



**One-Year Recidivism Rates of Male Releases
2013 - 2016: A Multi-year Descriptive
Analysis of Correctional Recovery Academy
and High School Equivalency Credential**

Massachusetts Department of Correction Research Report

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Correctional Recovery Academy and Education Recidivism Study



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Definition of Terms

Board of Probation: The Court Activity Record Information (CARI) file that provides criminal history information starting with each arraignment. The Massachusetts Board of Probation (BOP) record maintains the CARI file on the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Information System (CJIS).

COMPAS: Correctional Offender Management Profiling for Alternative Sanctions is an automated risk/needs assessment tool utilized to inform the development of an offender's personalized program plan. COMPAS has been normed and validated to the Massachusetts Department of Correction population.

Correctional Recovery Academy: An intensive, six month, skill-based residential substance abuse treatment program.

Electronic Monitoring Program (ELMO): The Massachusetts Probation Service's Electronic Monitoring Program was first established in April 2001 as an alternative to incarceration and to provide structure, control and accountability of probationers who were sentenced to house arrest by a judge. The two tools ELMO uses to monitor clients are Global Positioning System (GPS) devices and remote breath alcohol monitoring devices. The program provides an extra layer of supervision, with the goal of enhancing public safety in the community.

Governing Offense: The offense associated with the sentence imposing the longest maximum discharge date, when an inmate is convicted and sentenced for multiple offenses.

High School Diploma or Equivalent (General Equivalency Diploma, High School Equivalency Test): Education level associated with inmates incarcerated with a verified High School Diploma, or High School Equivalency Credential, or those who earned a High School Equivalency Credential during their incarceration.

Non-violent Offense: Any offense that falls under the categories of "Property", "Drug", or "Other."

Program Fidelity: The extent to which delivery of an intervention adheres to the protocol or program model originally developed. The Program Fidelity measurement has increasing significance for evaluation, treatment effectiveness research, and service administration.

Race/Ethnicity: Inmates are asked to self-report their race and ethnicity by choosing from one of the following categories: African American/Black, Caucasian/White, Asian, Hispanic, Hawaiian-Pacific Islander and Native American/Alaskan Native.

Recidivist: For the purposes of this report a recidivist is defined as any inmate in the study cohort who, within one year of his release to the community, is arraigned for an offense that ultimately results in a conviction. For this purpose, "conviction" is defined as any outcome involving a new criminal sentence, probation, suspended sentence, fine, guilty finding, or continuance without a finding (CWO). Additional follow-up time is necessary to collect data because of the time required for an inmate's new criminal charge to reach final resolution in the trial court. For example, if an inmate who was released on January 1, 2013, was arraigned for a new offense on March 1, 2013, and subsequently convicted and sentenced in February 2015, that inmate would be treated as having recidivated within the one-year period.

Recidivism Rate: The recidivism rate is calculated by dividing the number of inmates reconvicted within one year of release by the number of inmates in the release cohort.

Recidivism Risk Score: On intake to the prison system, each inmate is given assessments to establish his/her Intake/Criminal History/Risk Scale Set. Components of the scale set are the General and Violent Recidivism Risk Scores which may be used to predict recidivism risk. The risk scores are based on a COMPAS Core scale which is a standard decile scale with 1 corresponding to the lowest risk of recidivism and 10 corresponding to the highest risk. The amount of programming required for a given inmate is established by simplifying this scale to Low, Moderate, and High recidivism risk inmates. Inmates scoring a moderate to high risk to recidivate in either the general or the violent recidivism scale are administered a needs assessment and the inmate is referred to programming. Due to the implementation of the COMPAS Assessment, inmates who were incarcerated at the time of the roll-out were administered a Standing Risk Assessment as a proxy to the Initial Risk or Core Risk Assessment. Those assessment scales are used interchangeably in the analysis.

Security Level: The security level designation of the facility from which the inmate was released. For facilities with multi-level designations, the security level of the housing unit the inmate was released from within the facility was used.

Substance Abuse Scale: The COMPAS offender substance abuse scale is categorized ranging from 1 to 10 based on decile cut points and then categorized into low (1-2), moderate (3-4) and high (5-10) based on 20/20/60 cut points determined by a substance abuse norm group.

Time Served: Time served includes the inmate's length of stay in MA DOC custody as well as jail credits received prior to sentencing.

Violent Offense: Any offense that falls under crimes against the person, pursuant to G.L. c. 265, or a sex offense.

Executive Summary

The purpose of this study was to analyze the recidivism rates¹ of Massachusetts Department of Correction (MA DOC) inmates who completed programs to address their criminogenic need² areas to determine if expected reductions in recidivism were observed. The two need areas examined for the cohort were substance use and academic education. Program completion for inmates with a substance use need was determined through completion of the Correctional Recovery Academy (CRA) program while educational need was determined through the attainment of a High School Equivalency Credential (HSE). Three distinct cohorts were analyzed and their associated recidivism rates were examined to determine the differences between inmates who successfully completed programming and those who did not. The first cohort consisted of inmates with both substance use and academic education need areas. The second cohort consisted of inmates with only a substance use need, and the third cohort consisted of inmates with only an educational need.

Key Findings

- Inmates with a substance use need and educational need had statistically significant lower recidivism rates if both program needs were met. The recidivism rate was 6.5% for inmates with both a substance use and educational need who completed the CRA program and achieved a HSE, compared to a rate of 23.7% for inmates who did not meet both need areas.
- Overall, inmates with both substance use and educational needs had the highest recidivism rate (20.3%), followed by inmates with only a substance use need (16.9%) and inmates with only an educational need (14.5%). Inmates with neither a substance use need nor an educational need had the lowest recidivism rate (12.6%). (see graph 3).
- Inmates with only a substance use need who completed the CRA program had a recidivism rate of 12.5%. Inmates with only a substance use need who did not complete the CRA program had a recidivism rate of 20.7%.
- Inmates who only had an educational need and who also received a HSE had a recidivism rate of 9.7%. Inmates with only an educational need who did not receive a HSE had a recidivism rate of 16.3%.
- The lower recidivism rates among those inmates who met their criminogenic need areas with programming were consistent under different controlled situations (see Appendices A, B, and C). The consistent results across these control groups suggest a robust relationship between completion of programming such as the CRA and/or HSE and lower rates of recidivism. These programs appeared to work particularly well with inmates of higher risk scores, medium security level, and violent crimes.
- For the overall study cohort, the one-year recidivism rate was 17.4%.

¹ The recidivism rate is calculated by dividing the number of inmates reconvicted by the number of inmates in the release cohort.

² Factors that impact criminal behavior that can be altered over time with appropriate treatment.

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Meta-analysis has indicated that programming designed to meet the educational and therapeutic needs of offenders with histories of substance use will result in a reduction in the rate of recidivism (Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2013). The data analyzed in this study comports with prior research that indicates therapeutic communities for substance use treatment and educational programming during incarceration, independent of each other, will result in lower recidivism rates (Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2013). More importantly, our findings indicate the key to maximizing recidivism reduction for inmates with a substance use and educational need was to meet both need areas.

Introduction

How recidivism is conceptualized and how an inmate population is targeted can drastically influence a reported recidivism rate. Common definitions for recidivism include: the recommitting of a crime; the reconviction of a crime; or the reincarceration to jail or prison after release to the community following an incarceration.

For the purposes of this report, recidivism is defined as a reconviction based on an arraignment occurring within one year from the date of an inmate's release to the community. Conviction types include a criminal sentence to a Massachusetts state or county facility, a term of probation, a suspended sentence, a split sentence, a fine, a guilty finding, or a continuance without a finding (CWO). Because of the time it takes to prosecute a crime and reach final resolution of a charge, the initial arraignment date associated with the new offense is used to determine the date of reconviction.

A primary objective of the MA DOC is to rehabilitate inmates and prepare them for successful reentry into society. Inmates are assessed through a risk/needs analysis and those identified as being at the highest risk of recidivism are enrolled in programs designed to target their specific criminogenic need areas, with the goal of deterring future criminality. To measure success, recidivism rates are used to determine an inmate's ability to abstain from criminal behavior after release from prison.

Over the last decade, the MA DOC has placed greater emphasis on evidence-based programming as a tool for reducing recidivism and enhancing public safety. Utilizing the best available research, the MA DOC has sought to address the root causes of criminal behavior through highly focused and targeted programming. The individual progress of each inmate is further measured through the review of the offender's personalized program plan at each annual classification review.

The cornerstone of the program services administered by the MA DOC is the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) framework. The RNR is predicated on three core principles:

- **The Risk Principle** asserts that criminal behavior can be reliably predicted. Intensity of services should match the offender's risk level and treatment should focus on the higher risk offenders;
- **The Need Principle** highlights the importance of addressing criminogenic needs in the design and delivery of treatment; and,
- **The Responsivity Principle** focuses on matching an offender's personality and learning style with appropriate program settings and approaches (Andrews & Dowden, 2005; Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau & Cullen, 1990).

The RNR framework focuses correctional treatment on addressing *criminogenic needs*: factors that impact criminal behavior that can be altered over time with appropriate treatment. For example, an

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inmate may have a lengthy criminal record from crimes committed while under the influence of illicit drugs. The MA DOC focuses on addressing criminal thinking and substance use as they can be changed with appropriately targeted services. Disregarding inmates' major needs has been proven through extensive research to actually increase their chances of recidivating (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). Other criminogenic needs include: employment and pro-social networks/associations, education, and stable housing and home life (Andrews & Bonta, 2006).

It is important to note that one focus of this analysis included a cohort of inmates who may have participated in a version of the CRA Program which was much different than the program in place today. The CRA has evolved over time, and that evolution has been informed by the insights from this report and other empirical research to more closely align the treatment model with evidence-based practices. This report is one example of the MA DOC's data-driven approach to evidence based decision making.

Methodology

The goal of this analysis is to explore MA DOC recidivism rates with reference to the CRA and its associated qualification assessments: general risk, violent risk, and substance use risk; and high school diploma/equivalency attainment based on high school education level upon admission to the MA DOC.

The CRA is an intensive six month skill-based residential substance use treatment program. There are a total of 473 residential treatment beds located across four separate MA DOC institutions with an additional 110 graduate support beds. CRA targets substance use, anger management, criminal thinking, and relapse prevention by utilizing a therapeutic community based approach with an advanced cognitive behavioral curriculum that promotes positive social learning.

To identify inmates appropriate for CRA referral, the COMPAS Risk Assessment was used. Upon admission, inmates are administered the COMPAS Risk Assessment. Each inmate given a general or a violent recidivism risk score is placed in a category score ranging from 1 (lowest risk) to 10 (highest risk). Based on this 10-point scale, each inmate is then placed into one of three recidivism risk categories, Low (score 1-4), Moderate (score 5-7), and High (score 8-10). Inmates who score moderate to high risk are also given the COMPAS Needs Assessment to assess programming need. Inmates with a moderate to high substance use score in the substance abuse scale of the COMPAS Needs Assessment³ are referred to the CRA program.

To identify an inmate's educational need, data regarding the inmate's level of education was gathered upon the inmate's admission to the MA DOC. Inmates without a high school diploma or equivalency were identified as having an educational need for the purpose of this study. Analysis was then completed to determine if achieving a High School Equivalency Credential, while incarcerated, was associated with a reduced risk of recidivism. The MA DOC offers a full continuum of educational programming and services, including basic and advanced courses in adult education, as well as English as a Second Language for non-English speaking inmates. The continuum also includes supplemental programming such as special education and Title I⁴, as well as transitional college courses.

³ Of the 5,090 moderate to high risk inmates, 187 were not administered a needs assessment and were excluded from the study. This resulted in a recidivism cohort of 4,903.

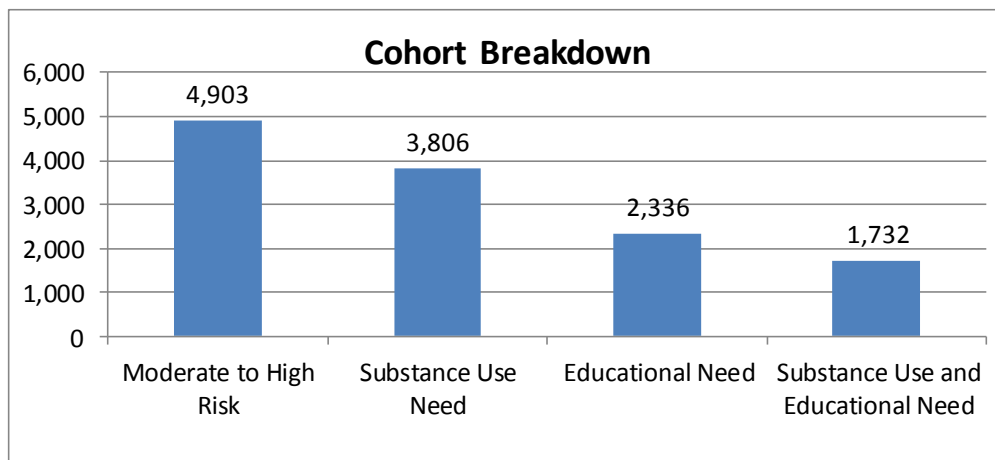
⁴ Title I is a state agency program that provides financial assistance to educational programs for youth in State-operated institutions.

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One year reconviction rates were examined for a cohort of inmates released to the community. Cohort selection included male inmates released between 2013 and 2016 whose first release occurred during the time period. Overall, there were 6,629 male inmates released to the community between 2013 and 2016.⁵ This report focuses on male releases as availability of risk score data was limited for the female population. Of 6,629 male releases, 4,903 (74%) were identified as moderate to high risk to recidivate.

Of the 4,903 moderate/high risk inmates, 3,806 (78%) were identified for the CRA cohort, scoring moderate to high in the substance abuse scale. In addition, 2,346 (48%) of the 4,903 moderate/high risk inmates were identified as having an educational need as they had not attained a high school equivalency degree or diploma upon their admission to the MA DOC. The combined 3,806 inmates in the CRA cohort and 2,346 inmates in the educational need cohort resulted in an overall study cohort of 4,420 as 1,732 inmates were in both cohorts.

Graph 1

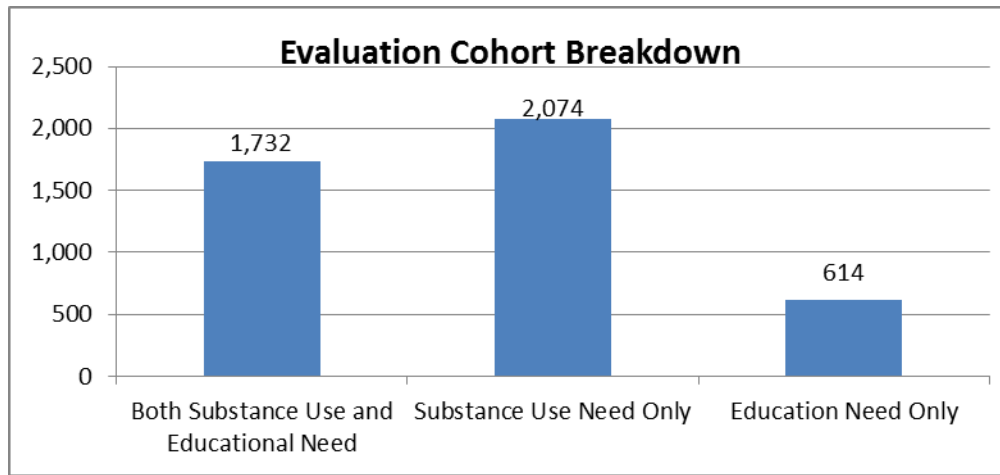


Of the 4,420 inmates with a substance use or educational need, 1,732 (39.2%) had a need in both areas, 2,074 (46.9%) had only a substance use need and 614 (13.9%) had only an educational need. This report will examine the recidivism rates for each of these three cohorts to compare and describe differences between those inmates who successfully completed the CRA Program and/or attained an HSE, and those inmates who did not participate in programming to address their criminogenic needs.⁶ It is important to note that this report only examines substance use and educational needs. There are other inmate need areas and programs that are not included in this report.

⁵ An inmate may not be included in the study for one of several reasons, including not being released directly to the community or death in the community before the conclusion of the one year follow-up period.

⁶ Please note that inmate participation in the CRA or the GED program is voluntary, which can lead to data bias and may impact the findings from this study.

Graph 2



The CRA program data and HSE data was gathered from the MA DOC's Inmate Management System (IMS) and merged into the cohort data file of calendar years 2013 - 2016 male releases to the community. The CRA data was sorted to identify inmates in the study cohort who completed the CRA program as indicated by a termination reason of 'Completed Successfully' for identified CRA program types and flagged with their most recent completion date. Data regarding the educational levels of inmates was also gathered from IMS to identify inmates who received their HSE by passing either the General Equivalency Diploma (GED) or High School Equivalency Test (HiSet) while incarcerated.

For this report, the follow-up timeframe for a recidivist was based on the initial arraignment date for the new charge which resulted in a new criminal sentence, probation term, suspended sentence, guilty finding, fine, or CWO. Though there was a one-year timeframe for recidivism, additional time is necessary when collecting reconviction data to allow for an inmate's new charge to reach final resolution in the trial court.

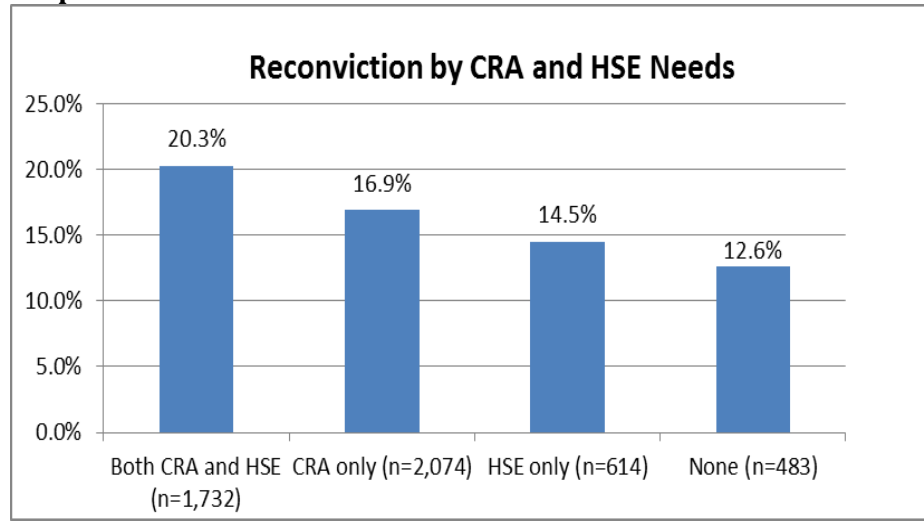
Section I: Two-Need Area Cohort

Correctional Recovery Academy and High School Equivalency Credential

Of the 4,903 male releases with a moderate to high risk to recidivate, 3,806 were assessed to have a moderate to high substance use score and a need for the CRA program and 2,346 were identified to have an educational need as they had not attained a high school equivalency degree or diploma upon admission to the MA DOC. Of the inmates with a substance use or educational need, 1,732 had a need in both areas, 2,074 only had a substance use need, and 614 only had an educational need.

In graph 3, the recidivism rate for inmates identified as having both a substance use and educational need (n = 1,732) was 20.3%, compared to a rate of 12.6% for inmates with no need in these two areas. The recidivism rate for inmates with a need in only one of the two need areas was approximately 16%.

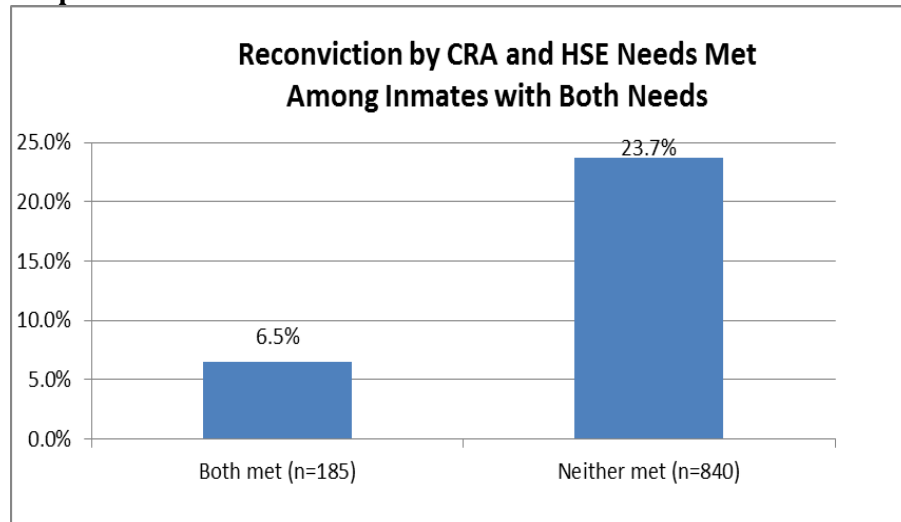
Graph 3



The following analysis (graph 4) examines recidivism rates of the 1,732 inmates who had a substance use and an educational need. Recidivism rates for inmates with two program need areas who met both those needs are examined along with the recidivism rates of inmates who did not.

The recidivism rate was only 6.5% when inmates with both a substance use and an educational need completed the CRA program and attained their high school equivalency credential. The recidivism rate significantly increased to 23.7% when no need area(s) were met. If only one of the need areas was met, the rate was similar to that of inmates who completed programming for neither need area (see Appendix A). This finding highlights the importance of addressing multiple need areas.

Graph 4

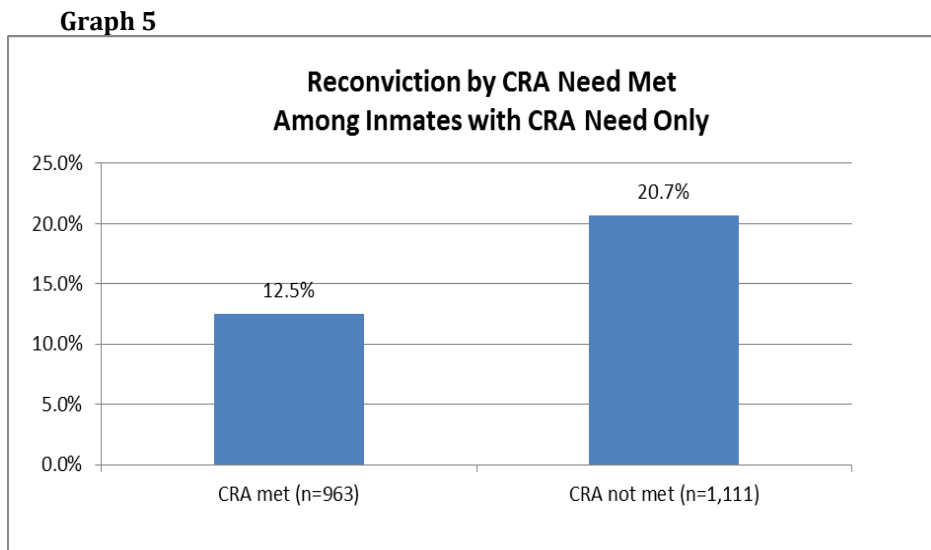


The relationship between meeting multiple need areas and lower recidivism rates appeared to be consistent under different controlled situations (see Appendix A), which suggests that the relationship is real and not spurious due to other factors.

Section 2: One Need Area Cohort

Correctional Recovery Academy

There were 2,074 inmates who had a substance use need but not an educational need in the study cohort. The recidivism rate for the inmates who met their substance use need by completing the CRA was 12.5% compared to a rate of 20.7% for those who did not complete the CRA program. These findings are consistent with prior research indicating a reduction in recidivism rates with the use of effective evidence-based programming (Sherman et al., 2002, and Washington State Institute for Public Policy). Additionally, recent work by the MA DOC with the Pew-MacArthur Results First Initiative estimated that modified therapeutic drug community treatments, such as CRA, have an expected recidivism reduction of 13.9% (Executive Office of Public Safety and Security, 2014).



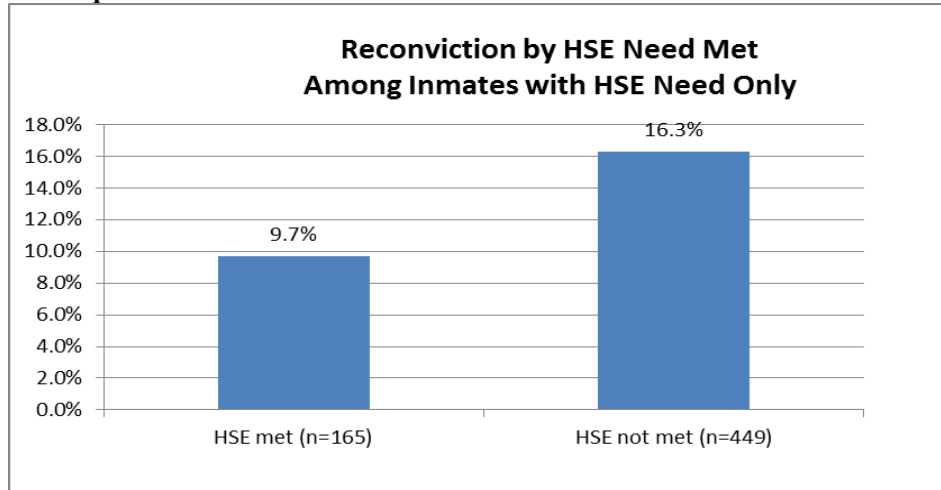
The data shows a stronger association between the successful completion of the CRA program and the lower rate of recidivism of certain segments of the inmate population. These segments include younger inmates, Hispanic and black inmates, person offenders, non-supervised inmates after release, and inmates of higher risk to recidivate where a decline in recidivism of over 10 percentage points is found between the inmates who finished the program and the inmates who did not (See Appendix B).

Section 3: One Need Area Cohort

High School Equivalency Credential

There were 614 inmates in the study cohort that had an educational need but no substance use need. The recidivism rate for the 614 inmates who received a high school equivalency credential while incarcerated was 9.7% compared to a rate of 16.3% for those who did not receive their high school equivalency credential. These findings are consistent with prior research indicating a reduction in recidivism rates with the use of effective evidence-based programming (Sherman et al., 2002, and Washington State Institute for Public Policy).

Graph 6



See Appendix C for a comparison of recidivism rates for inmates with a HSE need only by control variables.

Conclusion

The findings discussed within this report indicate the key to maximizing recidivism reduction for inmates with a substance use and an educational need is to address both need areas. A typical study isolates one program with the goal of measuring the treatment effect and its corresponding impact on recidivism. However, a large number of MA DOC new court commitments have been assessed as having more than one need, thus requiring multiple programs to effectively mitigate their risk of reoffending. The goal of this study was to go beyond the traditional approach of identifying the treatment effect of an individual program by exploring the combination of both substance use and educational programming.

The results from this study are promising and consistent with meta-analyses of similar evidence-based programs and with previously published statistical analyses of the CRA by the MA DOC. More importantly, this statistical analysis revealed that inmates with both substance use and educational needs had statistically significant lower recidivism rates if both program needs were met. The recidivism rate was 6.5% for inmates with both a substance use and an educational need, who completed the CRA program and achieved an HSE, compared to a rate of 23.7% for inmates who did not meet both need areas. The analysis also found that meeting only one of the two need areas is nearly equivalent to addressing neither need area. Future studies will explore the impact of meeting other criminogenic needs areas.

Based on the findings presented herein, there is evidence to support discussion of a modified CRA program that would also encompass an educational component to address the needs of those inmates who have both a substance use and an educational need. Introducing such a track that would combine both need areas would allow inmates to address both critical needs in not only an efficient manner, but in a way that may allow the treatments to further complement each other.

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Appendix A

One Year Reconviction Rates for Inmates with Both a CRA and HSE Need by Control Variables											
Control Variable	Category	Both Met		CRA Met		EDUC Met		None Met		TOTAL	
		PCT	N	PCT	N	PCT	N	PCT	N	PCT	N
Total	Reconviction*	6.5%	185	19.3%	497	21.0%	210	23.7%	840	20.3%	1,732
Recidivism Risk Score	HIGH*	7.4%	149	22.6%	399	23.8%	168	25.7%	703	22.7%	1,419
	MEDIUM	2.8%	36	6.1%	98	9.5%	42	13.1%	137	9.3%	313
Release Institution Security Level	Maximum	16.7%	6	37.5%	16	38.9%	36	40.8%	152	39.5%	210
	Medium*	7.2%	97	22.2%	230	21.4%	103	23.3%	468	21.0%	898
	Minimum	6.8%	44	16.8%	131	10.8%	37	13.3%	120	13.6%	332
Security Level	ELMO/Pre-release	2.6%	38	14.2%	120	11.8%	34	12.0%	100	11.6%	292
	Higher security*	7.8%	103	23.2%	246	25.9%	139	27.6%	620	24.5%	1,108
Post Release Supervision	Minimum security	4.9%	82	15.5%	251	11.3%	71	12.7%	220	12.7%	624
	Non-supervised	7.9%	38	26.4%	163	24.6%	61	25.1%	366	24.4%	628
Time Served	Supervised*	6.1%	147	15.9%	334	19.5%	149	22.6%	474	17.9%	1,104
	Less than 3 yrs	6.7%	30	22.4%	183	23.2%	69	21.5%	396	21.2%	678
	6 or more yrs*	5.2%	58	15.0%	60	13.5%	37	33.7%	98	19.8%	253
Governing Offense Type	3 to less than 6 yrs*	7.2%	97	18.1%	254	22.1%	104	23.4%	346	19.6%	801
	Property*	13.3%	15	23.9%	71	52.9%	17	37.2%	121	32.6%	224
	Person*	4.4%	90	19.0%	184	22.3%	103	26.3%	372	21.4%	749
	Other Crimes	13.3%	30	27.0%	74	28.0%	25	17.3%	104	21.0%	233
	Sex	0.0%	7	0.0%	11	7.1%	14	22.9%	48	15.0%	80
Governing Offense	Drug	4.7%	43	15.3%	157	7.8%	51	13.8%	195	12.8%	446
	Violent*	4.1%	97	17.9%	195	20.5%	117	26.0%	420	20.7%	829
Race	Non-violent	9.1%	88	20.2%	302	21.5%	93	21.4%	420	19.8%	903
	Black*	5.8%	52	23.7%	156	18.5%	54	24.0%	217	21.3%	479
	White*	5.6%	71	17.8%	118	24.3%	103	25.3%	289	21.2%	581
	Hispanic	8.6%	58	17.4%	218	16.0%	50	21.9%	329	18.8%	655
Age at Release	Other	0.0%	4	0.0%	5	33.3%	3	40.0%	5	17.6%	17
	Less than 35*	8.6%	116	20.7%	222	22.4%	152	25.1%	419	21.5%	909
	35 or more*	2.9%	69	18.2%	275	17.2%	58	22.3%	421	19.0%	823

*Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level

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Appendix B

One Year Reconviction Rates for Inmates with a CRA Need but no HSE Need by Control Variables							
Control Variable	Category	SA Need Met		SA Need Not Met		TOTAL	
		PCT	N	PCT	N	PCT	N
Total	Reconviction*	12.5%	963	20.7%	1,111	16.9%	2,074
Recidivism Risk Score	High*	13.9%	747	24.1%	870	19.4%	1,617
	Medium	7.4%	216	8.3%	241	7.9%	457
Release Institution Security Level	Maximum	47.1%	17	32.8%	183	34.0%	200
	Medium*	15.7%	420	21.9%	553	19.2%	973
	Minimum*	8.6%	279	15.6%	160	11.2%	439
	ELMO/Pre-release	8.9%	247	11.2%	215	10.0%	462
Security Level	Higher security*	16.9%	437	24.6%	736	21.7%	1,173
	Minimum security*	8.7%	526	13.1%	375	10.5%	901
Post Release Supervision	Non-supervised*	18.0%	261	28.6%	395	24.4%	656
	Supervised*	10.4%	702	16.3%	716	13.4%	1,418
Time Served	Less than 3 yrs*	16.7%	293	23.1%	524	20.8%	817
	3 to less than 6 yrs*	10.5%	468	18.6%	467	14.5%	935
	6 or more yrs	10.9%	202	18.3%	120	13.7%	322
Governing Offense Type	Sex	31.6%	19	16.7%	42	21.3%	61
	Property	19.2%	146	22.2%	212	20.9%	358
	Person*	12.1%	431	22.7%	507	17.8%	938
	Drug*	10.0%	239	16.8%	220	13.3%	459
	Other Crimes*	7.8%	128	18.5%	130	13.2%	258
Governing Offense	Violent*	12.9%	450	22.2%	549	18.0%	999
	Non-violent*	12.1%	513	19.2%	562	15.8%	1,075
Race	White*	14.9%	476	20.7%	658	18.3%	1,134
	Black*	12.6%	285	22.7%	277	17.6%	562
	Other	9.1%	11	23.1%	13	16.7%	24
	Hispanic*	6.3%	191	17.2%	163	11.3%	354
Age at Release	Less than 35*	12.9%	420	24.7%	551	19.6%	971
	35 or more*	12.2%	543	16.8%	560	14.5%	1,103

*Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level

Correctional Recovery Academy and Education Recidivism Study

Appendix C

One Year Reconviction Rates for Inmate with an HSE Need but no CRA Need by Control Variables							
Control Variable	Category	HSE Need Met		HSE Need Not Met		TOTAL	
		PCT	N	PCT	N	PCT	N
Total	Reconviction*	9.7%	165	16.3%	449	14.5%	614
Recidivism Risk Score	High	15.1%	106	18.7%	327	17.8%	433
	Medium	0.0%	59	9.8%	122	6.6%	181
Release Institution Security Level	Maximum	23.8%	21	22.7%	66	23.0%	87
	Medium*	7.1%	56	18.2%	225	16.0%	281
	ELMO/Pre-release	10.0%	40	12.0%	75	11.3%	115
	Minimum	6.3%	48	9.6%	83	8.4%	131
Security Level	Higher security	11.7%	77	19.2%	291	17.7%	368
	Minimum security	8.0%	88	10.8%	158	9.8%	246
Post Release Supervision	Non-supervised	18.8%	32	20.4%	167	20.1%	199
	Supervised	7.5%	133	13.8%	282	11.8%	415
Time Served	3 to less than 6 yrs	11.5%	52	18.9%	169	17.2%	221
	Less than 3 yrs	10.7%	28	15.8%	152	15.0%	180
	6 or more yrs	8.2%	85	13.3%	128	11.3%	213
Governing Offense Type	Property	0.0%	7	20.0%	40	17.0%	47
	Person*	6.9%	87	19.4%	170	15.2%	257
	Other Crimes	19.5%	41	11.5%	87	14.1%	128
	Drug	8.3%	24	14.5%	117	13.5%	141
	Sex	0.0%	6	14.3%	35	12.2%	41
Governing Offense	Violent*	6.5%	93	18.5%	205	14.8%	298
	Non-violent	13.9%	72	14.3%	244	14.2%	316
Race	White	8.8%	34	21.4%	70	17.3%	104
	Hispanic	11.5%	52	15.3%	202	14.6%	254
	Black	8.5%	71	16.0%	169	13.8%	240
	Other	12.5%	8	0.0%	8	6.3%	16
Age at Release	Less than 35	13.3%	120	17.9%	252	16.4%	372
	35 or more*	0.0%	45	14.2%	197	11.6%	242

*Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level