



**One-Year Recidivism Rates of Male
Releases 2013 – 2015: 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

Definition of Terms

Board of Probation: The Court Activity Record Information (CARI) file 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: 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 American Indian/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 (CWOFF). 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 further 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 the inmate was released from. 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 abuse and academic education. Program completion for inmates with a substance abuse 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 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 abuse and academic education need areas. The second cohort consisted of inmates with only a substance abuse need, and the third cohort consisted of inmates with only an educational need.

Key Findings

- Inmates with a substance abuse need and educational need had statistically significant lower recidivism rates if both program needs were met. The recidivism rate was 7% for inmates with both a substance abuse and educational need, who completed the CRA program and achieved a HSE, compared to a rate of 21.9% for inmates who did not meet both need areas.
- Overall, inmates with both substance abuse and educational needs had the highest recidivism rate (20.3%), followed by inmates with only a substance abuse need (17.1%) and inmates with only an educational need (16.8%). Inmates with neither a substance abuse need nor an educational need had the lowest recidivism rate (14.9%).
- Inmates with only a substance abuse need, who completed the CRA program, had a recidivism rate of 12.7%. Inmates with only a substance abuse need who did not complete the CRA program had a recidivism rate of 20.6%.
- Inmates who only had an educational need and who also received a HSE had a recidivism rate of 10.2%. Inmates with only an educational need who did not receive a HSE had a recidivism rate of 19.0%.
- The lower recidivism rates among those inmates who were able to meet 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, higher security level, and violent crimes.

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.

- For the overall study cohort, the one-year recidivism rate was 17.9%.

Meta-analysis has indicated that programming designed to meet the educational and therapeutic needs of offenders with histories of substance abuse 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 abuse 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 abuse 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 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). 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 program services 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 use of evidence based actuarial risk/needs assessments.

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 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 abuse 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 abuse 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 abuse 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 abuse, 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 abuse 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 their admission to the MA DOC. Inmates lacking 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.

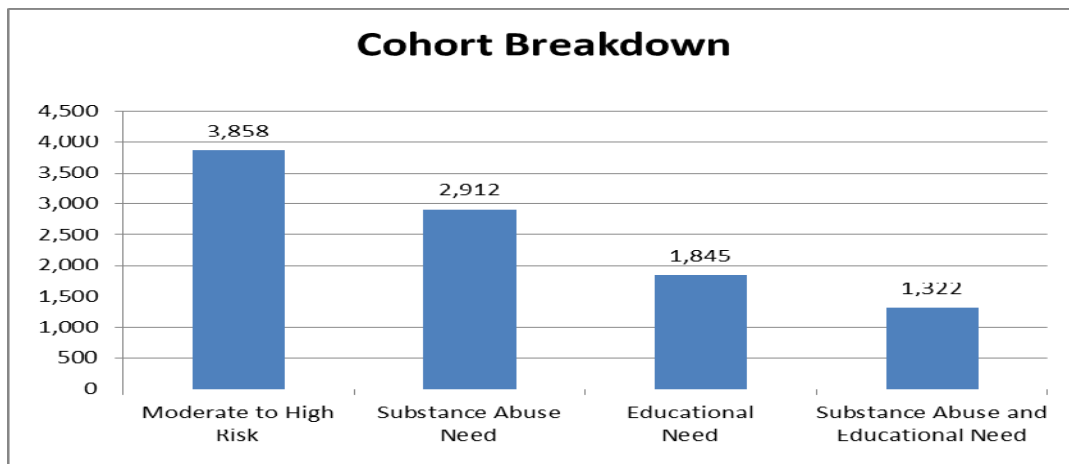
³ Of the 3,858 moderate to high risk inmates, 126 were not administered a needs assessment and were excluded from the study.

The continuum also includes supplemental programming such as special education and Title I⁴, as well as transitional college courses.

One year reconviction rates were examined for a cohort of inmates released to the community. Cohort selection included male inmates released between 2013 and 2015, whose first release occurred during the time period. Overall, there were 5,074 male inmates released to the community between 2013 and 2015⁵. This report focuses on male releases as availability of risk score data was limited for the female population. Of 5,074 male releases, 3,858 (76%) were identified as moderate to high risk.

Of the 3,858 moderate/high risk inmates, 2,912 (75%) were identified for the CRA cohort, scoring moderate to high in the substance abuse scale. In addition, 1,845 (48%) of the 3,858 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 2,912 inmates in the CRA cohort and 1,845 inmates in the educational need cohort resulted in an overall study cohort of 3,435.

Graph 1



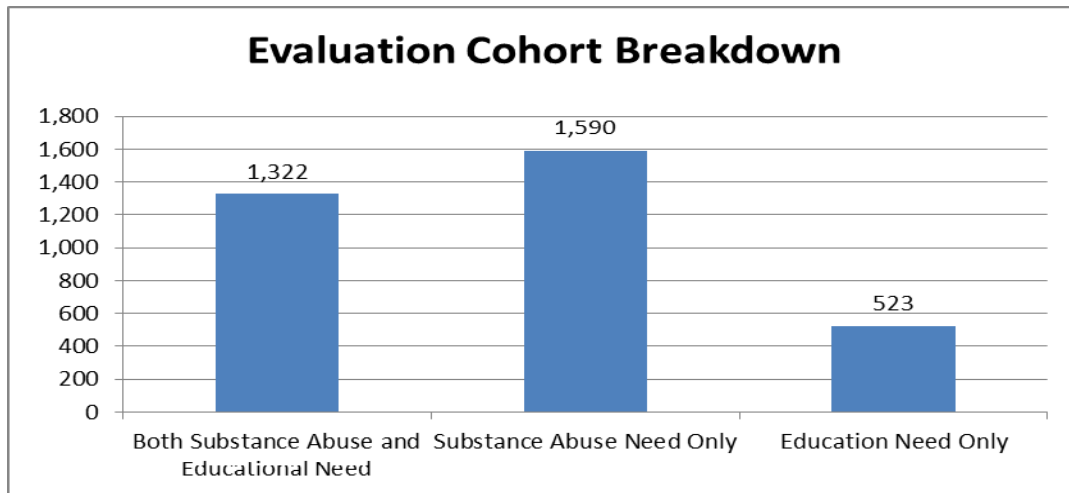
Of the 3,435 inmates with a substance abuse or educational need, 1,322 (39%) had a need in both areas, 1,590 (46%) had only a substance abuse need and 523 (15%) had only an educational need. This report will examine the recidivism rates for each of these three cohorts to compare and describe differences 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 abuse and educational needs. There are other inmate need areas and programs that are not included in this report, refer to graph below.

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

⁵ An inmate may be dropped from the study for one of several reasons, including not being released directly to the community or death prior to the close of the 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 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 - 2015 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 that 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 follow-up time is necessary when collecting reconviction data to allow for an inmate's new case to reach final resolution in the trial court.

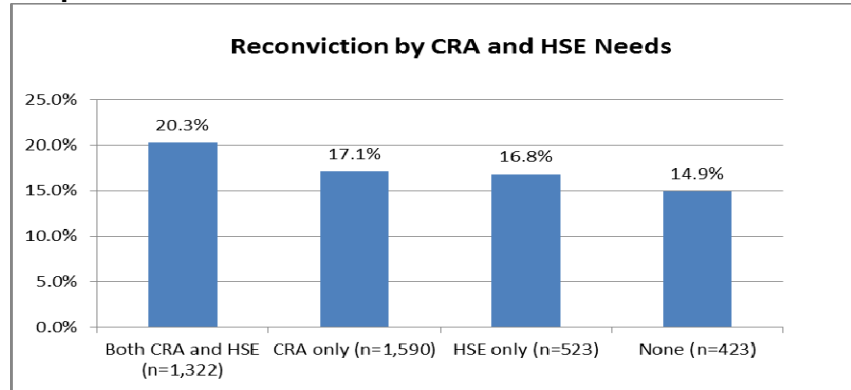
Section I: Two-Need Area Cohort

Correctional Recovery Academy and High School Equivalency Credential

Of the 3,858 male releases with a moderate to high risk to recidivate, 2,912 were assessed to have a moderate to high substance abuse score and a need for the CRA program and 1,845 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 abuse or educational need, 1,322 had a need in both areas, 1,590 only had a substance abuse need, and 523 only had an educational need.

In graph 3, on the next page, the recidivism rate for inmates identified as having both a substance abuse and educational need (n = 1,322) was 20.3%, compared to a rate of 14.9% 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 17%.

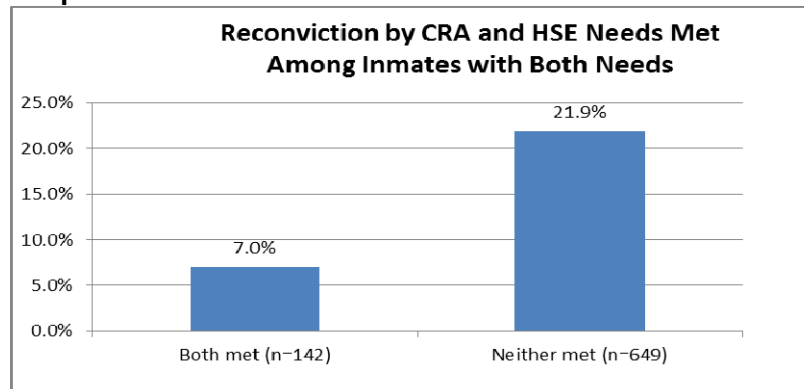
Graph 3



The following analysis (graph 4) examines recidivism rates of the 1,322 inmates who had a substance abuse and an educational need. Recidivism rates for inmates with two program needs areas who met both those needs are examined along with the recidivism rates of inmates who did not.

The recidivism rate was only 7.0% when inmates with both a substance abuse and an educational need completed the CRA program and attained their high school equivalency credential. The recidivism rate significantly increases to 21.9% when no need area(s) are met. If only one of the need areas was met, the rate was nearly equal to that of inmates who completed neither need (see graph 5, on the next page, and appendix A). This finding highlights the importance of addressing multiple need areas.

Graph 4



The relationship between meeting both needs 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.

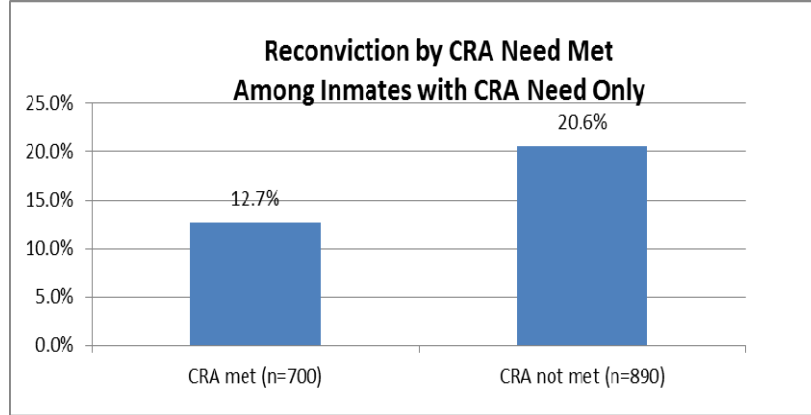
Section 2: One Need Area Cohort

Correctional Recovery Academy

There were 1,590 inmates who had a substance abuse need but not an educational need in the study cohort. The recidivism rate for the inmates who met their substance abuse need by completing the CRA was 12.7% compared to a rate of 20.6% 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).

Graph 5



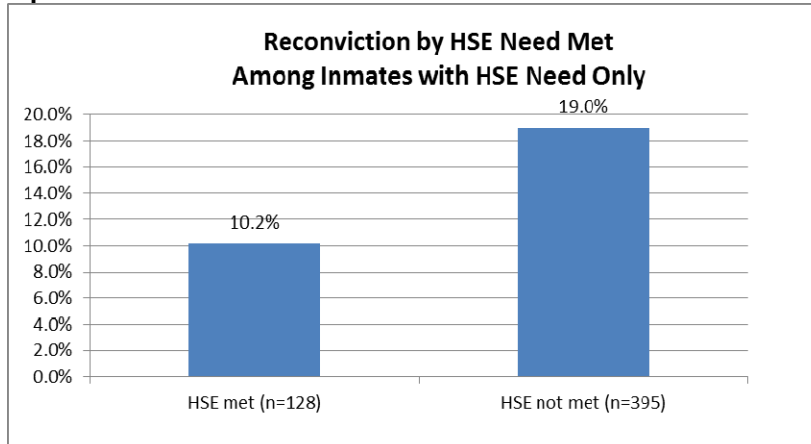
The CRA program worked particularly well in lowering recidivism rate of younger inmates, inmates of higher risk to recidivate, those with time served of less than six years, higher security level at release and violent crimes. It is less effective in reducing the recidivism rate of inmates with lower risk scores and lower security level at release where the rate of recidivism is low initially (see appendix B).

Section 3: One Need Area Cohort

High School Equivalency Credential

There were 523 inmates in the study cohort that had an educational need but no substance abuse need. The recidivism rate for the 523 inmates who achieved a high school equivalency credential while incarcerated was 10.2% compared to a rate of 19.0% for those who did not achieve 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



Conclusion

The findings discussed within this report indicate the key to maximizing recidivism reduction, for inmates with a substance abuse and an educational need was to meet 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 abuse 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 abuse and educational needs had statistically significant lower recidivism rates if both program needs were met. The recidivism rate was 7% for inmates with both a substance abuse and an educational need, who completed the CRA program and achieved a HSE, compared to a rate of 21.9% 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 having not met either. 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 abuse 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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Correctional Recovery Academy and Education Recidivism Study

Appendix A

One Year Reconviction Rates for Inmates with Both a CRA and a HSE Need by Control Variables											
Control Variable	Category	Both Met		One of Two Needs CRA Met		One of Two Needs HSE Met		Neither Met		Total	
		Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N
Total	Reconviction*	7.0%	142	21.5%	362	23.1%	169	21.9%	649	20.3%	1,322
Recidivism Risk Score	High*	8.0%	112	24.7%	296	26.3%	133	24.0%	534	22.8%	1,075
	Medium	3.3%	30	7.6%	66	11.1%	36	12.2%	115	9.7%	247
Release Institution Security Level	Maximum	0.0%	2	30.0%	10	54.2%	24	39.3%	107	40.6%	143
	Medium	10.0%	70	24.7%	174	22.5%	80	22.5%	365	21.8%	689
	ELMO/Pre-release	3.0%	33	16.9%	89	12.5%	32	12.3%	81	12.8%	235
	Minimum	5.4%	37	19.1%	89	12.1%	33	8.3%	96	12.2%	255
Security Level	Higher security*	9.7%	72	25.0%	184	29.8%	104	26.3%	472	25.0%	832
	Lower security*	4.3%	70	18.0%	178	12.3%	65	10.2%	177	12.4%	490
Post Release Supervision	No Supervision	12.5%	24	29.9%	117	29.2%	48	23.7%	279	25.2%	468
	Supervision*	5.9%	118	17.6%	245	20.7%	121	20.5%	370	17.7%	854
Time Served	Less than 3 yrs*	8.0%	25	28.1%	135	27.6%	58	19.6%	301	22.2%	519
	3 to less than 6 yrs*	7.5%	80	18.8%	192	21.4%	84	22.4%	277	19.3%	633
	6 or more yrs*	5.4%	37	11.4%	35	18.5%	27	29.6%	71	18.8%	170
Governing Offense Type	Property	14.3%	14	32.7%	49	53.8%	13	40.6%	96	37.2%	172
	Person*	6.3%	64	18.5%	130	28.7%	80	23.4%	278	21.0%	552
	Other Crimes	15.8%	19	31.6%	57	26.3%	19	13.6%	81	21.0%	176
	Sex	0.0%	6	0.0%	8	8.3%	12	18.9%	37	12.7%	63
	Drug	2.6%	39	16.9%	118	6.7%	45	12.7%	157	12.3%	359
Governing Offense	Non-violent*	8.3%	72	24.1%	224	19.5%	77	21.0%	334	20.5%	707
	Violent*	5.7%	70	17.4%	138	26.1%	92	22.9%	315	20.2%	615
Race	Other	0.0%	3	0.0%	3	100.0%	1	40.0%	5	25.0%	12
	Black	5.9%	34	24.4%	119	20.9%	43	22.9%	170	21.6%	366
	White	7.4%	54	20.0%	80	25.0%	84	22.8%	224	20.8%	442
	Hispanic	7.8%	51	20.6%	160	19.5%	41	20.0%	250	18.9%	502
Age at Release	Less than 35*	8.3%	96	23.3%	163	25.2%	123	21.5%	316	20.8%	698
	35 or more*	4.3%	46	20.1%	199	17.4%	46	22.2%	333	19.9%	624

*Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level

Appendix B

One Year Reconviction Rates for Inmates with a CRA Need But no HSE Need by Control Variables							
Control Variable	Category	CRA Need Met		CRA Need Not Met		TOTAL	
		Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N
Total	Reconviction*	12.7%	700	20.6%	890	17.1%	1,590
General Risk Score	High*	14.7%	532	24.2%	695	20.0%	1,227
	Medium	6.5%	168	7.7%	195	7.2%	363
Release Institution Security Level	Maximum	38.5%	13	36.8%	136	36.9%	149
	Medium	15.8%	291	21.3%	431	19.1%	722
	ELMO/Pre-release	10.7%	178	11.5%	191	11.1%	369
	Minimum	8.7%	218	14.4%	132	10.9%	350
Security Level	Higher security*	16.8%	304	25.0%	567	22.2%	871
	Lower security	9.6%	396	12.7%	323	11.0%	719
Post Release Supervision	Non-supervised*	20.5%	195	28.4%	313	25.4%	508
	Supervised*	9.7%	505	16.3%	577	13.2%	1082
Time Served	Less than 3 yrs*	16.9%	213	23.9%	418	21.6%	631
	3 to less than 6 yrs*	10.7%	345	17.7%	379	14.4%	724
	6 or more yrs	11.3%	142	17.2%	93	13.6%	235
Governing Offense Type	Sex	33.3%	12	16.7%	36	20.8%	48
	Property	17.6%	102	20.1%	174	19.2%	276
	Person*	12.7%	314	23.0%	395	18.5%	709
	Drug	11.5%	182	18.8%	186	15.2%	368
	Other Crimes	6.7%	90	16.2%	99	11.6%	189
Governing Offense	Violent*	13.5%	326	22.5%	431	18.6%	757
	Non-violent*	12.0%	374	18.7%	459	15.7%	833
Race	Other	12.5%	8	25.0%	12	20.0%	20
	White	15.5%	349	20.4%	524	18.4%	873
	Black*	13.0%	200	22.4%	223	18.0%	423
	Hispanic*	5.6%	143	17.6%	131	11.3%	274
Age at Release	Less than 35*	14.2%	325	25.4%	441	20.6%	766
	35 or more	11.5%	375	15.8%	449	13.8%	824

*Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level

Appendix C

One Year Reconviction Rates for Inmates with a HSE Need But no CRA Need by Control Variables							
Control Variable	Category	HSE Need Met		HSE Need Not Met		Total	
		Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N	Rec Rate	N
Total	Reconviction*	10.2%	128	19.0%	395	16.8%	523
Recidivism Risk Score	High	15.5%	84	22.0%	304	20.6%	388
	Medium	0.0%	44	8.8%	91	5.9%	135
Release Institution Security Level	Maximum	25.0%	12	29.1%	55	28.4%	67
	Medium	9.5%	42	21.0%	205	19.0%	247
	Minimum	7.9%	38	12.3%	73	10.8%	111
	ELMO/Pre-release	8.3%	36	11.3%	62	10.2%	98
Security Level	Higher security	13.0%	54	22.7%	260	21.0%	314
	Lower security	8.1%	74	11.9%	135	10.5%	209
Post Release Supervision	Non-supervised	22.2%	27	26.1%	157	25.5%	184
	Supervised	6.9%	101	14.3%	238	12.1%	339
Time Served	3 to less than 6 yrs	13.2%	38	21.6%	139	19.8%	177
	Less than 3 yrs	15.8%	19	18.9%	148	18.6%	167
	6 or more yrs	7.0%	71	15.7%	108	12.3%	179
Governing Offense Type	Property	0.0%	6	28.3%	46	25.0%	52
	Other Crimes	19.4%	31	17.1%	76	17.8%	107
	Sex	0.0%	4	19.2%	26	16.7%	30
	Person*	7.8%	64	19.1%	152	15.7%	216
	Drug	8.7%	23	15.8%	95	14.4%	118
Governing Offense	Non-violent	13.3%	60	18.9%	217	17.7%	277
	Violent*	7.4%	68	19.1%	178	15.9%	246
Race	White	11.1%	27	25.4%	71	21.4%	98
	Hispanic	9.3%	43	18.0%	161	16.2%	204
	Black	9.8%	51	17.8%	157	15.9%	208
	Other	14.3%	7	0.0%	6	7.7%	13
Age at Release	Less than 35	13.4%	97	18.6%	231	17.1%	328
	35 or more*	0.0%	31	19.5%	164	16.4%	195

*Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level