

State of New Jersey

Department of Corrections State Parole Board Jubenile Justice Commission

RELEASE OUTCOME 2008: A THREE-YEAR FOLLOW-UP

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Release Outcome Report 2008	
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2

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Release Outcome Report 2008	3
Table of Contents	
Acknowledgements	2
Executive Summary	4
Introduction	6
Included	
Agency Mission Statements	8
Methodology	10
Results: NJDOC and NJSPB	12
2008 Release Cohort Characteristics	
2008 Release Cohort Recidivism Characteristics	
Three Year Comparison of Percentages	
Cumulative Rearrest Rates	
2008 Release Offenders Most Serious Offense	
Factors Associated with Recidivism	
Results: JJC	17
Overall Recidivism Rates for Youth	
Time to Failure in Months	
Recidivism by Offender Status	
Factors Associated with Recidivism	
Moving Forward: Joint Agency Recidivism Data Mart	22
Conclusion	22

25

Notes

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS OF 2008 RELEASE COHORT

- The adult cohort was comprised of 12,989 offenders, 8696 supervised offenders (66.9%) and 4293 (33.1%) unsupervised offenders
- The juvenile cohort was comprised of 981 releases
- The adult cohort was comprised of 22.8% Caucasian, 58.1% African American, 18.4% Hispanic and .7% Other
- The juvenile population was predominantly male, and youth of color, with an average age at release of 17.7 years. A disproportionate share lived in the State's most populated urban municipalities, and the population tended to have extensive delinquent backgrounds, averaging 6.7 current and prior adjudications of delinquency.
- The median time served for the adult cohort was 15 months, with a range up to 426 months
- The majority of adult offenders served time for a drug offense (43.8%), followed by a violent offense (20.1%)

TOTAL ADULT COHORT RECIDIVISM CHARACTERISTICS

- 54.3% of the cohort was rearrested, this is a 5.26% decrease from the 2007 release cohort
- 41.9% of the cohort was reconvicted, this is a 6.6% decrease from the 2007 release cohort
- 34.8% of the cohort was reincarcerated, this is a 5.40% decrease from the 2007 release cohort
- For those offenders that were rearrested, the average time to failure was just over one year (382 days; median=311, sd=287)
- Offenders were rearrested at extremely higher rates for the same types of crimes for which they originally served time; specifically, drug offenders recommitted drug offenses at the highest rate, while weapons offenses were the least repeated offenses

ADULT RELEASE COHORT RECIDIVISM DIFFERENCES

- Unsupervised offenders had statistically higher rates of rearrest (62.8%) and reconviction (51.2%); however, supervised offenders had statistically higher rates of reincarceration (38.8%) and returned via a technical violation or a new crime
- Of those 2801 supervised offenders who had a technical parole violation, and a resulting rearrest (32.2% of supervised sample), they had a median failure time of 329 days
- Approximately 47.4% of the unsupervised offenders who were rearrested did so within the first six months; by the 12 month mark, 69.7% of those who were rearrested had done so
- Unsupervised offenders were rearrested at a statistically shorter time frame, on average, than supervised offenders (317 days; median=228 vs. 424 days; median=369)

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ADULT OFFENDER RECIDIVISM

- Statistically, prior correctional history was the largest contributor to rearrest -- one prior incarceration almost doubled the odds of a rearrest, while two or more tripled the odds of a rearrest
- Younger offenders were more likely to be rearrested; every additional year of age reduced an offender's odds of rearrest
- On average, offenders who were rearrested served shorter sentences (21.5 months), while non-recidivists served 26.3 months

- Drug, weapon and property offenders had equal rearrest rates and were rearrested more frequently than violent offenders
- Race was a significant contributor to rearrest; compared to Caucasian offenders, African American offenders had a 1.2 increased odds of recidivism, while Hispanic offenders' odds of recidivism decreased by a factor of 0.645
- Released males were more likely to be rearrested than females, 55.3% compared to 42.3%, respectively

JUVENILE COHORT RECIDIVISM CHARACTERISTICS

- 85.0% of the cohort had a new court filing/arrest
- 73.3% of the cohort had a new court filing/arrest that resulted in a new adjudication/conviction
- 38.7% of the cohort had a new court filing/arrest that resulted in a new commitment to a State facility.
- The average time to re-offend for a new court filing/arrest was 236 days
- The average time to re-offend for a new adjudication/conviction was 256 days
- The average time to re-offend for a new commitment to a State facility was 281 days

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH JUVENILE RECIDIVISM (New Court Filing/Arrest)

- Younger released youth were more likely to recidivate (17.6 years of age vs. 18.0)
- Males were more likely to recidivate (86.6% recidivating vs. 60.7% of females)
- African American youth were most likely to recidivate (88.1%), followed by Caucasian (78.2), Hispanic (76.5%), and Other (75.0% of four) youth
- Youth residing in the six most densely populated cities were more likely to recidivate compared with other youth (89.1% vs. 81.4%)
- Recidivating youth had a greater number of total adjudications of delinquency than non-recidivists (7.0 adjudications vs. 4.8)
- Youth admitted on CDS (drug) offenses and for weapons offenses were both most likely to recidivate (91.5%), followed by 89.2% for public order, 88.4% for property, 84.7% for Violations of Probation, and 76.3% for persons offenses
- Youth admitted on disorderly/petty disorderly persons offenses were most likely to recidivate (90.6%), followed by 89.7% for 3rd degree, 85.2% for 2nd degree, 84.7% for Violations of Probation, 84.1% for 4th degree, and 57.1% for 1st degree offenses
- Recidivating youth were reading at a lower grade level equivalent based on a MAP Reading Test than non-recidivists (5.1 grade level vs. 6.3)
- Recidivating youth scored at a lower grade level equivalent based on a MAP Math Test than non-recidivists (5.0 grade level vs. 5.9)
- Youth requiring special education activities were more likely to recidivate (87.7% vs. 81.7%)

INTRODUCTION

Recidivism is a core criminal justice concern. Recidivism is defined as a repetition of criminal behavior patterns following an intervention or application of criminal justice sanctions. The negative consequences of criminal persistence are multiple, reaching beyond the individual, often affecting the offender's family, neighborhood and surrounding communities.

When offenders repeatedly cycle through the criminal justice system, various deleterious outcomes can unfold. The odds that an individual offender will desist from criminogenic behavior decrease with each additional term of incarceration. Families often experience long-term disruption and economic hardships during an offender's incarceration period. By extension, neighborhood ties and social structures can be weakened by an unstable and fractured citizenry. Persistent criminal behavior, or recidivism, increases the likelihood that individuals, families, and society will experience these negative outcomes.

Undoubtedly, law enforcement's main focus is protecting public safety. With regard to recidivism, the law enforcement community is particularly invested in preventing future victimization at the hands of those offenders it is tasked with supervising. Amid state and local government budget constraints, however, law enforcement agencies and, indeed, the public at large are also interested in the performance of the criminal justice system from a taxpayer perspective. For all of these reasons, ongoing performance measurement is a key component in assessing the effectiveness of our criminal justice system.

In terms of New Jersey's incarcerated population, approximately 12,989 adult inmates and approximately 1,000 juvenile offenders are released annually from State correctional facilities. This report measures re-arrest, re-conviction and re-incarceration among adults and juveniles released in 2008 from the New Jersey Department of Corrections and the New Jersey Juvenile Justice Commission. These groups will be identified throughout the report as supervised (paroled), unsupervised and juvenile cohorts.

This report meets a legislative mandate instituted by P.L. 2009, c.329, (C.30: 4-91.15). The legislation directs the aforementioned agencies, as well as the New Jersey State Parole Board to compose a series of reports that record and examine recidivism rates. To that end, this report is the second in a series of reports that measures overall recidivism levels, describes adult and juvenile cohort characteristics, and analyzes those factors associated with recidivism. With guidance from Governor Christie's Office, a plan for interagency collaboration was developed.

This report will also provide a status update on New Jersey's Real Time Recidivism Data Mart. The Data Mart houses a wealth of information on offender descriptives and characteristics associated with various levels of offending. It will enable New Jersey to produce real-time reports and counts on offender information, which will dramatically increase the State's ability to monitor programmatic demographics, efficiencies and statistical data. The Data Mart is expected to be in use by the fall of 2012.

The first sections of the report provide an introduction and the various agencies' mission statements. Additionally, it provides an extensive review of the methodology and definitions used in this report, as they significantly vary among agencies and States.

Release Outcome Report 2008	7	
Release Outcome Report 2000	/	

The following sections address recidivism of the total sample, the supervised and unsupervised adults, the juvenile releases, and the characteristics associated with re-offending and any patterns that have developed.

The final sections focus on a description of the Data Mart and conclusions from the collaborating agencies.

AGENCY MISSION STATEMENTS

New Jersey Department of Corrections

The mission of the New Jersey Department of Corrections is to protect the public by operating safe, secure and humane correctional facilities. The mission is realized through effective supervision, proper classification, appropriate treatment of offenders, and by providing services that promote successful reentry into society. According to the 2013 budget, the department is responsible for managing more than \$1 billion and employing approximately 8,500 persons, including more than 6,000 in custody positions, to supervise approximately 25,000 inmates. The NJDOC is responsible for 13 institutions -- 11 adult male correctional facilities, one women's correctional institution and a central reception/intake unit. These facilities collectively house inmates in minimum, medium and maximum security levels. In addition, the department contracts with 18 Residential Community Release Program centers to provide for the transition of minimum security inmates back into the community. The department is committed to providing offender students with structured learning experiences, both academic and social, which will enhance their return to the community as productive citizens. The NJDOC's goal is to provide the offender students with the experiences and skills necessary to enter and remain current with the advanced technology influencing the current and future job market. Comprehensive academic education and career technical training, infused with technology based skills, are important elements to a successful transition into society and the workforce. The department offers an array of institutional and community-based program opportunities for offenders, including community labor assistance, academic and vocational educational programs, recreational programs, library (lending and law) services and substance abuse treatment. Other specialized services include victim awareness, chaplaincy services, county assistance quality assurance, liaison to Intensive Supervision Program and ombudsman services, which is a medium utilized by offenders to seek redress for problems and complaints. Additionally, the NJDOC, acting in conjunction with the New Jersey State Parole Board, provides a continuum of treatment services for offenders as they complete their sentences. Public safety is enhanced through the development, coordination, administration and delivery of these institutional and community-based programs and services.

New Jersey State Parole Board

The New Jersey Parole Act of 1979 places with the New Jersey State Parole Board the authority and responsibility of deciding which inmates of the State's and of the counties' correctional institutions shall be granted release on parole and what the conditions of that release will be. Since 2001, the Board has been charged with the responsibility of overseeing all of the functions, powers and duties of the State's 364 parole officers who supervise and monitor parolees. The Parole Act of 1979 created presumptive parole, meaning that, when an inmate appears before a Board Panel, the assumption, before anything is said or reviewed, is that the inmate has a legitimate expectation of release on his or her parole eligibility date. It is therefore important that the Board make appropriate release decisions based on all relevant information. To assist Board members in this important task, the Board obtains a comprehensive pre-parole package that includes a current psychological evaluation of the inmate as well as a risk and needs assessment tool (the LSI-R) to determine what degree of supervision and what program placement may be appropriate if release is authorized. The statute provides, as to offenses committed on or after August 19, 1997, that an adult inmate shall be paroled unless he or she has failed to cooperate in his or her own rehabilitation or there is a reasonable expectation that the inmate will violate conditions of parole. This statutory standard implements an important objective of parole---namely, to encourage an inmate to avoid institutional disciplinary infractions and to participate in institutional programs while incarcerated. Once an offender is granted parole release, the Board then has the continuing responsibility of ascertaining and monitoring compliance with the conditions of supervision that have been established by the Board. If the parolee does not comply with the conditions of supervision, the Board has the lawful authority to issue a warrant for the arrest of that parolee. Following an administrative hearing, a Board Panel may either "revoke" the grant of parole and return the parolee to prison, or modify the offender's parole conditions.

The mission of the Board is to improve the quality of life for the citizens of New Jersey. The Board seeks to accomplish this through the administration of an innovative parole system. The parole system in New Jersey addresses the needs of the community, victims and offenders through responsible decision-making and supervision processes. The implementation of this system results in effect parole case management and serves to attain the important goals of the Board, to increase public safety and decrease recidivism while promoting successful offender reintegration.

New Jersey Juvenile Justice Commission

The JJC operates an array of correctional settings as a core responsibility within its broader mandate as a juvenile justice agency. The settings serving youth prior to their release from custody include secure care facilities, residential community homes, and day programs.

JJC facilities and program sites serve both youth committed by the court to the JJC for a term of incarceration and youth placed by the court with the JJC while serving a period of probation supervision (i.e., JJC "probationers"). Committed youth released from custody typically receive a period of supervision in the community through the JJC's Office of Juvenile Parole and Transitional Services (JP&TS). Several transitional programs supplement the more traditional supervision and activities of JP&TS for released youth.

The mission of the Juvenile Justice Commission is to lead the reform of the juvenile justice system in New Jersey as mandated by N.J.S.A. 52:17B-169 et seq. The agency values and expects its employees and residents to demonstrate leadership, integrity, commitment and respect as it works to protect public safety, reduce delinquency and hold youthful offenders accountable for their delinquent actions by:

- Partnering with local and county jurisdictions in collaborative efforts to prevent youth from entering the juvenile justice system and intervene with court-involved youth;
- Providing youthful offenders with a continuum of rehabilitative services and sanctions in appropriate settings that promote positive growth and development opportunities; and
- Assisting youthful offenders to achieve successful reentry back to their communities through a network of support services and personal skill development that strengthens their levels of self-sufficiency.

METHODOLOGY

This report examines subsequent criminal activity of adult offenders released from the completion of a maximum sentence with the New Jersey Department of Corrections (n= 4,293) and released to a parole term with the State Parole Board (n=8,696) in 2008; this resulted in the review of criminal activity for a total sample of 12,989 adults. This study also examined the release of juveniles (n=981) from the Juvenile Justice Commission in 2008. The subjects were placed into one of the following three categories: the unsupervised cohort (NJDOC), the supervised cohort (SPB) and the juvenile cohort (JJC). It is important to note that the first valid release date was utilized for each adult offender in the cohort, which resulted in a count of offenders, not releases. This is consistent with previous federal studies and the more recent publication from the Pew Center on the States (2011).

Accordingly, the first rearrest was then tracked on various characteristics in an effort to not inflate the statistics. The adults that are excluded from this study are out-of-state releases or offenders who recidivated outside New Jersey, split probation offenders, offenders without a State Bureau of Identification (SBI) number, and offenders who were deported or deceased. Juveniles who were excluded from this study included readmission for probationers, return from escapes, transfers, cases released from county jails/juvenile county detention centers and those released from Camden Prep or any other "stray" non-JJC-related settings.

In an effort to provide the highest degree of data available for review of recidivism, and beyond that supplied by federal studies, the State of New Jersey has provided data on all three levels of criminal activity as well as violations of supervision. Specifically, the adult release cohort was tracked and measured in the following ways:

- 1. Rearrest: Measured as the first rearrest on felony or misdemeanor charges within the three-year follow-up, regardless of disposition. This count would include a new arrest/crime for a parolee. This date is tracked for a review on time to failure.
- 2. Reconviction: Measured as the first reconviction from at least one charge within the three-year follow-up. This count is regardless of whether or not the offender went on to be reincarcerated.
- 3. Reincarceration: Measured as the first return to State prison for any charge within the three-year follow-up. Consistent with the recent Pew study, with the exception of reduced cases due to mismatch identities or missing information².
- 4. Technical parole violation: Measured as any supervised offender who returns to State prison or county jail within the three-year follow-up for a technical offense (i.e., dirty urine, curfew infraction). A new crime that results in a rearrest for a supervised offender will be counted under the "rearrest" category.

Additional variables are included in an effort to determine whether an association with recidivism exists. These variables include offense dates, the type of rearrest offense, release age, LSI-R score, time served, index offense type, gender, race/ethnicity and prior criminal history.

Release data from the New Jersey Department of Corrections' Offender Based Correctional Informational System (OBCIS) was matched against the State Police Offender Based Transaction System/Computerized Criminal History (OBTS/CCH) database. OBTS/CCH is used in the generation of New Jersey's "RAP" sheets – Records of Arrest and Prosecution. The inmate SBI number was used to electronically retrieve arrest, conviction and incarceration information for criminal events both prior and subsequent to their 2008 release.

For the JJC analysis, the measures and definitions of recidivism were consistent with the work of the National Council of Juvenile Correctional Administrators (CJCA). Recidivism was defined as "a new offense that would be a crime if perpetrated by an adult, committed by a previously-adjudicated youth who has been released from a program or returned to the community." Measurement of recidivism refers to the type(s) of data used to identify an individual as a recidivist or non-recidivist. While there are various ways that recidivism can be measured, the present study focused on three measures. The three primary measures of recidivism considered in the study address three distinct questions.

- 1. Do youth have a subsequent delinquency court filing or adult arrest for a new offense?
- 2. Do youth have a subsequent adjudication or conviction for a new offense?
- 3. Do youth experience a subsequent commitment to the JJC or to the New Jersey Department of Corrections for a new offense?

The three measures, therefore, are identified as:

- 1. New court filing/arrest (regardless of whether it results in an adjudication of delinquency, or conviction as an adult)
- 2. New adjudication/conviction
- 3. New commitment to the JJC or NJDOC

The date recorded for the recidivism event was the available date most closely representing when the juvenile committed (or allegedly committed) the new offense. The study used this offense date to determine whether a given recidivism event occurred within three, six, 12, 24, or 36 months. The JJC's Information Technology Unit provided a database, based on its Juvenile Information Management System (JIMS), containing youths' names and relevant information to identify youth released from JJC custody during 2008. For each of the releases initially identified, an additional search was conducted with the assistance of the Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) and the Department of Law & Public Safety's (DL&PS) Division of Criminal Justice. The AOC (Family Division Statistics) provided recidivism-related data from its Family Automated Case Tracking System database, while the DL&PS, Division of Criminal Justice provided recidivism-related data from the State Police Criminal Case History database.

Note that since the average age at release for youth in the study was 17.7 years, many youth turned 18 years of age during the follow-up period. As a result, and as suggested by the three questions noted above, the study reviewed both juvenile and adult records for youth in the study in order to assess recidivism.

RESULTS

NJ Department of Corrections and NJ State Parole Board

During calendar year 2008, 13,252 inmates were released from the NJDOC and a sample of 12,989 was used for various operational and data related issues. Of the final sample, 8,696 offenders were supervised (i.e. under parole supervision) and 4,293 offenders were unsupervised, completing their sentences while incarcerated. The supervised offenders represented two-thirds of all offenders released in this cohort. As can be seen in Table 1, of the total sample, 91.9% of offenders were male and 8.1% were female. The racial characteristics of the released offenders (supervised and unsupervised) show that more African American offenders (58.1%) were

released, followed by Caucasian inmates (22.8%) and Hispanic offenders (18.4%). Thirty-seven percent of the total sample did not have a prior correctional history, but the remaining 62.9% had a minimum of one additional State incarceration. When one looks closer, 46.0% of the supervised sample had no prior criminal history, while 19.0% of the unsupervised sample had no prior criminal history (p<.000). The most prevalent serious offense that the sample committed was a drug offense (43.1%), followed by a violent felony (20.1%). The average release age of all offenders was 34.7, with the unsupervised sample being statistically older than the supervised sample at 36.4 years (p<.000). The median time served for the 2008 release cohort was 15 months, while the supervised sample served statistically less time than the unsupervised sample at 14 months (p<.000).

Table 1:	2008 Release Coho	ort Characteristics	
Variable	Supervised	Unsupervised	Total
Gender*			
Male	7,924	4,020	11,944 (91.9%)
Female	772	273	1,045 (8.1%)
Race*			
Caucasian	1,992	970	2,962 (22.8%)
African American	4,957	2,594	7,551 (58.1%)
Hispanic	1,673	719	2,392 (18.4%)
Other	74	10	84 (0.7%)
Prior History*			
No Prior History	3,999	816	4,815 (37.1%)
1 Prior Incarceration	1,636	932	2,568 (19.8%)
2 or More Prior	3,061	2,545	5,606 (43.1%)
Incarcerations			
Most Serious Offense*			
Violent	1,880	738	2,618 (20.1%)
Weapon	327	228	555 (4.3%)
Property	1,334	948	2,282 (17.6%)
Drugs	3,891	1,708	5,599 (43.1%)
Other	1,264	671	1,935 (14.9%)
Release Age*	Mean= 33.9 (SD= 9.8)	Mean= 36.4 (SD= 9.4)	Mean= 34.7 (SD= 9.8)
Time Served in Months*	Median= 14 (SD= 27)	Median= 17 (SD= 31)	Median= 15 (SD= 29)

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As displayed in Table 2, 54.3% of the overall sample was rearrested, 41.9% was reconvicted and 34.8% returned to State incarceration either via a new charge or a technical violation. Of the 8,696 supervised releases, 4,352 (50.0%) were rearrested and 4,344 (50.0%) were not; and of the 4,293 unsupervised releases, 2,697 (62.8%) were rearrested and 1,596 (37.2%) were not. The supervised and unsupervised groups were statistically different on all three measures of rearrest, reconviction and reincarceration (p<.000); however, the unsupervised cohort had higher rates on rearrest and reconviction, while the supervised group had the highest rate of reincarcerations. Thirty-nine percent (3,378) of the supervised cohort was returned to State incarceration either via a technical violation or a new charge.

Examining the rearrested groups further reveals a higher and earlier incidence of re-arrest among unsupervised release cohort members. Slightly over half, 2,296 (52.8%) of the "Supervised and Re-arrested" group were rearrested within 12 months of their release. In comparison, for almost as many 1,279 (47.4%) of the "Unsupervised and Re-Arrested" group, the arrest occurred within the first six months, and by 12 months of release the cumulative total re-arrested was 1,881 (69.7%).

Table 2: 2008 Release Cohort Recidivism Characteristics							
Variable	Supervised	Unsupervised	Total				
Rearrest*							
Yes	4,352	2,697	7,049 (54.3%)				
No	4,344	1,596	5,940 (45.7%)				
Reconviction*							
Yes	3,247	2,197	5,444 (41.9%)				
No	5,449	2,096	7,545 (58.1%)				
Reincarceration*							
Yes	3,378	1,149	4,527 (34.8%)				
No	5,318	3,144	8,462 (65.2%)				
Time to Rearrest*							
No Rearrest	4,344	1,596	5,940 (45.7%)				
6 Months	1,294	1,279	2,573 (19.8%)				
7- 12 Months	1,002	602	1,604 (12.3%)				
13-18 Months	781	324	1,105 (8.5%)				
19-24 Months	562	224	786 (6.1%)				
25-30 Months	438	161	599 (4.6%)				
31-36 Months	275	107	382 (2.9%)				
Time to Rearrest (days)*	Median= 369 (SD=289)	Median= 228 (SD=272)	Median= 311 (SD=287)				
Time Parole Violation (days) Median= 329 days (SD=287)							

^{*}p < .000

As can be seen in Table 3 below, when compared to the previous 2007 cohort, the State of New Jersey continues to experience a downward trend in all three categories of recidivism. The full 2008 release cohort experienced a 5.26% decrease in the percentage of re-arrests, a 6.66% decrease in the percentage of re-convictions and a 5.40% decrease in the percentage of reincarcerations, as compared to the 2007 release cohort. This is a percent change difference. This decrease is consistent with the State of New Jersey's commitment to reducing recidivistic activity, and is expected to continue with a pending focus on breaking the addiction cycle through drug courts.

Table 3: Three Year Comparison of Percentages						
Release Year	Re-Arrest	Re-conviction	Re-incarceration			
2006	57%	47%	34%			
2007	57%	45%	37%			
2008	54%	42%	35%			

Figure 1 below depicts <u>only those offenders who were rearrested</u> within the follow-up period of three years (n=7,049). Overall 50% of inmates released to parole supervision were rearrested, and 62% of inmates released at their maximum custodial term were re-arrested at the 36 month mark. Time to arrest was examined at six month intervals. A substantial proportion of the recidivists were rearrested shortly after release, particularly the unsupervised sample.

Figure 1. Cumulative Overall Re-Arrest Rates CY2008 NJ-DOC Release Cohort Recidivists Only (n = 7,049)

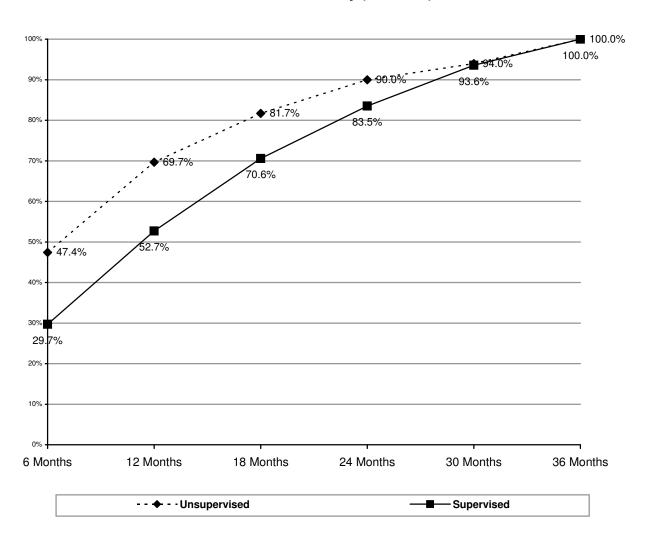
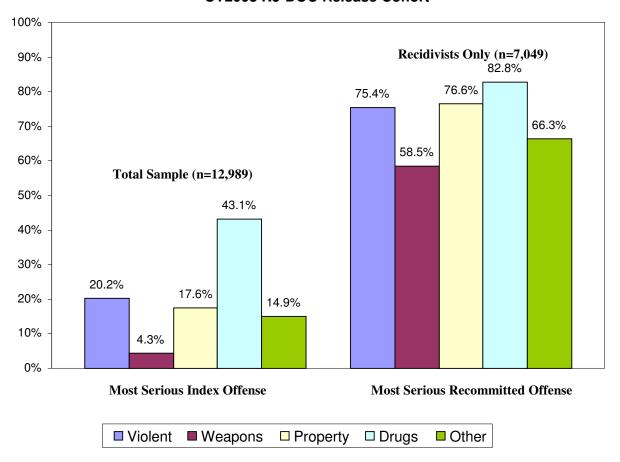


Figure 2. Most Serious Type of Offense Index & Re-Arrest Offenses CY2008 NJ-DOC Release Cohort



As graphically displayed in Figure 2, a breakdown of offense categories⁷ was analyzed. Based on the New Jersey Criminal Code, offenses were broken down into five categories: violent, weapons, property, drug, and other. (The other category is a general category for offenses not captured by the other four main crime types). These offense types are based on the most serious offense for which offenders were convicted.

The left side of Figure 2 represents the most serious charge that led to the offender's incarceration during the study period (i.e. the "index offense"). These percentages are based on the entire sample of offenders (n=12,989). As depicted in the graph, drug offenses account for the largest proportion of index offenses at 43.1%, followed by violent offenses (20.2%), property offenses (17.6%), "other" offenses (14.9%), and weapons offenses (4.3%).

The right side of the graph illustrates the type of offense committed by recidivists, or the first crime committed after release from incarceration. When focusing on the much smaller pool of recidivists (n=7,049), rates of offender "specialization" become much clearer. For instance, of those violent offenders who recidivated (returned to custody on a new offense) 75.4% recommitted violent crimes. The pattern of offender specialization was present across all offense types: weapons recidivists (58.5%), property recidivists (76.6%), drug recidivists (82.8%), and other recidivists (66.3%). Drug offenders appear as the most specialized, as expected.

Factors Associated with Recidivism

This outcome study examined differences between those who did and those who did not recidivate (re-arrest) on a number of variables often assumed to contribute to recidivistic behavior. The analysis of bivariate and multivariate relationships revealed that for this released population, eight factors were associated with re-arrest within three years. These factors included prior correctional history, age at release, length of time served, type of committing/admitting offense, race/ethnicity, gender, LSI-R score and an offender's release type (supervised vs. unsupervised). The factors entered in the model explained almost 20% of the variance in the dependent variable of re-arrest.

Prior Correctional History. Prior correctional history was significantly related to the likelihood of rearrest. First, 43% of the full sample of released offenders had a minimum of two previous state incarcerations and an additional 19.8% had one prior state incarceration term, totaling 63% of the sample of inmates. Fifty-six percent of offenders who had served one prior correctional term were rearrested, and over 68% of offenders who served two or more were rearrested, while 37% of those with no prior incarceration were re-arrested (x^2 =1006,df=2, p<.000). Multivariate statistics shed further light, indicating that if offenders had one prior correctional incarceration, the odds of a re-arrest were almost doubled. If an offender had two prior correctional incarcerations or more, the odds of a re-arrest tripled.

Age at release. Younger offenders were more likely to have been rearrested than older offenders; the differences across age were statistically significant. Offenders who recidivated were younger than non-recidivists (33 years vs. 37 years, t=18.53, df=12987, p<.000). Multivariate statistics indicated that age was inversely related to the odds of rearrest; for every one year increase in age, the offender's odds of a new arrest decreased by a factor of almost one (0.95).

Length of time served⁸. Offenders were more likely to be rearrested for a new crime if they served shorter amounts of time. Offenders who were rearrested served on average 21.5 months in prison, while non-recidivists served 26.3 months (t=8.83, df=12987, p<.000).

Type of Committing Offense. The type of instant offense the offender committed was significant in bivariate tests of independence and multivariate regression models predicting a new arrest. Specifically, offenders who committed weapons (58% re-arrest), property (62.4% re-arrest) and drug offenses (58% re-arrest) were rearrested proportionally more than offenders who committed a violent crime (x^2 =248.91, df=4, p<.000). Offenders who committed weapons, property and drug offenses had an increased probability of a new arrest, with property offenders maintaining the highest odds of re-arrest (1.64), with drug offenses close behind (1.26). Violent offenders were rearrested proportionally less than other types of offenders.

Race/Ethnicity. The variable of race/ethnicity was significant in bivariate tests of independence and multivariate regression models. Proportionally, African American offenders (62%) were rearrested more, compared to Caucasian (47%) and Hispanic (42%) offenders (x^2 =418.14, df=3, p<.000). Almost 66% of offenders who were re-arrested were African American. Multivariate statistics indicated that race/ethnicity was predictive of rearrest, particularly, compared to Caucasians, African Americans had increased odds of a re-arrest of 1.29. Additionally, when compared to Caucasians, Hispanics and Asians had decreased odds of a re-arrest.

Gender. Released males were much more likely to have been rearrested than females (even considering their disproportional representation); the difference was statistically significant.

The recidivism rate for males was higher for new arrest within three years of release (55% vs. 42%, $x^2 = 64.59$, df=1, p<.000). Approximately 94% of all releases who were re-arrested were male. Utilizing multivariate statistics indicated that being female decreased the odds of re-arrest by .799.

LSI-R Score. The Level of Services Inventory-Revised is a risk and needs assessment instrument used to measure an offender's level of recidivism risk. Higher scores on the scale indicate an offender is at increased risk for recidivism. Bivariate tests of independence indicated offenders who recidivated tested higher on the LSI-R measure, with recidivists scoring 25.9 and non-recidivists scoring 23.4 (t=20.97, df=11,428, p<.000). Multivariate statistics indicated that LSI-R Score was positively correlated to odds of rearrest; with an offender's odds of a new arrest increasing by a factor of 1.04 for each additional point scored.

Release Type. Bivariate tests of independence showed that unsupervised offenders were more likely to have been rearrested than supervised offenders, with 62.8% of unsupervised offenders committing a new crime compared to (50.0%) of supervised offenders $(x^2=189.06, df=1, p<.000)$. Multivariate statistics also indicated that supervision level was predictive of rearrest, with lack of supervision increasing odds of rearrest by a factor of 1.3.

Juvenile Justice Commission

The reporting of results begins with a focus on an examination of the overall recidivism rates for youth released from JJC custody in 2008. As shown in Figure 3, the rate of recidivism increased over time through the three-year period for each of the three measures, although there is a noticeable tapering off beyond 24 months. By one year following release, 66.6% of the youth released in 2008 had a new court filing/arrest. In addition, more than one-half (54.5%) committed a new offense resulting in an adjudication/conviction, while 27.8% offended resulting in a new commitment to a State facility. At two years following release, recidivism rates had increased considerably: more than three-quarters (81.7%) had a new court filing/arrest, 69.5% a new adjudication/conviction, and 35.8% a new commitment to a State facility. By three full years after release, recidivism rates rose to more than eight in ten (85.0%) for new court filings/arrests, 73.3% for new adjudications/convictions, and 38.7% for new commitments.

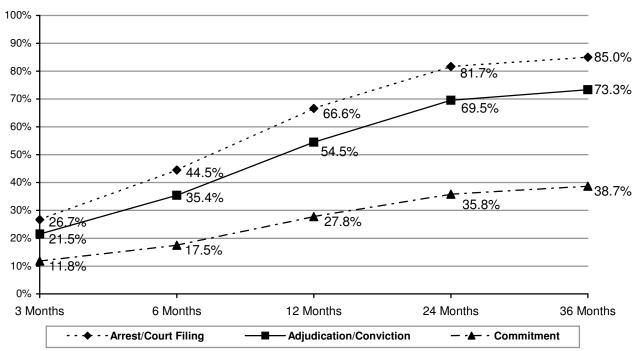


Figure 3. Overall Recidivism Rates for Youth Released from JJC Custody in 2008

The study also examined average time to recidivate (in days) for all youth re-offending within three years. Average time to recidivate (i.e., to re-offend) was as follows:

- for those with a new court filing/arrest, 236 days;
- for those with a new adjudication/conviction, 256 days; and
- for those with a new commitment, 281 days.

In other words, it took (on average) about eight months for youth with new court filings/arrests to re-offend, and almost nine months for those with new adjudications/convictions to re-offend. Further, those with a new commitment took more than nine months to re-offend.

A closer look at *recidivists only* (i.e., those who re-offended within three years) revealed that a large share of recidivating youth re-offended within six months of release, with a disproportionate share doing so within one year. Specifically, with regard to youth with a new court filing/arrest, 52.4% recidivated within six months, and 78.3% within the first year. Close to one-half (48.3%) of youth with a new adjudication/conviction re-offended within six months, and 74.4% did so within the first year. Finally, 45.3% of those who received a new commitment re-offended within six months, while 71.8% did so within the first year.

A substantial proportion *of the recidivists* did so shortly after release, i.e., within three months of release. Specifically, among the recidivists, 31.4% of those with a new court filing/arrest, 29.3% of those with a new adjudication/conviction, and 30.5% of those with a new commitment re-offended within three months of their release from JJC custody.

Recidivism by Offender Status

Only small differences were found between committed and probationer youth with regard to their likelihood of recidivating; none of those differences were statistically significant.

Probationers were slightly more likely to receive a new court filing/get arrested within the three-year period (probationers = 85.8%; committed = 84.7%). Probationers were also slightly more likely to re-offend and receive an adjudication/conviction (74.3% vs. 72.8%). Finally, committed youth were slightly more likely to re-offend and receive a new commitment (39.8% vs. 36.5%).

With regard to the time it took to recidivate, committed youth took somewhat longer than probationers to re-offend for new court filings/arrests (244 days vs. 219 days), and for adjudications/convictions (261 days vs. 246 days). Committed youth also took slightly longer to re-offend for new commitments (283 days vs. 278 days). None of the differences were statistically significant.

Factors Associated with Recidivism

This recidivism study examined differences between those who did and those who did not recidivate in terms of a limited number of factors (i.e., variables) available for examination. The analysis of bivariate relationships revealed that for this released population, among the variables having substantial portions of both committed and probationer youth data available, ten factors were associated at a statistically significant level (p<.05) with recidivism within three years (on one or more of the three measures). These factors included gender, age at release, race/ethnicity, municipality of residence, number of total adjudications of delinquency, type of committing/admitting offense, degree of committing/admitting offense, Reading Proficiency, Math Proficiency, and Educational Classification Status.

Gender. Released males were much more likely to have recidivated than females; the difference was statistically significant for each of the three measures. The recidivism rate for males was substantially higher for new court filings/arrests within three years of release (86.6% vs. 60.7%, p=.000); for new adjudications/convictions (75.2% vs. 44.3%, p=.000); and for new commitments (40.4% vs. 13.1%, p=.000).

Age at Release. Younger juveniles were more likely to have recidivated than older juveniles; the differences across age were statistically significant for each of the three measures. For new court filings/arrests, recidivists were younger than non-recidivists (17.6 years vs. 18.0, p=.002). Similarly, those with a new adjudication/conviction were younger at the time of release than those without a new adjudication/conviction (17.6 vs. 18.0, p=.000). The same was true for new commitments (17.3 vs. 17.9, p=.000).

Race/Ethnicity. Released African American youth were most likely to have had a new court filing/arrest (88.1%), followed by Caucasian youth (78.2%), Hispanic youth (76.5%), and Other youth (75.0%) of four youth. This difference in new court filings/arrests across race/ethnicity was statistically significant (p=.000). African American youth (78.1%) were also most likely to have received a new adjudication/conviction, followed by Other youth (75.0%), Hispanic youth (62.0%), and then Caucasian youth (56.4%); also statistically significant (p=.000). Finally, the difference for new commitments across race/ethnicity was also statistically significant (p=.000), with a total of 44.5% of African American youth receiving a new commitment, followed by 27.3% of Hispanic youth, 25.0% of Other youth, and 14.1% of Caucasian youth.

As part of the analysis, race/ethnicity was recoded into "minority" and "nonminority" categories (with Caucasian the sole race/ethnicity category coded as nonminority). Those categorized as minority (i.e., youth of color) were generally more likely to have recidivated. The differences were statistically significant for new adjudication/convictions (p=.000), and for new

commitments (p=.000), where the greatest difference was evident, but not for new court filings/arrests. Specifically, regarding new commitments, minority youth received a new commitment at a rate of 40.9%, as compared with 14.1% for nonminority youth.

Municipality of Residence. Released youth were categorized as residing in one of the six most densely populated New Jersey cities (six Major Urban areas), or not. Those residing in the Major Urban areas were more likely than those in non-Major Urban areas to have recidivated based on new court filings/arrests (89.1% vs. 81.4%, p=.001); new adjudications/convictions (79.3% vs. 68.0%, p=.000); and new commitments (46.6% vs. 31.8%, p=.000).

Number of Adjudications. The average number of adjudications of delinquency at the time of commitment/admission to the JJC (both prior and current adjudications) for the released population was 6.7. The average was significantly greater for youth who experienced a new court filing/arrest within three years of release than for those who did not (7.0 vs. 4.8, p=.000). The same was true for new adjudications/convictions (7.0 vs. 5.7, p=.000), and for new commitments (7.4 vs. 6.2, p=.000).

Type of Offense. Youth committed/admitted to the JJC for CDS offenses and weapons offenses were both most likely to have had a new court filing/arrest within three years (91.5%), followed by those entering with public order offenses (89.2%), property offenses (88.4%), Violations of Probation, VOPs (84.7%), and then persons offenses (76.3%). The difference in new court filings/arrests by offense type was statistically significant (p=.000). For new adjudications/convictions, the highest recidivism rate was for youth with CDS offenses (84.0%), followed by those with public order offenses (81.5%), weapons offenses (76.3%), property offenses (73.6%), VOPs (71.9%), and, finally, persons offenses (63.5%). The difference was also statistically significant (p=.000). Finally, for new commitments, youth with weapons offenses had the highest recidivism rate (54.2%), followed by those with CDS offenses (47.6%), public order offenses (40.0%), property offenses (38.8%), VOPs (36.4%), and persons offenses (30.3%). The difference in new commitment rate was also statistically significant (p=.001).

Degree of Offense. Youth committed/admitted to the JJC for Disorderly Persons or Petty Disorderly Persons offenses (DP/PDP) were most likely to have had a new court filing/arrest within three years (90.6%), followed by those entering with 3rd degree offenses (89.7%), 2nd degree offenses (85.2%), VOPs, which have no designated degree (84.7%), 4th degree offenses (84.1%), and, finally, 1st degree offenses (57.1%). The difference in new court filings/arrests by degree of offense was statistically significant (p=.000). For new adjudications/convictions, the highest recidivism rate was also for youth with DP/PDP offenses (79.7%), followed by 3rd degree offenses (79.4%), 4th degree offenses (73.9%), VOPs (71.9%), 2nd degree offenses (71.0%) and then 1st degree offenses (45.7%). The difference was also statistically significant (p=.000). Finally, for new commitments, youth with 4th degree offenses had the highest recidivism rate (46.4%), followed by 3rd degree offenses (44.4%), DP/PDP offenses (39.1%), VOPs (36.4%), 2nd degree offenses (34.1%), and 1st degree offenses (21.4%). The difference in new commitments was also statistically significant (p=.003).

Reading Proficiency (Grade Level Equivalency). The MAP Reading Test is a standardized assessment tool used as an indicator of preparedness for NJ high school proficiency exams. It is considered to be one of several available ways to assess academic achievement. The average grade level equivalent for Reading based on the MAP Test was 5.2. Statistically significant differences were found for all three measures. For new court filings/arrests, the average grade

level for recidivists was lower (5.1 vs. 6.3, p=.000). The same was true for new adjudications/convictions (5.0 vs. 6.2, p=.000), and for new commitments (4.8 vs. 5.6, p=.000).

Math Proficiency (Grade Level Equivalency). The MAP Math Test also serves as an indicator of preparedness, here with regard to the area of Math proficiency. The average grade level equivalent for Math based on the MAP Test was 5.1. Statistically significant differences, again, were found for all three measures. For new court filings/arrests, the average grade level for recidivists was lower (5.0 vs. 5.9, p=.001). The same was true for new adjudications/convictions (4.8 vs. 5.8, p=.000), and for new commitments (4.6 vs. 5.4, p=.000).

Education Classification Status (Special Education). For the overall released youth population, 53.4% received special education, while the remaining 46.6% received regular education activities. Education classification status was related to recidivism, at a statistically significant level, for both the new court filings/arrests and new adjudications/convictions measures. Specifically, for new court filings/arrests, 87.7% of the educationally classified youth recidivated compared with 81.7% of those not classified (p=.009). Also, for new adjudications/convictions, 76.4% of the educationally classified youth recidivated compared with 69.6% of those not classified (p=.017).

In addition to the above analysis, *multivariate analysis* was undertaken using logistic regression. The six explanatory factors above (based on bivariate analysis) that were found to be appropriate for the procedure were included in the analysis: gender, age at release, total number of adjudications of delinquency, municipality of residence (i.e., six Major Urban vs. non-Major Urban), MAP Reading Test Grade Level Equivalent, and Education Classification Status. The statistical procedure examined the effects of the six factors on recidivism (*measured as new court filings/arrests*) for the released population. The analysis found that when analyzed together, gender (p=.000), total adjudications (p=.000), MAP Reading Test Grade Level Equivalent (p=.032), and age at release (p=.049) each demonstrated independent significant relationships with recidivism, while municipality of residence and Education Classification Status no longer maintained a significant relationship with re-offending.

Finally, in addition to the recidivism analyses described above, several additional characteristics of released juveniles were examined, with a primary concern for their relationship with the new court filings/arrests measure. The focus was on areas of youths' functioning and needs. For these additional variables, data is collected either exclusively or largely on JJC's committed youth (rather than on JJC's probationers). As a result, the findings are relevant largely for the JJC's committed population. Statistically significant relationships with recidivism (i.e., new court filings/arrests) were found as follows:

Recidivists were found to have higher need scores regarding their levels of need, for total (overall) need (p=.001), in the substance abuse need area (p=.000), the peers/role models need area (p=.004), and the attitudes/behavior need area (p=.014), based on the JJC's Comprehensive Informational Assessment (CIA). The CIA tool assesses levels of need on eight separate life domains along with an overall assessment of total need. The domains include: family/household; educational/vocational; substance abuse; peers/role models; attitudes/behaviors (reflecting anti-social attitudes, related anger control issues, motivation/readiness to change); use of time/leisure activity; medical/physical health; and psychological/mental health.

- Recidivists had a somewhat lower average GAF score than non-recidivists (50.2 vs. 51.8, p=.013). The average score for the released population on the Global Assessment of Functioning (GAF) was 50.4 reflective of moderate symptoms or moderate difficulty in various areas of functioning. The GAF is a numerical scale (0 through 100) used by mental health clinicians and doctors to rate the social, occupational, and psychological functioning of individuals. A higher score represents an assessment of higher levels of functioning.
- Recidivists had a somewhat lower composite score of functional intelligence than non-recidivists (82.7 vs. 85.3, p=.032), based on the Kaufman Brief Intelligence Test (KBIT). The average score for the released population on the KBIT was 83.0. Test results indicated that the JJC youth typically functioned well below the average range in terms of intelligence.

MOVING FORWARD: JOINT AGENCY REAL TIME RECIDIVISM DATA MART

The development of the Recidivism Data Mart continued throughout FY2012 and is near completion. The project began in 2011 with the establishment of information sharing partnerships among several of the state's criminal and information technology agencies including the Department of Corrections, Juvenile Justice Commission, State Parole Board, Administrative Office of the Courts, Office of the Attorney General and Office of Information Technology. Through the efforts of the Department of Corrections and its partner criminal and information technology agencies, contracted data mart development services were procured to provide the technical expertise required for the design and development of the data mart tool. Meetings were held throughout the year with agency research and evaluation, and information technology staff, along with senior management, to provide the business requirements essential for the development of the tool.

The initial deliverables for the project include providing several data marts to report on an integrated offender recidivism life cycle, and to report on the efficacy of program categories relative to recidivism. The tool will also function as an exploratory reporting environment against the overall data warehouse for research staff in each of the respective criminal justice agencies.

Loading of data to the data marts began in June 2012. It is anticipated that the data marts will be fully operational by early Fall 2012. Once fully developed, the tool will allow for near real time reports to be produced for agency administration on offender characteristics, program effectiveness and offender recidivism in order to ensure informed decision making and enhance public safety.

CONCLUSION

This report is the second in a series of reports measuring various outcomes relative to New Jersey's adult and juvenile offender populations and meets a legislative mandate. To this end, the New Jersey Department of Corrections (NJDOC), the New Jersey State Parole Board (NJSPB) and the Juvenile Justice Commission (JJC) examined the recidivism of a select cohort of offenders (juvenile and adult) released from the custody of each respective law enforcement agency in calendar year 2008. In addition to measuring overall recidivism levels, this report

describes adult and juvenile cohort characteristics, as well as analyzes those factors associated with recidivism. Both supervised (NJSPB) and unsupervised releases were examined.

Three measures of recidivism were examined: rearrest, reconviction and reincarceration. These three measures are defined somewhat differently according to the population being studied (juvenile or adult). The NJDOC defines recidivism in agreement with the Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics and the Pew Center on the States, while the JJC defines recidivism in accordance with the National Council of Juvenile Correctional Administrators (CJAC). All analyses presented the overall recidivism rates for offenders up to 36 months post release.

For juvenile offenders, at the three-year point, 85.0% of the youth released resulted in a court filing/arrest, 73.3% resulted in a re-offense leading to an adjudication/conviction, and 38.7% resulted in a re-offense leading to a new commitment to the JJC or to State prison. The results also indicate that juveniles began to re-offend in the early months after release from custody. Specifically, by the time youth had been released for three months, 26.7% of the released youth had a new court filing/arrest, 21.5% re-offended and were subsequently adjudicated/convicted, and 11.8% re-offended and were subsequently committed.

For adult offenders, regardless of their release type, 54.3% of the cohort was rearrested and this represented a 5.26% decrease from the 2007 release cohort. Approximately 42% of the adult cohort was reconvicted, this is a 6.6% decrease from the 2007 release cohort. Lastly, 34.8% of the adult cohort was reincarcerated, representing a 5.40% decrease from the 2007 release cohort. The average time to failure for those offenders who were rearrested, was just over one year (382 days; median=311, sd=287). Offenders were rearrested at extremely higher rates for the same types of crimes for which they originally served time; specifically, drug offenders recommitted drug offenses at the highest rate, while weapons offenses were the least repeated offenses.

In addition to investigating recidivism by release type and time to failure, demographic and incarceration variables were measured to identify which factors are associated with recidivism, and if related, their level of influence. For the adult cohort, several variables were found to correlate with and increase the odds of recidivism. These variables include race, gender, release age, prior incarceration, offense type, time served, release type and LSI-R score. In terms of demographic variables, those offenders who are younger, male, and African-American are at greater risk of reoffending. Moreover, unsupervised offenders, drug offenders, offenders serving shorter sentences, and offenders with lengthier correctional histories are more likely to recidivate. Prior correctional history was the largest contributor to re-arrest. Specifically, one prior incarceration almost doubled the odds of a re-arrest, while two or more tripled the odds of a re-arrest. These findings are in accordance with prior research. An offender's LSI-R score also proved to predict re-arrest, and showed a positive correlation. As an inmate's risk score increased, so did their odds of a re-arrest.

Bivariate analyses conducted on the juvenile sample revealed ten factors to be significantly related to recidivism (as measured by new court filings/arrests). Similar to the adult cohort, the following variables were highly correlated to juvenile re-offending: age (younger), gender (males), race/ethnicity (African-Americans), and type of instant offense (drug offenders). In addition, municipality of residence, number of delinquency adjudications, degree of offense, and education variables (reading and math proficiency; special education status) were all associated with a greater risk of recidivism. Finally, a multivariate analysis found that when

Release	Release Outcome Report 2008								 24

analyzed together only gender, total adjudications, reading proficiency, and age at release demonstrated independent relationships with recidivism.

As policymakers galvanize attention toward proven program approaches to reduce criminogenic behavior, the NJDOC, SPB and JJC will adhere to their mission statements and continue the efforts to keep both adult and juvenile offenders from returning to a life behind bars. Commitment to this goal ensures safer communities and provides a benchmark for future success.

Notes

- 1. Following the precedent and methodology set by the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (Langan, P.A., & Levin, D.J. (2002) Report NCJ 193427) and the recent PEW study (Pew Center on the States, State of Recidivism: The Revolving Door of America's Prisons, April 2011), a three-year follow-up was undertaken. This time frame allowed for the examination of recidivism patterns and variations among supervision levels and types of offenders, while also contributing to an improved understanding of the factors that impact recidivism.
- 2. This outcome study uses the same counting measure of readmission to the NJDOC for a new crime or a technical violation as the recent PEW publication, with the exception that a number of cases had to be excluded due to missing information and/or mismatched identities.
- 3. Council of Juvenile Correctional Administrators. (August 2009). A CJCA White Paper: Defining and Measuring Recidivism. Braintree, MA: CJCA.
- 4. This decision is most relevant for the measures "new adjudication/conviction" and "new commitment to JJC/DOC." For example, "new adjudication/conviction within one year" means that the offense leading to the new adjudication/conviction occurred within one year, even though the actual adjudication/conviction may have occurred sometime after that one-year mark. An end date (December 31, 2011) was utilized for the analysis after which recidivism was not considered for anyone in the study. By that date, all study youth had been released for at least three years. This was done to maximize consistency across annual recidivism analyses.
- 5. The analysis excluded committed youth whose admission type was identified as technical parole violators or post incarceration violators. The final data file on which the analysis was provided included data on 981 separate cases, with one case corresponding to each released juvenile included in the analysis. Valid admission types were identified as: new admissions, recommitments from parole, recommitments from post-incarceration supervision, and recommitments from judicial recall. Valid release types were identified as: maxed out, maxed to post-incarceration supervision, paroled, and (for probationers) released completed.
- 6. JJC committed juveniles averaged 17.9 years of age at release from custody, while JJC probationers were somewhat younger, averaging 17.0 years. In addition, the average age at <u>admission</u> to JJC for the released population was 16.9 years; 17.0 for committed and 16.7 for probationer youth.
- 7. These definitions follow the NJ Criminal Codes Parts 1 through 5 (except Weapons and Drug Offenses- defined in Part 5 Crimes against Public Order, Health and Decency) and are extracted for the study purposes. Violent crimes involve Danger to a Person (which includes Criminal Homicide, Cloning, Assault, Reckless Endangering and Threats, Kidnapping, Sexual Offenses, Robbery, Arson and Bias Crimes). Property crimes include Offenses against Property (which includes Criminal Mischief & Other Property Destruction, Burglary & Criminal Intrusion, Theft, Forgery & Fraudulent Practices and Disturbance/Desecration of Human Remains). Weapons offenses are violations of restriction on the possession, use, sales or trafficking, manufacturing, import and export of deadly weapons (firearms and their ammunition, silencers, explosives and certain knives). Drug offenses are violations of restrictions on the possession, manufacture, or distribution of Controlled Dangerous Substances (drugs classified as having a potential for abuse). This also includes Anti-Drug Profiteering, Drug Dealer Liability, and Drug Paraphernalia crimes.
- 8. Length of Stay means the time an inmate served in custody from the Date of Sentence (or Probable Cause Hearing if the original admission was a Technical Parole Violation) until the date of release to the community either at maximum custodial term or to Parole supervision. This represents the time that the inmate was the responsibility of NJ-DOC regardless of his or her custodial location.

Release Outcome Report 2008	26

9. The six Major Urban municipalities are Camden, Elizabeth, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson and Trenton.