PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT SERIES

Recidivism After Release from Prison



October 2012

Office of the Secretary **Research and Policy Unit**

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To: Executive Planning

From: Gary H. Hamblin, Secretary

I am pleased to release the first of a series of performance measurement reports on Department recidivism rates, produced by our Department's cross-divisional Research and Policy Unit staff. This report, Recidivism After Release from Prison, sets the foundation for a consistent and defensible standard on how the Department defines and calculates recidivism rates. The scope of this analysis is impressive, tracking almost 125,000 offenders released from the Wisconsin prison system over a period of 20 years. Even more impressive are the results. Data shows that release from prison recidivism rates have steadily decreased since 1993.

Day H. Harble

Although I am sure there are many reasons for this trend, I do believe that one of the major factors in this success is directly related to the ongoing work and dedication of our staff across all facets of the Department, our collaborations with criminal justice and community partners, and our collective commitment to keep Wisconsin safe by reducing recidivism.

As the Department continues to move forward implementing policy and practices that are grounded on evidence-based principles, it is important that we continue to measure the effect and impact of these changes and focus our resources on what works – and, when necessary, abandon those practices that do not prove effective.

The Wisconsin Department of Corrections, and its entire staff, has a solid reputation across the nation. I am confident the recidivism rates will continue to improve, making Wisconsin an even safer place in which to live, do business, and raise families.

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Executive Summary

For this report, recidivism is defined as a new offense resulting in a conviction and sentence to the Wisconsin Department of Corrections (WI DOC). The follow-up periods (one, two, and three years) are calculated beginning at the time the offender is released from prison. Recidivism rates represent the number of persons who have recidivated divided by the total number of persons in a defined population. All recidivism rates are based on only Wisconsin offenses that have resulted in court dispositions that include custody or supervision under the WI DOC.

Rec	ridivism 1	Rates by
$F\epsilon$	ollow-up	Period
Release	Follow-up	Recidivism
Year	Period	Rate

3-vear

Overall, analyses show that recidivism rates have steadily decreased since 1993. The three-year follow-up recidivism rate decreased by 28.5% (or 12.9 percentage points) from 1993, when the recidivism rate was the highest at 45.3%, to 2007, when it was 32.4%. Furthermore, as recidivism rates decreased, the number of releases from prison dramatically increased, tripling between 1990 and 2009. An offender released in 1993 was 1.4 times more likely to recidivate within three years than an offender released in 2007. Overall, recidivism rates for a

total of 124,661 offenders released from prison between 1990 and 2009 are reported in this paper.

Recidivism Trends from 2000–2009:

14.5%

23.9%

32.4%

Gender. Males had consistently higher recidivism rates than females for every release year and every follow-up period.

Age at Release. Recidivism rates decreased as age increased. The largest group of recidivists was found among offenders between the ages of 20 and 24.

Time to Recidivism Event. Fifty percent (50%) of offenders who recidivated within three years did so within the first year following release

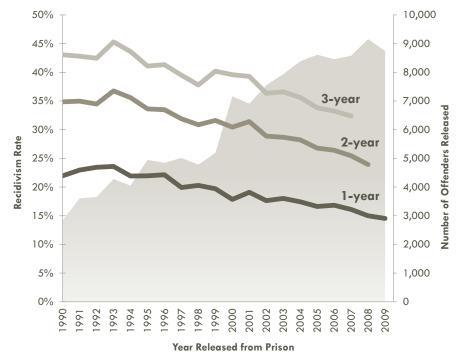
from prison.

2009

2008

2007

This report is the first in a series of recidivism reports that will be regularly published by the WI DOC. The next report will include release from incarceration recidivism rates broken down by a number of additional factors not included in this report. In the near future the Department intends to publish reports including recidivism rates for offenders admitted to supervision and those discharged from supervision.



Introduction

Recidivism, broadly defined, is the reoccurrence of criminal behavior by offenders after intervention by the criminal justice system. Recidivism is defined and measured in different ways by different jurisdictions.

The Wisconsin Department of Corrections (WI DOC) defines recidivism as the following:

Following an episode of incarceration or supervision with the WI DOC, to commit a criminal offense that results in a new conviction and sentence to WI DOC custody or supervision.

WI DOC recidivism rates represent the number of persons who have recidivated divided by the total number of persons in a defined population. All recidivism rates are based on only Wisconsin offenses that have resulted in court dispositions that include custody or supervision under the WI DOC. This means that persons who have committed offenses and are subsequently serving their sentences under other state or federal jurisdictions are not counted as recidivists under this definition. Additionally, offenses resulting in only jail dispositions, fines or forfeitures, or those resulting in municipal violations are not included in calculating the recidivism rate.

Recidivism rates for three different follow-up periods are presented in this report. A follow-up period is the timeframe during which an offender is tracked to determine if he/she committed a new criminal offense. Recidivism rates are reported for one-, two-, and three-year follow-up periods.

The recidivism rates calculated by the WI DOC provide for a minimum one-year lag time to account for the time between apprehension for a new crime and subsequent court disposition. The WI DOC does not obtain offense data until an offender is convicted and sentenced to the Department. The time between the date an offender commits a crime and the date of conviction and sentencing is, on average, close to a year. Therefore, providing a one-year lag after the end of a follow-up period allows the Department to capture data on offenders who committed crimes during the last year of their follow-up periods, but were not convicted and sentenced until sometime after the follow-up period. Therefore, a report of 2008 release from prison recidivism rates with a three-year follow-up period would not be published until after 2012, allowing for the three-year follow-up period (ending in 2011) and the one-year lag time (ending in 2012).

WI DOC defines different standard recidivism rates for common groupings, called cohorts, of offenders, including:

Release from Prison: Persons released from an episode of confinement that included one or more adult conviction prison sentences.

Admission to Community Supervision: Persons who began an episode of community supervision (including probation, parole, extended supervision/mandatory release).

Discharge from Community Supervision: Persons discharged from an episode of community supervision (including probation, parole, extended supervision/mandatory release).

An offender is only counted once in any given cohort. For example, if an offender was released twice in 2007 for two short-term revocations, his or her last release in the year would be used as the date of release for

calculating the recidivism rate – both releases would not be counted, as each cohort includes an offender only once. If an offender was released in 2007, however, and then again in 2008, he or she would be included in both the 2007 and 2008 cohorts.

Similarly, an offender can only be counted as a recidivist once within any given cohort. WI DOC's definition of recidivism considers an offender a recidivist if he or she commits an offense that results in a new court disposition involving WI DOC custody or supervision. The actual date of the recidivism event is the date the offense was committed. If an offender committed two offenses on two different dates within his or her follow-up period, the date of the earliest offense would be used as the date of the recidivism event. Appendix A provides more detail on the methodology used to calculate recidivism rates.

Principle Behind the Definition: The WI DOC definition of recidivism is based on a rather straightforward, yet fundamental principle in defining public safety. That is, generally, when members of the public are asked what they expect of an offender who is placed on probation supervision, or released from prison following a

conviction for a crime, many simply respond "...that they do not commit another crime." Therefore, the WI DOC method for calculating recidivism rates centers on an offense date for which the offender, through full due process of the legal system, is ultimately convicted of another crime. These events can be substantiated through documentation of actions taken by the court (e.g., a Judgment of Conviction).

Data Limitations: A notable limitation to fully applying this principle to calculating recidivism rates involves not having full access to data that contains information on court dispositions that do not come under the custody or supervision of the WI DOC (see bulleted list at right). As additional data on municipal violations, fines, jail-only

Wisconsin recidivism rate calculations do not include:

- o persons convicted/sentenced in another state
- persons convicted/sentenced in Federal court
- persons convicted/sentenced in another country
- o persons arrested with no conviction
- o persons charged with no conviction
- o persons with municipal ordinance violations
- persons convicted of a crime that results in a court disposition that does not lead to custody or supervision under the WI DOC
- persons admitted to jail or prison without a new conviction
- persons who have not been apprehended or convicted of a new crime

sentences, or convictions resulting in sentences in other state or federal correctional systems becomes available to the WI DOC, and can meet stringent validation standards, the Department will expand the scope of its recidivism calculations to include these documented incidents of new criminal behavior. Under current circumstances, the Department can only measure what it is able to count and verify as accurate. Despite this limitation, it is important to note that WI DOC uses the same methodology to calculate recidivism rates for all past recidivism rates, and will continue to use this methodology for all future rates, allowing for consistent reporting of recidivism trends over time.

Revocations Involving New Criminal Behavior: In some instances offenders on supervision are revoked and returned to prison. Some are revoked for a pattern of "technical violations," such as not reporting to their agent, not attending treatment sessions, and/or violating other specific rules of supervision. Others are revoked for a combination of rules violations and involvement in new criminal behavior. Some of these offenders are ultimately convicted of committing new crimes, however, others are not and are returned to prison for a revocation with no new sentence. WI DOC recidivism calculations do not count revocations with no

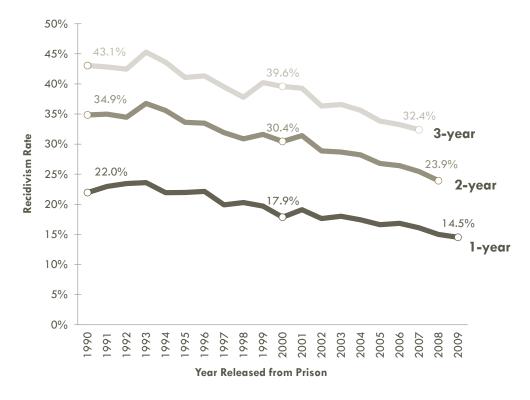
new sentences as recidivism events. A revocation **is** counted as a recidivism event when it involves a new criminal conviction (by a court) and its corresponding offense date took place during the follow-up period. The rationale for this is that the Department cannot know with certainty if an offender has committed a new crime unless it has been corroborated by a conviction in a court of law – otherwise, arguably, the Department would be classifying an offender as guilty of committing a new crime without applying the given standards of due process.

Release from Prison Recidivism Rates

Recidivism Rate Trends

The figure below shows overall recidivism rates for offenders released from prison beginning in 1990, by release year and follow-up period. The data shows that the recidivism rate has been steadily trending down since 1993, when the three-year follow-up recidivism rate was 45.3%, the highest during the analysis timeframe. Overall, between 1990 and 2007 the three-year rate decreased by 24.8% (10.7 percentage points), and between 1993 and 2007, it decreased by 28.5% (12.9 percentage points).

Recidivism rates are calculated at one, two, and three years and are cumulative (meaning that the longer tracking periods include all cases of recidivism up to that point). For example, the number of recidivists for a cohort at the three-year tracking period is a sum of all persons who recidivated within three years of release, which includes those offenders who were counted as recidivists for the recidivism rates at one and two years.¹



Recidivism Trends for Select Release Years*

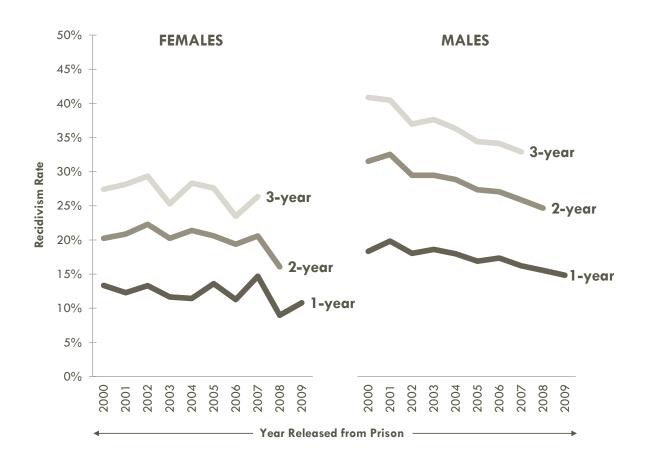
	1-Y	ear Follow	-Up	2-	Year Follow	-Up	3-Year Follow-Up				
Release	Total			Total			Total				
Year	Releases	Reci	divists	Releases	Reci	divists	Releases	Rec	idivists		
1990	2,842	624	22.0%	2,835	988	34.9%	2,829	1,218	43.1%		
1995	4,945	1,086	22.0%	4,936	1,659	33.6%	4,922	2,022	41.1%		
2000	<i>7</i> ,162	1,279	17.9%	7,130	2,1 <i>7</i> 1	30.4%	<i>7</i> ,121	2,819	39.6%		
2005	8,610	1,430	16.6%	8,574	2,296	26.8%	8,540	2,888	33.8%		
2007	8,576	1,380	16.1%	8,547	2,1 <i>75</i>	25.4%	8,525	2,761	32.4%		
2008	9,153	1,372	15.0%	9,115	2,181	23.9%	_	_			
2009	8,747	1,270	14.5%				_	_			

^{*} See Table 1 in Appendix B for table including all release years.

¹ Offenders who died within the timeframe of each specified follow-up period were removed from each cohort prior to recidivism rate calculations. This resulted in slightly different numbers of offenders released and recidivists for each follow-up period for each given release year.

Recidivism Rates by Gender

For releases occurring between 2000 and 2009, male offenders recidivated at a higher rate than female offenders regardless of release year or follow-up length. The average recidivism rate for males released between 2000 and 2007 (with a three-year follow-up period) was 36.5% while for females it was 27.0%. The trend for males followed the same pattern as the overall trend for WI DOC recidivism rates, while the trend for females was less consistent. However, this is likely due to the relatively small number of female offenders released each year (see table below). Variation in the number of recidivists within a small cohort will cause the recidivism rate to fluctuate more than in a large cohort.



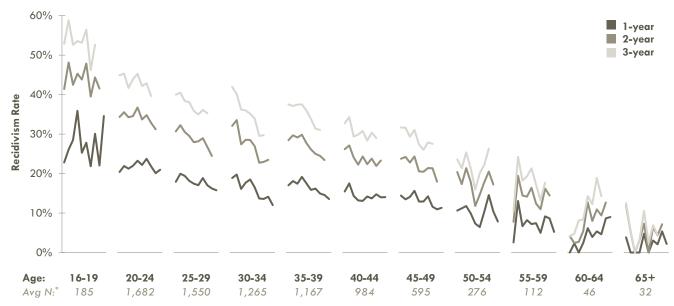
3-Year Follow-up Recidivism Rates*

		Females			Males	
Release	Total			Total		
Year	Releases	Rec	idivists	Releases	Reci	idivists
2000	682	187	27.4%	6,439	2,632	40.9%
2001	664	187	28.2%	6,201	2,510	40.5%
2002	634	186	29.3%	6,888	2,547	37.0%
2003	672	170	25.3%	<i>7</i> ,198	2,709	37.6%
2004	706	200	28.3%	7,617	2,765	36.3%
2005	732	202	27.6%	7,808	2,686	34.4%
2006	695	163	23.5%	7,682	2,623	34.1%
2007	679	179	26.4%	7,846	2,582	32.9%

 $^{^{}st}$ See Table 2 in Appendix B for table including all follow-up periods.

Recidivism Rates by Age at Release

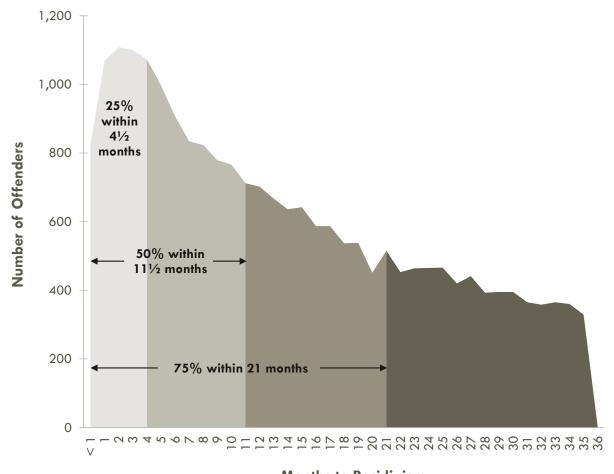
Recidivism rates for younger offenders were consistently higher than were those for older offenders. While 16 to 19 year olds had the highest recidivism rates, they also represented a very small portion of all the releases. Offenders aged 20 to 24 represented the largest number of releases and the greatest number of recidivists between 2000 and 2007 (three-year follow-up). See Appendix B (Tables 3, 4, and 5) for complete tables of recidivists by age at release.



^{*} Average N is calculated using age data for offenders from the three-year follow-up release cohorts for release years 2000 to 2007.

Recidivism Rates by Time to Recidivism Event

Of the offenders released between 2000 and 2007 who recidivated within a three-year follow-up period, 25% recidivated within 4.5 months, 50% within 11.5 months, and 75% within 21 months of their date of release. See Appendix B (Table 6) for a complete table of recidivism rates by time to recidivism event.



Months to Recidivism
Offenders Released from Prison 2000-2007

Upcoming Reports

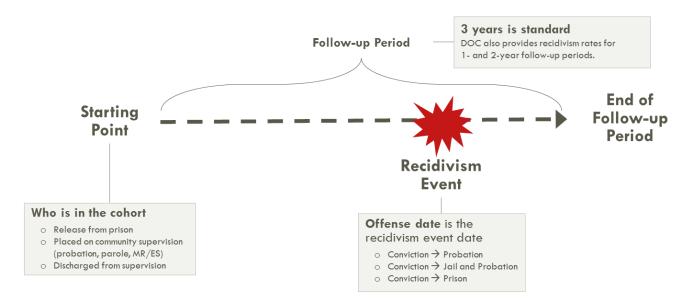
This report is the first in a series of recidivism reports that the WI DOC will publish on a regular basis. The next recidivism report will include release from incarceration recidivism rates broken down by: race, release type, length of stay in prison, number of prior episodes of incarceration, estimated risk level, recidivism offense type, and recidivist offense sentence type (prison vs. probation). Following that, reports will be published documenting recidivism rates for offenders admitted to any form of WI DOC supervision and offenders discharged from WI DOC supervision. Finally, a report examining factors that affect recidivism rates will be published. This report will examine which factors lead to success, which factors lead to failure (recidivism), and, of these factors, which contribute the most to success or failure.

Appendix A

Methodology

There are three key components involved in recidivism rate calculations:

- Starting point This defines the cohort, or the group of offenders being examined to see if they
 recidivated. For example, offenders released from prison in 2007, or offenders beginning
 supervision in 2005.
- Follow-up period Timeframe in which an offender has the opportunity to engage in a recidivism event. The standard timeframe used for follow-up periods is three years, but other follow-up periods (one, two, five years) are common as well. To accurately measure recidivism rates all offenders in the cohort must have the same amount of follow-up time.
- Recidivism event The measure that identifies whether and when recidivism occurred. Some commonly used recidivism events are arrest, new conviction, new prison sentence, and admission to prison. WI DOC defines a recidivism event as an offense that results in a new conviction and sentence to WI DOC custody or supervision. The WI DOC uses the date of the offense that resulted in the conviction as the date of the recidivism event. Note that the conviction and sentence can occur after the end of an offender's follow-up period.



It is important to note what starting point, follow-up period, and recidivism event are being used when comparing results from different recidivism studies, as rates are not comparable when any one of these components are different.

Starting Point

For this report, offenders released from a WI DOC facility between 1990 and 2009 were included in the various release year cohorts with the following exception: Offenders who were released from a temporary stay in a WI DOC facility, such as a hold, an alternative to revocation (ATR), or an alternative to prison (ATP) were not included in the release cohorts. Only those offenders who were released from a period of incarceration due to completing the confinement portion of their sentence or revocation were included in each release cohort.

If an offender was released more than once during a calendar year, the last release in the year was used as the offender's starting point for his or her follow-up period.

Follow-up Period

Follow-up periods for a given starting point cohort were the same for every offender in the cohort. Meaning if an offender was released from prison on January 1, 1995, he was followed until December 31, 1997 for a three-year follow-up period, while an offender released on December 31, 1995 was followed until December 30, 1998.

Offenders who died within the timeframe of each specified follow-up period were removed from the starting point cohort. For example, an offender who died one and a half years after being released would not be included in the two-year follow-up cohort, because he died before the two years were complete. However, this offender would still be included in the one-year follow-up cohort, because he did not die until after he had been in the community for the entire one year following his release. WI DOC is only able to track the deaths of offenders who are under the supervision of the DOC at the time of their deaths. Therefore offenders who died and were not under DOC custody or supervision at that time remain in the cohort.

Recidivism Event

An offender was considered a recidivist if he or she committed a new crime and was convicted and sentenced to DOC custody or supervision within his or her follow-up period. Although an offender must be convicted and sentenced to DOC custody or supervision to be considered a recidivist, it is the date of the actual offense that is considered the date of the recidivism event, not the date of conviction, sentencing, or admission to prison. Therefore the offense itself must have occurred during the offender's follow-up period. If an offender had multiple offense dates in a given follow-up period the earliest offense date was counted as the recidivism event.

For some older data, offense dates were missing but corresponding sentence dates were available. Estimated offense dates were calculated for all missing offense dates using the following equation:

Estimated Offense Date = Sentence Date - 209 days*

*Median number of days between offense and sentence dates based on sentence dates that occurred between January 1, 2006 and December 31, 2011

If an estimated offense date fell within an offender's follow-up period he or she was counted as a recidivist.

WI DOC's methodology considers the date of an offense as the date of the recidivism event. Often an offender is not arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced until years after committing an offense. WI DOC does not obtain data for that offense until the time that the offender is sentenced to custody or supervision under the Department. Therefore, past recidivism rates can change depending on when data is analyzed. For example, if an offender was arrested, convicted, and sentenced in 2009 for an offense committed in 1996, a recidivism rate calculated in 2008 for a 1995 starting point cohort would not count the offender as a recidivist. However, if that rate was calculated again in 2010, the offender would be considered a recidivist for the 1995 starting point cohort.

Furthermore, WI DOC is only able to calculate recidivism rates based on the data that is available to the Department. Therefore offenses that result in convictions to county jail or fines are not counted as recidivism events because the DOC is not notified when offenders receive these types of sentences or court dispositions. At this point in time, WI DOC is only able to obtain and validate data on offenders who are under WI DOC custody or supervision.

Age at Release

An offender's age at release was calculated as the number of years between the offender's date of birth and his or her release date. The offender's age was rounded down, meaning that if 25 years and 300 days had passed between an offender's date of birth and release date, that offender was identified as being 25 years old.

Time to Recidivism Event

Time to recidivism event was calculated as the number of months between the offender's date of release and the date of his or her recidivism offense. The number of months was rounded down, such that if the time between the release and the recidivism offense was two months and 27 days, the offender was categorized as having recidivated in two months from his or her release.

Percentage Change in Recidivism Rate

The percentage change in the recidivism rate reported in the executive summary and on page seven is calculated by dividing the percentage-point change by the initial recidivism rate and multiplying the resulting number by 100. This yields the percentage by which the recidivism rate changed. For example, in 1993 the recidivism rate was 45.3%, and it decreased 12.9 percentage points to 32.4% in 2007. Therefore, the resulting change in the recidivism rate was 28.5%.

Recidivism vs. Reincarceration

One statistic readily available from most corrections agencies that is sometimes confused with a recidivism rate is a reincarceration rate. This statistic is the percentage of offenders released from prison who then return to prison for **any** reason within a specified follow-up period. For the WI DOC, this would include offenders who returned to prison for a temporary stay in a WI DOC facility, such as a hold, an alternative to revocation (ATR), or an alternative to prison (ATP), and those who returned for revocations without new sentences. The

Department will be tracking reincarceration rates as a means to report on prison bed utilization and population projections, but not as a means to calculate recidivism rates.

Appendix B

Table 1. Recidivism Trends 1990-2009

	1-Ye	ar Follow-U	Jр	2-Y	ear Follow-	Up	3-Y	ear Follow-	Up
Release	Total		•	Total		•	Total		•
Year	Releases	Reci	divists	Releases	Reci	divists	Releases	Recio	livists
1990	2,842	624	22.0%	2,835	988	34.9%	2,829	1,218	43.1%
1991	3,606	828	23.0%	3,594	1,257	35.0%	3,581	1,533	42.8%
1992	3,650	856	23.5%	3,641	1,255	34.5%	3,632	1,542	42.5%
1993	4,276	1,009	23.6%	4,263	1 , 567	36.8%	4,255	1,927	45.3%
1994	4,049	888	21.9%	4,035	1,436	35.6%	4,017	1,752	43.6%
1995	4,945	1,086	22.0%	4,936	1,659	33.6%	4,922	2,022	41.1%
1996	4,843	1,072	22.1%	4,823	1,615	33.5%	4,812	1,989	41.3%
1997	5,010	998	19.9%	4,990	1,592	31.9%	4,980	1,967	39.5%
1998	4, 781	970	20.3%	4,772	1,473	30.9%	4,761	1,799	37.8%
1999	5,183	1,021	19.7%	5,176	1,636	31.6%	5,171	2,079	40.2%
2000	7,162	1,279	17.9%	7,130	2,171	30.4%	<i>7</i> ,121	2,819	39.6%
2001	6,903	1,318	19.1%	6,878	2,160	31.4%	6,865	2,697	39.3%
2002	<i>7,</i> 551	1,332	17.6%	7,540	2,177	28.9%	7,522	2,733	36.3%
2003	7,935	1,430	18.0%	7,897	2,265	28.7%	7,870	2,879	36.6%
2004	8,383	1,461	17.4%	8,349	2,356	28.2%	8,323	2,965	35.6%
2005	8,610	1,430	16.6%	8,574	2,296	26.8%	8,540	2,888	33.8%
2006	8,456	1,424	16.8%	8,412	2,223	26.4%	8,377	2,786	33.3%
2007	8,576	1,380	16.1%	8,547	2,175	25.4%	8,525	2,761	32.4%
2008	9,153	1,372	15.0%	9,115	2,181	23.9%	_	_	_
2009	8,747	1,270	14.5%						_

Wisconsin Department of Corrections

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 $Table\ 2.\ Recidivism\ Rates\ by\ Gender\ 2000-2009$

			1-Year F	ollow-Up					2-Year Fo	llow-Up					3-Year F	ollow-Up		
	F	emales			Males			Female	s		Males		ı	Females			Males	
Release	Total			Total			Total			Total			Total			Total		
Year	Releases	Reci	divists	Releases	Rec	idivists	Releases	Re	cidivists	Releases	Reci	divists	Releases	Reci	idivists	Releases	Recic	divists
2000	682	91	13.3%	6,480	1,188	18.3%	682	138	20.2%	6,448	2,033	31.5%	682	187	27.4%	6,439	2,632	40.9%
2001	668	82	12.3%	6,235	1,236	19.8%	666	139	20.9%	6,212	2,021	32.5%	664	187	28.2%	6,201	2 , 510	40.5%
2002	639	85	13.3%	6,912	1,247	18.0%	637	142	22.3%	6,903	2,035	29.5%	634	186	29.3%	6,888	2,547	37.0%
2003	678	79	11.7%	7,257	1,351	18.6%	677	137	20.2%	7,220	2,128	29.5%	672	170	25.3%	7,198	2,709	37.6%
2004	708	81	11.4%	7,675	1,380	18.0%	706	151	21.4%	7,643	2,205	28.8%	706	200	28.3%	7,617	2,765	36.3%
2005	735	100	13.6%	7,875	1,330	16.9%	733	151	20.6%	7, 841	2,145	27.4%	732	202	27.6%	7,808	2,686	34.4%
2006	701	79	11.3%	7,755	1,345	17.3%	697	135	19.4%	7,715	2,088	27.1%	695	163	23.5%	7,682	2,623	34.1%
2007	681	100	14.7%	7,895	1,280	16.2%	680	140	20.6%	7,867	2,035	25.9%	679	179	26.4%	7,846	2,582	32.9%
2008	780	70	9.0%	8,373	1,302	15.5%	778	125	16.1%	8,337	2,056	24.7%						_
2009	695	75	10.8%	8,052	1,195	14.8%	_		_	_					_			_

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Table 3. Recidivism Rates by Age at Release (1-Year Follow-up)

Age Category		20	000	20	001	20	002	20	003	20	004	20	005	20	006	20	007	20	008	20	009
16-19	Total Releases	298	100.0%	188	100.0%	193	100.0%	170	100.0%	194	100.0%	187	100.0%	119	100.0%	133	100.0%	118	100.0%	136	100.0%
10-17	Recidivists	68	22.8%	49	26.1%	55	28.5%	61	35.9%	49	25.3%	52	27.8%	26	21.8%	40	30.1%	26	22.0%	47	34.6%
	Total		22.070	.,	2011.70		20.070	<u> </u>	001770	.,	20.070		2, 10,0		2		0011.70		22.070		0 11070
20-24	Releases	1,687	100.0%	1,558	100.0%	1,652	100.0%	1,730	100.0%	1,795	100.0%	1 <i>,777</i>	100.0%	1,682	100.0%	1,631	100.0%	1,563	100.0%	1,436	100.0%
	Recidivists	344	20.4%	341	21.9%	351	21.2%	380	22.0%	417	23.2%	394	22.2%	399	23.7%	356	21.8%	314	20.1%	301	21.0%
25-29	Total Releases	1,396	100.0%	1,349	100.0%	1,423	100.0%	1,493	100.0%	1,606	100.0%	1,694	100.0%	1,730	100.0%	1,763	100.0%	1,955	100.0%	1,874	100.0%
	Recidivists	250	17.9%	269	19.9%	276	19.4%	271	18.2%	280	17.4%	289	17.1%	326	18.8%	300	17.0%	317	16.2%	295	15.7%
30-34	Total Releases	1,255	100.0%	1,200	100.0%	1,285	100.0%	1,245	100.0%	1,287	100.0%	1,320	100.0%	1,324	100.0%	1,245	100.0%	1,386	100.0%	1,358	100.0%
	Recidivists	237	18.9%	237	19.8%	207	16.1%	220	17.7%	238	18.5%	218	16.5%	181	13.7%	169	13.6%	196	14.1%	163	12.0%
35-39	Total Releases	1,158	100.0%	1,089	100.0%	1,182	100.0%	1,212	100.0%	1,200	100.0%	1,167	100.0%	1,137	100.0%	1,239	100.0%	1,263	100.0%	1,197	100.0%
	Recidivists	197	17.0%	197	18.1%	206	17.4%	232	19.1%	210	17.5%	185	15.9%	184	16.2%	185	14.9%	184	14.6%	162	13.5%
40-44	Total Releases	732	100.0%	800	100.0%	928	100.0%	1,068	100.0%	1,088	100.0%	1,136	100.0%	1,132	100.0%	1,065	100.0%	1,109	100.0%	1,048	100.0%
	Recidivists	113	15.4%	140	17.5%	133	14.3%	141	13.2%	142	13.1%	161	14.2%	155	13.7%	1 <i>57</i>	14.7%	155	14.0%	147	14.0%
45-49	Total Releases	347	100.0%	408	100.0%	511	100.0%	<i>57</i> 0	100.0%	681	100.0%	743	100.0%	724	100.0%	828	100.0%	934	100.0%	848	100.0%
	Recidivists	50	14.4%	55	13.5%	72	14.1%	89	15.6%	88	12.9%	96	12.9%	103	14.2%	96	11.6%	102	10.9%	96	11.3%
50-54	Total Releases	160	100.0%	1 <i>7</i> 9	100.0%	221	100.0%	252	100.0%	300	100.0%	342	100.0%	378	100.0%	406	100.0%	491	100.0%	485	100.0%
	Recidivists	1 <i>7</i>	10.6%	20	11.2%	26	11.8%	25	9.9%	22	7.3%	22	6.4%	39	10.3%	59	14.5%	51	10.4%	38	7.8%
55-59	Total Releases	78	100.0%	69	100.0%	90	100.0%	122	100.0%	125	100.0%	148	100.0%	141	100.0%	153	100.0%	197	100.0%	230	100.0%
	Recidivists	2	2.6%	9	13.0%	6	6.7%	10	8.2%	9	7.2%	11	7.4%	7	5.0%	14	9.2%	17	8.6%	12	5.2%
60-64	Total Releases	25	100.0%	43	100.0%	37	100.0%	41	100.0%	65	100.0%	51	100.0%	56	100.0%	65	100.0%	81	100.0%	89	100.0%
	Recidivists	0	.0%	1	2.3%	0	.0%	1	2.4%	4	6.2%	2	3.9%	3	5.4%	3	4.6%	7	8.6%	8	9.0%
65+	Total Releases	26	100.0%	20	100.0%	29	100.0%	32	100.0%	42	100.0%	45	100.0%	33	100.0%	48	100.0%	56	100.0%	46	100.0%
	Recidivists	1	3.8%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	2	4.8%	0	.0%	1	3.0%	1	2.1%	3	5.4%	1	2.2%

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Table 4. Recidivism Rates by Age at Release (2-Year Follow-up)

Age Category		20	000	20	001	20	002	20	003	20	004	20	005	20	006	20	007	20	008
16-19	Total Releases	297	100.0%	187	100.0%	193	100.0%	170	100.0%	194	100.0%	186	100.0%	119	100.0%	133	100.0%	118	100.0%
	Recidivists	123	41.4%	90	48.1%	82	42.5%	77	45.3%	85	43.8%	89	47.8%	47	39.5%	59	44.4%	49	41.5%
20-24	Total Releases	1,684	100.0%	1,554	100.0%	1,652	100.0%	1,722	100.0%	1,788	100.0%	1,772	100.0%	1,676	100.0%	1,627	100.0%	1,561	100.0%
	Recidivists	578	34.3%	552	35.5%	566	34.3%	595	34.6%	657	36.7%	597	33.7%	583	34.8%	534	32.8%	487	31.2%
25-29	Total Releases	1,389	100.0%	1,346	100.0%	1,422	100.0%	1,491	100.0%	1,604	100.0%	1,686	100.0%	1,724	100.0%	1 <i>,757</i>	100.0%	1,951	100.0%
	Recidivists	426	30.7%	434	32.2%	434	30.5%	440	29.5%	448	27.9%	475	28.2%	499	28.9%	470	26.8%	477	24.4%
30-34	Total Releases	1,253	100.0%	1,198	100.0%	1,281	100.0%	1,240	100.0%	1,285	100.0%	1,318	100.0%	1,319	100.0%	1,241	100.0%	1,385	100.0%
	Recidivists	402	32.1%	402	33.6%	351	27.4%	354	28.5%	366	28.5%	355	26.9%	300	22.7%	285	23.0%	325	23.5%
35-39	Total Releases	1,153	100.0%	1,085	100.0%	1,181	100.0%	1,211	100.0%	1,198	100.0%	1,164	100.0%	1,132	100.0%	1,238	100.0%	1,260	100.0%
	Recidivists	328	28.4%	322	29.7%	344	29.1%	361	29.8%	332	27.7%	304	26.1%	283	25.0%	303	24.5%	295	23.4%
40-44	Total Releases	730	100.0%	796	100.0%	926	100.0%	1,061	100.0%	1,081	100.0%	1,131	100.0%	1,123	100.0%	1,063	100.0%	1,104	100.0%
	Recidivists	191	26.2%	216	27.1%	223	24.1%	236	22.2%	263	24.3%	253	22.4%	267	23.8%	233	21.9%	257	23.3%
45-49	Total Releases	341	100.0%	405	100.0%	509	100.0%	567	100.0%	676	100.0%	738	100.0%	720	100.0%	825	100.0%	925	100.0%
	Recidivists	81	23.8%	98	24.2%	116	22.8%	138	24.3%	139	20.6%	151	20.5%	154	21.4%	176	21.3%	166	17.9%
50-54	Total Releases	1 <i>57</i>	100.0%	1 <i>7</i> 9	100.0%	220	100.0%	246	100.0%	297	100.0%	341	100.0%	376	100.0%	405	100.0%	482	100.0%
	Recidivists	32	20.4%	31	17.3%	47	21.4%	44	17.9%	35	11.8%	50	14.7%	67	17.8%	83	20.5%	83	17.2%
55-59	Total Releases	77	100.0%	67	100.0%	90	100.0%	120	100.0%	122	100.0%	145	100.0%	137	100.0%	148	100.0%	194	100.0%
	Recidivists Total	6	7.8%	13	19.4%	13	14.4%	17	14.2%	20	16.4%	18	12.4%	15	10.9%	24	16.2%	28	14.4%
60-64	Releases	24	100.0%	42	100.0%	37	100.0%	37	100.0%	63	100.0%	50	100.0%	55	100.0%	64	100.0%	79	100.0%
	Recidivists Total	1	4.2%	- I	2.4%	1	2.7%	2	5.4%	8	12.7%	4	8.0%	6	10.9%	6	9.4%	10	12.7%
65+	Releases	25	100.0%	19	100.0%	29	100.0%	32	100.0%	41	100.0%	43	100.0%	31	100.0%	46	100.0%	56	100.0%
	Recidivists	3	12.0%	1	5.3%	0	.0%	1	3.1%	3	7.3%	0	.0%	2	6.5%	2	4.3%	4	7.1%

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Table 5. Recidivism Rates by Age at Release (3-Year Follow-up)

Age Category		04	000	0/	001	0/	002	0/	003	0/	004	0/	005	0/	006	0/	007
	Total	20	J00	20	JU 1	20	JU2	20	JU3		<i>1</i> 04	20	103		006	20	<i>107</i>
16-19	Releases	297	100.0%	187	100.0%	192	100.0%	170	100.0%	192	100.0%	186	100.0%	119	100.0%	133	100.0%
	Recidivists	1 <i>57</i>	52.9%	110	58.8%	101	52.6%	91	53.5%	102	53.1%	105	56.5%	55	46.2%	70	52.6%
20-24	Total Releases	1,682	100.0%	1,554	100.0%	1,651	100.0%	1,719	100.0%	1,784	100.0%	1,771	100.0%	1,672	100.0%	1,625	100.0%
	Recidivists	755	44.9%	704	45.3%	688	41.7%	755	43.9%	807	45.2%	747	42.2%	<i>717</i>	42.9%	644	39.6%
25-29	Total Releases	1,388	100.0%	1,343	100.0%	1,421	100.0%	1,487	100.0%	1,603	100.0%	1,684	100.0%	1,720	100.0%	1,752	100.0%
	Recidivists	555	40.0%	544	40.5%	545	38.4%	566	38.1%	575	35.9%	589	35.0%	621	36.1%	618	35.3%
30-34	Total Releases	1,250	100.0%	1,198	100.0%	1,279	100.0%	1,237	100.0%	1,281	100.0%	1,313	100.0%	1,318	100.0%	1,241	100.0%
	Recidivists	524	41.9%	481	40.2%	463	36.2%	445	36.0%	450	35.1%	446	34.0%	389	29.5%	369	29.7%
35-39	Total Releases	1,152	100.0%	1,083	100.0%	1,180	100.0%	1,208	100.0%	1,196	100.0%	1,161	100.0%	1,123	100.0%	1,236	100.0%
	Recidivists	432	37.5%	402	37.1%	442	37.5%	453	37.5%	430	36.0%	393	33.9%	352	31.3%	384	31.1%
40-44	Total Releases	730	100.0%	793	100.0%	922	100.0%	1,055	100.0%	1,076	100.0%	1,122	100.0%	1,116	100.0%	1,059	100.0%
	Recidivists	239	32.7%	272	34.3%	271	29.4%	315	29.9%	331	30.8%	318	28.3%	339	30.4%	307	29.0%
45-49	Total Releases	341	100.0%	402	100.0%	508	100.0%	564	100.0%	673	100.0%	730	100.0%	717	100.0%	821	100.0%
	Recidivists	108	31.7%	127	31.6%	149	29.3%	175	31.0%	184	27.3%	190	26.0%	200	27.9%	226	27.5%
50-54	Total Releases	1 <i>57</i>	100.0%	178	100.0%	217	100.0%	244	100.0%	295	100.0%	338	100.0%	374	100.0%	403	100.0%
	Recidivists	37	23.6%	38	21.3%	55	25.3%	52	21.3%	47	15.9%	68	20.1%	83	22.2%	106	26.3%
55-59	Total Releases	76	100.0%	66	100.0%	88	100.0%	119	100.0%	122	100.0%	145	100.0%	136	100.0%	147	100.0%
	Recidivists	8	10.5%	16	24.2%	16	18.2%	23	19.3%	26	21.3%	25	17.2%	18	13.2%	26	17.7%
60-64	Total Releases	24	100.0%	42	100.0%	37	100.0%	36	100.0%	63	100.0%	49	100.0%	53	100.0%	63	100.0%
	Recidivists	1	4.2%	2	4.8%	3	8.1%	3	8.3%	9	14.3%	6	12.2%	10	18.9%	9	14.3%
65+	Total Releases	24	100.0%	19	100.0%	27	100.0%	31	100.0%	38	100.0%	41	100.0%	29	100.0%	45	100.0%
	Recidivists	3	12.5%	1	5.3%	0	.0%	1	3.2%	4	10.5%	1	2.4%	2	6.9%	2	4.4%

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Table 6. Months to Recidivism (3-Year Follow-up)

	20	000	00 2001		2002		2003		20	004	20	005	20	006	2007	
Mos to Rcdvsm	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %	Rcdvst	Cmtlv %
<1	109	3.9	92	3.4	99	3.6	97	3.4	95	3.2	104	3.6	115	4.1	115	4.2
1	126	8.3	123	8.0	127	8.3	158	8.9	132	7.7	140	8.4	125	8.6	138	9.2
2	122	12.7	127	12.7	125	12.8	143	13.8	153	12.8	155	13.8	154	14.1	129	13.8
3	134	17.4	135	1 <i>7.7</i>	123	17.3	144	18.8	141	17.6	130	18.3	142	19.2	151	19.3
4	130	22.0	111	21.8	141	22.5	142	23.8	136	22.2	139	23.1	143	24.4	131	24.0
5	115	26.1	106	25.7	129	27.2	136	28.5	133	26.6	123	27.4	125	28.9	130	28.8
6	101	29.7	109	29.8	119	31.6	117	32.5	137	31.3	118	31.5	100	32.4	106	32.6
7	102	33.3	110	33.9	91	34.9	107	36.3	110	35.0	117	35.5	98	36.0	99	36.2
8	99	36.8	111	38.0	86	38.1	99	39.7	125	39.2	107	39.2	96	39.4	100	39.8
9	79	39.6	124	42.6	89	41.3	106	43.4	90	42.2	98	42.6	113	43.5	80	42.7
10	80	42.5	80	45.5	105	45.2	94	46.6	114	46.1	101	46.1	100	47.1	92	46.0
11	74	45.1	86	48.7	91	48.5	82	49.5	85	48.9	86	49.1	103	50.8	105	49.8
12	92	48.4	103	52.5	76	51.3	76	52.1	86	51.8	87	52.1	97	54.2	85	52.9
13	87	51.4	91	55.9	93	54.7	69	54.5	84	54.7	98	55.5	76	<i>57.</i> 0	69	55.4
14	93	54.7	88	59.2	67	57.1	68	56.9	87	57.6	85	58.4	60	59.1	88	58.6
15	83	57.7	66	61.6	85	60.2	86	59.9	98	60.9	79	61.2	71	61.7	74	61.3
16	84	60.7	65	64.0	69	62.8	80	62.7	85	63.8	67	63.5	76	64.4	61	63.5
1 <i>7</i>	79	63.5	51	65.9	67	65.2	77	65.3	85	66.6	85	66.4	70	66.9	73	66.1
18	71	66.0	59	68.1	70	67.8	66	67.6	63	68.8	76	69.1	60	69.1	72	68.7
19	71	68.5	67	70.6	76	70.5	64	69.9	66	71.0	81	71.9	58	71.1	55	70.7
20	49	70.2	58	72.7	57	72.6	65	72.1	65	73.2	49	73.6	60	73.3	48	72.5
21	73	72.8	69	75.3	66	75.0	61	74.2	76	75.8	55	75.5	56	75.3	59	74.6
22	55	74.8	56	77.4	71	77.6	63	76.4	48	77.4	52	77.3	54	77.2	54	76.6
23	61	76.9	67	79.9	48	79.4	59	78.5	54	79.2	53	79.1	64	79.5	58	78.7
24	78	79.7	57	82.0	62	81.7	52	80.3	55	81.0	50	80.9	50	81.3	61	80.9
25	67	82.1	47	83.7	50	83.5	68	82.6	60	83.1	66	83.1	59	83.5	49	82.7
26	53	84.0	57	85.8	42	85.0	51	84.4	56	85.0	52	84.9	46	85.1	63	84.9
27	58	86.0	54	87.8	55	87.0	62	86.6	61	87.0	56	86.9	48	86.8	47	86.6
28	60	88.2	44	89.5	45	88.7	49	88.3	52	88.8	47	88.5	48	88.5	48	88.4
29	46	89.8	42	91.0	46	90.4	52	90.1	53	90.6	49	90.2	59	90.7	48	90.1
30	59	91.9	39	92.5	47	92.1	55	92.0	53	92.3	43	91.7	54	92.6	45	91.7
31	46	93.5	48	94.3	41	93.6	40	93.4	42	93.8	53	93.5	47	94.3	48	93.5
32	43	95.0	34	95.5	59	95.8	41	94.8	41	95.1	51	95.3	41	95.8	48	95.2
33	51	96.8	41	97.0	40	97.2	55	96.7	46	96.7	56	97.2	34	97.0	42	96.7
34	49	98.6	46	98.7	41	98.7	50	98.4	39	98.0	48	98.9	43	98.5	44	98.3
35	39	100.0	34	100.0	35	100.0	45	100.0	58	100.0	31	100.0	41	100.0	46	100.0
36	1	100.0	0	100.0	0	100.0	0	100.0	1	100.0	1	100.0	0	100.0	0	100.0
TOTAL	2,819	100.0	2,697	100.0	2,733	100.0	2,879	100.0	2,965	100.0	2,888	100.0	2,786	100.0	2,761	100.0

Mos to Rcdsvm: Months to Recidivism

Rcdvst: Number of Recidivists

Cmtlv %: Cumulative Percentage