustaining a multi-partner violence reduction strategy. First and foremost, there has been steady leadership since PSN began. This is quite remarkable. Although there was turnover at PFS at the Regional Director level, the new lead administrator over PSN at PFS dove right in and has upheld the key goals of PSN and made them a priority during his tenure. It is also notable that the Regional Director was born and raised in Philadelphia and has a strong relationship with colleagues across PFS and the USAO. The traits that the Regional Director possesses appear to also broker respect from other partners. Similarly, the Division Directors at PFS have long and notable careers in community corrections and have an extraordinary depth of knowledge about parole functions and processes. The depth of experience in community corrections across the entire PSN leadership team, as well as their commitment to implementing evidence-based practices is of huge benefit to PSN operations. Furthermore, the structure of PSN—one of distributive leadership across partners—is generally strong; their task force is high functioning and has always been able to accomplish their priorities of putting together successful call-in meetings. Having a distributive leadership structure across a violence reduction partnership-based strategy has been noted by the national level evaluators of PSN (McGarrell, et al., 2009) as an important aspect of PSN partnerships that can enable success. Relatedly, all of the leaders within PSN were fully supportive of having a research partner and were eager to use data and feedback from the participant surveys and other data products to help strategize about any issues that came up related to the operations of PSN. In addition, research staff at the PADOCC were extremely collaborative and made the data request process simple and timely, which helped the research team provide feedback on programmatic activities as needed when PSN leaders asked for aggregate information on program process.

In addition to having a number of strengths related to partnership leadership, Philadelphia PSN has strong relationships with other law enforcement agencies as well as service providers. These long-standing relationships may be due in part to the workings of [Philadelphia's Reentry Coalition](#) (PRC). Philadelphia has had a highly functional reentry coalition for a decade. The lead PSN stakeholder at the USAO-EDPA and the first PFS leader worked together regularly on the PRC since PRC's inception in 2012. Both agencies—USAO-EDPA and PFS in general always been highly committed to the PRC and developing collaborative relationships with a variety of partners across Philadelphia for the betterment of reentry practices in Philadelphia.

Furthermore, the PSN lead at the USAO-EDPA (the Reentry Coordinator) has a keen sense of the landscape of reentry service provision due to her involvement in a federal “reentry court” known as the Supervision to Aid Reentry (STAR) program, which involves medium to high-risk individuals who are on federal probation and returning to Philadelphia. The program involves intense oversight by a magistrate judge who meets with groups of US federal supervisees every

other week to discuss all aspects of their supervision. During our stakeholder interviews for this evaluation, a number of providers indicated that they had strong relationships with the Reentry Coordinator that included aspects of the STAR program, not just PSN.

With regard to service provider linkages, another strength of PSN in Philadelphia is the utilization of CRPAs within PFS to help support the reentry of those on parole and to assist with filling any gaps in services noted by PSN parole agents. PSN field agents and supervisors reported that it was helpful to have a dedicated resource agent who can also help make the connections. The CRPAs appear to utilize a softer “social work” approach (as opposed to a strict law enforcement approach) and may be more able to “get through to” supervisees because their purpose in supervision is theoretically non-punitive. One remarked, however, that CRPAs “are still agents,” and that when participants hear the word “agent,” even from a non-punitive approach, “their ears turn off.”

Recommendations

1. Revisit the makeup of the administrative team that guides PSN.

At the time of writing, the PSN strategy team does not have a program manager dedicated to focusing most of their time on the strategy. Because PSN operates across three different PFS geographic divisions, with the exception of the PSN strategy meetings, there was somewhat limited interaction and collaboration across divisions, leaving little structured opportunity for PSN stakeholders to regularly interact and discuss successes and challenges, learn from each other and align resources. Furthermore, the dedicated PFS field agents who interact directly with participants, and their supervisors are not part of the PSN strategy team. At least two stakeholders interviewed described this lack of front-line staff inclusion in the PSN strategy team as a flaw. This deprives the PSN program of the insight of those who directly know the client-participants and their service needs. The academic literature supports the idea that including the input of street-level actors is essential to the fidelity and sustainability of the implementation of evidence-based practices within justice agencies (Viglione, 2016). Including frontline staff in decision-making and implementation efforts may serve to increase engagement and commitment internally (Cross et al., 2012), and furthermore, as one staff member noted, agents may be better able to assess eligibility criteria and the workings of the PSN program from a “boots on the ground” perspective. Multiple staff members remarked that they would like to see agents and supervisors become more involved in PSN strategy and implementation decisions.

2. Reinforce program goals through quarterly or bi-annual, PSN-specific meetings that would include relevant service providers and Community Resource Parole Agents (CRPAs). Gather feedback from CRPAs and service providers.

Parole staff and social services providers reported no regular internal communications or meetings to specifically assess the PSN program and its participants’ progress. This may be due to time and schedule constraints of parole staff at multiple levels, who fulfill a variety of duties

that make an additional scheduled meeting difficult to accommodate. However, multiple parole staff said they thought regular meetings across a range of staff would be beneficial to the program. This indicates that a regular standing meeting to identify and address any issues with the program may be welcome if scheduled at a reasonable frequency, such as quarterly.

Including service providers and Community Resource Parole Agents (CRPAs) in these meetings may also help to address a reported mismatch of referrals and eligibility requirements. One provider reported receiving numerous referrals but unable to accept clients due to not meeting a core requirement. Another remarked, “I’ve spoken to a lot of agents but I don’t think it’s very methodical about how the information related to reentry supports is disseminated. It should be a team approach. My philosophy on reentry, especially with this program, is that it takes a village.” In this sense, providing a forum to connect PSN service providers, CRPAs and agents in a structured or formal way may also increase information around available service and improve connections between parole clients and providers. Although it is the role of the CRPAs to understand how to fill gaps in services for particular client needs, it would be beneficial for the dedicated PSN parole agents to have an understanding of the service landscape and how to overcome barriers that clients face. We recognize that the PSN parole agents may have very busy caseloads, but we believe it is worth strategizing about the maximum caseload size for PSN agents so agents could have ample time to invest in helping clients overcome barriers to services. Relatedly, to achieve stated outcomes, it is important for agents to see PSN as different from business-as-usual—and not just about the deterrence message delivered at the call-in meeting.

3. Revisit the eligibility criteria to streamline the process and devise a more structured, replicable set of criteria.

PSN leaders have repeatedly indicated that they cannot find enough eligible clients to enroll in PSN and hence, over time have expanded the amount of time one can be in the community since release from prison before being tapped for PSN. Expanding the time between prison release and eligibility for PSN has resulted in cohorts where the average time elapsed in the community before enrollment in PSN is over 90 days, and for some clients, may be much longer—more than a year. This means that many clients are tapped for PSN when they are already “succeeding” in the community and are abiding by their parole stipulations. Feedback from recent call-in meetings suggests that parole clients are upset and dismayed at having to switch parole agents and attend new meetings and resource fairs after getting settled in their reentry. PSN Call-in clients have indicated that these new required actions interfere with current work routines and schedules or family obligations that they have already worked hard to establish. Informal feedback to parole agents from clients suggests that clients believe that they are being unfairly punished; this feedback suggests that their enrollment may diminish beliefs in the legitimacy of the criminal justice system or the legitimacy of particular law enforcement actors.

The research team recommends that the PFS reentry specialists who work in the prisons become part of the PSN strategy team and take the lead on reviewing case summaries of potentially eligible prisoners who are soon to return to Philadelphia. These agents could begin to review

home plans before prisoners are released and work directly with PSN staff in the Divisional Offices to finalize a draft list of eligible clients that would go to the USAO-EDPA. This process would undoubtedly cut down on the amount of time one is home in Philadelphia before they are tapped for PSN.

The Philadelphia PSN strategy team could perhaps benefit from learning how other PSN sites that have individual-focused call-in programs define eligibility. For instance, Tampa, Florida uses a specific risk tool to establish eligibility that draws on evidence-based risk factors that are weighted to reflect the behaviors most predictive of future violence and firearm offending (Fox, Allen & Toth, 2021). Weights were developed to reflect the magnitude of predictive validity for gun crime and violence in criminological research. Granted those potentially eligible in Tampa were likely not incarcerated for long periods of time like the Philadelphia individuals, so it will be markedly more difficult to predict risk of violent recidivism for Philadelphia PSN. However, PSN stakeholders have indicated they (i.e., PADO including PFS) are in the process of finalizing a new risk tool designed to identify those prisoners with a potential for violent re-offending. Once this tool is finalized and staff are trained, we suggest revisiting the PSN eligibility criteria so a more objective process can be established. Using a less subjective set of eligibility criteria will also facilitate future evaluation efforts.

4. Continue to collaborate in review of new arrests that could be subject to federal prosecution. Use the examples at later call-in meetings.

As one of the key prongs of activities for PSN is to utilize the threat of federal prosecution in conveying the focused deterrence message to parole clients during the call-in meetings and via the pre-call-in notification letter, it is important to have the PSN strategy team collaborate and review the process in which the USAO-EDPA takes up cases for federal prosecution and then use case details about the success of federal prosecution at future call-in meetings. Highlighting long sentences via the federal system has been suggested as sound practice across previous studies of focused deterrence strategies.

5. Develop a part-time position for a dedicated social worker, who is not an agent, who can work directly with Call-in participants across divisions and perhaps act as liaison with the CRPAs.

Some staff suggested that having a reentry support position who was more of a social worker and not an agent would build more credibility and trust with the Call-in participants. This person could be a contract worker or the PSN strategy team could partner with a community-based agency who would oversee the dedicated social worker. Some staff indicated that when parole clients see that the CRPA are agents—part of PFS—they are less likely to utilize that support..

6. Use a data-driven strategy to select service providers for the provider fair. Identify providers who have had the most success with parole clients and for which agents and clients had good feedback. Use data and feedback to identify barriers to services and regularly strategy about overcoming these barriers.

Multiple social service providers interviewed for this research noted that they had not had any direct referrals from PSN, nor had not identified any walk-ins as being Call-in participants. One provider remarked that the services offered may not be what participants truly need, and recommended that the program “drill down” into what clients truly need. This can be done on an individualized level, with parole agents, supervisors and deputy directors regularly reviewing the PSN caseload (i.e., monthly) and talking specifically about individual cases and sharing discussions across divisions about the needs and available service slots throughout the city. Targeted services to specific needs exemplifies the evidence-based principles associated with the Risk-Needs-Responsivity (RNR) model of community supervision (Andrews, 2006). This could also be done on a more global level, where PSN strategy leaders, along with the dedicated parole agents and CPRAs, are reviewing the aggregate needs of PSN Call-in clients. A few of the Program staff indicated that field agents routinely give a short survey to PSN Call-in Program parole clients to ask about their service needs, but we did not see any evidence of this practice put to use.

We suggest that staff come together across divisions and have dedicated meetings throughout the year that also included groups of service provider leaders to assess best practices of engaging clients in the needed services and where service holes might need to be filled. This type of process would also lend itself to a broader understanding of whether the needs of the PSN Call-in clients are different, in aggregate, from the average parole client. This type of process supports the extant research literature showing that those on probation and parole supervision have a greater likelihood of succeeding (i.e., reduced recidivism) if services are responsive to the individualized needs of clients (Bonta, Ruggie, Scott, et al., 2008). Reviewing our research notes from the semi-structured interviews, not surprisingly, reveal that housing and employment seemed to be the greatest need among individuals on parole, and that more resources in these areas would be welcome. If the leadership staff determine that larger, coordinated staff meetings to review service needs was not feasible, putting more emphasis on the short survey tool that field staff already have, coupled with direct follow-up with participants on their needs, and in concert with CRPAs, could improve take-up in services by participants.

7. Strategize to match the post-call-in life skills program and provider fair to PSN client needs.

Some staff noted during the interviews that PSN life skills programming requirement as it is administered currently seems counterproductive because a lot of PSN Call-in clients already have employment and have participated in some of the life skills training components. One stakeholder commented: “They’re settled into their lives at that point and then we give them this two-week list of activities and they’re having to rearrange their schedules. It’s really problematic for them. It’s the same services they would have already had access to or would have already participated.”

The research team suggests that before the call-in meeting that the leadership team asks the dedicated parole agents to meet with the parole agents who already had been supporting the

newly-eligible PSN client (before the move to the dedicated agent) and discuss each client's status of work and engagement in other services. The notes could be uploaded into Captor or in a specific data sheet or form designed to establish a recommended service plan for the new PSN client. This plan/set of notes could also be reviewed by the CPRAs attending the life-skills trainings before the life-skills meeting and be used to identify any other service providers who could be invited to the service provider fair. Because there is a very small number of parole clients attending the call-meeting meeting, life skills programming and service fair (usually under 20), it seems possible that the setup of these meetings involve specific providers geared to the individualized needs of the participants.

8. Expand resources for the Commercial Driver's License (CDL) program and other providers who offer paid training and job placement, such as the Center for Employment Opportunities.

The training program offered through Global CDL program was acclaimed by both participants and parole staff. Those who are eligible and able to complete the program are reported to have positive outcomes such as rapid job placement and livable wages. However, the BJA/CSG grant only provides funding for 5 slots, a very limited availability. Given the overwhelmingly positive feedback and documented outcomes of this program, it is worth considering an expansion of resources towards this program and others like it.

Another program for which parole staff and participants provided positive feedback was the Center for Employment Opportunities (CEO), a Lenfest North Philadelphia Workforce Initiative partner. CEO is invited to the call-ins and resource fairs. CEO works exclusively with those leaving prison and the formerly incarcerated, and provides immediate paid employment, skills training, and ongoing career support. Using a transitional work model, CEO guarantees each participant a paid orientation and daily pay up to four days a week. Multiple parole staff and service providers noted the importance of paid training, as individuals on parole usually need to be earning income immediately and may not be able to attend unpaid training programs, no matter how beneficial. By providing immediate work and earnings, programs like CEO may better fill the unique needs of recently returned citizens.

9. Add a peer mentoring component or partner agency that can provide mentoring, such as Cure Violence, to the PSN program.

Multiple stakeholders noted that peer mentoring, especially for the population that comprises Call-in participants, would be helpful. One parole staff member remarked, "They need to have someone they relate to, they won't receive the message [from agents] the same way. Mentoring needs to be a core component of what we're doing to move people out of a life of crime." Philadelphia has various service providers that feature mentoring components as part of their intervention, including Cure Violence. In recent months, there have been many opportunities via federal and state grants, to support partnerships across agencies that would provide funding for street outreach programs. These grant opportunities are likely to continue in the next few years,

at least under the Biden-Harris administration, as they have made a dedicated commitment to Community Violence Intervention (CVI).

In addition, it is important to note that a recent evaluation of Philadelphia’s mentoring program for county probationers found that high-quantity and quality mentoring was associated with a significant reduction in probation revocations and a marginally significant reduction in new arrests (Taylor, 2022).

10. Examine the process for moving clients off the PSN caseload after a period of success in meeting their parole stipulations.

Parole staff noted the difficulties associated with supervising high numbers of intensive or high-risk cases, and subsequent challenges in adding on new PSN cohort members who require specialized supervision. It is important to formalize a process to step PSN Call-in clients down to lower-level supervision as early as six months into PSN, post-call-in meeting. Doing so may act as an incentive to participants encouraging adherence to stipulations, and may alleviate workload issues for agents, allowing for higher-quality supervision across clients. PSN strategy leadership should internally evaluate if and how supervision classifications have changed for Call-in participants and establish a policy or process for existing and future PSN Call-in cohorts.

11. Experiment with changes in how call-in meeting components are delivered; for instance, amplify the service provision component and somewhat decouple it from the deterrence messaging.

Both parole staff and service providers remarked that the overt presence of law enforcement, combined with the security measures necessary to ensure safety at call-in meetings, may overshadow or obscure the PSN program’s other components that encourage desistance and change. Service providers mentioned feeling uncomfortable speaking to the call-in meeting attendees after law enforcement had spoken, or unclear about what their role should be in the program. One remarked, “As a service provider, the language is different. I feel awkward providing the service to the folks after the brass has spoken.” Multiple interviewees remarked that strong deterrence messaging may impede service connection if a deterrence message is delivered immediately beforehand. One provider remarked: “I’m thinking about if I came home on parole and brass is talking down to me, even if I need to take heed of these services, my ears are going to close. Knowing how awkward they already feel, as the service provider trying to talk to them, it makes my message fall on deaf ears. [Service providers] are the light in the room but we can’t do that when the cloud is still there.”

One stakeholder suggested having the service provider discussions before the law-enforcement message. Although security is a concern, it is worth considering alternative, non-law enforcement public buildings or community spaces. (The research team did observe PSN leaders discuss this option multiple times, but each time leadership staff decided to keep the meetings at a parole field office.) Multiple parole staff expressed that they thought that for some participants already successful on parole, the tone and security of call-in meetings felt, especially to those

already engaging successfully with parole, like a preemptive punishment, obscuring the deterrence and social service components. Holding PSN events at a neutral location may mitigate this dynamic and improve deterrence messaging reception. Another idea would be to add a speaker or two who can set a less stringent and punitive tone at the outset of the meeting. Rockford, Illinois has a PSN-like program called RAVEN that starts off their meeting in a way to set a generally casual tone (Clark-Moorman et al., 2019). They start their meetings with a message from the mayor or clergy that welcomes them back to the community, saying that their debt had been paid and that they are working together to support one's reentry from prison.

12. Develop a routinized reporting method in the parole databases for Call-in participants to capture a wide range of important and relevant performance measures. If doing so within the structure of the existing databases is not possible, task a project director with collecting the requisite "new" data that captures the inputs and outputs of the program logic model.

The structure of how supervision data is captured and recorded makes it difficult to quickly generate detailed reports on the status/success of Call-in participants. This may be improved with a focused effort to develop routine internal reports that are PSN-specific. This may require coordination with parole information technology staff to explore what reporting measures are possible given the use of intersecting databases and digital interfaces.

Currently, service referrals and treatment engagement are recorded across multiple separate databases: Treatment Tracking (TT) in the Intranet, Captor case notes, and OnBase. Within the Captor system, the case notes function allows agents to record updates and notes about their contacts with clients. Agents also use Captor to document collateral contacts, such as conversations with family, neighbors, and updates from employers, and service providers. Captor case notes may also document service referral and engagement as discussed with the client or CRPA. The content and structure of case notes is largely at the discretion of the agents, and there are few standardized fields other than the date and type of contact.

Official documentation of any sort is entered into OnBase, including the PSN notification letter sent to participants. Other collateral documentation uploaded to OnBase may include paystubs and other proof of employment, or official letters from service providers regarding treatment needs and progress. This collateral documentation is not easily summarized but remains as separate documentation.

The TT system is only used for formal service referrals, typically related to the conditions of their parole, such as mental health services or drug/alcohol treatment. PSN initiation and Carey Guides requirements are also listed in TT, as well as fee reduction waivers and sanctions like GPS and curfews. In TT, agents can enter the start and end date of the service provision/treatment, and whether or not it was completed successfully. No other details are entered into TT. TT is reported to have less function than the other databases and, as one interviewee remarked, it "is difficult to navigate, there isn't much training, and it doesn't hold much information." Staff described TT as an inconvenient extra step when, for example, they

might explain the reasons for unsuccessful program completion in Captor case notes, upload documentation of the event into OnBase, and then update Treatment Tracking to note that completion was “Unsuccessful,” with no other details able to be recorded.

Research interviews revealed that agents utilize case notes differently, with varying levels of specificity or frequency of input. The average number of case notes per PSN participant in the June 2021 cohort over 10 months for each of the three PSN agents was 86, 30, and 13, respectively. This may be due in part to differing levels of supervision at a certain point, but Captor case notes themselves also vary in the detail provided. For instance, the agent with the highest average number of case notes uses structured notes for every contact, touching on key elements of their progress such as employment, drug/alcohol usage, and other concerns. The agent also copies into case notes their email chains with CRPAs or service providers regarding individuals’ referrals and program engagement. Other agents’ notes were revealed to be somewhat less structured and less frequent, as they may record notes by hand and may include multiple updates or collateral in one case note, rather than multiple separate case notes. The different usage patterns and open-text structure of Captor case notes make it difficult to quickly assess the states of all Call-in participants at a given time.

In summary, the multiple databases used to record different parole and program developments make it difficult to take a “snapshot” of the PSN program at any given time or enable routine reporting on the aggregate agent and service provider contacts and outcomes related to clients’ progress. Routinized internal supervision of the program in its entirety (rather than supervision by agent) may aid internal coordination and fidelity in implementation of the PSN program. Both agents and supervisors reported using the Contact Summary report feature to monitor caseloads, identify problems, and determine next steps. If the Contact Summary could be configured to easily pull detailed reports with agent contacts, service referrals and engagement based on PSN participation, this would give PSN strategy leadership a way to internally and independently monitor aggregate outcomes, overall program assessment and implementation processes related to both supervision and social services. Routinized reports that quantify agent contacts, service referrals and service engagement across all services would also help to determine whether PSN, as delivered, can be clearly distinguished from “business-as-usual” parole processes for high-risk individuals on parole.

Other suggestions related to data and reporting include using reporting to highlight the successes of clients and then celebrating those successes. For example, reports could be used to routinely generate the following actions of PSN Call-in clients in aggregate, either monthly or quarterly:

- Completion of Carey Guide modules;
- Completion of parole stipulations, by type;
- Completion of educational degrees, certificates and programming;
- New jobs obtained, average hourly wage at job;
- Improvements in housing situation;
- Number stepped down from intensive supervision; and

- Other success stories.

These success stories could be used to provide feedback to PSN stakeholders; this type of positive feedback process supports accountability and programmatic integrity. One stakeholder suggested that information of this nature can also be helpful in explaining the program to participants. As one parole staff person noted, if they had the data to present to new PSN Call-in cohorts: “I would to be able to say, this is a program that has helped people be successful through utilizing services.”

If this type of data reporting cannot be done within the existing database structures, we suggest hiring a staff person devoted to collecting “new” data elements and slowly building the performance measures into the parole systems over time.

Conclusion

This report summarizes the results of a process and impact analysis of the Philadelphia PSN call-in program. It is important to remind readers that the two components (process and impact) were not closely entwined with regard to assessing the same cohorts. The process evaluation took place from late 2019 through mid-2022 which encompassed the global COVID-19 pandemic; and call-in meetings were delayed until 2021. The processes and activities we wrote about were mainly those that have taken place in these recent years. Where possible, we asked stakeholders to discuss changes in the program over time and to reflect on past activities so we could attempt to interpret findings from our impact models. Fortunately, many of the stakeholders we interviewed have been involved in the program since its inception. It is also important to note that the 2021 Call-In observed by the research staff was extremely modified because of the need for social distancing, hence the number of speakers was kept to a bare minimum (e.g., three law enforcement speakers and small number of providers).

In addition, not enough time had elapsed to include the 2021 cohorts in the impact models. The impact evaluation was retrospective and covered the period from 2013 through 2019, using a 24-month follow-up period to assess recidivism of 315 individuals who attended a call-in notification meeting between 2013 and 2019. In other words, to be part of the impact models, clients had to have had the opportunity to be in PSN for 24 months. The final impact models show that PSN Call-in clients attending call-in meetings between 2013 and 2019 were *not* less likely to be rearrested or reincarcerated than a matched comparison group. The results also show that PSN Call-in clients were significantly *more* likely to have a sanction against them (either a technical violation or an arrest) than the comparison group.

To better understand the impact findings, the research team would have liked to have had data on a variety of dosage-related characteristics of supervision, changes in supervision and agent surveillance, as well as detailed information on service referrals, engagements and contacts. However, most of this information is not recorded in a structured or uniform way that is valid for and useful in retrospective evaluations. A related issue is that there is little consistency across agents in how aspects of referrals and social service-related activities are recorded, except for

those related to court-ordered requirements for supervision. It is not surprising that PFS focuses its data collection priorities on understanding the aspects of community correctional supervision related to the surveillance aspect of parole—ensuring the stipulations of one’s parole supervision are adhered to. For the most part, there are no required stipulations that clients work toward a holistic goal of advancing community rehabilitation, such as achieving job security with a living wage, residential stability, or improving one’s quality of life as the parole term continues. Should these values and goals (i.e., aspects of improved quality of life) be a core part of Philadelphia PSN, then a final recommendation from the research team would be for PSN to have a stated mission and objectives that align with these goals. Most of the PSN strategy leaders we interviewed discussed that a key objective of PSN was having holistic service opportunities and better access to services. Having a written mission statement and corollary trainings for PSN staff that align with a vision of enhanced service access and provision may facilitate follow-through on a range of activities that results in gains in service access, provision and receipt of services for parole clients, and in turn, yields measurable increases in quality of life. Looking back on the results of the PSN client surveys administered to the two 2021 cohorts, it is notable that the measures assessing perceptions of services show that over time (roughly three months after the call-in meeting), participants reported higher scores (i.e., agreement) on the item: *My parole officer provides me with opportunities to connect with community resources* (see Tables 3 and 4). Call-in participants from also reported higher scores post call-in meeting on the item: *I believe by the end of my parole period I will have a job that gives me enough income to have a good quality of life*. Although the change scores did not reach statistical significance at the conventional $p < 0.05$ level, they were marginally significant (around $p=0.10$). Given the small sample sizes, these findings are noteworthy.

We must also recognize that no one program can counter the myriad of risk factors that contribute to recidivism. Reducing recidivism is a tall order, as many tested reentry programs historically have not shown successes (Ames, 2019). The Philadelphia PSN call-in program, as it is designed, is highly focused on the call-in notification meeting itself and selected service enhancements. The recommendations put forth in this report could be used to strategize and experiment with additional components or revising existing components or experimenting with slight changes in the notification meeting process and procedures. The PSN strategy team has a long and successful history of collaboration, are data-driven, and has extensive contacts that enable them to innovate. Furthermore, opportunities for experimenting will arise as the new risk assessment tool comes online and staff are trained.

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**Appendix A. Baseline Survey of Call-in Participants
June 2021**

This is a state parole participant survey developed by researchers at Temple University. The goal of this survey is to understand your experience as a reentrant. The information gathered from this survey will be used to help understand your service needs and assist with increasing successful reentry outcomes.

The information you provide in this survey WILL NOT be shown to parole officers and will strictly only be viewed by the researchers at Temple University who are here today. Please read the following questions and answer them to the best of your ability.

1. On what date were you released from state prison? Please provide month & year: MONTH ____ YEAR _____
2. When you were released from prison, where did you live the first week out? [Choose only one]
 - Residential reentry center/CCC/CFC/halfway house
 - With family or significant other [SKIP TO Q4]
 - With friends [SKIP TO Q4]
 - A recovery house or something like it [SKIP TO Q4]
 - Other, please state where: _____
3. If you resided at a residential reentry center/CCC/CFC/halfway house, when (month/year) were you released from that facility?
 MONTH _____ YEAR _____ Did not live at a reentry center/CCC or halfway house
4. What is your current Zip code of your home address (where you live most of the time)? _____
5. Since you were released from prison, have you:
 - a) Gotten a job or started a job training program?
 No Yes → **If yes**, did your parole agent help you get the job/get into the training program?
 No Yes
 Check if same employer (exact job) you had before prison
 - b) Gone back to school or enrolled in an education program
 No Yes → **If yes**, did your parole agent help you enroll in the program?
 No Yes
 - c) Earned unemployment pay for some period of time?
 No Yes
 - d) Entered or continued a drug or alcohol treatment program
 No Yes → **If yes**, did your parole agent refer you to this program?
 No Yes
 - e) Regularly attended church, synagogue, mosque, or other religious establishments? No Yes
 - f) Started attending a counseling program?
 No Yes → **If yes**, did your parole agent refer you to the counseling program?
 No Yes

- g) *Missed* any meetings with your parole officer? No Yes
- h) Contacted any community organization for help? No Yes
- a. **If yes**, which organizations? _____
- b. **If yes**, did your parole officer refer you to any of these organizations? No Yes
- i) Since you have been released, have you asked your parole officer for help? No Yes

6. How much money do you feel you need to make per hour or per week to support yourself and/or family? Answer either per hour or week depending on what make sense to you. Fill in the amount of money you feel you need below:

_____ per hour would be a good hourly pay rate

_____ per week would be a good monthly salary

Don't know

Tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

7. The community I live in has resources that I can access.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
8. There are employment and job training programs that I can access in my community.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
9. My community has public transportation options.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
10. My community has public transportation that I can easily access/that supports my ability to succeed.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
11. My community has affordable housing.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree Don't know
12. There are health services (including mental health) available to me.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
 Don't know
13. My community has substance abuse treatment and AA services.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
 Don't know
14. Since you were released from prison, which of the following people in your life have provided you with support (check all that apply):
 Immediate family (spouse/partner, parents, adult children, siblings, grandparents)
 Other extended family members
 Friends
 Parole agents
 Community organization leaders Other—list other: _____

15. I am confident I can make the right decisions to stay out of prison.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
16. I want to do whatever it takes to stay out of prison.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
17. I believe by the end of my parole period I will have a job that gives me enough income to have a good quality of life.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
18. Parole agents do not have any business prying into my home life and relationships.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
19. Other law enforcement agencies like the police department or the prosecutor's office do not have any business prying into my home life and relationships.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
20. I think that law enforcement agencies are really serious about responding to crime and violence.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
21. I should obey the law, even if I think it is wrong.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
22. Over the last three months (April-June 2021), not counting any time at the halfway house, how often did you meet with your parole officer in-person?
 Not at all during the last three months Less than every month Every month or almost every month
 Every week or almost every week Several times a week Every day or almost every day
23. Over the last three months (April-June 2021), not counting any time at the halfway house, how often did you meet with your parole officer virtually/by computer hookup/video meeting?
 Not at all during the last three months Less than every month Every month or almost every month
 Every week or almost every week Several times a week Every day or almost every day
24. Over the last three months (April-June 2021), not counting any time at the halfway house, how often did your parole officer visit you at home?
 Not at all during the last three months Less than every month Every month or almost every month
 Every week or almost every week Several times a week Every day or almost every day
25. Over the last three months (April-June 2021), not counting any time at the halfway house, how often does your parole officer visit you at work?
 Not at all during the last three months Less than every month Every month or almost every month
 Every week or almost every week Several times a week Every day or almost every day
 I am not working

26. Over the last three months, not counting any time at the halfway house, how often does your parole officer contact you by telephone or text?
- Not at all during the last three months Less than every month Every month or almost every month
- Every week or almost every week Several times a week Every day or almost every day

Tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Think about the parole officer you have right now:

27. My parole officer provides me with opportunities to connect with community resources.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
28. My parole officer provides me with opportunities to learn job training skills.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
29. My parole officer treats me with dignity and respect.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
30. My parole officer is polite during our interactions.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
31. My parole officer is fair when making decisions about my parole plan.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
32. My parole officer gives me the opportunity to express my needs.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
33. I should obey the rules of my parole officer even if I disagree with them.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
34. Over the last three months, how many times have you participated in a required/mandated treatment program? Include any type of treatment, not just substance abuse treatment.
 Not at all during the last three months Less than every month Every month/almost every month
 Every week or almost every week Several times a week Every day or almost every day
 Not applicable/not required to go to treatment

Tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

35. The pandemic has made it hard for me to make the right decisions to stay out of prison.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
36. The pandemic has made it hard for me to connect with my parole officer.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree

37. For at least some period during the pandemic, I received COVID-19 benefits, such as stimulus checks and/or unemployment that helped me make ends meet/helped with living expenses.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree

38. I depended on COVID-19 benefits and/or unemployment since I have been home from prison, for at least some part of the past year/since I have been out of prison.
 Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

39. What is the most serious thing that would occur if you got caught:

- a) Using a gun while committing a crime:
 Warning Arrest Fine Parole Short Prison Long Prison
- b) Illegally carrying a gun:
 Warning Arrest Fine Parole Short Prison Long Prison
- c) Selling drugs:
 Warning Arrest Fine Parole Short Prison Long Prison
- d) Purchasing drugs (not counting marijuana):
 Warning Arrest Fine Parole Short Prison Long Prison

40. What is the likelihood that your case would **be transferred to federal court** if arrested for the following? Circle a percentage:

a. Using a gun while committing a crime	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
	No	Low	Some	Good	High	Completely					
	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance					
b. Illegally carrying a gun	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
	No	Low	Some	Good	High	Completely					
	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance					
c. Selling drugs	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
	No	Low	Some	Good	High	Completely					
	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance					
d. Purchasing drugs (not counting marijuana)	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
	No	Low	Some	Good	High	Completely					
	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance	Chance					

41. What is the main way you learn about punishments in the criminal justice system? **Select up to two** responses:

- Personal experience Friends People who have been in the system Television, radio
- Social media (YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, Twitter, etc.) Family
- Other advertising, like bus signs, billboards Law enforcement officers like my parole agent

We want to ask you some questions about firearms. We are NOT asking you to report on any behavior you have might have engaged in. We are trying to understand your thoughts about firearms because we know from gun sales data that there are many more firearms on the street in the last year. We remind you that no one other than the Temple researchers will see your responses.

42. I have some idea what the penalties are for carrying a gun illegally.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree Don't know

43. If I were to carry a gun, I would be constantly thinking about the penalties for illegally carrying one.
 Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree

44. Which of these would be the **most important thing** to stop you from using a gun in a crime? Select only one.
- Chances of being arrested Chances of going to state prison Chances of going to federal prison
- Concerns about your family Concern about safety of friends/others Concerns about your own safety
- How you would be treated in prison None of the above
45. Sometimes situations get worse than they have to because someone pulls a gun.
- Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
46. Sometimes there's nothing a person can do to stay out of a gun fight.
- Strongly agree Agree/mostly agree Disagree/mostly disagree Strongly disagree
47. If a convicted felon wanted to get a gun, what would be the easiest way to do it?
- Have someone else purchase it for him. Buy from a gun store using a fake identification
- Buy a gun from somebody who sells guns illegally Buy one from somebody he knows
- Steal on. Borrow one from a friend
48. Think about your neighborhood and people who may own guns. Why do people own guns in your neighborhood? Please choose only one answer...
- Mostly for protection For a job (private security/law enforcement, etc.)
- Mostly for respect Mostly for committing crimes
- Mostly for sport/hunting

THE END

Thank you so much for completing this survey!
We will have one more survey for you to fill out in about 30-60 days.