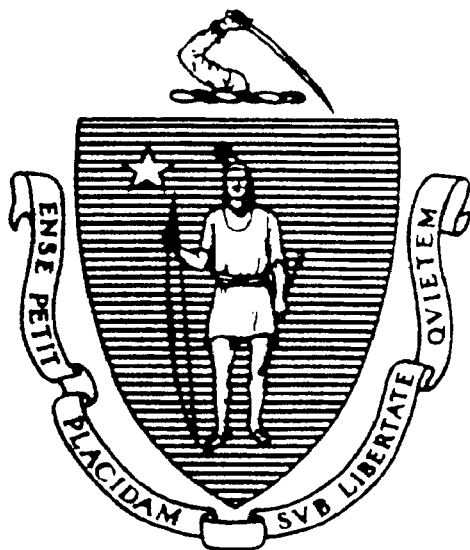


Comprehensive Recidivism Study



A Report to the

**House Committee on Ways and Means
Senate Committee on Ways and Means
Joint Committee on Criminal Justice
and the
Joint Committee on Public Safety**

Massachusetts Sentencing Commission

Honorable Robert A. Mulligan, Chairman

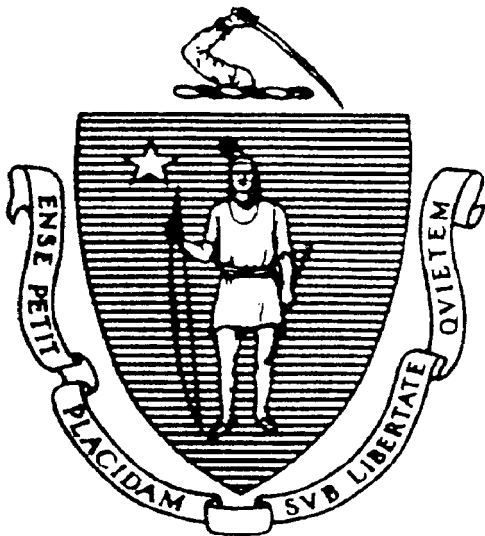
June 1, 2002

Massachusetts Sentencing Commission
90 Devonshire Street, Room 2001
Boston, MA 02109

Voice: 617-788-6867

Fax: 617-788-6885

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Massachusetts Sentencing Commission

Honorable Robert A. Mulligan, Chairman

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Office of the Commissioner of Probation

District Court Liaison

Honorable Timothy Gailey
Presiding Justice
Chelsea District Court

Staff

Francis J. Carney, Jr., Executive Director
Linda K. Holt, Research Director
Lee M. Kavanagh, Research Analyst
Valerie C. Caldwell, Executive Assistant

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Franklin County House of Correction

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J. John Ashe, Deputy Superintendent
Martha A. Lyman, Ed.D., Research Director

Norfolk County House of Correction

Sheriff Michael Bellotti
George Klier, Assistant Deputy Superintendent

Plymouth County House of Correction

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Sheriff Richard J. Rouse
Patrick Bradley, Deputy Sheriff
Stefan Lobuglio, Deputy Superintendent

Worcester County House of Correction

Sheriff John M. Flynn

Department of Correction

Michael Maloney, Commissioner
Rhiana Kohl, Ph.D., Research Director
Hollie A. Matthews Hoover, Research Analyst

Massachusetts Parole Board

Michael J. Pomarole, Chairman
Timothy F. App, Executive Director
Sallyann V. Sweeney, Director of Support Services
Joseph C. Balbo, Systems Analyst

Office of the Commissioner of Probation

John J. O'Brien, Commissioner

Office of Community Corrections

Stephen V. Price, Executive Director
Phyllis Buccio-Notaro, Statewide Program Supervisor
Vincent Lorenti, Program Specialist
John Quinn, Administrative Staff Attorney
Sam Bellistri, Regional Manager
Pamerson Ifill, Regional Manager
Kevin Kearney, Regional Manager
John Monahan, Regional Manager

Community Corrections Centers

Maureen Richitelli, Manager
Barnstable County, Barnstable

Rick Kassiotis, Jr., Manager
Essex County, Lawrence

Jack Fitzgerald, Manager
Hampden County, Springfield

Tim Simons, Manager
Hampshire County, Northampton

Shawn Murray, Manager
Middlesex County, Cambridge

Richard McDonough, Manager
Norfolk County, Quincy

Patty Campatelli, Manager
Suffolk County, Boston

Jim Wright, Manager
Worcester County, Fitchburg
Worcester County, Webster

Drug Courts

Honorable Robert A. Cornetta
Chairman, Drug Court Working Group
Associate Justice, Salem District Court

Jerome S. Berg, Court Administrator
District Court Department

Paul Q. O'Donnell, Regional Coordinator
District Court Region II

Honorable Kevin M. Herlihy
First Justice, Haverhill District Court

Honorable Joseph I. Dever
First Justice, Lynn District Court

Honorable Michael C. Lauranzano
Associate Justice, Lynn District Court

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First Justice, South Boston District Court

Criminal History Systems Board

Barry Lacroix, Executive Director

Administrative Office of the Trial Court

William Marchant
Acting Director, Fiscal Affairs

Student Interns

Amanda E. Wall, College of the Holy Cross
Kara Fielder, Northeastern University

Executive Summary

This report was prepared to meet the legislative requirement in Chapter 177 of the Acts of 2001 which directed the Massachusetts Sentencing Commission to “perform a comprehensive study on the recidivism rate of offenders.”

The completed project is the culmination of a collaborative effort of a variety of criminal justice agencies. A total of thirty different criminal justice agencies and programs contributed data to this project or assisted in the compilation of the data and report.

The study reports on a one year follow-up of a sample of 3,751 offenders representing drug courts, community corrections centers, houses of correction, Department of Correction, and the Parole Board. The study defined a recidivist as:

For offenders released from incarceration:

- an offender with a new arrest (arraignment) in the year following *release* from a correctional facility; or,
- an offender with a technical violation of probation or parole that resulted in incarceration in the year following *release* from a correctional facility;

For offenders in community corrections centers or drug court programs:

- an offender with a new arrest (arraignment) in the year following the date of *entry* into a community corrections center or drug court program; or,
- an offender with a technical violation of probation or parole that resulted in incarceration in the year following the date of *entry* into a community corrections center or drug court program.

Based on this definition, the one year recidivism rate was estimated to be 49.1% for all samples. The report discusses the method used to measure recidivism and presents data on recidivism rates for each of the criminal justice cohorts. The report provides further information on the nature of the recidivism behavior and explores the relationship between recidivism rates and program involvement, current offense, criminal history, and demographic characteristics.

Future research is suggested that would build on the model presented here but address some of the limitations of the present analysis (scope of the sample, length of the follow-up period, and limited program information).

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MASSACHUSETTS SENTENCING COMMISSION

COMPREHENSIVE RECIDIVISM STUDY

A REPORT TO THE

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
SENATE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
JOINT COMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE
AND THE
JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC SAFETY**

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 177 of the Acts of 2001 (Chapter 177), the FY2002 budget, directed the Massachusetts Sentencing Commission (Commission) to “perform a comprehensive study on the recidivism rate of offenders.” The legislature established a June 1, 2002 deadline for this study. This report was prepared to meet this legislative mandate. As a measure of the subsequent involvement of offenders in the criminal justice system following release from incarceration or following participation in a criminal justice program, recidivism is a commonly used indicator of the outcome of various criminal justice initiatives. This document reviews previous research on recidivism in Massachusetts, presents the research method used in the present analysis, and discusses the findings from this research initiative.

RECIDIVISM RATES - MASSACHUSETTS AND NATIONAL RESEARCH

Studies of recidivism are both common in the criminal justice literature and diverse in their definition and structure. For purposes of this report, numerous studies were reviewed. The studies reported here concentrate on recent findings from Massachusetts research. One national study is also reviewed.

The Department of Correction (DOC) has a long tradition of reporting recidivism rates for offenders released from DOC facilities. The most recent report presented three-year recidivism rates for offenders released in 1995. The DOC defined a recidivist as an offender re-incarcerated for at least 30 days during the three-year follow-up period.¹ This definition included those re-incarcerated after conviction of a new offense, as well as those re-incarcerated for a violation of the conditions of their parole or probation. After one year the recidivism rate was 22%; after two years the recidivism rate was 37%; and after three years the recidivism rate was 44%.² One year recidivism rates were available for prior years and had decreased from 29% for offenders released in 1990 to 22% for offenders released in 1995.³ An analysis of the long term trends in DOC recidivism rates indicated that age at incarceration was the variable most strongly associated with recidivism risk for the DOC release population.⁴ As the proportion of offenders in the high risk age group (those offenders who began their incarceration at age 25 or younger) decreased, the overall recidivism rate decreased as well.

The Hampden County Sheriff's Department initiated a research program to study the recidivism of offenders released from the correctional facilities in Hampden County with a goal to provide "objective, empirical data necessary for . . . planning, operation and evaluation."⁵ A study of the recidivism rates for offenders released in 1998 and 1999 defined a recidivist as an offender re-incarcerated during the follow-up period in a state or

¹ Hollie A. Matthews Hoover, *The Background Characteristics and Recidivism Rates of Releases from Massachusetts Correctional Institutions During 1995*, Massachusetts Department of Correction, May 2000, page 1.

² *Ibid.*, page 18.

³ *Ibid.*, page 5.

⁴ Daniel P. LeClair, *Recent Changes in Rates of Recidivism for Releases from Massachusetts State Correctional Institutions: An Exploratory Evaluation of Possible Causal Factors*, Stonehill College, Fall 1998, page 16.

⁵ Martha A. Lyman, *A Comprehensive Study of Recidivism at the Hampden County House of Correction*, Hampden County Sheriff's Department, February 23, 2001, page 1.

county correctional facility in Massachusetts for either a new offense or violation of release conditions.⁶ For those offenders released in 1998, the recidivism rate after one year was 12.0% and the recidivism rate after two years was 28%; and, for those offenders released in 1999, the recidivism rate after one year was 21.9%.⁷ The Hampden County study also reported re-arraignment rates and re-conviction rates. The proportion of offenders with a new arraignment within one year of release was 44.7% and 52.7% for the 1998 and 1999 cohorts, respectively.⁸ The proportion of offenders with a new conviction within one year of release was 23.1% and 31.7% for the 1998 and 1999 cohorts, respectively.⁹ The study attributed the change in recidivism rates between the 1998 and 1999 cohorts to a change in the definition of recidivism for parole and probation violators and to changes in the policies and practices of other criminal justice agencies.

Massachusetts is similar to other jurisdictions in the recidivism rates that have been observed by the DOC and Hampden County. A national study followed offenders released from 11 large states for a period of three years. The study found that 62.5% had been rearrested, 46.8% had been re-convicted, and 41.4% re-incarcerated by the end of the three years.¹⁰ This study also found that the rate of re-arrest was highest during the first year following release.

These studies indicate some of the important themes found in the recidivism literature: recidivism rates vary by the type of behavior that is considered (arrest, conviction or incarceration); recidivism rates vary by the length of the follow-up period; recidivism rates vary by the composition of the offender population under study; and, recidivism rates vary over time in response to changes in policy and practices in other criminal justice agencies. While the recidivism rates derived in the current analysis will not be directly comparable to these studies due to differences in the definition of recidivism, differences in the population that was considered, and differences in the sampling time period, they serve as a useful and important backdrop for the current study.

⁶ Ibid., page 3.

⁷ Ibid., pages 10 and 38.

⁸ Ibid., page 10.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Allen J. Beck and Bernard E. Shipley, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983*, Bureau of Justice Statistics, February 1997, page 1.

METHOD

This research project is the result of a collaborative effort of a number of criminal justice agencies. The approach selected for this research was based on the assumption that reliable recidivism information could be collected in a semi-automated fashion by linking a number of data-bases from cooperating criminal justice agencies in the commonwealth:

- a sample of offenders released following a period of incarceration and a sample of offenders participating in community based criminal justice programs was provided by the relevant **originating criminal justice agency** - DOC, Parole Board, sheriffs departments, drug courts, and Office of Community Corrections;
- a measure of **new arrests** was obtained by linking the relevant offender record from the originating criminal justice agency to the CARI (Court Activity Record Information) data-base. New arrests were defined as arrests and arraignments that occurred after the release from incarceration or entry date into the community based program;
- a measure of **parole violations** was obtained by linking the relevant offender record from the originating criminal justice agency to the PATS (Parole's Automated Tracking System) data-base; and,
- a measure of **probation violations** was obtained by linking the relevant offender record from the originating criminal justice agency to the CARI data-base.

This section contains a brief discussion of the sample, the data collection process, the data extraction process, and the data analysis. Additional details on the method are contained in the Appendix.

SAMPLE

Chapter 177 directed the Commission to include “offenders who have been, or currently are, incarcerated and/or sentenced to the facilities and/or programs of:

- the Department of Correction,
- the respective county houses of correction,
- the Parole Board,

- those community correction centers established pursuant to chapter 211F that have been fully operational for a period of at least one calendar year, and
- any drug courts, so-called, operating within the district courts of the commonwealth.”

Sampling Time Frame.

In order to allow for a reasonable follow-up period and to ensure that the project was completed within the time-frame established by Chapter 177, the sample was defined as offenders released / program participants during the period April 2000 through June 2000. Some of the considerations in the development of the sample were:

- The period following release / program participation was **one year**. A longer follow-up period was not feasible due to the reporting deadline, the newness of some of the programs, and the scope of the sample. While recidivism status was computed at periods of less than one year (e.g. 6 months), the data collection and analysis focused on an initial follow-up period of one year.
- Data collection for recidivism was done no earlier than 15 months following release / program participation; and,
- A release / program participant cohort of one calendar quarter allowed for a reasonable sample size of 3,751 offenders for the initial study effort.

Originating Criminal Justice Agencies.

The cooperation of the originating criminal justice agencies was essential to the identification of the release / program participation samples. There were no known data sources except the originating criminal justice agencies that could have provided this information. A total of 3,751 offender records was included in the study sample. Table 1 shows the specific sites participating in the study.

Table 1. Originating Criminal Justice Agencies Included in Study Sample

Release Populations

Department of Correction
All DOC Facilities

Houses of Correction
Franklin County House of Correction
Hampden County House of Correction
Norfolk County House of Correction
Plymouth County House of Correction
Suffolk County House of Correction
Worcester County House of Correction

Massachusetts Parole Board
All Parolees

Community Based Programs

Community Corrections Centers
Barnstable County Community Corrections Center in Barnstable
Essex County Community Corrections Center in Lawrence
Hampden County Community Corrections Center in Springfield
Hampshire County Community Corrections Center in Northampton
Middlesex County Community Corrections Center in Cambridge
Norfolk County Community Corrections Center in Quincy
Suffolk County Community Corrections Center in Boston
Worcester County Community Corrections Center in Fitchburg
Worcester County Community Corrections Center in Webster

Drug Courts
Dorchester District Court
Framingham District Court
Greenfield District Court
Haverhill District Court
Lynn District Court
Orange District Court
Roxbury District Court
South Boston District Court

Department of Correction. The DOC provided a sample of 705 offenders released during the period April 2000 through June 2000. This represented 18.8% of the study sample and included all offenders released via parole and discharge from a DOC facility. Table 2 shows additional details on the type of sentence and gender for the DOC offenders in the study sample.

Houses of Correction. Six houses of correction provided samples of offenders released during the period April 2000 through June 2000. The total sample from these six houses of correction was 2,396 representing 63.9% of the study sample. An estimate of the proportion of the house of correction population that was included in this study was derived from a five-year sample of admissions to all houses of correction. The six

participating houses of correction represented 56.3% of all admissions during the five year period and therefore it was estimated that the current study included 56.3% of all releases from houses of correction during the sample period.¹¹ Because the Massachusetts Parole Board provided data on all parolees state-wide, it was assumed that the study sample included all parolees from houses of correction and 56.3% of the discharges. Table 2 shows additional details on the type of sentence and gender for the house of correction offenders in the study sample.

Parole Board. The Parole Board provided a state-wide sample of 776 offenders released to parole supervision during the period April 2000 through June 2000. This represented 20.7% of the study sample. This sample included all offenders released to parole supervision from houses of correction and the DOC. This sample included offenders released to parole supervision from the houses of correction participating in the study as well as offenders released to parole supervision from all other houses of correction in Massachusetts. Of the 776 offenders released to parole supervision, 222 were paroled from DOC facilities, 303 were paroled from participating houses of correction, and 251 were paroled from the non-participating houses of correction. Table 2 shows additional details on the type of sentence, gender, and facility at the time of release for the offenders released to parole supervision in the study sample.

Community Corrections Centers. Eligible community corrections centers provided samples of offenders who began a community corrections center placement during the period April 2000 through June 2000. The Office of Community Corrections (OCC) was established under G.L. c. 211F. The mission of OCC is “the establishment of intermediate sanctions programs which offer a continuum of sanctions and services for probation, sheriffs, parole and the Department of Correction.”¹² The intermediate sanctions are based at the community corrections centers in operation across the state. They are described by OCC as follows:

Community Corrections Centers are community based, intensive supervision sites, which deliver bundled sanctions and services, including treatment and education, to high risk offenders via Intermediate Sanction

¹¹ Robert J. Tenaglia, *New Court Commitments to Massachusetts County Correctional Facilities During 2000*, Massachusetts Department of Correction, September 2001, page 22.

¹² Administrative Office of the Trial Court, Office of Community Corrections, *Overview of the Department*, <http://www.state.ma.us/courts/admin/occ/occoverview.html>.

Levels. Among the sanctions delivered at community corrections centers are:

- electronic monitoring
- community service
- drug & alcohol testing
- day reporting

Among the services provided at community corrections centers are:

- substance abuse treatment
- GED/ABE/ESL or comparable educational component
- communicable disease prevention education
- job readiness training and placement
- referral to Department of Public Health or Department of Mental Health service providers
- women's services
- bilingual services

Community corrections centers are designed to provide a criminal justice solution for a specific group of offenders. Intermediate Sanction Level III, IV is indicated for those offenders who possess a serious criminal history and are chronic substance abusers . . .

Intermediate Sanction Level IV is the most intense level of community based, criminal justice supervision. Sanctions and services required at this level of supervision represent a twenty-four hour restriction upon the liberty of the offender. Level IV participants are required to report to the community corrections center for four to six hours per day, six days per week. Additionally, offenders placed at Intermediate Sanction Level IV are monitored twenty-four hours per day via electronic device, required to submit to the highest category of random drug and alcohol testing, and mandated to attend two four hour community service shifts per week.

Intermediate Sanction Level III is an intense level of community-based, criminal justice supervision. Sanctions and services required at this level of supervision represent a daily imposition upon the liberty of the offender. Level III participants are required to report to the community corrections center for one to four hours per day, three to five days per

week. Offenders placed at Intermediate Sanction Level III may be monitored via electronic device. Level III also requires random drug and alcohol testing, and attendance at one four hour community service shift per week.¹³

Only those community corrections centers in operation by January 2000 were considered eligible for participation in the study and all such centers contributed data. A total of 323 offenders began participation in an eligible community corrections center during the study period. This represented 8.6% of the study sample.

Drug Courts. Eligible drug courts provided samples of offenders who began a drug court placement during the period April 2000 through June 2000. The annual report of the Trial Court describes a drug court as:

A drug court is not a separate court, but rather a special session of a District Court. The drug court session usually addresses serious drug offenders for whom a special court intervention is likely to be the last stop before incarceration. Drug court typically involves a strenuous regimen of treatment and accountability on the part of the offender, coupled with the strong personal commitment by the offender to take control of his or her life situation and eliminate drug use. Among the key elements to an effective drug court program are intensive probationary and therapeutic programming activities, frequent drug testing, and careful monitoring of progress by the drug court judge.¹⁴

Only those drug courts in operation by January 2000 were considered eligible for participation in the study and all such courts contributed data. A total of 76 offenders began participation in these eight drug courts during the study period. This represented 2.0% of the study sample. Of the 76 drug court program participants, 20 or 26.3% began the drug court program under the probation portion of a house of correction / split sentence.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, *Annual Report on the State of the Massachusetts Court System - Fiscal Year 2000*, page 98.

Criminal Justice Cohort

In each of the tables, the study sample was divided into the following criminal justice cohorts:

Community Based Program Participants:

- drug court program participants;
- community corrections centers program participants;

Offenders released after incarceration:

- house of correction sentenced / released via discharge;
- house of correction sentenced / released via parole;
- state prison sentenced / released via discharge; and,
- state prison sentenced / released via parole.

The study sample of offenders released after incarceration in a house of correction or the DOC included offenders who had served either a house of correction sentence, which ranges from one day to 2 ½ years, or a state prison sentence, which ranges from one year to life. For purposes of this analysis, recidivism rates were considered by the type of sentence for which the offender was incarcerated (house of correction or state prison) and by the type of release (parole or discharge).

As indicated in Table 2, of the 705 offenders released from DOC facilities an estimated that 492 or 69.8% had served a state prison sentence and 213 or 30.2% had served a house of correction sentence prior to release. Many female offenders serving a house of correction sentence served that sentence at a DOC facility and were released from the DOC. Some male offenders serving a house of correction sentence were transferred to the DOC and released from a DOC facility. Of the 213 offenders released from the DOC who had served a house of correction sentence, 165 or 77.5% were female and 48 or 22.5% were male. For purposes of this analysis, those offenders released from a DOC facility after serving a house of correction sentence were included in the house of correction sentence cohort. The statistical appendix contains tables that disaggregate those offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence by the correctional custody at the time of release (DOC or house of correction).

As indicated in Table 2, of the 2,396 offenders released from houses of correction an estimated 2,393 or 99.9% had served a house of correction sentence and 3 or 0.1% had served a state prison sentence prior to release. For purposes of this analysis, the three

offenders released from a house of correction after serving a state prison sentence were included in the state prison sentence cohort. The statistical appendix contains tables that disaggregate those offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence by the correctional custody at the time of release (DOC or house of correction).

Finally, as indicated in Table 2, there were 251 offenders released by parole from the houses of correction that did not participate in the study. Of these 248 were released by parole after serving a house of correction sentence and 3 were released by parole after serving a state prison sentence. The proportion of offenders released by parole varied by type of sentence and correctional custody at the time of release:

- 32.3% of the offenders released from a DOC facility after serving a state prison sentence were paroled and 67.7% were discharged;
- 29.6% of the offenders released from a DOC facility after serving a house of correction sentence were paroled and 70.4% were discharged; and,
- 12.5% of the offenders released from houses of correction after serving a house of correction sentence were paroled and 87.5% were discharged.

It should be noted that offenders with house of correction sentences of less than two months were not eligible for parole. In FY 2000 an estimated 29.3% of all house of correction sentences were for less than two months.¹⁵

¹⁵ Massachusetts Sentencing Commission, *Survey of Sentencing Practices*, November 2001, page 35.

Table 2. Type of Sentence and Correctional Custody at Time of Release, Correctional Releases

Custody at Time of Release and Gender	House of Correction Sentence			State Prison Sentence			Total
	Discharge	Parole	Total	Discharge	Parole	Total	
Released from DOC Facility							
Female	127	38	165	14	9	23	188
Male	23	25	48	319	150	469	517
Sub-Total	150	63	213	333	159	492	705
Released from Participating House of Correction							
Female	132	43	175	0	0	0	175
Male	1961	257	2,218	0	3	3	2,221
Sub-Total	2,093	300	2,393	0	3	3	2,396
Released by Parole from Other House of Correction							
Female	0	22	22	0	1	1	23
Male	0	226	226	0	2	2	228
Sub-Total	0	248	248	0	3	3	251
Total	2,243	611	2,854	333	165	498	3,352

DATA COLLECTION

The data that was collected can be classified in three general areas:

- **recidivism** - those measures of the criminal justice involvement by the offender in the period following release / program participation;
- **program involvement** - those measures (e.g. security level, intermediate sanction level) that described the criminal justice program in which the offender was involved prior to release or during program participation; and,
- **offender background** - those demographic, offense, and criminal history variables that describe the offender and that the research literature suggested were related to the risk of re-offending.

Recidivism Variables

There are many different measures of recidivism. The length of the follow-up period may vary. In the period following release / program participation, recidivism can include measures of new criminal activity as well as technical violations of supervised release. In terms of new criminal activity, recidivism can be defined from the presence of a new arrest or new conviction, to a new sentence to incarceration. In general, recidivism rates will vary according to the length of the follow-up period and the definition of recidivism used. The study defined a recidivist as:

For offenders released from incarceration:

- an offender with a new arrest (arraignment) in the year following *release* from a correctional facility; or,
- an offender with a technical violation of probation or parole that resulted in incarceration in the year following *release* from a correctional facility;

For offenders in community corrections centers or drug court programs:

- an offender with a new arrest (arraignment) in the year following the date of *entry* into a community corrections center or drug court program; or,
- an offender with a technical violation of probation or parole that resulted in incarceration in the year following the date of *entry* into a community corrections center or drug court program.

For all offenders in the sample new arrest information was collected from the CARI data-base, probation violation information was collected from the CARI data-base, and parole violation information was collected from the Parole Board file. Those offenders under parole or probation supervision may be returned to custody as the result of a new arrest or some other technical violation of the conditions of parole or probation. Technical violations can range from curfew violations, failure to attend and complete required programs, or failing a drug test. Recidivism rates for offenders under parole or probation supervision include returns to custody for technical violations in addition to new arrests that occurred during the follow-up period. While considered as part of the overall recidivism rates, the ability to return an offender to custody on a technical violation before an arrest for a new crime is an important tool to promote public safety.

Program Involvement

Chapter 177 directed that the study consider the relationship between criminal justice programs and recidivism rates:

. . . said study shall include, but not be limited to, information regarding recidivism rates, by program and facility, including an analysis detailing the effect of pre-release, post-release, diversionary and intermediate sanction rehabilitative/supervisory programs on said recidivism rates . . .

Many of the originating criminal justice agencies provided programs and facilities at a variety of security levels. Where available, this information was included in the analysis.

Offender Background

It was important to consider offender background variables in relation to observed recidivism rates. The study included demographic, current offense, and criminal history information. The study did not develop a comparison sample or control group. It was not assumed that these were comparable offender groups with respect to recidivism risk. Throughout the analysis, comparisons were made among the populations from the various originating criminal justice agencies that indicate the substantial differences in these populations that were related to the observed differences in recidivism rates.

The **demographic** characteristics of the population that were collected included: gender, race / ethnicity, and age. The source of offender demographic information was the CARI data-base.

The **current offense and criminal history** associated with the offender's placement in the originating criminal justice agency were collected from the adult and juvenile case records in the CARI data-base. The case records were identified through a link via the docket number where available.

DATA EXTRACTION AND DATA LINKAGES.

Originating criminal justice agencies were asked to provide a minimum set of data elements in order to minimize the disruption of the research to their on-going operations. The data elements included the offender's name and date of release or date of program entry. The criminal justice agency also provided either the offender's date of birth or the offender's PCF number. If the participating agency provided the offender's date of birth, the name and date of birth were used to extract the PCF number from the CARI data-base. The PCF number was then used to establish the link between the various data sets. The minimum set of required data elements was sufficient to establish a link with the CARI data-base and to establish a starting point for the follow-up period. In all cases, the resulting case extract was validated in order to ensure that a unique name, date of birth, and PCF number match was made.

Of all cases submitted by participating agencies, only five cases or 0.1% were excluded from the sample because they were not identified in the CARI data-base. This method resulted in a very complete sample for the recidivism study.

DATA ANALYSIS

Some discussion of how recidivism rates were calculated, how the sample total was estimated, and how the sentencing guidelines grid was used as a framework for some sections of this analysis, may be helpful to the interpretation of the statistical information.

Recidivism Rates. In most of the tables in the report, three columns are presented: the total number of cases, the total number of recidivists, and the recidivism rate. The recidivism rate is expressed as the percentage of offenders classified as recidivists of the total population of offenders. These columns are repeated for each of the criminal justice cohorts in the study.

Sample Totals. In each of the tables a sample total has been calculated. No weights were used in calculating the total. This total is only representative of the sample used for

this particular study. Because not every criminal justice program was included in the analysis, the total is not representative of all offenders in the criminal justice system. In particular, not all offenders discharged from houses of correction during the sample period were included in the study sample. Further, only those drug courts and community corrections centers established prior to January 2000 were considered eligible for the study. A sample total was also calculated for the house of correction and state prison sentenced cohorts. No adjustment was made to the house of correction portion of the sample in estimating totals, even though this sample includes all offenders paroled from the houses of correction and an estimated 56.3% of the offenders discharged from the houses of correction.

Sentencing Guidelines Grid. The proposed sentencing guidelines are in the form of a sentencing guidelines grid which has been used as a framework for some parts of the analysis of the recidivism data. The vertical axis of the grid is comprised of nine levels of offense seriousness, ranging from level 1, the lowest level of offense seriousness, to level 9, the highest level of offense seriousness. The horizontal axis of the grid is comprised of five categories of defendant criminal history, ranging from criminal history category A, “No/Minor Record” to criminal history category E, “Serious Violent Record”. The resulting grid, comprising a total of forty-five cells, is also divided into three sentencing zones: the “incarceration zone”; the “discretionary zone”; and, the “intermediate sanction” zone. The sentencing guidelines grid also contains a brief description of Level III and Level IV intermediate sanctions which are provided by the community corrections centers. The sentencing guidelines grid is shown in Figure 1. A detailed description of proposed sentencing guidelines can be found in the *Report to the General Court*.¹⁶ The definition of the criminal history groups is contained in the Appendix.

STUDY LIMITATIONS


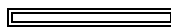

There are certain limitations in the design of this research that should be acknowledged before presenting the findings. There was no possibility of utilizing an experimental design whereby offenders could be randomly assigned to treatment and control groups

¹⁶ Massachusetts Sentencing Commission, *Report to the General Court*, April 1996.

Figure 1. Sentencing Guidelines Grid

Level	Illustrative Offense	Sentence Range				
9	Murder	Life	Life	Life	Life	Life
8	Rape of Child with Force Aggravated Rape Armed Burglary	96 - 144 Mos.	108 - 162 Mos.	120 - 180 Mos.	144 - 216 Mos.	204 - 306 Mos.
7	Armed Robbery (Gun) Rape Mayhem	60 - 90 Mos.	68 - 102 Mos.	84 - 126 Mos.	108 - 162 Mos.	160 - 240 Mos.
6	Manslaughter (Invol) Armed Robbery (No gun) A&B DW (Sign. injury)	40 - 60 Mos.	45 - 67 Mos.	50 - 75 Mos.	60 - 90 Mos.	80 - 120 Mos.
5	Unarmed Robbery Stalking (Viol. of Order) Unarmed Burglary Larceny (\$50,000+)	12 - 36 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II	24 - 36 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II	36 - 54 Mos.	48 - 72 Mos.	60 - 90 Mos.
4	Larceny From a Person A&B DW (Mod. injury) B&E (Dwelling) Larceny (\$10,000-\$50,000)	0 - 24 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II	3 - 30 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II	6 - 30 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II	20 - 30 Mos.	24 - 36 Mos.
3	A&B DW (No/minor injury) B&E (Not dwelling) Larceny (\$250 to \$10,000)	0 - 12 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 15 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 18 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 24 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II	6 - 24 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II
2	Assault Larceny Under \$250	IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 6 Mos. IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 6 Mos. IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 9 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 12 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I
1	Operate After Suspension Disorderly Conduct Vandalism	IS-II IS-I	IS-III IS-II IS-I	IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 3 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I	0 - 6 Mos. IS-IV IS-III IS-II IS-I
	Criminal History Scale	A No/Minor Record	B Moderate Record	C Serious Record	D Violent or Repetitive	E Serious Violent

Sentencing Zone

	Incarceration Zone
	Discretionary Zone (Incarceration/Intermediate Sanctions)
	Intermediate Sanction Zone

Intermediate Sanction Level

IS-IV	24-Hour Restriction
IS-III	Daily Accountability
IS-II	Standard Supervision
IS-I	Financial Accountability

The numbers in each cell represent the range from which the judge selects the maximum sentence (Not More Than);
The minimum sentence (Not Less Than) is 2/3rds of the maximum sentence and constitutes the initial parole eligibility date.

(e.g., for drug court or community corrections participants) or of matching offenders participating in certain programs with similar non-participating offenders for comparison purposes in the follow-up period. This is significant because the research did indicate some important differences in the characteristics of offenders in the various criminal justice cohorts - including differences on factors that are highly associated with recidivism risk. Therefore, it would not be valid to simply compare overall recidivism rates across the criminal justice cohorts as a measure of the relative effectiveness of these agencies or initiatives. This research was not designed to be an evaluation of the programs or agencies involved. Rather, the goal was to document outcomes on one dimension - recidivism - of the many dimensions that could be studied regarding these programs or agencies.

Time and resource constraints also led to other limitations. It was not possible to compile detailed program participation data on offenders in the various cohorts so that the relationship between the degree of program involvement and recidivism could be more fully explored. For some cohorts - e.g., drug courts - the sample size was fairly small. The one year follow-up period was relatively brief and the use of arrest as the primary indicator of recidivism poses some problems (some are found not guilty or have their charges dismissed).

While this research has its limitations, the fact that some thirty criminal justice agencies and programs could work together to meet the mandate of the Legislature and produce in a timely fashion a comprehensive recidivism study which adopts a uniform definition of recidivism and systematically applies it to offenders in different jurisdictions is a noteworthy accomplishment.

FINDINGS

The analysis of recidivism covers four major areas. First, the overall findings on recidivism rates are presented. Second, recidivism rates are considered in the context of program related variables. This is done separately for the major program groups in the study: correctional facilities (DOC and the houses of correction, including paroles and discharges), community corrections centers, and drug courts. Third, recidivism rates are considered in relation to the demographic characteristics of the population. Some comparisons of the demographic composition of the various criminal justice cohorts are provided, especially as they are related to recidivism rates. Finally, recidivism rates are considered in relation to the offender's current offense, criminal history and placement on the proposed sentencing guidelines grid.

RECIDIVISM RATES

The definition of a recidivist used for this analysis was:

For offenders released from incarceration:

- an offender with a new arrest (arraignment) in the year following *release* from a correctional facility; or,
- an offender with a technical violation of probation or parole that resulted in incarceration in the year following *release* from a correctional facility;

For offenders in community corrections centers or drug court programs:

- an offender with a new arrest (arraignment) in the year following the date of *entry* into a community corrections center or drug court program; or,
- an offender with a technical violation of probation or parole that resulted in incarceration in the year following the date of *entry* into a community corrections center or drug court program.

In this section, the overall recidivism rates are discussed along with a discussion of the timing of the recidivist behavior and a description of that behavior.

Type of Recidivist

The overall recidivism rate was estimated to be 49.1% within one year of release or program participation. Of the 3,751 offenders in the sample, 1,841 or 49.1% met the definition of a recidivist.

Table 3 shows the manner in which offenders were classified as recidivists. The most common reason for classifying an offender as a recidivist was one or more new arrests / arraignments during the one year follow-up period. Of the 3,751 offenders in the sample, an estimated 1,668 or 44.5% had one or more new arrests during the follow-up period. The proportion of offenders with one or more new arrests was lower for the community based programs: 38.2% of the drug court participants had one or more new arrests and 39.3% of the community corrections center participants had one or more new arrests. Of the incarcerated offenders, the proportion of offenders with one or more new arrests was lower among those released via parole than those offenders who were discharged. Of the offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence, 49.8% of those discharged had one or more new arrests compared to 38.5% of those released by parole; and, of the

offenders released after serving a state prison sentence, 36.3% of those discharged had one or more new arrests compared to 23.6% of those released by parole.

Other offenders had no new arrests but were classified as a recidivist solely on the basis of a technical violation of parole or probation. Of all offenders in the sample, 173 or 4.6% were classified as recidivists based on a technical violation. Because all offenders released by parole and all community corrections center and drug court program participants were under supervision for at least part of the follow-up period, they were expected to be subject to a higher rate of violation activity.

As indicated in Table 3, the proportion of offenders classified as recidivists based on technical violations was higher for the community based programs: 11.8% of the drug court participants were classified as a recidivist based on a technical violation and 12.7% of the community corrections center participants were classified as a recidivist based on a technical violation. Of the incarcerated offenders, the proportion of offenders classified as recidivists based on a technical violation was higher among those released via parole than those offenders who were discharged. Of the offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence, 1.7% of those discharged were technical violators compared to 8.7% of those released by parole; and, of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence, 0.0% of those discharged were technical violators compared to 18.8% of those released by parole.

The nature of the new charges for which the offender was arraigned during the follow-up period was also considered. The first characteristic of the new offense behavior that was considered was whether the new charge was a felony or misdemeanor. In Massachusetts, a felony is any offense for which the offender can be sentenced to state prison and misdemeanors are all other offenses.

Table 3 shows the felony / misdemeanor breakdown associated with the most serious new offense from among all of the charges for which an offender was arrested / arraigned during the one year follow-up period. Of the 3,751 offenders in the sample, for 784 or 20.9% the most serious new offense was a felony and for 884 or 23.6% the most serious new offense was a misdemeanor. The proportion of offenders whose most serious new arrest offense was classified as a felony varied by criminal justice cohort. For example, of the community corrections center participants, 46 or 14.2% had a felony as the most serious new offense.

Table 3. Recidivism Classification by Criminal Justice Cohort

Type of Recidivist	Sample Total		Drug Courts		Community Corrections Centers		House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence					
							Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Recidivism Rate	1,841	49.1%	38	50.0%	168	52.0%	1,156	51.5%	288	47.1%	1,444	50.6%	121	36.3%	70	42.4%	191	38.4%
One or More Arrests	1,668	44.5%	29	38.2%	127	39.3%	1,117	49.8%	235	38.5%	1,352	47.4%	121	36.3%	39	23.6%	160	32.1%
<i>Most serious:</i>																		
felony	784	20.9%	15	19.7%	46	14.2%	530	23.6%	104	17.0%	634	22.2%	67	20.1%	22	13.3%	89	17.9%
misdemeanor	884	23.6%	14	18.4%	81	25.1%	587	26.2%	131	21.4%	718	25.2%	54	16.2%	17	10.3%	71	14.3%
No Arrests / Technical	173	4.6%	9	11.8%	41	12.7%	39	1.7%	53	8.7%	92	3.2%	0	0.0%	31	18.8%	31	6.2%
Non-Recidivist	1,910	50.9%	38	50.0%	155	48.0%	1,087	48.5%	323	52.9%	1,410	49.4%	212	63.7%	95	57.6%	307	61.6%
Total	3,751	100.0%	76	100.0%	323	100.0%	2,243	100.0%	611	100.0%	2,854	100.0%	333	100.0%	165	100.0%	498	100.0%

Time Until Recidivism

The behavior that was associated with the offender being classified as a recidivist could occur at any point during the one year follow-up period. Offenders were considered as recidivists if there was any arrest in the one year follow-up period regardless of the parole or program status at the time of the new arrest. For many offenders released to parole, especially those released after serving a house of correction sentence, the period of parole supervision terminated before the end of the one year follow-up period. Similarly, for offenders in community corrections center programs, where program cycles typically run for 12 weeks, program participation was expected to be completed before the end of the one year follow-up period. For this reason, Table 4 shows the relationship between new arrests, parole supervision status, and participation status for the parole and community corrections center cohorts.

Of those offenders paroled with a house of correction sentence, 235 (38.5%) had one or more new arrests. However, the new arrest occurred after the end of the parole supervision for 160 offenders. Of those paroled with a state prison sentence, 39 (23.6%) had one or more new arrests and five occurred after the end of the period of parole supervision.

Of the 127 offenders participating in a community corrections center program with one or more new arrests, 27 occurred prior to program completion / termination, 31 occurred after program completion / termination, and the completion / termination date was not available for 69 offenders.

Table 5 shows the time until the recidivism behavior by criminal justice cohort. The recidivism rates that are shown in Table 5 can be interpreted as interim or cumulative recidivism rates. This data demonstrates the relationship between the length of the follow-up period and estimated recidivism rates; that is, longer follow-up periods will be associated with higher recidivism rates. Comparisons between rates might also change over time. For example, when comparing the offenders in the community corrections center programs with the offenders released from houses of correction, the recidivism rate for the community corrections center programs was higher initially but the difference between the rates declined over the follow-up period.

Table 4. New Arrest Status, Parole Supervision Status, and Community Corrections Center Participation Status

Time of New Arrest	Community Corrections Centers		House Parole Sample		State Parole Sample	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No New Arrests	196	60.7%	376	61.5%	126	76.4%
New Arrest - before end of parole / program	27	8.4%	75	12.3%	34	20.6%
New Arrest - after end of parole / program	31	9.6%	160	26.2%	5	3.0%
New Arrest - completion date not provided	69	21.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Sub-Total	127	39.3%	235	38.5%	39	23.6%
Total	323	100.0%	611	100.0%	165	100.0%

Table 5. Time Until Recidivism Incident by Criminal Justice Cohort

Time Until Recidivism Incident	Sample Total (n = 3751)		Drug Courts (n = 76)		Community Corrections Centers (n = 323)		House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence					
	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	Discharge (n = 2243)		Parole (n = 611)		Sample Total (n = 2854)		Discharge (n = 333)		Parole (n = 165)		Sample Total (n = 498)	
							New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate	New Recidivists	Cumulative Recidivism Rate
Less than 1 month	223	5.9%	4	5.3%	27	8.4%	147	6.6%	31	5.1%	178	6.2%	8	2.4%	6	3.6%	14	2.8%
1 to 2 months	219	11.8%	9	17.1%	23	15.5%	133	12.5%	38	11.3%	171	12.2%	11	5.7%	5	6.7%	16	6.0%
2 to 3 months	215	17.5%	7	26.3%	19	21.4%	138	18.6%	26	15.5%	164	18.0%	17	10.8%	9	12.1%	26	11.2%
3 to 4 months	187	22.5%	2	28.9%	21	27.9%	113	23.7%	29	20.3%	142	23.0%	12	14.4%	10	18.2%	22	15.7%
4 to 5 months	196	27.7%	3	32.9%	14	32.2%	131	29.5%	25	24.4%	156	28.4%	15	18.9%	7	22.4%	22	20.1%
5 to 6 months	148	31.7%	3	36.8%	15	36.8%	98	33.9%	19	27.5%	117	32.5%	9	21.6%	4	24.8%	13	22.7%
6 to 7 months	128	35.1%	2	39.5%	10	39.9%	80	37.4%	19	30.6%	99	36.0%	11	24.9%	6	28.5%	17	26.1%
7 to 8 months	116	38.2%	2	42.1%	7	42.1%	69	40.5%	24	34.5%	93	39.2%	11	28.2%	3	30.3%	14	28.9%
8 to 9 months	116	41.3%	3	46.1%	11	45.5%	70	43.6%	21	38.0%	91	42.4%	7	30.3%	4	32.7%	11	31.1%
9 to 10 months	103	44.0%	1	47.4%	9	48.3%	67	46.6%	14	40.3%	81	45.3%	7	32.4%	5	35.8%	12	33.5%
10 to 11 months	88	46.4%	0	47.4%	8	50.8%	43	48.6%	24	44.2%	67	47.6%	7	34.5%	7	40.0%	14	36.3%
11 to 12 months	102	49.1%	2	50.0%	4	52.0%	67	51.5%	18	47.1%	85	50.6%	6	36.3%	4	42.4%	10	38.4%
Non-Recidivists	1,910		38		155		1,087		323		1,410		212		95		307	

New Arrest Offenses

Further characteristics of the new charges that occurred during the follow-up period were also considered. In this section the offense seriousness level and the type of offense are studied.

The offense seriousness level of all new arrest offenses was considered according to the ranking of offenses proposed by the Sentencing Commission. Table 6 shows the level of the most seriousness new arrest offense by criminal justice cohort. For all offenders with one or more new arrests, the most serious new arrests were classified at level 4 through 9 for 21.0% of the offenders and at level 1 through 3 for 78.8% of the offenders. The seriousness of the new arrests varied by criminal justice cohort. For example, of the offenders with one or more new arrests, only 10.3% of the drug court program participants with one or more new arrests had a new arrest at offense seriousness level 4 or above. In contrast, of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence with one or more new arrests, 30.6% had a new arrest at offense seriousness level 4 or above.

For those offenders with one or more new arrests, the most serious offense was classified by type of offense. As shown in Table 7, for all offenders with one or more new arrests, 462 or 27.7% were charged with an offense against the person or sex offense as the most serious new arrest offense and 1,206 or 72.3% were charged with some other offense (property, drug, motor vehicle, etc.) as the most serious new offense.

Table 6. Offense Seriousness Level of Most Serious New Arrest Offense by Criminal Justice Cohort

Level of Most Serious Offense	Sample Total		Drug Courts		Community Corrections Centers		House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence							
							Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
9	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8	6	0.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	0.4%	0	0.0%	4	0.3%	1	0.8%	1	2.6%	2	1.3%		
7	7	0.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	0.5%	0	0.0%	6	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	2.6%	1	0.6%		
6	31	1.9%	0	0.0%	4	3.1%	23	2.1%	1	0.4%	24	1.8%	2	1.7%	1	2.6%	3	1.9%		
5	73	4.4%	0	0.0%	4	3.1%	47	4.2%	13	5.5%	60	4.4%	8	6.6%	1	2.6%	9	5.6%		
4	232	13.9%	3	10.3%	15	11.8%	163	14.6%	17	7.2%	180	13.3%	26	21.5%	8	20.5%	34	21.3%		
3	652	39.1%	11	37.9%	47	37.0%	449	40.2%	90	38.3%	539	39.9%	41	33.9%	14	35.9%	55	34.4%		
2	407	24.4%	10	34.5%	38	29.9%	257	23.0%	67	28.5%	324	24.0%	27	22.3%	8	20.5%	35	21.9%		
1	256	15.3%	5	17.2%	19	15.0%	166	14.9%	45	19.1%	211	15.6%	16	13.2%	5	12.8%	21	13.1%		
Not Assigned	3	0.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.1%	2	0.9%	3	0.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		
Total	1,668	100.0%	29	100.0%	127	100.0%	1,117	100.0%	235	100.0%	1,352	100.0%	121	100.0%	39	100.0%	160	100.0%		

% Level 4+	21.0%	10.3%	18.1%	21.8%	13.2%	20.3%	30.6%	30.8%	30.6%
% Level 1-3	78.8%	89.7%	81.9%	78.1%	86.0%	79.4%	69.4%	69.2%	69.4%

Table 7. Type of Offense of Most Serious New Arrest Offense by Criminal Justice Cohort

Type of Offense	Sample Total		Drug Courts		Community Corrections Centers		House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence					
							Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Person	439	26.3%	2	6.9%	31	24.4%	326	29.2%	43	18.3%	369	27.3%	29	24.0%	8	20.5%	37	23.1%
Sex	23	1.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	17	1.5%	3	1.3%	20	1.5%	1	0.8%	1	2.6%	2	1.3%
Property	426	25.5%	15	51.7%	26	20.5%	267	23.9%	77	32.8%	344	25.4%	30	24.8%	11	28.2%	41	25.6%
Drug	313	18.8%	5	17.2%	26	20.5%	206	18.4%	40	17.0%	246	18.2%	27	22.3%	9	23.1%	36	22.5%
Motor Vehicle	294	17.6%	7	24.1%	29	22.8%	183	16.4%	44	18.7%	227	16.8%	23	19.0%	8	20.5%	31	19.4%
Other	173	10.4%	0	0.0%	14	11.0%	118	10.6%	28	11.9%	146	10.8%	11	9.1%	2	5.1%	13	8.1%
Total	1668	100.0%	29	100.0%	127	100.0%	1117	100.0%	235	100.0%	1352	100.0%	121	100.0%	39	100.0%	160	100.0%

PROGRAMS, SECURITY, AND COMMUNITY RELEASE

Exposure to the criminal justice programs varied for the offenders in the study sample. The community based program samples included offenders who dropped out of the program after a brief stay as well as offenders who successfully completed the program after many weeks or months of participation. The correctional release samples included offenders incarcerated for varying lengths of time in a wide range of security settings. The relationship between recidivism rates and the nature of the criminal justice placement are considered in this section. For those offenders released from the DOC or houses of correction, the security level at the time of release was considered. For community corrections centers, the intermediate sanction level, program completion status, and length of time in the program were considered. For drug courts, the completion status and length of time in the program were considered.

Correctional Facilities

For many offenders released from correctional facilities, the security level of the offender at the time of release was available. All security levels were defined by the contributing criminal justice agency and may not be comparable across the various criminal justice cohorts. As indicated in Table 8, the recidivism rates of those offenders released from lower security facilities were less than the recidivism rates of those offenders released from higher security facilities. For all offenders, it was estimated that the recidivism rate for releases from lower security facilities was 39.9% and the recidivism rate for releases from higher security facilities was 53.1%. This pattern held for each of the correctional cohorts.

Table 8. Recidivism Status by Security Level at Time of Release and Criminal Justice Cohort, Correctional Releases

Security Level	Sample Total			House of Correction Sentence									State Prison Sentence								
				Discharge			Parole			Sample Total			Discharge			Parole			Sample Total		
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Maximum	176	80	45.5%	127	61	48.0%	2	1	50.0%	129	62	48.1%	46	18	39.1%	1	0	0.0%	47	18	38.3%
Medium	1046	569	54.4%	707	412	58.3%	97	55	56.7%	804	467	58.1%	180	69	38.3%	62	33	53.2%	242	102	42.1%
Medium/Minimum	82	44	53.7%	67	35	52.2%	15	9	60.0%	82	44	53.7%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Sub-Total Secure	1304	693	53.1%	901	508	56.4%	114	65	57.0%	1015	573	56.5%	226	87	38.5%	63	33	52.4%	289	120	41.5%
Minimum	475	194	40.8%	297	125	42.1%	90	41	45.6%	387	166	42.9%	57	20	35.1%	31	8	25.8%	88	28	31.8%
Minimum/Pre-release	113	41	36.3%	32	11	34.4%	13	6	46.2%	45	17	37.8%	37	11	29.7%	31	13	41.9%	68	24	35.3%
Pre-release	176	70	39.8%	76	34	44.7%	53	21	39.6%	129	55	42.6%	13	3	23.1%	34	12	35.3%	47	15	31.9%
Sub-Total Lower	764	305	39.9%	405	170	42.0%	156	68	43.6%	561	238	42.4%	107	34	31.8%	96	33	34.4%	203	67	33.0%
Not Available	1284	637	49.6%	937	478	51.0%	341	155	45.5%	1278	633	49.5%	0	0	N.A.	6	4	66.7%	6	4	66.7%
Total	3352	1635	48.8%	2243	1156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2854	1444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

Community Corrections Centers

Table 9 shows recidivism status by selected program characteristics of community corrections center participants. Because all of these data elements were not required, the proportion of unknowns varies extensively. However, the data does point to some interesting preliminary trends. For example, the recidivism rate for program completers (39.5%) was lower than the recidivism rate for those who terminated the program (68.3%) - some of whom were terminated due to a new arrest or other violation - and the recidivism rate was lower for those who were in the program longer. Further research should place more emphasis on collecting information on the program level and the program completion / termination information for this population.

Drug Courts

Table 10 shows recidivism status by selected program characteristics of drug court participants, completion status and length of time in the program. Many of the drug court program participants were still in the program at the end of the one year follow-up period. Offenders in the “other” category included inappropriate referrals, medical problems, and probation transfers.

As was the case with the community corrections centers cohort, the recidivism rate was much lower for those who completed the program (21.4%) as well as for those who were still in the program at the end of the one year follow-up period (16.7%). In light of these findings, further research should place more emphasis on the distinction between program completers and those offenders who terminated the drug court program.

Table 9. Recidivism Status by Selected Program Characteristics, Community Corrections Center Participants

Program Characteristic	Community Corrections Centers		
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Beginning Level			
Level IV	81	40	49.4%
Level III	192	97	50.5%
Not Available	50	31	62.0%
Total	323	168	52.0%
Referral Source			
Probation	212	123	58.0%
Sheriff	24	12	50.0%
Parole	1	0	0.0%
Not Available	86	33	38.4%
Total	323	168	52.0%
Completion Type			
Completion	43	17	39.5%
Termination	41	28	68.3%
Not Available	239	123	51.5%
Total	323	168	52.0%
Change in Level			
Level IV / no change	11	4	36.4%
Level IV / Level III	6	1	16.7%
Level III / no change	33	17	51.5%
Not Available	273	146	53.5%
Total	323	168	52.0%
Time in Program			
1 Month or Less	47	30	63.8%
2 to 4 Months	74	41	55.4%
5 Months or More	18	7	38.9%
Not Available	184	90	48.9%
Total	323	168	52.0%

Table 10. Recidivism Status by Selected Program Characteristics, Drug Court Participants

Program Characteristic	Drug Courts		
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Completion Type			
Completion	14	3	21.4%
Still in Program at End of Year	18	3	16.7%
Termination	20	16	80.0%
Other Type	4	3	75.0%
Not Available	20	13	65.0%
Total	76	38	50.0%
Time in Program			
1 Month or Less	4	2	50.0%
2 to 4 Months	7	6	85.7%
5 Months or More	20	10	50.0%
Still in Program at End of Year	16	2	12.5%
Not Available	29	18	62.1%
Total	76	38	50.0%

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFENDERS

The demographic characteristics of the offenders available for the analysis included: gender, age, and race / ethnicity.

Gender

Table 11 shows recidivism status by gender and criminal justice cohort. Overall, there were 446 (11.9%) female offenders and 3,305 (88.1%) male offenders in the sample. The proportion of female offenders varied across the various criminal justice cohorts:

- 30.3% of the drug court program participants were female;
- 12.7% of the offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence were female;
- 11.5% of the community corrections center program participants were female; and,
- 4.8% of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence were female.

Overall, the recidivism rate for female offenders was slightly lower than that of male offenders (47.3% and 49.3%, respectively). This pattern held for all of the criminal justice cohorts. Further research could consider some of the specialized community corrections centers for female offenders that have been developed by the Office of Community Corrections but were not in operation early enough to be included in this study.

Age

Age was calculated at the time of release from a correctional facility or the time the offender began the community based program. The age of offenders in the sample ranged from 17 to 73 years. The mean age was 32.0 years and the median age was 31 years.

The age of offenders varied by criminal justice cohort. To the extent that the particular criminal justice agency services those younger “high-risk” offenders, it was expected that the corresponding recidivism rate would be higher. Those offenders in drug courts and those offenders released from the DOC with state prison sentences were the oldest on average, while those offenders participating in community corrections centers were the youngest on average:

- 57.6% of the community corrections center program participants were 29 years or younger;
- 45.1% of offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence were 29 years or younger;
- 34.1% of offenders released after serving a state prison sentence were 29 years or younger; and,
- 23.7% of the drug court program participants were 29 years or younger.

Table 12 shows recidivism rates by age. Younger offenders were more likely to be classified as recidivists than older offenders. The recidivism rate for offenders under 20 years of age was 61.5% while the recidivism rate for offenders age 50 to 59 was 25.5%. For all offenders age 29 or younger, the recidivism rate was 55.2% and for all offenders age 30 and older, the recidivism rate was 44.2%. This pattern held for all of the criminal justice cohorts with the exception of the drug court program participants.

Race / Ethnicity

Table 13 shows recidivism rates by race / ethnicity. Overall, the sample was 53.3% white and 46.7% racial / ethnic minorities. Race / ethnicity was not available for 1.1% of the sample. The racial / ethnic composition of the population varied by criminal justice cohort:

- 62.7% of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence were racial / ethnic minorities;
- 44.8% of the offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence were racial / ethnic minorities;
- 41.0% of the community corrections center program participants were racial / ethnic minorities; and,
- 35.6% of the drug court program participants were racial / ethnic minorities.

Recidivism rates were lower for whites than for racial / ethnic minorities across each of the cohorts.

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Table 11. Recidivism Status by Gender and Criminal Justice Cohort

Gender	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence											
	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total							
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate			
Female	446	211	47.3%	23	11	47.8%	37	15	40.5%	259	125	48.3%	103	52	50.5%	362	177	48.9%	14	4	28.6%	10	4	40.0%	24	8	33.3%
Male	3,305	1,630	49.3%	53	27	50.9%	286	153	53.5%	1,984	1,031	52.0%	508	236	46.5%	2,492	1,267	50.8%	319	117	36.7%	155	66	42.6%	474	183	38.6%
Total	3,751	1,841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2,243	1,156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2,854	1,444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

% Female 11.9% 30.3% 11.5% 11.5% 16.9% 12.7% 4.2% 6.1% 4.8%

Table 12. Recidivism Status by Age and Criminal Justice Cohort

Age at Release or Program	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence											
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total							
										Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivism Rate		
Under 20	286	176	61.5%	1	1	100.0%	57	40	70.2%	155	92	59.4%	68	40	58.8%	223	132	59.2%	3	2	66.7%	2	1	50.0%	5	3	60.0%
20 to 24	709	393	55.4%	9	2	22.2%	85	44	51.8%	426	252	59.2%	132	67	50.8%	558	319	57.2%	35	18	51.4%	22	10	45.5%	57	28	49.1%
25 to 29	665	348	52.3%	8	4	50.0%	44	28	63.6%	385	214	55.6%	120	58	48.3%	505	272	53.9%	71	27	38.0%	37	17	45.9%	108	44	40.7%
30 to 34	634	327	51.6%	23	13	56.5%	49	26	53.1%	370	200	54.1%	91	45	49.5%	461	245	53.1%	65	23	35.4%	36	20	55.6%	101	43	42.6%
35 to 39	640	308	48.1%	10	8	80.0%	36	17	47.2%	409	202	49.4%	97	50	51.5%	506	252	49.8%	64	23	35.9%	24	8	33.3%	88	31	35.2%
40 to 49	645	248	38.4%	22	9	40.9%	40	10	25.0%	399	169	42.4%	82	24	29.3%	481	193	40.1%	71	24	33.8%	31	12	38.7%	102	36	35.3%
50 to 59	145	37	25.5%	3	1	33.3%	10	3	30.0%	85	24	28.2%	16	3	18.8%	101	27	26.7%	20	4	20.0%	11	2	18.2%	31	6	19.4%
60 to 69	23	4	17.4%	0	0	N.A.	1	0	0.0%	13	3	23.1%	5	1	20.0%	18	4	22.2%	2	0	0.0%	2	0	0.0%	4	0	0.0%
70 to 79	4	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	1	0	0.0%	1	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	1	0	0.0%	2	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	2	0	0.0%
Total	3751	1841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2243	1156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2854	1444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

29 and Under	1660	917	55.2%	18	7	38.9%	186	112	60.2%	966	558	57.8%	320	165	51.6%	1286	723	56.2%	109	47	43.1%	61	28	45.9%	170	75	44.1%
30 and Older	2091	924	44.2%	58	31	53.4%	137	56	40.9%	1277	598	46.8%	291	123	42.3%	1568	721	46.0%	224	74	33.0%	104	42	40.4%	328	116	35.4%

% 29 and Younger	44.3%	23.7%	57.6%	43.1%	52.4%	45.1%	32.7%	37.0%	34.1%
Mean Age	32.0 Years	35.0 Years	29.1 Years	32.2 Years	30.4 Years	31.8 Years	35.0 Years	34.0 Years	34.6 Years
Median Age	31 Years	33 Years	28 Years	32 Years	29 Years	31 Years	34 Years	32 Years	33 Years

Table 13. Recidivism Status by Race / Ethnicity and Criminal Justice Cohort

Race / Ethnicity	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence											
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total							
										Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate			
White	1,976	879	44.5%	47	22	46.8%	190	78	41.1%	1,139	532	46.7%	414	186	44.9%	1,553	718	46.2%	122	36	29.5%	64	25	39.1%	186	61	32.8%
Black	885	488	55.1%	17	11	64.7%	47	27	57.4%	565	330	58.4%	91	45	49.5%	656	375	57.2%	113	49	43.4%	52	26	50.0%	165	75	45.5%
Hispanic	776	431	55.5%	8	4	50.0%	83	61	73.5%	455	264	58.0%	94	53	56.4%	549	317	57.7%	93	32	34.4%	43	17	39.5%	136	49	36.0%
Other	71	29	40.8%	1	0	0.0%	2	2	100.0%	45	17	37.8%	12	4	33.3%	57	21	36.8%	5	4	80.0%	6	2	33.3%	11	6	54.5%
Unknown	43	14	32.6%	3	1	33.3%	1	0	0.0%	39	13	33.3%	0	0	N.A.	39	13	33.3%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	3,751	1,841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2,243	1,156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2,854	1,444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

% White	53.3%	64.4%	59.0%	51.7%	67.8%	55.2%	36.6%	38.8%	37.3%
% Minority	46.7%	35.6%	41.0%	48.3%	32.2%	44.8%	63.4%	61.2%	62.7%
% Missing	1.1%	3.9%	0.3%	1.7%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

CURRENT OFFENSE AND CRIMINAL HISTORY

In this section the current offense and criminal history of the offender are discussed in relation to observed recidivism rates. Both of these variables, current offense and criminal history, were measured at the time of the current placement. For correctional populations, current offense refers to that offense for which the offender had been convicted and on which the offender was now being released. For the community-based programs, current offense refers to that offense for which the offender was being supervised at the time of the placement. For all populations, criminal history refers to criminal activity that occurred prior to the current offense, excluding the current offense, and excluding any new arrest behavior.

Current Offense

Type of Offense

Current offense was available for 2,675 (71.3%) of the study sample. The sample included 732 (27.4%) person offenders, 77 (2.9%) sex offenders, 737 (27.6%) drug offenders, 586 (21.9%) property offenders, 373 (13.9%) motor vehicle offenders, and 170 (6.4%) other (public order, prostitution, and weapons) offenders. The nature of current offense varied by criminal justice cohort:

- 42.4% of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence were person offenders;
- 10.4% of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence were sex offenders;
- 26.8% of the community corrections center program participants were property offenders;
- 52.6% of the drug court program participants were drug offenders; and,
- 17.5% of the offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence were motor vehicle offenders.

Table 14 shows the current offense and recidivism status by criminal justice cohort. Of the major offense categories, recidivism rates were lowest for sex offenders (20.8%) and highest for property offenders (56.5%). These patterns were generally consistent across criminal justice cohorts.

Offense Seriousness Level

Table 15 shows current offense classified according to the offense seriousness level proposed by the commission, recidivism status and criminal justice cohort. There was an inverse relationship between offense seriousness level and recidivism rates. In general, the more serious the current offense, the lower the recidivism rate of the offender. The recidivism rate for offenders with a current offense level of 4 or above was 40.2% and the recidivism rate for offenders with a current offense level of 1 through 3 was 51.7%.

Table 14. Recidivism Status by Type of Offense (Current Offense) and Criminal Justice Cohort

Governing Offense	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence											
										Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total							
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate			
Person	732	366	50.0%	11	9	81.8%	24	11	45.8%	373	204	54.7%	114	58	50.9%	487	262	53.8%	139	54	38.8%	71	30	42.3%	210	84	40.0%
Sex	77	16	20.8%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	22	4	18.2%	3	2	66.7%	25	6	24.0%	45	9	20.0%	7	1	14.3%	52	10	19.2%
Property	586	331	56.5%	15	7	46.7%	34	23	67.6%	287	160	55.7%	159	91	57.2%	446	251	56.3%	62	32	51.6%	29	18	62.1%	91	50	54.9%
Drug	737	344	46.7%	40	14	35.0%	50	27	54.0%	333	180	54.1%	196	90	45.9%	529	270	51.0%	66	17	25.8%	52	16	30.8%	118	33	28.0%
Motor Vehicle	373	137	36.7%	4	3	75.0%	14	7	50.0%	236	93	39.4%	110	30	27.3%	346	123	35.5%	8	3	37.5%	1	1	100.0%	9	4	44.4%
Other	170	99	58.2%	6	5	83.3%	5	4	80.0%	112	63	56.3%	29	17	58.6%	141	80	56.7%	13	6	46.2%	5	4	80.0%	18	10	55.6%
Not Available	1076	548	50.9%	0	0	N.A.	196	96	49.0%	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	3751	1841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2243	1156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2854	1444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

% Person	27.4%	14.5%	18.9%	27.4%	18.7%	24.7%	41.7%	43.0%	42.2%
% Sex	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	0.5%	1.3%	13.5%	4.2%	10.4%
% Property	21.9%	19.7%	26.8%	21.1%	26.0%	22.6%	18.6%	17.6%	18.3%
% Drug	27.6%	52.6%	39.4%	24.4%	32.1%	26.8%	19.8%	31.5%	23.7%
% Motor Vehicle	13.9%	5.3%	11.0%	17.3%	18.0%	17.5%	2.4%	0.6%	1.8%
% Other	6.4%	7.9%	3.9%	8.2%	4.7%	7.1%	3.9%	3.0%	3.6%

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Table 15. Recidivism Status by Offense Seriousness Level (Current Offense) and Criminal Justice Cohort

Governing Offense Level	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence											
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total							
										Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate			
9	4	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	4	0	0.0%	4	0	0.0%			
8	26	4	15.4%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	20	3	15.0%	6	1	16.7%	26	4	15.4%
7	38	10	26.3%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	30	6	20.0%	8	4	50.0%	38	10	26.3%
6	137	50	36.5%	0	0	N.A.	3	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	2	0	0.0%	2	0	0.0%	88	34	38.6%	44	16	36.4%	132	50	37.9%
5	116	49	42.2%	0	0	N.A.	4	3	75.0%	23	10	43.5%	3	2	66.7%	26	12	46.2%	61	22	36.1%	25	12	48.0%	86	34	39.5%
4	447	196	43.8%	10	3	30.0%	17	10	58.8%	187	91	48.7%	143	60	42.0%	330	151	45.8%	50	18	36.0%	40	14	35.0%	90	32	35.6%
3	1025	537	52.4%	28	17	60.7%	46	29	63.0%	579	303	52.3%	255	129	50.6%	834	432	51.8%	79	36	45.6%	38	23	60.5%	117	59	50.4%
2	644	316	49.1%	37	18	48.6%	46	23	50.0%	405	202	49.9%	155	72	46.5%	560	274	48.9%	1	1	100.0%	0	0	N.A.	1	1	100.0%
1	221	124	56.1%	1	0	0.0%	9	5	55.6%	161	95	59.0%	50	24	48.0%	211	119	56.4%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Not Assigned	17	7	41.2%	0	0	N.A.	2	2	100.0%	8	3	37.5%	3	1	33.3%	11	4	36.4%	4	1	25.0%	0	0	N.A.	4	1	25.0%
Not A vailable	1076	548	50.9%	0	0	N.A.	196	96	49.0%	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	3751	1841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2243	1156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2854	1444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

Criminal History

Offenders were assigned to a criminal history group consistent with the definitions proposed by the commission. The criminal history groups are defined in the Appendix. The relationship between juvenile criminal history and recidivism rates was also considered.

Criminal History Groups

Based on the data extraction and linkage procedures discussed in the methodology section, offenders were assigned to a criminal history group as proposed by the Commission. This assignment was made for 2,334 or 62.2% of the study sample.

Of the offenders in the sample, 55.7% were classified in criminal history groups A or B and 44.3% were classified in criminal history groups C, D, or E. The proportion of offenders in the more serious criminal history groups varied by criminal justice cohort:

- 51.7% of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence were classified in criminal history groups C, D, or E;
- 46.1% of the drug court program participants were classified in criminal history groups C, D, or E;
- 43.7% of the offenders released after serving a house of correction sentence were classified in criminal history groups C, D, or E; and
- 22.0% of the community corrections center program participants were classified in criminal history groups C, D, or E.

Table 16 shows recidivism rates of offenders by criminal history group and criminal justice cohort. Recidivism rates varied consistently by criminal history group. Those offenders in the less serious criminal history groups had lower recidivism rates and those offenders in the more serious criminal history groups had higher recidivism rates. For example, offenders classified as criminal history group A, no / minor record, had a recidivism rate of 36.5%. Offenders assigned to criminal history group D, violent or repetitive record, had a recidivism rate of 60.8%. These patterns held for all of the criminal justice cohorts.

Juvenile Criminal History

Juvenile criminal history was available for all offenders in the sample. For purposes of this analysis all offenders were classified into two categories: (1) no prior juvenile adjudications; or, (2) one or more prior juvenile adjudications. Overall, 23.6% of the offenders had one or more prior juvenile adjudications. The proportion of offenders with one or more prior juvenile adjudications ranged from 17.1% of the drug court program participants to 26.1% of the offenders released after serving a state prison sentence. Those offenders with one or more prior juvenile adjudications were younger than those offenders with no prior juvenile adjudications, 25.7 years on average compared with 34.0 years.

Table 17 shows recidivism rates by this juvenile criminal history indicator. The recidivism rate for offenders with one or more prior juvenile adjudications was 60.8%, much higher than the rate for offenders with no prior juvenile adjudications, 45.5%. This pattern held for all of the criminal justice cohorts, with the exception of the drug court program participants.

Table 16. Recidivism Status by Criminal History and Criminal Justice Cohort

Criminal History Group	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence									State Prison Sentence								
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Discharge			Parole			Sample Total			Discharge			Parole			Sample Total		
										Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Group A - No/Minor Record	609	222	36.5%	16	5	31.3%	55	26	47.3%	337	131	38.9%	65	27	41.5%	402	158	39.3%	79	17	21.5%	57	16	28.1%	136	33	24.3%
Group B - Moderate Record	691	336	48.6%	25	14	56.0%	44	28	63.6%	404	200	49.5%	114	59	51.8%	518	259	50.0%	72	23	31.9%	32	12	37.5%	104	35	33.7%
Group C - Serious Record	526	271	51.5%	12	7	58.3%	20	14	70.0%	321	183	57.0%	67	30	44.8%	388	213	54.9%	75	22	29.3%	31	15	48.4%	106	37	34.9%
Group D - Violent or Repetitive	505	307	60.8%	23	12	52.2%	8	4	50.0%	298	188	63.1%	27	18	66.7%	325	206	63.4%	105	58	55.2%	44	27	61.4%	149	85	57.0%
Group E - Serious Violent	3	2	66.7%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	1	1	100.0%	0	0	N.A.	1	1	100.0%	2	1	50.0%	0	0	N.A.	2	1	50.0%
Not Available or Youthful Offender	1,417	703	49.6%	0	0	N.A.	196	96	49.0%	882	453	51.4%	338	154	45.6%	1,220	607	49.8%	0	0	N.A.	1	0	0.0%	1	0	0.0%
Total	3,751	1,841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2,243	1,156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2,854	1,444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

% C, D, or E

44.3%

46.1%

22.0%

45.6%

34.4%

43.7%

54.7%

45.7%

51.7%

Comprehensive Recidivism Study

Table 17. Recidivism Status by Juvenile Criminal History and Criminal Justice Cohort

Juvenile Adjudications	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence											
										Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total							
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate						
None	2,866	1,303	45.5%	63	33	52.4%	240	116	48.3%	1,718	825	48.0%	477	207	43.4%	2,195	1,032	47.0%	237	74	31.2%	131	48	36.6%	368	122	33.2%
One or More	885	538	60.8%	13	5	38.5%	83	52	62.7%	525	331	63.0%	134	81	60.4%	659	412	62.5%	96	47	49.0%	34	22	64.7%	130	69	53.1%
Total	3,751	1,841	49.1%	76	38	50.0%	323	168	52.0%	2,243	1,156	51.5%	611	288	47.1%	2,854	1,444	50.6%	333	121	36.3%	165	70	42.4%	498	191	38.4%

% One or More 23.6% 17.1% 25.7% 23.4% 21.9% 23.1% 28.8% 20.6% 26.1%

Sentencing Grid

The current offense and criminal history were combined to place offenders on the sentencing guidelines grid proposed by the commission. Those offenders convicted of OUI offenses or mandatory firearms offenses were not assigned to the grid because the proposed sentencing guidelines grid would not apply to these offenders. Table 18 shows the number of offenders assigned to each grid cell, the number of recidivists in each grid cell, and the resulting recidivism rate. The recidivism rate was higher at the lower offense seriousness levels and the recidivism rate was higher for those offenders in the more serious criminal history groups. For any particular offense level, the recidivism rates are generally higher for those offenders in more serious criminal history groups and for any particular criminal history category, the recidivism rates are generally higher for those offenders in the less serious offense levels. The recidivism rate for OUI offenders was 24.3%, lower than the overall rate of 49.1%, suggesting that further analysis of the specialized programs for this population may be merited.

Comprehensive Recidivism Study

Table 18. Recidivism Status by Sentencing Grid Cell and Grid Assignment, All Offenders

ALL DEFENDANTS							RECIDIVISTS							RECIDIVISM RATE						
	A	B	C	D	E	N		A	B	C	D	E	N		A	B	C	D	E	Total
9	4	0	0	0	0	4	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0.0%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.0%
8	8	6	10	2	0	26	8	2	0	1	1	0	4	8	25.0%	0.0%	10.0%	50.0%	N.A.	15.4%
7	17	7	7	7	0	38	7	6	0	3	1	0	10	7	35.3%	0.0%	42.9%	14.3%	N.A.	26.3%
6	48	27	30	29	0	134	6	11	11	10	18	0	50	6	22.9%	40.7%	33.3%	62.1%	N.A.	37.3%
5	29	29	21	32	0	111	5	5	11	8	21	0	45	5	17.2%	37.9%	38.1%	65.6%	N.A.	40.5%
4	110	97	83	54	0	344	4	34	46	41	32	0	153	4	30.9%	47.4%	49.4%	59.3%	N.A.	44.5%
3	174	231	181	239	1	826	3	76	121	106	150	1	454	3	43.7%	52.4%	58.6%	62.8%	100.0%	55.0%
2	116	167	114	74	0	471	2	57	94	62	46	0	259	2	49.1%	56.3%	54.4%	62.2%	N.A.	55.0%
1	35	69	55	37	0	196	1	17	37	32	24	0	110	1	48.6%	53.6%	58.2%	64.9%	N.A.	56.1%
N.A.	6	5	3	3	0	17	N.A.	3	1	3	0	0	7	N.A.	50.0%	20.0%	100.0%	0.0%	N.A.	41.2%
Total	547	638	504	477	1	2,167	Total	211	321	266	293	1	1,092	Total	38.6%	50.3%	52.8%	61.4%	100.0%	50.4%

ALL DEFENDANTS		RECIDIVISTS		RECIDIVISM RATE	
Sentencing Zone	N	Sentencing Zone	N	Sentencing Zone	Recidivism
Assigned to Sentencing Grid		Assigned to Sentencing Grid		Assigned to Sentencing Grid	
Incarceration Zone	309	Incarceration Zone	125	Incarceration Zone	40.5%
Discretionary Zone	1,566	Discretionary Zone	817	Discretionary Zone	52.2%
Intermediate Sanction Zone	275	Intermediate Sanction Zone	143	Intermediate Sanction Zone	52.0%
Not Assigned	17	Not Assigned	7	Not Assigned	41.2%
Sub-Total	2,167	Sub-Total	1,092	Sub-Total	50.4%
Not Assigned to Grid		Not Assigned to Grid		Not Assigned to Grid	
OUI Offenses	148	OUI Offenses	36	OUI Offenses	24.3%
Mandatory Firearms Offenses	19	Mandatory Firearms Offenses	10	Mandatory Firearms Offenses	52.6%
Not Available or Youthful Offender	1417	Not Available or Youthful Offender	703	Not Available or Youthful Offender	49.6%
Total	3,751	Total	1,841	Total	49.1%

SUMMARY

A main purpose of this report has been to meet the legislative mandate set forth in Chapter 177 by compiling recidivism statistics from a variety of criminal justice and correctional entities using a consistent definition of recidivism. Among the highlights are:

The project developed a reliable measure of the recidivism rates across a range of criminal justice cohorts.

Based on the cooperation of the originating criminal justice agencies, a reliable measure of the recidivism rates was achieved as directed by Chapter 177 in the time frame provided by the legislature. Data was contributed from a variety of different criminal justice agencies and programs and integrated in a manner that yielded both reliable results and a basis for some comparisons of the populations and associated recidivism rates across criminal justice cohorts.

This project demonstrated the utility and feasibility of conducting research across traditional criminal justice agency lines.

This research project was the result of a collaborative effort among thirty different criminal justice agencies and programs. The project succeeded without any additional resources devoted to its completion. The ability of the various agencies to collect data independently and to contribute unique agency data to the development of a comprehensive research project was shown to be feasible. This model is one that could be applied to other research topics or to the expanded study of recidivism.

It was important to consider the nature of the recidivism behavior in addition to the overall recidivism rates.

The analysis demonstrated that it is important to consider the nature of the recidivism behavior in addition to comparing the overall recidivism rates. The analysis provided an examination of the nature of the recidivism behavior (new arrest or technical violation), the timing of the recidivism behavior, and the seriousness of that behavior. As suggested by the data collected for this study, offenders are subject to varying levels of supervision that can lead to technical violations. Even if the overall recidivism rates were the same, an argument can be made that there is a public safety benefit if the recidivism classification resulted

from a technical violation rather than a new arrest. That is, a swift and certain response to a violation of the conditions of probation or parole may be viewed as a preventive step that contributes to public safety by intervening in the life of a supervised offender who may be in danger of slipping back into a pattern of criminal behavior.

It was important to consider offender background information along with recidivism information.

The study demonstrated both the strong relationship between certain offender characteristics and recidivism rates and the large differences in the composition of the offender population across criminal justice cohorts. In particular, the age of the offender and the criminal history of the offender were shown to be strongly related to the probability of recidivism across all of the criminal justice cohorts in the study. It is important to recognize that differences in the age and criminal history characteristics of the offender population in each of the criminal justice cohorts are related to observed recidivism rates.

Additional data collection on program involvement and supervision variables should be encouraged in any future studies of recidivism.

Future research should include program involvement data in order to shed more light on the relative effectiveness of different programs and on what types of programs are more (or less) effective with what types of offenders. Some of the offenders discharged from correctional facilities might have been under probation supervision during the follow-up period. Future research should also include the probation supervision status of the discharged offenders.

Longer follow-up periods should be encouraged in any future studies of recidivism.

The time frames available for completion of this project allowed for a one year follow-up. Longer follow-up periods may be interesting and useful for the comparisons to be made. For example, at the end of the one year follow-up period the recidivism rates for the community corrections centers and houses of correction were very close. However, the interim rates were different, suggesting that longer term recidivism rates may look different for these or other populations.

Replication of the model developed for the study is feasible and should be encouraged.

The methodology developed in the process of completing this study could be used to provide a valuable basis to support on-going research and monitoring of recidivism rates. The method provided a foundation for routine updates of this initial effort. Although on-going studies are not required by the current legislative mandate, continued comprehensive recidivism studies should be encouraged. This model could be expanded to accommodate new criminal justice programs such as additional community corrections centers, drug courts, or additional houses of correction. Extensions to other probation supervised offender populations could be considered as well. The model should allow for longer term follow-up periods than were used in this study. Further, the model should be able to sustain routine follow-up studies on succeeding time periods.

Much has been written in recent years about the importance of partnerships in criminal justice. Community policing and community corrections are example of recent initiatives that have emphasized cooperation and coordination among criminal justice agencies to achieve common goals. This research endeavor has underscored the value of such collaboration among criminal justice researchers to produce a comprehensive study that goes beyond the purview of each of the participating entities. In demonstrating that such a collaborative research process is feasible, this study has not only produced useful data on recidivism across a spectrum of the criminal justice system, but has also established a model that could be applied for future system-oriented research.

APPENDIX - METHODOLOGY

This appendix contains additional information of the method used to select the sample for this analysis and the definition of the variables collected for the analysis.

SAMPLE

All samples were submitted by the originating criminal justice agencies and were assumed to be complete. The data extraction and data linkage model provided for some validation between samples, e.g. the parole board sample was linked to parolees from all contributing correctional agencies. All validations indicated that the samples were substantially complete and the links between the various data sets were valid.

Multiple Releases / Admissions. In all samples, the data were examined for cases with two or more program admissions or two or more releases during the sample period. It was possible that an offender could be released more than once during the three month sampling period. Where the case was determined to be a valid duplicate admission or release, both admissions or releases were included in the sample and subject to routine data extraction and linkage routines. It was also possible that offenders would be included as part of the sample of more than one criminal justice agency. A total of 22 cases were identified where the offender had two valid releases from the same facility or program admissions during the sampling period. In addition, a total of 38 cases were identified where the offender had two valid releases or program admissions from different facilities over the sampling period.

Release Status. Offenders who were released by court or released to another correctional placement (transfer, pre-trial placement, or forthwith sentence) were not included in the analysis. Offenders released from a correctional facility from a “week-end” sentence were included only once in the sample. The most recent release among multiple weekend releases was selected. Those offenders released to parole from a correctional facility following a period of incarceration as the result of a 15-day parole detainer were excluded from the sample. For those offenders who were sentenced to a drug court or a community corrections center as part of the probation supervision on a split sentence, the one year follow-up period began when the offender entered the program following release from the incarcerated portion of the split sentence.

Conviction Status. It was not assumed that offenders participating in all of the originating criminal justice agencies had been convicted at the time of program participation. In particular, it was possible for a offender to be referred to a community

corrections center or drug court program following a disposition of general continuance or CWO (Continued without a Finding). While a disposition of general continuance or CWO is not considered a conviction, offenders are generally under probation supervision and may be required to attend a drug court or community corrections center program as part of the conditions of that probation supervision. Offenders in drug court or community corrections center samples were included in the analysis even if not convicted of the current offense. The release samples from the DOC and houses of correction included only those offenders released following a conviction and excluded any releases from pre-trial detention status.

Length of Incarceration. Most recently, the DOC has defined a recidivist to be “any release who is re-incarcerated . . . for at least 30 days within three years of their date of release.”¹⁷ Because of the definition of a recidivist, the DOC includes “only inmates released off of a commitment of at least 30 days”¹⁸ in the analysis. This definition was not used as a sampling criterion, i.e. all inmates released during the sampling time frame were included.

Juvenile Offenders / Youthful Offenders. The study sample included adult offenders. Those offenders adjudicated delinquent who were participating in the specialized community corrections centers or drug courts for juvenile offenders were not included in the study.

Those offenders adjudicated youthful offenders, sentenced as adults, and released from an adult correction facility were included in the study. Four youthful offenders were identified and included in the study sample.

Out-of-State and Federal Offenders. Some of the offenders in the release / program participation cohorts were originally sentenced in another state or federal court and subsequently transferred to Massachusetts. Not all of those offenders were identified in the CARI data-base. A total of 28 federal and out-of-state cases were identified and excluded from the final sample.

Mortality Information. Any offenders who died within the follow-up period were excluded from the analysis. For each offender in the study sample, the identification

¹⁷ Hoover, op. cit., page 1.

¹⁸ Ibid., page 32.

records and adult arraignment records in the CARI data-base were evaluated for occurrences of the phrase “DECEAS.” A total of 31 offender records were identified with this phrase. The date of death was taken from the Social Security Death Index (SSDI). Of the 31 identified offenders: 19 were excluded from the analysis because the date of death was verified and the death occurred within the one year follow-up period; 8 were included in the analysis because the date of death was verified and occurred after the one year follow-up period; and, 4 were included in the analysis because there was no verifying information in the SSDI.

Whereabouts Unknown. An offender could be “whereabouts unknown” for some or all of the follow-up period. that period of time for which the offender was “whereabouts unknown” should be accounted for in the analysis. There were five parolees who were classified as “whereabouts unknown” during the recidivism follow-up period and remained in that classification until the end of that period. For the purposes of this analysis, these offenders have been classified as recidivists because the status of these offenders could not be determined for the entire follow-up period and they were counted in the category, “no new arrest / technical violation.”

FY2002 Data Requirement. Chapter 177 contained a provision requiring that the study contain data from FY2002. Because of the reporting deadline and the desire to have a reasonable follow-up period, the study used data from time periods prior to FY2002. While some data from FY2002 was collected during the research process, the focus of the study was on data sets earlier than FY 2002.

DATA COLLECTION

Recidivism Variables

Data collection for new arrest information was from the CARI database. As such, recidivism was measured as subsequent arrest / arraignment in Massachusetts and did not systematically capture criminal activity that occurred in other states.

Data collection for parole and probation violations was from the PATS file and CARI database. Of primary interest was identifying those technical violations of supervised release that result in a period of incarceration. Those incarcerations resulting from 15-day parole detainees were not considered as indications of recidivism. In a recent study of recidivism by the DOC, of the 1,504 offenders defined as recidivists, 19.8% were re-

incarcerated technical violators and 80.2% were re-incarcerated following a new arrest.¹⁹ For those cases in drug courts and community corrections centers where there was no conviction of the current offense prior to the program admission, that is the offender was under probation supervision with a disposition of a CWOFF or a general continuance, a violation that resulted in a guilty verdict being entered and a period of incarceration was treated as a probation violation.

A number of offenders were arraigned for offenses prior to the correctional release or program participation and convicted of those offenses during the follow-up period. Those offenders who had an incarceration of less than 15 days resulting from a conviction of an offense that was arraigned prior to the correctional release or program participation were treated as non-recidivists and included in the sample. Those offenders who had an incarceration of more than 15 days resulting from a conviction of an offense arraigned prior to the correctional release or program participation and had no other new arrests or technical violations of parole or probation were excluded from the sample because they were not at liberty for the entire follow-up period. A total of 23 offenders were excluded for this reason.

New Offenses. Six variables were included in the recidivism data base that describe the offenses for which offenders were charged during the follow-up period.

The first three were selected from those charges that were arraigned during the *first arraignment event* following release or program participation:

- most serious charge;
- most serious charge resulting in a conviction; and,
- most serious charge resulting in a sentence of incarceration.

The second three variables were selected from *all charges that were arraigned* during the one year period following release or program participation:

- most serious charge;
- most serious charge resulting in a conviction; and,
- most serious charge resulting in a sentence of incarceration.

¹⁹ Ibid., page 2.

In all instances, the ranking that has been proposed by the Commission was used to assign a seriousness level to an offense. For purposes of the statistical presentation only two variables were selected: the offense level of the most serious charge among all new charges and the offense level of the most serious charge resulting in a conviction. The type of offense was assigned based on the most serious charge among all new charges.

Routine editing was performed on offenses that were arraigned in the district court so that all offense levels were set consistent with district court jurisdiction. For example, an arraignment charge of robbery in the district court was assumed to be an arraignment charge of larceny person. If an offender was arraigned in district court during the follow-up period and indicted in the superior court after the follow-up period, the seriousness level of the new offense may be under-stated.

The disposition and conviction status of all new offenses were determined based on the standard methodology developed by the Commission for use in the *Survey of Sentencing Practices*.²⁰ If a defendant was arraigned on a new charge during the follow-up period and the case resulted in a conviction after the follow-up period, for purposes of this analysis, that charge was not counted as a conviction. Only new arraignments that occurred during the one year follow-up period and case processing activity that occurred during the one year follow-up period were included in the analysis of convictions.

Type of Offense. All new offenses were assigned to one of six general type of offense categories consistent with the method used in the *Survey of Sentencing Practices*.²¹ The six categories are:

- person offenses - includes murder, robberies, assault & battery;
- sex offenses - includes rapes, indecent assault & battery;
- property offenses - includes larceny, burglary, breaking & entering;
- drug offenses - includes possession and distribution of controlled substances;
- motor vehicle offenses - includes driving with licence suspended and vehicular homicide; and,
- other offenses - includes weapons, public disorder, and other offenses such as prostitution, disorderly person, dangerous weapons.

²⁰ Massachusetts Sentencing Commission, *Survey of Sentencing Practices, FY 2000*, November 2001.

²¹ Ibid.

Incarceration Status. A number of variables was included in the recidivism data base that indicate if the new offense resulted in a sentence to incarceration during the one year follow-up period.

The first three were selected from those charges that were arraigned during the *first arraignment* event following release or program participation:

- number of charges resulting in a sentence of incarceration;
- first date an incarceration sentence was imposed; and,
- most serious charge resulting in a sentence of incarceration;

The next three were selected from *all charges that were arraigned* during the one year period following release or program participation:

- number of charges resulting in a sentence of incarceration;
- most recent date an incarceration sentence was imposed; and,
- most serious charge resulting in a sentence of incarceration;

In all instances, the ranking that was developed by the Commission was used to assign a seriousness level to an offense. In most cases these variables were set based on an initial sentence to incarceration. For those offenders who had no other sentence of incarceration from any new offense behavior in the follow-up period but who did have one or more sentences to probation followed by a violation of probation that resulted in an incarceration for a new offense that occurred during the follow-up period, the recidivism incarceration variables were set based on the incarcerated violation of probation information. For purposes of the statistical presentation only one variable was selected: the number of charges resulting in a sentence of incarceration.

Parole Violation Status. The Massachusetts Parole Board provided information on all offenders released to parole supervision during the three-month time period under study. For each of those offenders information on all administrative activity was available for the year following release from the correctional facility. The administrative chronology contained information on all detainers, warrants, and board decisions during the follow-up period.

If the Parole Officer believes that the parolee has lapsed or is about to lapse into criminal ways or has violated the conditions of his parole and cannot remain in the community, the Parole Officer with the consent of a parole supervisor will issue a warrant for temporary custody, also known as a *15-day detainer*. The *15-day detainer* authorizes the parolee to

be detained for a maximum of 15 days during which time the Board will conduct a preliminary revocation hearing. The parolee may postpone the preliminary revocation hearing to obtain legal representation or the attendance of witnesses. A second detainer may issue if the Board grants a postponement.

If the parolee is being held on the *15-day detainer*, the **preliminary parole revocation hearing** will be held by a Hearing Examiner during this time and the Parole Board, after considering the recommendation of the Hearing Examiner, will vote whether to provisionally revoke parole. If the Board votes to provisionally revoke parole, a parole violation warrant, also known as a *warrant for permanent custody* will be issued. The *warrant for permanent custody* is served when the parolee is physically detained under the Board's warrant. Upon service of the *warrant for permanent custody*, a final revocation hearing will be scheduled within 60 days.

- If the Board provisionally revokes the parole, the parolee remains in custody until the Board conducts a final revocation hearing and makes a final decision regarding revocation.
- If the Board does not provisionally revoke parole, the parolee is returned to the community under parole supervision.

At the **final revocation hearing**, the Board members determine whether the parolee violated the terms and conditions of parole and whether the parolee will be re-released on parole supervision.

- If the Board does not find by a preponderance of the evidence that the parolee violated a condition of parole, supervision will resume within 24 hours unless more time is necessary to notify victims, notify the District Attorney, approve the home plan, etc. The Board may modify or add conditions to parole.
- Where the Board finds by a preponderance of the evidence that the parolee did violate the parole condition(s), it will 'affirm' the provisional parole revocation. The Board may either set a reparole date pending the fulfillment of certain conditions or the Board may vote to deny reparole, thus returning the parolee to an inmate status.

Many of the offenders in the study were on parole at the end of the one year follow-up period. Other offenders successfully completed their parole during the one year follow-up period. An individual was considered to be a parole violator if a detainer was issued before the end of the one year follow-up period and if parole was subsequently revoked.

An individual was also considered to be a parole violator if a detainer was issued before the end of the one year follow-up period and if the offender ended the parole supervision while in custody and the period between the detainer and the end of the parole supervision was more than 15 days. An individual was not considered a parole violator if a detainer was issued but the parole was not revoked. Information on new arrests was taken from the CARI database. It was assumed that offenders who were classified as parole violators but who had no new arrests were technical parole violators.

Probation Violation / Other Status. An offender was considered a probation violator if the adult criminal record included one or more charges that were arraigned prior to the release from a correctional facility or placement in a community based program which resulted in a violation of probation and a sentence to incarceration during the one year follow-up period. For example, it is not unusual for a person to be placed on probation subsequent to a period of incarceration as part of a split sentence or a from and after probation. Such persons would be counted as recidivists if they violated probation and were incarcerated during the one year follow-up period. Those violations of probation that resulted in a non-incarceration disposition (e.g. probation extended or probation conditions modified) were not used to classify the offender as a probation violator. If an offender had multiple charges that resulted in an incarceration as a probation violator, the earliest return as a probation violator was used.

Offenders placed in a residential facility (e.g. detox or in-patient substance abuse facility) during the one year follow up period were not considered recidivists.

Program Involvement

For those correctional facilities that did not provide type of release, the parole board information was used to classify the offender as a parolee or a dischargee. For parolees, the security level of release was derived from the corresponding correctional record where that was available. Those offenders for whom the Parole Board's interest in the case was closed on the same day as the release from the correctional institution were included in the category of discharges. For these offenders there was no period of parole supervision following the release.

Offender Background

Demographic Information. The principal source of offender demographic information was the CARI data-base. Because the CARI data-base did not contain the variable race

for all offenders, supplemental data collection was done by the DOC and Parole Board to improve the quality of information available for the analysis.

Current Offense and Criminal History. An optional data element that could be submitted by the originating criminal justice agency was the docket number(s) associated with the current placement. If the docket number(s) were submitted this allowed for the current offense and criminal history to be extracted from the record.

An individual could have one or more docket numbers associated with the criminal justice placement at the time of the program admission or correctional release. All docket numbers submitted as part of the originating criminal justice agencies sample were inspected and linked to the CARI data-base. The docket number associated with the earliest arraignment date was used to set the parameters for the current offense. For parolees, the current offense and criminal history were derived from the corresponding correctional record where that was available.

For youthful offenders, the current offense was contained in the juvenile portion of the CARI data-base and was assigned an offense seriousness level. Youthful offenders were not assigned to one of the five criminal history groups and the juvenile criminal history indicator excluded the adjudication for the current offense.

All current offenses were assigned to an offense seriousness level and type of offense category in a manner consistent with the method established in the *Survey of Sentencing Practices*. Each defendant was assigned to a criminal history group in accordance with the five criminal history groups proposed by the Commission:

- E Serious Violent Record
Two or more prior convictions for offenses in level 7 through 9

- D Violent or Repetitive Record
One prior conviction for offenses in levels 7 through 9, or
Two or more prior convictions for offenses in levels 5 or 6, or
Six or more prior convictions in levels 3, 4, 5 or 6

- C Serious Record
One prior conviction for offenses at levels 5 or 6, or
Three to five prior convictions for offenses in levels 3 or 4

- B Moderate Record
One or two prior convictions for offenses in 3 or 4, or
Six or more prior convictions for offenses in levels 1 or 2

- A No/Minor Record
One to five prior convictions for offenses in levels 1 or 2, or
No prior convictions of any kind

DATA EXTRACTION AND DATA LINKAGES

The Commission used the computing facilities of the Criminal History Systems Board for data extraction and data linkage procedures relative to the CARI data-base.

DATA ANALYSIS

Missing Information. In all tables, cases with missing information have been reported. In the narrative, cases with missing information were excluded prior to the calculation of percentages that describe the characteristics of the population.

State Prison Sentence. The category of state prison sentence included offenders with a life sentence, a state prison sentence, a state prison / split sentence, and a reformatory sentence.

Non-Hierarchical Recidivism Classification. The definition of recidivism used for this analysis was based on the presence of one or more new arrests or re-incarceration as a parole or probation violator. Many offenders with parole or probation violations also had one or more new arrests. Table 19 shows the number of offenders classified in each category separately.

Alternate Definitions of Recidivism. The definition of recidivism used for this analysis relied on the presence of one or more new arrests or a re-incarceration due to a violation of parole or probation during the one year follow-up period. An offender with a new arrest was considered to be a recidivist even if that new charge had not reached disposition at the end of the one year follow-up period or if the new charge resulted in a non-conviction disposition (e.g., dismissed or CWOFF) during the one year follow-up period. In this section, alternate recidivism definitions are considered. Two alternate recidivism rates were estimated:

- First, alternate recidivism rates were estimated if only those with charges resulting in a conviction during the one year follow-up period were considered to be recidivists; and,
- Second, alternate recidivism rates were estimated if only those with charges resulting in a sentence to incarceration were considered to be recidivists.

In developing these alternate estimates the conviction decision or the sentence to incarceration had to occur within the one year follow-up period for the offender to be considered a recidivist.

Table 20 shows estimated recidivism rates using these alternate definitions. In all cases, those offenders who were returned as the result of a parole or probation violation were included as recidivists. Offenders who had an incarceration resulting from some other offense were included in the conviction and incarceration category.

Overall, the recidivism rate, based on arrest / arraignment and including technical violators, was estimated to be 49.1%. If only arrests that resulted in a conviction during the one year follow-up period were considered, the estimated recidivism rate would be 30.3%. If only arrests that resulted in a conviction and a sentence of incarceration during the one year follow-up period were considered, the estimated recidivism rate would be 20.7%.

Table 19. Non-hierarchical Recidivism Classification by Criminal Justice Cohort

Type of Recidivist	Sample Total		Drug Courts		Community Corrections Centers		House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence					
							Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
New Arrest																		
None	2,083	55.5%	47	61.8%	196	60.7%	1,126	50.2%	376	61.5%	1,502	52.6%	212	63.7%	126	76.4%	338	67.9%
One or more	1,668	44.5%	29	38.2%	127	39.3%	1,117	49.8%	235	38.5%	1,352	47.4%	121	36.3%	39	23.6%	160	32.1%
Total	3,751	100.0%	76	100.0%	323	100.0%	2,243	100.0%	611	100.0%	2,854	100.0%	333	100.0%	165	100.0%	498	100.0%
Parole Violation Return																		
None	3,569	95.1%	76	100.0%	322	99.7%	2,243	100.0%	487	79.7%	2,730	95.7%	333	100.0%	108	65.5%	441	88.6%
One or more	182	4.9%	0	0.0%	1	0.3%	0	0.0%	124	20.3%	124	4.3%	0	0.0%	57	34.5%	57	11.4%
Total	3,751	100.0%	76	100.0%	323	100.0%	2,243	100.0%	611	100.0%	2,854	100.0%	333	100.0%	165	100.0%	498	100.0%
Probation Violation Return																		
None	3,438	91.7%	54	71.1%	240	74.3%	2,073	92.4%	584	95.6%	2,657	93.1%	327	98.2%	160	97.0%	487	97.8%
One or more	313	8.3%	22	28.9%	83	25.7%	170	7.6%	27	4.4%	197	6.9%	6	1.8%	5	3.0%	11	2.2%
Total	3,751	100.0%	76	100.0%	323	100.0%	2,243	100.0%	611	100.0%	2,854	100.0%	333	100.0%	165	100.0%	498	100.0%

Comprehensive Recidivism Study

Table 20. Alternate Recidivism Measures by Criminal Justice Cohort

Time Until Recidivism Incident	Sample Total (n = 3751)		Drug Courts (n = 76)		Community Corrections Centers (n = 323)		House of Correction Sentence						State Prison Sentence					
							Discharge (n = 2243)		Parole (n = 611)		Sample Total (n = 2854)		Discharge (n = 333)		Parole (n = 165)		Sample Total (n = 498)	
	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
One or More Arrests	1841	49.1%	38	50.0%	168	52.0%	1156	51.5%	288	47.1%	1444	50.6%	121	36.3%	70	42.4%	191	38.4%
One or More Convictions	1136	30.3%	28	36.8%	116	35.9%	673	30.0%	206	33.7%	879	30.8%	52	15.6%	61	37.0%	113	22.7%
One or More Incarcerations	777	20.7%	23	30.3%	89	27.6%	419	18.7%	164	26.8%	583	20.4%	25	7.5%	57	34.5%	82	16.5%

Note: Offenders incarcerated as a result of a violation of parole or probation or some other offense were included in all categories.

The estimated recidivism rates (i.e. any new arrest, only convicted behavior, or only incarcerated behavior) were sensitive to the time during the follow-up period that the recidivism behavior occurred. Table 21 shows the relationships between these variables. As expected, the probability of conviction within the one year follow-up period was related to the time during the follow-up period when the recidivism behavior occurred. For those offenders classified as a recidivist in the first month, 78.9% had one or more convictions within the one year follow-up period. In contrast, for those offenders classified as a recidivist in month eight, 44.8% had one or more convictions within the one year follow-up period. In general, because a disposition decision in any case takes some time, the use of a conviction definition biased recidivism rate estimates towards those populations with recidivism behavior occurring more quickly. Because parole and probation violators were included in all of the alternate recidivism measures, the relation between the two measures was close for the parole and community based program cohorts.

Table 21. Conviction Status by Time Until Recidivism and Criminal Justice Cohort

Time Until Recidivism	Sample Total			Drug Courts			Community Corrections Centers			House of Correction Sentence									State Prison Sentence										
										Discharge			Parole			Sample Total			Discharge			Parole			Sample Total				
	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions	%	All Arrests	All Convictions
Less than 1 month	223	176	78.9%	4	4	100.0%	27	21	77.8%	147	110	74.8%	31	30	96.8%	178	140	78.7%	8	5	62.5%	6	6	100.0%	14	11	78.6%		
1 to 2 months	219	157	71.7%	9	7	77.8%	23	19	82.6%	133	83	62.4%	38	34	89.5%	171	117	68.4%	11	9	81.8%	5	5	100.0%	16	14	87.5%		
2 to 3 months	215	163	75.8%	7	3	42.9%	19	18	94.7%	138	100	72.5%	26	22	84.6%	164	122	74.4%	17	12	70.6%	9	9	100.0%	26	21	80.8%		
3 to 4 months	187	135	72.2%	2	2	100.0%	21	16	76.2%	113	79	69.9%	29	22	75.9%	142	101	71.1%	12	6	50.0%	10	10	100.0%	22	16	72.7%		
4 to 5 months	196	128	65.3%	3	2	66.7%	14	10	71.4%	131	85	64.9%	25	20	80.0%	156	105	67.3%	15	4	26.7%	7	6	85.7%	22	10	45.5%		
5 to 6 months	148	99	66.9%	3	3	100.0%	15	9	60.0%	98	63	64.3%	19	17	89.5%	117	80	68.4%	9	3	33.3%	4	4	100.0%	13	7	53.8%		
6 to 7 months	128	77	60.2%	2	2	100.0%	10	8	80.0%	80	46	57.5%	19	11	57.9%	99	57	57.6%	11	5	45.5%	6	5	83.3%	17	10	58.8%		
7 to 8 months	116	61	52.6%	2	1	50.0%	7	6	85.7%	69	33	47.8%	24	15	62.5%	93	48	51.6%	11	3	27.3%	3	3	100.0%	14	6	42.9%		
8 to 9 months	116	52	44.8%	3	3	100.0%	11	4	36.4%	70	31	44.3%	21	9	42.9%	91	40	44.0%	7	3	42.9%	4	2	50.0%	11	5	45.5%		
9 to 10 months	103	43	41.7%	1	1	100.0%	9	2	22.2%	67	24	35.8%	14	10	71.4%	81	34	42.0%	7	2	28.6%	5	4	80.0%	12	6	50.0%		
10 to 11 months	88	32	36.4%	0	0	N.A.	8	3	37.5%	43	16	37.2%	24	9	37.5%	67	25	37.3%	7	0	0.0%	7	5	71.4%	14	5	35.7%		
11 to 12 months	102	13	12.7%	2	0	0.0%	4	0	0.0%	67	3	4.5%	18	7	38.9%	85	10	11.8%	6	0	0.0%	4	2	50.0%	10	2	20.0%		
Total	1,841	1,136	61.7%	38	28	73.7%	168	116	69.0%	1,156	673	58.2%	288	206	71.5%	1,444	879	60.9%	121	52	43.0%	70	61	87.1%	191	113	59.2%		

APPENDIX - HOUSE OF CORRECTION SENTENCED OFFENDERS

For reference purposes, Table 22 shows recidivism rates and associated offender characteristics for house of correction sentenced offenders by type of release and the correctional jurisdiction of release:

- house of correction sentence / discharged / released from county facility;
- house of correction sentence / paroled / released from county facility;
- house of correction sentence / discharged / released from DOC facility;
- house of correction sentence / paroled / released from DOC facility.

Table 22. Selected Recidivism Characteristics by Type of Release and Custody at Time of Release, House of Correction Sentenced Offenders

Recidivism Characteristic	House Sentence / Released from House						House Sentence / Released from DOC					
	Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Type of Recidivist												
Recidivism Rate	1,082	51.7%	254	46.4%	1,336	50.6%	74	49.3%	34	54.0%	108	50.7%
One or More Arrests	1,049	50.1%	206	37.6%	1,255	47.5%	68	45.3%	29	46.0%	97	45.5%
Most serious:												
felony	507	24.2%	97	17.7%	604	22.9%	23	15.3%	7	11.1%	30	14.1%
misdemeanor	542	25.9%	109	19.9%	651	24.6%	45	30.0%	22	34.9%	67	31.5%
No Arrests / Technical	33	1.6%	48	8.8%	81	3.1%	6	4.0%	5	7.9%	11	5.2%
Non-Recidivist	1,011	48.3%	294	53.6%	1,305	49.4%	76	50.7%	29	46.0%	105	49.3%
Total	2,093	100.0%	548	100.0%	2,641	100.0%	150	100.0%	63	100.0%	213	100.0%
Time Until Recidivism Incident	New Cases	Cum Rate	New Cases	Cum Rate	New Cases	Cum Rate	New Cases	Cum Rate	New Cases	Cum Rate	New Cases	Cum Rate
Less than 1 month	134	6.4%	29	5.3%	163	6.2%	13	8.7%	2	3.2%	15	7.0%
1 to 2 months	125	12.4%	35	11.7%	160	12.2%	8	14.0%	3	7.9%	11	12.2%
2 to 3 months	134	18.8%	19	15.1%	153	18.0%	4	16.7%	7	19.0%	11	17.4%
3 to 4 months	102	23.7%	25	19.7%	127	22.8%	11	24.0%	4	25.4%	15	24.4%
4 to 5 months	122	29.5%	22	23.7%	144	28.3%	9	30.0%	3	30.2%	12	30.0%
5 to 6 months	94	34.0%	14	26.3%	108	32.4%	4	32.7%	5	38.1%	9	34.3%
6 to 7 months	75	37.6%	17	29.4%	92	35.9%	5	36.0%	2	41.3%	7	37.6%
7 to 8 months	65	40.7%	22	33.4%	87	39.2%	4	38.7%	2	44.4%	6	40.4%
8 to 9 months	67	43.9%	19	36.9%	86	42.4%	3	40.7%	2	47.6%	5	42.7%
9 to 10 months	59	46.7%	12	39.1%	71	45.1%	8	46.0%	2	50.8%	10	47.4%
10 to 11 months	42	48.7%	23	43.2%	65	47.6%	1	46.7%	1	52.4%	2	48.4%
11 to 12 months	63	51.7%	17	46.4%	80	50.6%	4	49.3%	1	54.0%	5	50.7%

Massachusetts Sentencing Commission

Recidivism Characteristic	House Sentence / Released from House						House Sentence / Released from DOC					
	Discharge		Parole		Sample Total		Discharge		Parole		Sample Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Offense Seriousness Level, Most Serious New Arrest Offense												
9	1	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8	4	0.2%	0	0.0%	4	0.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
7	6	0.3%	0	0.0%	6	0.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
6	23	1.1%	1	0.2%	24	0.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
5	46	2.2%	13	2.4%	59	2.2%	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%
4	157	7.5%	16	2.9%	173	6.6%	6	4.0%	1	1.6%	7	3.3%
3	419	20.0%	84	15.3%	503	19.0%	30	20.0%	6	9.5%	36	16.9%
2	239	11.4%	52	9.5%	291	11.0%	18	12.0%	15	23.8%	33	15.5%
1	153	7.3%	38	6.9%	191	7.2%	13	8.7%	7	11.1%	20	9.4%
Not Assigned	1	0.0%	2	0.4%	3	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	1,049	50.1%	206	37.6%	1,255	47.5%	68	45.3%	29	46.0%	97	45.5%
Type of Offense, Most Serious New Arrest Offense												
Person	304	29.0%	41	19.9%	345	27.5%	22	32.4%	2	6.9%	24	24.7%
Sex	17	1.6%	3	1.5%	20	1.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Property	249	23.7%	68	33.0%	317	25.3%	18	26.5%	9	31.0%	27	27.8%
Drug	198	18.9%	33	16.0%	231	18.4%	8	11.8%	7	24.1%	15	15.5%
Motor Vehicle	172	16.4%	39	18.9%	211	16.8%	11	16.2%	5	17.2%	16	16.5%
Other	109	10.4%	22	10.7%	131	10.4%	9	13.2%	6	20.7%	15	15.5%
Total	1,049	100.0%	206	100.0%	1,255	100.0%	68	100.0%	29	100.0%	97	100.0%

Table 23. Selected Offender Characteristics by Type of Release and Custody at Time of Release, House of Correction Sentenced Offenders

Offender Characteristic	House Sentence / Released from House									House Sentence / Released from DOC								
	Discharge			Parole			Sample Total			Discharge			Parole			Sample Total		
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Security Level at Release																		
Maximum	127	61	48.0%	2	1	50.0%	129	62	48.1%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Medium	597	352	59.0%	67	38	56.7%	664	390	58.7%	110	60	54.5%	30	17	56.7%	140	77	55.0%
Medium/Minimum	67	35	52.2%	15	9	60.0%	82	44	53.7%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Sub-Total Secure	791	448	56.6%	84	48	57.1%	875	496	56.7%	110	60	54.5%	30	17	56.7%	140	77	55.0%
Minimum	293	125	42.7%	72	31	43.1%	365	156	42.7%	4	0	0.0%	18	10	55.6%	22	10	45.5%
Minimum/Pre-release	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	32	11	34.4%	13	6	46.2%	45	17	37.8%
Pre-release	72	31	43.1%	51	20	39.2%	123	51	41.5%	4	3	75.0%	2	1	50.0%	6	4	66.7%
Sub-Total Lower	365	156	42.7%	123	51	41.5%	488	207	42.4%	40	14	35.0%	33	17	51.5%	73	31	42.5%
Not Provided	937	478	51.0%	341	155	45.5%	1278	633	49.5%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%
Gender																		
Female	132	58	43.9%	65	32	49.2%	197	90	45.7%	127	67	52.8%	38	20	52.6%	165	87	52.7%
Male	1961	1024	52.2%	483	222	46.0%	2444	1246	51.0%	23	7	30.4%	25	14	56.0%	48	21	43.8%
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%

Massachusetts Sentencing Commission

Offender Characteristic	House Sentence / Released from House									House Sentence / Released from DOC								
	Discharge			Parole			Sample Total			Discharge			Parole			Sample Total		
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Age at Release																		
Under 20	149	88	59.1%	65	37	56.9%	214	125	58.4%	6	4	66.7%	3	3	100.0%	9	7	77.8%
20 to 24	413	243	58.8%	119	60	50.4%	532	303	57.0%	13	9	69.2%	13	7	53.8%	26	16	61.5%
25 to 29	358	197	55.0%	108	51	47.2%	466	248	53.2%	27	17	63.0%	12	7	58.3%	39	24	61.5%
30 to 34	336	183	54.5%	81	41	50.6%	417	224	53.7%	34	17	50.0%	10	4	40.0%	44	21	47.7%
35 to 39	375	185	49.3%	83	39	47.0%	458	224	48.9%	34	17	50.0%	14	11	78.6%	48	28	58.3%
40 to 49	374	160	42.8%	72	22	30.6%	446	182	40.8%	25	9	36.0%	10	2	20.0%	35	11	31.4%
50 to 59	74	23	31.1%	16	3	18.8%	90	26	28.9%	11	1	9.1%	1	0	0.0%	12	1	8.3%
60 to 69	13	3	23.1%	4	1	25.0%	17	4	23.5%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
70 to 79	1	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	1	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%
Race / Ethnicity																		
White	1029	478	46.5%	361	159	44.0%	1390	637	45.8%	110	54	49.1%	53	27	50.9%	163	81	49.7%
Black	544	323	59.4%	87	41	47.1%	631	364	57.7%	21	7	33.3%	4	4	100.0%	25	11	44.0%
Hispanic	438	252	57.5%	90	51	56.7%	528	303	57.4%	17	12	70.6%	4	2	50.0%	21	14	66.7%
Other	43	16	37.2%	10	3	30.0%	53	19	35.8%	2	1	50.0%	2	1	50.0%	4	2	50.0%
Unknown	39	13	33.3%	0	0	N.A.	39	13	33.3%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%
Type of Offense (Current Offense)																		
Person	338	184	54.7%	108	54	50.9%	446	238	53.8%	35	20	57.1%	6	4	66.7%	41	24	58.5%
Sex	22	4	18.2%	3	2	66.7%	25	6	24.0%	0	0	20.0%	0	0	14.3%	0	0	19.2%
Property	251	143	55.7%	137	77	57.2%	388	220	56.3%	36	17	47.2%	22	14	62.1%	58	31	54.9%
Drug	307	165	54.1%	176	80	45.9%	483	245	51.0%	26	15	57.7%	20	10	50.0%	46	25	54.3%
Motor Vehicle	198	80	39.4%	102	29	27.3%	300	109	35.5%	38	13	37.5%	8	1	100.0%	46	14	44.4%
Other	97	54	56.3%	22	12	58.6%	119	66	56.7%	15	9	60.0%	7	5	71.4%	22	14	63.6%
Not A available	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%

Comprehensive Recidivism Study

Offender Characteristic	House Sentence / Released from House									House Sentence / Released from DOC								
	Discharge			Parole			Sample Total			Discharge			Parole			Sample Total		
	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate	Total	Recidivists	Recidivism Rate
Offense Seriousness Level (Current Offense)																		
9	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
8	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
7	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
6	0	0	N.A.	2	0	0.0%	2	0	0.0%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
5	23	10	43.5%	3	2	66.7%	26	12	46.2%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
4	173	84	48.6%	132	56	42.4%	305	140	45.9%	14	7	50.0%	11	4	36.4%	25	11	44.0%
3	505	268	53.1%	231	113	48.9%	736	381	51.8%	74	35	47.3%	24	16	66.7%	98	51	52.0%
2	356	178	50.0%	133	60	45.1%	489	238	48.7%	49	24	49.0%	22	12	54.5%	71	36	50.7%
1	151	88	58.3%	45	22	48.9%	196	110	56.1%	10	7	70.0%	5	2	40.0%	15	9	60.0%
Not Assigned	5	2	40.0%	2	1	50.0%	7	3	42.9%	3	1	33.3%	1	0	0.0%	4	1	25.0%
Not A vailable	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	880	452	51.4%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%
Criminal History Group																		
Group A - No/Minor Record	284	110	38.7%	50	19	38.0%	334	129	38.6%	53	21	39.6%	15	8	53.3%	68	29	42.6%
Group B - Moderate Record	342	167	48.8%	87	43	49.4%	429	210	49.0%	62	33	53.2%	27	16	59.3%	89	49	55.1%
Group C - Serious Record	299	170	56.9%	52	25	48.1%	351	195	55.6%	22	13	59.1%	15	5	33.3%	37	18	48.6%
Group D - Violent or Repetitive	285	181	63.5%	21	13	61.9%	306	194	63.4%	13	7	53.8%	6	5	83.3%	19	12	63.2%
Group E - Serious Violent	1	1	100.0%	0	0	N.A.	1	1	100.0%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Not Assigned or Youthful Offender	882	453	51.4%	338	154	45.6%	1220	607	49.8%	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	0	0	N.A.
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%
Juvenile Criminal History																		
No Prior Adjudications	1579	757	47.9%	423	179	42.3%	2002	936	46.8%	139	68	48.9%	54	28	51.9%	193	96	49.7%
One or More Adjudications	514	325	63.2%	125	75	60.0%	639	400	62.6%	11	6	54.5%	9	6	66.7%	20	12	60.0%
Total	2093	1082	51.7%	548	254	46.4%	2641	1336	50.6%	150	74	49.3%	63	34	54.0%	213	108	50.7%