

### HAMPDEN COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT MICHAEL J. ASHE, JR. SHERIFF

### HOUSE OF CORRECTION

### **RECIDIVISM REPORT**

2007 & 2004 Releases

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### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Section 1: 2007 Releases One Year Post Release

- Of the 2280 inmates released in 2007, 417 (16.9%) were reincarcerated within one year for a new offense and 151 (6.1%) returned for a technical violation of parole or probation.
- The total reincarceration rate was 23.0%. This represents a decrease of 0.7 points from the previous year.
- There were 25 individuals (2 women, 23 men) who were incarcerated twice within the first year post release.
- These repeat offenders commit drug, property, motor vehicle of prostitution offenses, or violate probation or parole. Although they are not a serious threat to public safety, their constant movements in and out of the criminal justice system are costly. As noted in last year's report, these "churners" should be considered a high risk group and targeted for intensive programming and release planning.
- Re-incarceration rates for new crimes by females increased 6% while technical violations decreased 26%. New crimes by males decreased 4% and technical violations were virtually unchanged.
- Consistent with previous years, nearly 40% of new arraignments occurred within 90 days of release, and fully two-thirds occurred within 180 days of release. Mean time to recidivate was 143 days.

- 319 individuals had new cases awaiting disposition at the end of the first year post release, a decrease of 20 from the previous year.
  Disposition of these cases will be reflected in the three-year follow up.
- 331 individuals (20 females, 311 males) had new restraining orders filed against them after their release.
- Many new arraignments lead to incarceration for violation of release conditions. This is particularly true for nonviolent offenses, which represented 63% of new arraignments, but only 40% of new incarcerations.
- Over 37% of those serving time for a violent offense were arraigned for a new violent offense. Most scored as high-risk on the LSI. 60% had been released without supervision, 70% from the Main Institution. Four were repeat sex offenders and 11 committed new acts of domestic violence. The majority of these violent offenders are young males under age 30.
- Median sentence for a new offense was 180 days, for a probation violation, 333 days and for a parole violation, 96 days. Parole violators received credit for almost 4500 days on the street before revocation. Probationers on a split sentence do not receive credit, and must serve the entire suspended portion of their sentence for a violation.
- Those released from lower security have a significantly better outcome than those released from "behind the wall". Those released

from lower security committed 41% fewer new crimes despite the fact that nearly 60% scored 5 or higher on the LSI.

- The benefit of the Community Reentry Unit program is evidenced by a re-incarceration rate (23%) that is closer to that of Lower Security (20%) than the Main Institution (27%), despite the fact that most CRU releases were ineligible for lower security.
- Minimum/PRC demonstrated the only reduction in re-incarceration rates from the previous year. Technical violations dropped from 10.3% to 7.9% and new offense rates decreased from 16.3% to 14%.
- Despite an increase of over 3 percentage points, DRP participants continued to post the lowest re-incarceration rates overall.
- Those released with probation supervision had the highest rate of reincarceration for a new offense. Conversely, only 12 parolees committed a new offense while under parole supervision.
- Consistent with previous years, the majority of parole revocations were for reasons related to relapse.
- The LSI screening continues to be highly predictive of re-offending. The re-incarceration rate for those who scored as High-Risk offenders was more than twice that of who scored as Low-Risk.
- Unemployment, substance abuse, criminal history and personalemotional problems were the predominant risk factors for reoffending.

### Section II: 2004 Releases Three Years Post Release

- Three years post-release, 63.3% (1443) of offenders had been arraigned, 47% (1072) had been convicted and 37.1% (847) had been incarcerated for a new crime. Another 7.2% (164) had been incarcerated for a technical violation of probation or parole (most in the first year).
- The total three-year re-incarceration rate for 2004 releases is 44.3%. This represents a 9.2% reduction since 2000.
- Rates of re-offending drop off significantly in the second year postrelease, and are negligible by the third year. 68% of new arraignments occurred in the first year post release, another 21.5% in the second year and 10.2% in the third year.
- Participants in Day Reporting and WMCAC, both community based programs, commit significantly fewer new offenses that those released from Minimum or the Main Institution.
- While the overall re-incarceration rate was higher for those who were paroled (48.2%) than for those who completed their sentence (43.2%), that was inflated by the nearly 25% technical violation rate. Only 23.3% of parolees committed a new offense compared to 41% of those who wrapped up their sentence.
- Arraignment and incarceration rates are at a five-year low. Three years after release, nearly 37% of 2004 releases remained crime-free, and 63% had not been re-incarcerated for a new crime.

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#### INTRODUCTION

This is the tenth year of the recidivism study at the Hampden County House of Correction. Release cohorts have grown from 1547 in 1998 to a peak of 2608 in 2006, an increase of 69%. The 2007 release cohort decreased 5.4% to 2468. The study now includes nearly 23,000 individuals released over the ten-year period.

Computing and analyzing recidivism for the highly mobile population of individuals that move through a county facility is a complex process, and largely explains the absence of interest or effort to tract this statistic at most county facilities. To accurately assess the rate of re-offending, it is critical to carefully define that portion of the population that is released to the community and is "at risk" to recidivate. This study follows only those sentenced offenders released to the street via expiration of sentence, payment of fines or parole. Sentenced offenders transferred to other correctional facilities at the time of release (immigration, another local jurisdiction, state or federal system) and pretrial detainees are excluded.

Subjects included in the study are required to participate in correctional programs, are eligible for movement to lower security and parole, and are provided with a detailed release plan when they leave. Tracking post-release outcomes provides valuable information on the effectiveness of the department's correctional programs and practices and has led to numerous changes in the ten years since the study began. One and three-year recidivism rates are calculated across several dimensions including socio-demographic characteristics, geographic areas, offense types, sentence length, classification-at-release, release type, criminal history, criminogenic risks and post-release supervision. Analysis of recidivistic activity helps to identify those factors that correlate with the risk to re-offend and identify at-risk groups. The goal of this ongoing study of recidivism is to produce more than the "recidivism rate". The broader purpose is to inform and support good correctional practices, manage scarce correctional resources and address overcrowding issues. In the present climate of high inmate populations and shrinking resources it is more critical than ever to gather and report valid data on factors that may have an effect on the perpetuation of criminal behavior and to present that information in such a way that it is useful to public safety professionals in making security, classification, programming and release decisions. It also aids in developing community collaborations to improve each offender's potential for successful reintegration into society and ultimately enhance public safety.

#### METHODOLOGY

Lists of individuals released from the House of Correction are drawn monthly from the facility's Jail Management System. Offenders not released to the street (transferred to other institutions or returned to pretrial status for new charges) are deleted. Edited lists are produced from which official criminal records (BOPs) are run and processed. Any activity within the criminal court system in Massachusetts is recorded.

Recidivism is reported along four dimensions:

- <u>New Arraignment</u> any court appearances following release for new offense.
- <u>New Conviction</u> any guilty finding on a new case. Dispositions range from guilty-filed to commitment to a county, state or federal facility.
- <u>New Incarceration</u> sentence of any length to a state or county correctional facility in Massachusetts for a new offense.
- <u>Technical Violation</u> return to custody for violation of either parole or probation for any reason other than a new offense.

Several data sources are utilized in preparing the recidivism report. Information relative to gender, race, age, residence, current charges and sentence, release type and classification are obtained from JMS. LSI results are drawn from the TRAX Case Management program. Parole violations are tracked through JMS (date of permanent warrant and outdate adjustment) and the Notice of Preliminary Hearing (Form A) from the Institutional Parole Office. Data for on and after probation and probation violations are recorded from the BOP.

### **OVERVIEW OF THE 2007 RELEASE COHORT**

- During 2007, 2468 sentenced offenders were released to the street. This represented a decrease of 140 (5.7 %) from the previous year.
- 24% (592) were paroled and 76% (1872) were released via expiration of sentence or payment of fines ("wrapped"). Parolees served 50.3% of their sentence, those who wrapped served 78.9%.
- 53% (194) of females and 62% (1299) of males were previous recidivists by virtue of having at least one prior incarceration. 192 males had more than five prior incarcerations in the last 10 years.
- Of those serving their first adult incarceration, 35% (337) had a previous juvenile record.
- Of those released, 15% (364) were females and 85% (2105) were males. Two males were reported deceased during the first year postrelease and have been removed from the cohort.
- Female releases ranged in age from 19 to 61 years of age. The most common age was 40. Males ranged from 17 to 71 years; the most common age was 25.
- 13.5% of the females released were African American, 24.5% were Hispanic and 62% were Caucasian. Of the male releases, 18% were African American, 40% were Hispanic and 42% were Caucasian.
- The breakdown of security level at time of release was as follows: Medium/Maximum 35%, Minimum/PRC18%, CRU 18%, WMCAC 17% and Day Reporting 13%.

- The 2006 release cohort included 9 DOC reentry inmates. 7 were released from lower security.
- 56% (1385) of those released served time for a nonviolent offense (property, drugs, MV, prostitution, other), 20% for a violent offense (crime against a person, domestic violence, sex offense, firearms), and 24% for violation of parole or probation.
- 12% served a sentence of 90 days or less, 32% between 90 and 180 days, 8% between 180 and 364 days, and 48% a year or more.
- 384 individuals served sentences part or all of which were mandatory. These mandatory sentences accrued 119,820 bed-days, 54,750 of which were for school zone violations.
- 44% of those released were from Springfield, 12% from Holyoke, 7% from Chicopee, 14% from other Hampden County towns, 13% from other counties and 3% from out of state. 6% provided no address at booking.
- On the LSI screening, 9% scored as Low-Risk, 54% as Medium-Risk and 37% as High-Risk. Predominant criminogenic factors (in order of magnitude) were substance abuse, unemployment, personalemotional problems, adult criminal history and criminal associates.
- 36% of those released from lower security scored as High-Risk, compared to 39% of those released from the Main Institution. Those who moved to lower security had higher rates of substance abuse, but had fewer personal-emotional issues, stronger family relationships and demonstrated more pro-social attitudes.

### SECTION ONE

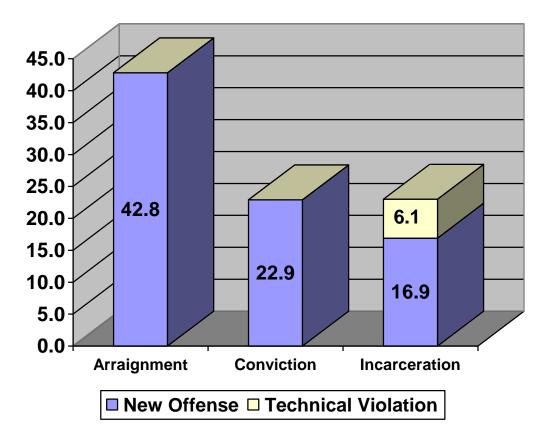
### 2007 RELEASES

### ONE-YEAR RECIDIVISM RATES

#### SECTION I ONE-YEAR RECIDIVISM RATES 2007 RELEASES

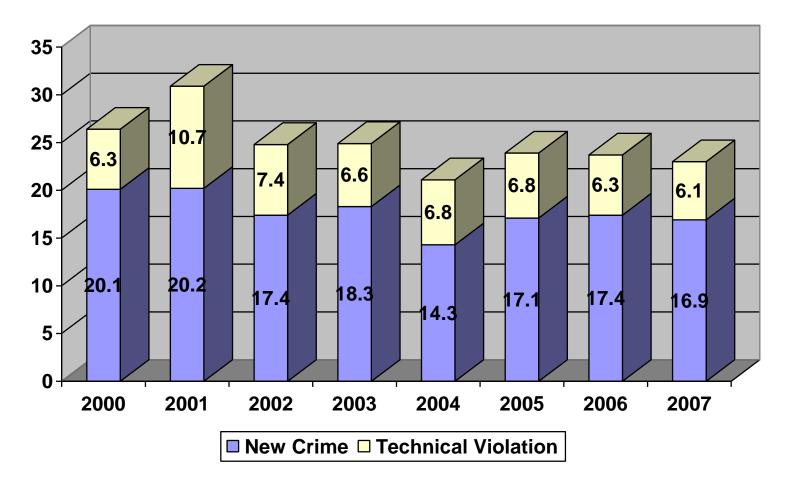
Recidivism Type (% of Total Releases)						
	Fema	ales	Males	5	Total	
	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%
New Offense						
Arraignment	116	31.9	941	44.7	1057	42.8
Conviction	68	18.7	496	23.6	564	22.9
Incarceration	53	14.6	364	17.3	417	16.9
<b>Technical Violation</b>	23	6.3	128	6.1	151	6.1

16.9% of those released were sentenced for a new offense within one year of release, a decrease of 0.5 percentage points from the previous year. An additional 6.1% returned for a technical violation of parole or probation. The total reincarceration rate of 23.0% was down 0.7 points from the previous year.



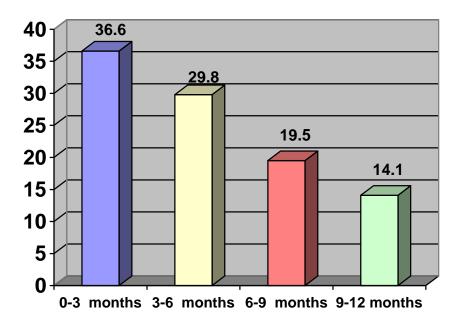
### **One-Year Recidivism Rates**

**One-Year Re-incarceration Rates 2000-2007** 



Number of New Arraignments	Females	Males	
1	58	328	-
2-5	66	564	
6-10	14	134	
11-15	0	34	
More than 15	0	7	
Mean	1	2	

# Time to New Arraignment (% of New Arraignments)



Nearly 37% of new arraignments continue to occur within 90 days of release, and two-thirds within 180 days of release. Mean time to recidivate was 143 days.

	Females		Males	
Other Activity	Ν	%	N %	
Open Cases-New	27	7.4	292 13	3.9
Open Cases-Existing	94	25.8	638 30	).3
Open Warrants	21	5.8	153 7	<b>'</b> .3
New Restraining Order	20	5.5	311 14	.8

### 311 males had new restraining orders filed against them after their release.

Disposition of New Cases					
	Females	Males			
	<u>N</u>	N			
Awaiting Disposition	27	292			
Dismissed	11	89			
Nol Pros	4	36			
Continued W/O Finding	6	37			
Fined/Filed	5	69			
Probation	1	24			
Suspended Sentence	9	39			
Committed	76	487			
Released-Time Served	0	5			

319 individuals had new cases awaiting disposition at the end of their first year post release, a decrease of 20 from the previous year. Disposition of these cases will be reflected in the three-year follow up.

#### New Offense (% of New Arraignments)

	Females		Males	
	N	%	N %	
Person	21	15.1	198 18.5	
Domestic	2	1.4	31 2.9	
Sex Offense	0	0.0	23 2.2	
Firearms	2	1.4	13 1.2	
Total Violent Offenses	25	17.9	265 24.8	
Property	28	20.1	213 19.9	
Drugs	17	12.2	196 18.3	
MV	17	12.2	229 21.4	
Prostitution	24	17.3	5 0.5	
Other	4	2.9	33 3.1	
Total Nonviolent Offense	90	64.7	676 63.2	
Parole Violation	17	12.2	95 8.9	
Probation Violation	7	5.0	33 3.1	
Total Tech. Violations	24	17.2	128 12.0	

	New Offense Type			
	Violent		Nonviolen	
	Ν	%	Ν	%
Original Offense Type				
Violent	118	36.8	203	63.2
Nonviolent	172	19.4	715	80.6

118 violent offenders were arraigned for a new violent offense. This group continues to be overwhelmingly male, young (nearly 50% are under 30) and score as high risk on the LSI, with substance abuse, unemployment, mental health and poor family support the leading risk factors. Nearly 60% lack a high school diploma or GED.

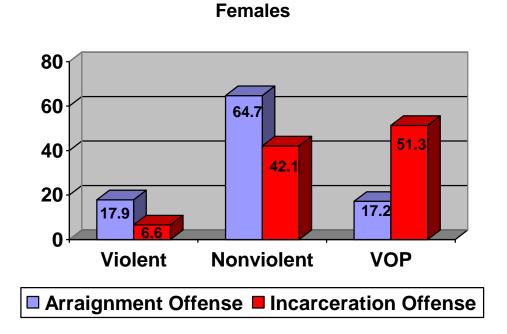
Fifty-four were released from the Main Institution and 29 from the Community Re-entry Unit. 60% had no post release supervision, 31% were under probation supervision and 9% were paroled. Five were repeat sex offenders.

New Incarceration Offense (% of New Incarcerations)
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	Females		Male	s
	N	%	Ν	%
Dereen	4	5.0	70	44.0
Person	4	5.3	72	14.6
Domestic	1	1.3	14	2.8
Sex Offense	0	0.0	7	1.4
Firearms	0	0.0	2	0.4
Total Violent Offenses	5	6.6	95	19.2
Property	8	10.5	90	18.3
Drugs	6	7.9	66	13.4
MV	1	1.3	34	6.9
Prostitution	16	21.1	0	0.0
Other	1	1.3	10	2.0
Total Nonviolent Offense	32	42.1	200	40.6
Parole Violation	17	22.4	111	22.6
Probation Violation	22	28.9	86	17.5
Total Violations	39	51.3	197	40.1

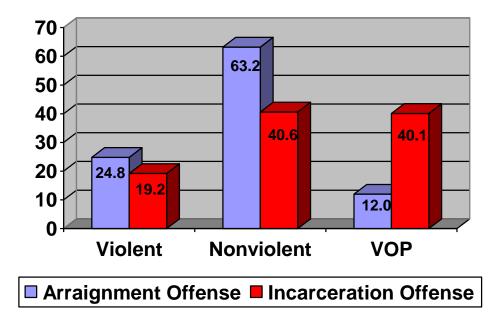
The first offense for which an individual is arraigned is often not what leads to a new incarceration, instead, a new arraignment often leads to violation of probation or parole. This is particularly true of nonviolent offenses, which account for 63% of new arraignments, but only 40% of incarcerations.

Over 50% of women and 40% of men are re-incarcerated for violating parole or probation.



Arraignment & Incarceration Offenses

### **Arraignment & Incarceration Offenses Males**

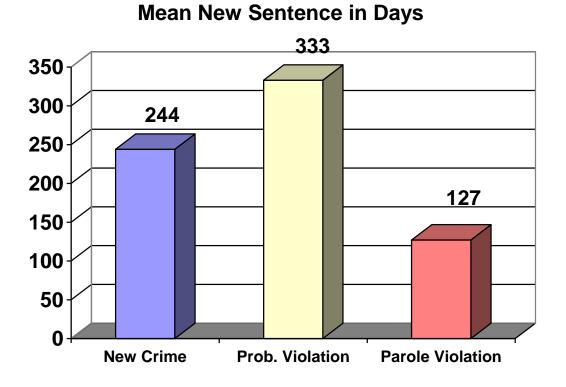


#### **New Sentence (Days)**

		Probation	Parole	
	New Offense	Technical	Technical	All
Mean	244	333	127	225
Median	180	333	96	180
Minimum	1	29	7	1
Maximum	1826	913	681	1826

Mean sentence length can be skewed by one extreme value therefore it is more accurate to use the *median* when making comparisons to the previous year. Median sentence for a new offense remained at 180 days. Median sentence for technical violation of probation increased from 270 to 333 days, parole violation from 90 to 96 days.

Because parolees receive credit for time on the street, the amount of time they must serve after revocation is much shorter than for probationers. The 105 technical parole violators had 13,378 to serve after revocation, while only 40 technical probation violators tallied 13,317 days. Parole violators received credit for approximately 4483 days on the street prior to revocation.



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	Technical		New	Offense	Total		
	N	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	
Lower Security	89	7.6	144	12.4	233	20.0	
Medium/Maximum	50	5.8	182	21.3	232	27.1	

97 21.7

103

23.0

#### Incarceration Rates by Security Level at Release & Type of Return

The benefit of the Community Reentry Unit program is evidenced by the fact that its re-incarceration rate that is closer to that of Lower Security than the Main Institution, despite the fact that CRU releases are ineligible for lower security.

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### Incarceration Rates by Classification at Release\*

**Community Reentry Unit** 6

	Fem	ales	Male	s
	<u>N</u>	%	Ν	%
Day Reporting	10	17.5	54	21.3
Minimum/PRC	25	27.5	72	20.5
WMCAC-Hampden	5	18.5	51	24.9
WMCAC-Other Counties	5	27.8	11	6.7
CRU	N/	Ά	103	23.0
Medium/Maximum	31	18.1	201	29.3

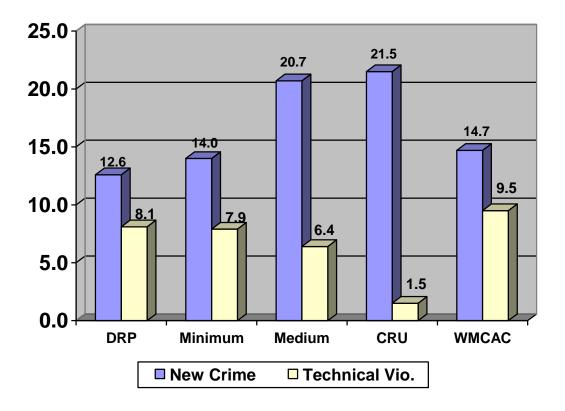
\*DOCR, BOP & Probates are included in security level at time of release.

	Technical		Nev	New Offense		Total		
	Ν	%	Ν	%		<u>N %</u>	Chg.	
Day Reporting (310)	25	8.1	39	12.6	64	20.6	+3.2	
Minimum/PRC (442)	35	7.9	62	14.0	97	21.9	-4.8	
Medium/Maximum (856)	55	6.4	177	20.7	193	27.1	+0.2	
CRU (447)	7	1.5	96	21.5	103	23.0	N/A	
WMCAC-Hampden (232)	22	9.5	34	14.7	56	24.1	+0.2	

### Incarceration Rates by Class & Type of Return

Minimum/PRC demonstrated the only reduction in re-incarceration rates from the previous year. Technical violations dropped from 10.3% to 7.9% and new offense rates decreased from 16.3% to 14%. Despite an increase of over 3 percentage points, DRP participants continued to post the lowest re-incarceration rates overall.

### Incarceration Rates by Class & Type of Return



### Incarceration Rates by LSI & Security Level

	Lower Security		-	ain tution	CRU		
LSI Score	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	-
Low-Risk (0-2)	4	3.2	8	12.5	0	0.0	
Medium-Risk (3-5)	117	20.6	118	27.6	55	23.5	
High-Risk (6-8)	98*	27.7	96	31.0	47	24.7	

\*40 of the 98 high-risk offenders released from lower security who recidivated committed a technical violation of parole or probation.

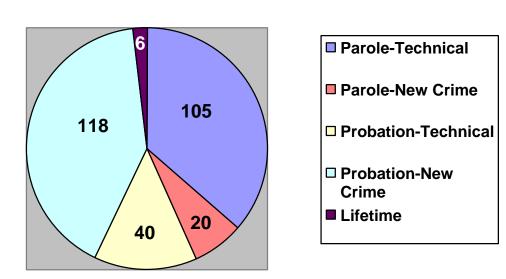
### Incarceration Rates by Post Release Supervision

	<b>Technical Violation</b>		New Off	ense	Total		
	<u>N</u>	%	N	%	<u>N</u>	%	
Probation Only	34	5.5	150	24.4	184	29.9	
Parole Only	78	18.6	36*	8.6	114	27.2	
Dual Supervision	33	17.7	20*	10.8	53	28.5	
No Supervision	N	/A	217	17.4	217	17.4	

\*Only 12 parolees committed new offenses while under parole supervision. The majority of new offenses committed by probationers occurred during probation supervision.

### Violations of Release Conditions

	Females	Males	Total
Parole Violation-Technical	16	89	105
Parole Violation-New Offense	1	19	20
Lifetime Parole-Technical	0	6	6
Probation Violation-Technical	7	33	40
Probation Violation-New Offense	20	98	118

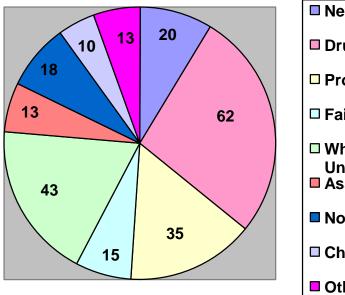


### **Violations of Release Conditions**

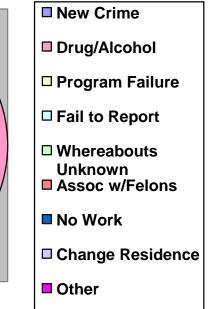
Reasons for Parole Violation	N
Crime on Parole	20
Drug or Alcohol Use	62
Program Failure	35
Failure to Report	15
Whereabouts Unknown*	43
Irresponsible Conduct	10
Associate with Known Felons	13
Failure to Find or Maintain Employment	18
Change Residence	10
Nonpayment of Supervision Fee	9
New Restraining Order Issued (209A)	3

#### Most revocation forms list more than one reason.

\*Note: Parolees do not receive credit for time they were "whereabouts unknown".



#### **Reasons for Parole Revocation**



**SECTION TWO** 

2004 RELEASES

THREE-YEAR RECIDIVISM RATES

### SECTION II THREE-YEAR RECIDIVISM ANALYSES 2004 RELEASES

	Fema	ales	Male	S	Tota	
2004 Recidivism Rates	N	%	N	%	N	%
New Offense						
Arraignment	154	52.2	1289	64.9	1443	63.3
Conviction	119	40.3	953	48.0	1072	47.0
Incarceration	84	28.5	763	38.4	847	37.1
Technical Violation	30	10.2	134	6.7	164	7.2

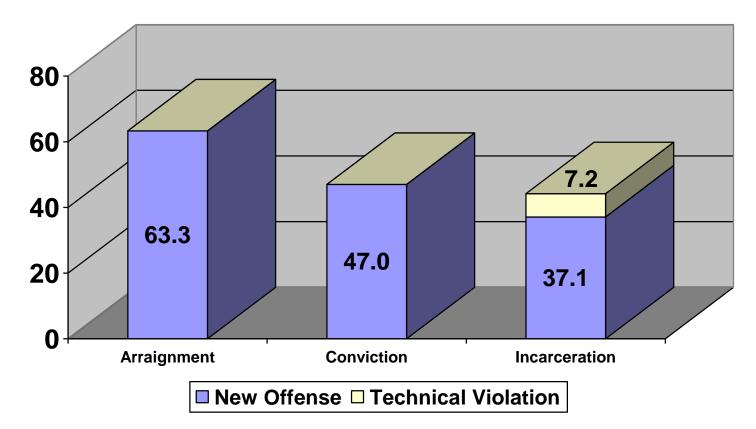
Men were more likely to be re-incarcerated for a new crime, while women were recommitted for proportionately more technical violations. By the end of the third year post-release, 37.1% of offenders had been re-incarcerated for a new offense, and 7.2% for a technical violation of release conditions. The total re-incarceration rate was 44.3%.

Time to New Arraignment (% of Arraignments & Violation Hearings)

First Year	Ν	%	Second Year	Ν	%	Third Year	Ν	%
0-3 months	438	27.3	12-15 months	127	7.9	24-27 months	49	3.0
3-6 months	294	18.3	15-18 months	92	5.7	27-30 months	40	2.5
6-9 months	205	12.8	18-21 months	64	4.0	30-33 months	40	2.5
9-12 months	<u>154</u>	9.6	21-24 months	63	<u>3.9</u>	33-36 months	<u>36</u>	<u>2.2</u>
Year Totals	1091	68.0		346	21.5		165	10.2

68% of new arraignments occur in the first year post release, another 21.5% in the second year and 10.2% in the third year.

2004 Three-Year Recidivism Rates



#### **Re-incarceration Rates by Classification & Year of Offense**

		First	Year*	Seco	ond Year	Thir	d Year	Total	
	# Released	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%
Day Reporting	252	78	31.0	14	5.6	5	2.0	97	38.5
Minimum/PRC	397	147	37.0	35	8.8	6	1.5	188	47.4
Medium/Maximum	1211	492	40.6	93	7.7	26	2.1	611	50.5
WMCAC-Hampden	218	67	30.7	15	6.9	5	2.3	87	39.9

\*Year offense was committed

Rates of re-offending drop off significantly in the second year post-release, and are negligible by the third year.

### **Re-incarceration Rates by Classification & Return Type**

		Offense	Technica		
	# Released	Ν	%	Ν	%
Day Reporting	252	63	25.0	34	13.5
Minimum/PRC	397	161	40.6	27	6.8
Medium/Maximum	1211	535	44.2	76	6.3
WMCAC-Hampden	218	64	29.4	23	10.5

Participants in Day Reporting and WMCAC, both community based programs, commit significantly fewer new offenses that those released from Minimum or the Main Institution.

Re-incarceration Rates by Release Type & Reason for Return	Ν	%
Wrapped		
Technical Violation of Probation	39	2.2
New Offense	714	41.0
Total	753	43.2
Paroled		
Technical Violation	134	24.9
New Offense on Parole	14	2.6
New Offense after Parole	111	20.7
Total	259	48.2

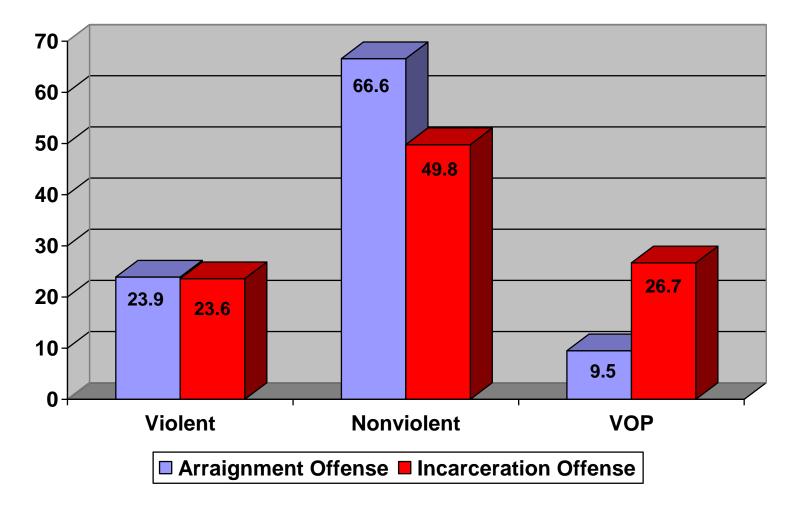
While the overall re-incarceration rate was higher for those who were paroled, that was inflated by the nearly 25% technical violation rate. Only 23.3% of parolees committed a new offense compared to 41% of those who wrapped up their sentence.

	Females		Males	
New Arraignment Offense	Ν	%	N	%
Person	26	14.1	262	18.5
Domestic	2	1.1	50	3.5
Sex Offense	0	0.5	25	1.8
Firearms	0	0.0	18	1.3
Total Violent Offenses	28	15.2	355	25.1
Property	38	20.7	274	19.3
Drugs	25	13.6	290	20.5
Motor Vehicle	32	17.4	326	23.0
Prostitution	30	16.3	0	0.0
Others	3	1.6	47	3.3
Total Nonviolent Offenses	128	69.6	937	66.1
Parole Violation-Technical	18	9.8	101	7.1
Probation Violation-Technical	10	5.4	24	1.7
Technical Violations	28	15.2	125	8.8

	Females		Males	
New Incarceration Offense	N	%	Ν	%
Person	12	10.5	164	18.2
Domestic	0	0.0	30	3.3
Sex Offense	0	0.0	10	1.1
Firearms	0	0.0	22	2.4
Total Violent Offenses	12	10.5	226	25.0
Property	16	14.0	180	20.0
Drugs	17	14.9	186	20.7
Motor Vehicle	8	7.0	68	7.6
Prostitution	20	17.5	0	0.0
Others	1	0.9	9	1.0
Total Nonviolent Offenses	62	54.3	443	49.3
Parole Violation	18	15.8	109	12.1
Probation Violation	22	19.3	122	13.6
Violations of Release Conditions	40	35.1	231	25.7

Those arraigned for a violent offense were most likely to be incarcerated for that offense. A nonviolent offense, however, often resulted in a violation of parole or probation. Sixty-six percent of new arraignments were for nonviolent offenses, but only 50% of new incarcerations. Violations represented less than 11% of arraignments, but 29% of incarcerations.

## **Arraignment & Incarceration Offenses**



### Three-Year Recidivism Rates

	2000 %	2001 %	2002 %	2003* %	2004 %
New Offense					
Arraigned	68.6	63.6	65.6	65.1	63.3
Convicted	53.1	49.9	47.7	45.5	47.0
Incarcerated	42.5	38.6	38.8	38.8	37.1
<b>Technical Violation</b>	6.3	10.7	7.4	6.7	7.2

\*2003 rates are estimated based on a 4-month sample.

Arraignment and incarceration rates for new crimes are at a five-year low. Three years after release, *nearly 37% of 2004 releases remained crime-free*, and 63% had not been re-incarcerated for a new crime.



