

RECIDIVISM IN ARKANSAS

2018 Release Cohort

Secretary Joe Profiri

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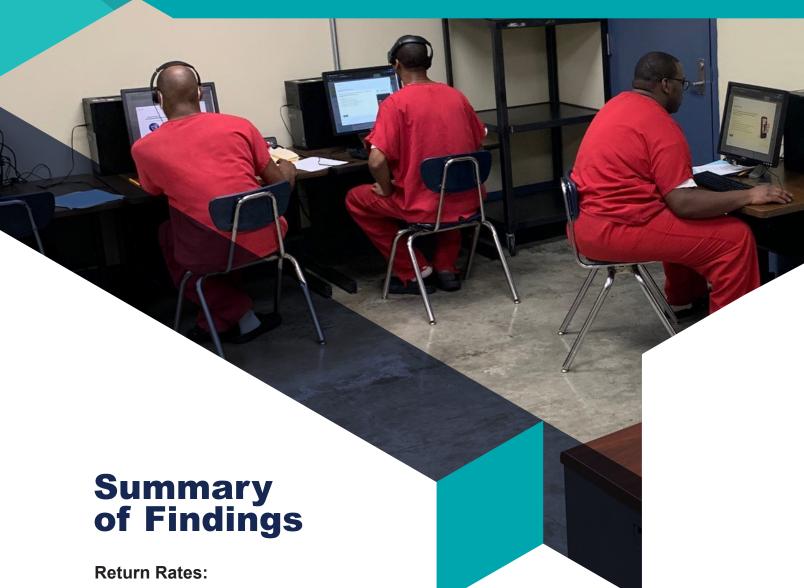
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- The recidivism rate for the DOC's 2018 release cohort was 49.6%.
- ➤ The recidivism rate for those released from the Division of Correction (ADC) was 51%.
- ➤ The recidivism rate for those released from the Division of Community Correction (ACC) was 42.2%.
- The return rates were 45.4% for the ADC and 34.6% for ACC.
- The probation rate for the DOC was 5.9%.

Predictors of Recidivism:

- ➤ The odds of recidivism are 1.5 times higher for younger than older individuals.
- Security threat/terrorist group affiliates are two times more likely to recidivate than non-affiliates.



Introduction

Recidivism is defined in Arkansas Code Annotated (A.C.A.) § 12-1-101 as "a criminal act that results in the rearrest, reconviction, or return to incarceration of a person with or without a new sentence during a three-year period following the person's release from custody." Recidivism rates are often used to measure criminality among formerly incarcerated individuals and assess the impact of incarceration on reoffending. In adherence to our commitment to transparency, the Arkansas Department of Corrections (DOC) publishes a yearly report highlighting the recidivism rates of those released from DOC custody.

In the current report, we describe the characteristics of the individuals released from incarceration in 2018 and those who recidivated within three years of release. We also discuss the recidivism rates for the DOC, more broadly, as well as the rates for the Division of Correction (ADC) and Division of Community Correction (ACC). Finally, we review the results of a binary logistic regression analysis that identified the factors associated with recidivism and desistance.

Recidivism Rates

Due to a lack of arrest data, the DOC measures recidivism as receiving a probation imposition or returning to incarceration within 36 months of release. In 2018, 11,346 individuals were released from an ADC prison, ACC center, or Reentry facility. Of those released, 4,949 individuals were reincarcerated and 675 received a probation imposition within 36 months.

When including both groups in the calculation, the 2018 recidivism rate for the DOC is 49.6%, a slight decrease from the 2017 rate of 50.6%. When counting only those who were reincarcerated. which is the rate of return. the decrease is noticeably larger. It fell from 46.1% in 2017 to 43.6% in 2018, a decrease of 5.4%. The 2018

probation rate, meaning only those who received a probation imposition, increased from 4.5% in 2017 to 5.9% in 2018.

To expand our understanding of recidivism and the speed at which it occurred, we calculated the 6-,12-, and 36-month recidivism, return, and probation rates for the DOC, ADC, and ACC (see Graph 1). In 2018, 9,503 people from the ADC and 1,843



¹ For those released multiple times in 2018, we employed data from their last release of the year. Similarly, the first recidivist event after the 2018 release was used to calculate the recidivism, return, and probation imposition rates. Thus, for those with multiple recidivism events (e.g., being reincarcerated more than once during the 36 months), the data exclude any information related to the sanction(s) received after the first recidivism event. Those who received a probation imposition and were reincarcerated (n = 427), were included in the return cohort. This means that the probation rates are based on people who only received a probation imposition after their 2018 release. Federal and other state prison admission data are not tracked by the DOC. Those reincarcerated or sentenced to a term of probation outside of the DOC's jurisdiction were excluded from the return, probation, and recidivism cohorts.

individuals from ACC were released. Within six months, 9.9% (n = 939) of those released from the ADC and 4.4% (n = 82) of individuals from the ACC returned to incarceration. By 36 months, 45.4% (n = 4,312) of those released from the ADC and 34.6% (n = 637) from the ACC were reincarcerated. These division-specific return rates are slightly lower than the 2017 return rates (47.8% and 37.5%, respectively).

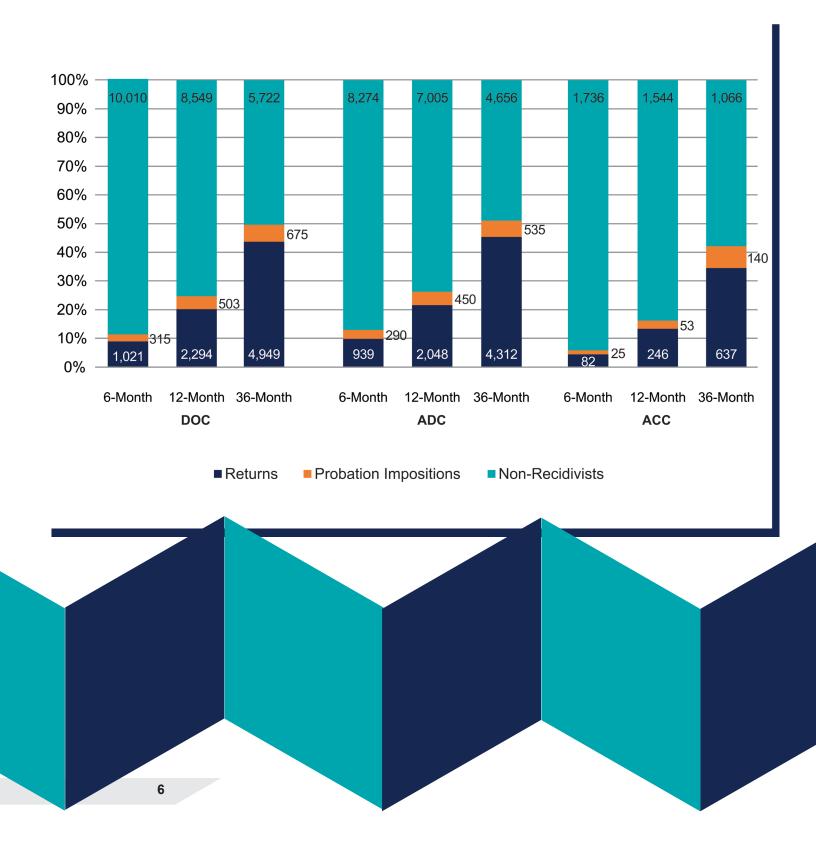
Probation rates were considerably lower

than the return rates. Namely, within six months, 3.1% (n = 290) of those released from the ADC and 1.4% (n = 25) of individuals from the ACC received a probation imposition. By 36 months, 5.6% (n = 535) of those released from ADC and 7.6% (n = 140) from ACC received a probation imposition. Compared to the division-specific 2017 release cohort's probation rates, the 2018 cohorts were slightly higher. Specifically, ADC's probation rate increased from 4.2% to 5.6%, and ACC's rose from 5.7% to 7.6%.

Table 1 DOC Return Rates to 2018 Cohorts	s for the 2013
Cohort Year	Return Rate
2013	49.0
2014	51.1
2015	49.2
2016	47.5
2017	46.1
2018	43.6

Graph 1

DOC, ADC, and ACC 6-, 12-, 36-Month Probation Impositions and Returns to Incarceration for the 2018 Release Cohort



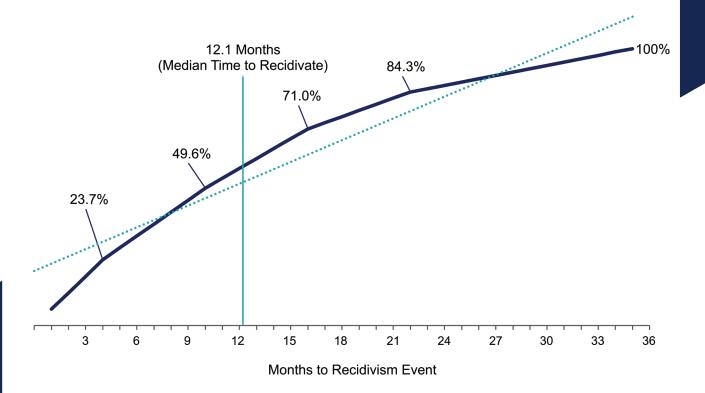
Time to Probation and Return in Incarceration

For formerly incarcerated individuals, the probability of reoffending is the highest within the first year of release (Caudill, 2010). In line with the recidivism literature, 50% of those who recidivated did so within 12 months of their release.

Among the 675 people who were sentenced to probation, half received their sentence 13 months after release. Similarly, those who were reincarcerated (n = 4,949), 50% returned within the first year (see Graph 2).

Graph 2

Time to Recidivism Event



Demographics and Characteristics

We also explored the demographic characteristics of those released in 2018 and their corresponding recidivism rates.²

Table 2

Demographics and Recidivism Rates for the 2018 Release Cohort

	Released (N = 11,346)		Probation (N = 675)		Return (N = 4,949)		Recidivism Rate
	f	%	f	%	f	%	%
GENDER							
Male	9,542	84.1	522	77.3	4,422	89.4	51.8
Female	1,804	15.9	153	22.7	527	10.6	37.7
AGE AT RELEASE							
18 to 24	1,030	9.1	45	6.7	550	11.1	57.8
25 to 34	4,262	37.6	268	39.7	2,037	41.2	54.1
35 to 44	3,589	31.6	212	31.4	1,557	31.5	49.3
45 to 64	2,399	21.1	148	21.9	795	16.1	39.3
65+	66	0.6	2	0.3	10	0.2	18.2
RACE							
White	7,506	66.2	518	76.7	3,320	67.1	51.1
Black	3,464	30.5	149	22.1	1,491	30.1	47.3
Other	376	3.3	8	1.2	138	2.8	38.8
SECURITY THREAT/ TERRORIST GROUP	2,801	24.7	100	14.8	1,738	35.1	65.6
RELEASE TYPE							
Discharged	766	6.8	81	12.0	216	4.4	38.8
To Supervision	10,580	93.2	594	88.0	4,733	95.6	50.3
RESTRICTIVE HOUSING	1,289	11.4	60	8.9	626	12.6	53.2
REENTRY PROGRAM	542	4.8	26	3.9	229	4.6	47.0

Note: The "other" racial category includes Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native American individuals. The recidivism rate includes receiving a probation imposition or reincarceration. Return is returned to incarceration.

² Unlike previous reports, we excluded educational attainment information due to data limitations. Namely, education data are self-reported during the intake process, then verified by the Arkansas Correctional School. Of the 11,346 people released, 4,012 individuals' educational history could not be verified. Though there are several barriers to verifying educational data, oftentimes, intake staff are given the incorrect school's name or false information, making verification impossible.

Gender

The correctional population is primarily men (Harmon & Boppre, 2015; Jeffries & Newbold, 2015). Unsurprisingly, men made up 84.1% (n = 9.542) of the 2018 release cohort and 87.9% (n = 4,944) of the recidivists. The remaining 15.9% (n = 1,804) of those released and 12.1% (n = 680) of the recidivism cohort were women. The recidivism rate for the men released in 2018 was 51.8%. By comparison, the recidivism rate for women was 37.7% (see Table 2). The time it took to recidivate also differed by gender. On average, men recidivated at nearly 13.4 months, while women recidivated around 15.5 months after their release.

Age

The average age of our 2018 release cohort was nearly 37 (36.8, *Min* = 17, Max = 80). On average, those who recidivated were 35 years of age (35.3, Min = 17, Max = 70), which is older than expected as criminality typically declines with age (Nieuwbeerta et al., 2010). However, the rates at which the age groups recidivated better align with the age and crime literature (see Graph 3). Namely, those between 18 and 24 years of age had the highest recidivism (57.8%) and return (53.4%) rates, while the oldest age group, those 65 years of age and older, had the lowest (18.2% and 15.1%, respectively). Although the recidivism and return rates declined as age increased, the probation rates were the highest for those between the ages of 25 and 34 (6.3%) and 45 to 64 (6.2%).

Table 3

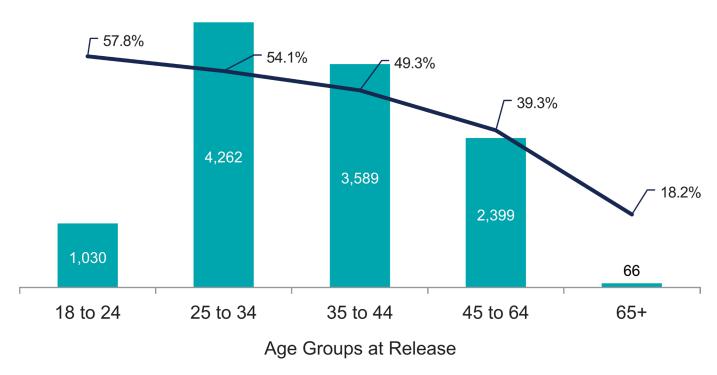
Release, Probation, and Return Frequencies by Division and Gender

	Released (N = 11,346)	Probation (N = 675)		Return (N = 4,949)	
	f	f	%	f	%
ADC	(<i>n</i> = 9,503)	(n = 535)		(n = 4,312)	
Male	8,203	423	79.1	3,897	90.4
Female	1,300	112	20.9	415	9.6

ACC	(<i>n</i> = 1,843)	(n = 140)		(n = 637)	
Male	1,339	99	70.7	525	82.4
Female	504	41	29.3	112	17.6

Graph 3

Release Frequencies and Recidivism Rates by Age Group



Age (continued)

The youngest age cohort also had the fastest return average (13.6 months; see Table 4). The time to return to incarceration increased as age cohort increased. However, the 18 to 24-year-olds had the slowest average time to receive a probation imposition (17.6 months). While, those between the ages of 25 and 34 had the fastest average time to receive a probation imposition (14.4 months; see Table 4).

Table 4

Time to Probation and Return to Incarceration by Age Group

Age Groups	Average Time to Probation (N = 675)	Average Time to Return (N = 4,949)
18 to 24	17.6	13.6
25 to 34	14.4	14.3
35 to 44	15.6	14.4
45 to 64	16.3	15.1
65+	16.0	15.2

Note:

The time to probation and return to incarceration ranged from less than one month to 36 months.

Only two people placed on probation were 65 years of age or older.

Race

White and Black individuals made up 96.7% of the release cohort. Though White individuals comprised most (66.2%, n = 7,506)



of the released sample, Black individuals 30.5% (n = 3,464) were overrepresented in relation to the larger population of Arkansas (see https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/AR for census information). The remaining 3.3% (n = 376) were Hispanic, Pacific Islander, Asian, or Native American. Most of the sample were men, so the racial composition of the males reflected that of the release and recidivism cohorts. However, the

racial breakdown was less diverse among the 1,804 females released in 2018. Nearly 84.3% (n = 1,522) were White, 13.6% (n = 245) were Black, and 2.1% (n = 37) were Hispanic, Pacific Islander, Asian, or Native American. Most of the women who recidivated were White (89%), while 9.4% were Black. The remaining 1.6% of the women were Hispanic, Pacific Islander, Asian, or Native American (see Table 2).

Security Threat/ Terrorist Group

Individuals affiliated with a security threat/terrorist group (STTG) made up 24.7% (n = 2,801; see Table 5) of the release sample. The majority of the released STTG affiliates were Black (50.4%, n = 1,412), male (98.5%, n = 2,759), and between 25 and 34 years of age (41.8%, n = 1,173). Of the released STTG affiliates, 62% (n = 1,738) returned to incarceration, and 3.6% (n = 100) received a probation sentence within 36 months of their release. In contrast to non-STTG affiliates, STTG affiliates were younger, spent more time incarcerated, and recidivated faster (see Table 6).

Table 5

Demographics of STTG Affiliated Individuals

	Released (N = 2,801)	Probation (N = 100)	
Gender			
Male	2,759	97	1,724
Female	42	3	14
Age at Release			
18 to 24	295	3	232
25 to 34	1,173	49	767
35 to 44	995	33	573
45 to 64	336	15	166
65+	2	0	0
Race			
White	1,288	51	867
Black	1,412	49	808
Other	101	0	63

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics for STTG Affiliated Individuals

	Released (<i>N</i> = 11,346)		Probation (<i>N</i> = 675)		Return (N = 4,949)	
Variable		Range		Range		Range
Age at Release						
Affiliate	34.6	17 to 66	35.5	20 to 61	33.5	17 to 64
Non-affiliate	37.5	18 to 80	37.3	19 to 68	36.0	18 to 70
Length of Incarceration						
Affiliate	20.1	.13 to 365.9	16.3	.84 to 243.8	17.2	.19 to 295.1
Non-affiliate	16.5	.03 to 538.4	11.4	.58 to 236.9	12.4	.22 to 309.4
Time to Recidivate						
Affiliate	-	-	15.3	0 to 35.8	12.4	0 to 36.0
Non-affiliate	-	-	15.4	0 to 35.9	13.9	0 to 36.0
Previous Incarcerations						
Affiliate	3.6	1 to 16	3.6	1 to 16	3.7	1 to 15
Non-affiliate	2.6	1 to 17	2.5	1 to 15	3.0	1 to 17
Previous Probations						
Affiliate	1.2	0 to 9	1.4	0 to 6	1.2	0 to 11
Non-affiliate	1.3	0 to 11	1.5	0 to 8	1.4	0 to 11

Note:

Previous incarcerations include the sentence in which they were released in 2018.

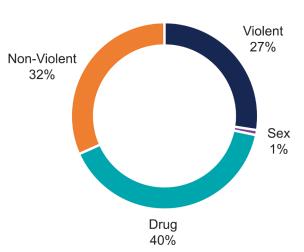
Release Types and Returns by Criminal Offenses

Incarcerated individuals are released by discharging (i.e., completing) their sentence or transferring to community supervision by the Arkansas Parole Board. Of the release cohort, 93.2% (*n* = 10,580) were released to supervision, while only 6.8% (n = 766) discharged their sentence (see Table 2). The return and recidivism rates were lower for those discharged (28.2%, n = 216; 38.8%, *n*=297) than those released to supervision (44.7%, n = 4,733; 50.3%, n = 5,327). Conversely, the probation rate (10.6%, n = 81) was higher for those who discharged their sentence than for those released to supervision (5.6%, n =594). The speed at which these groups recidivated also differed. Among those who were discharged, the average time to recidivate was 12.2 months. The average time to recidivate was 13.7 months for those released to community supervision.

Chart 1

Release and Return Offenses

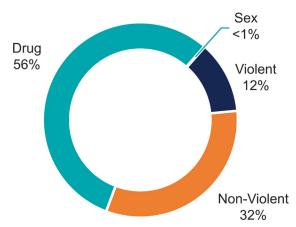
RELEASE OFFENSES



To better understand the release cohort's 2018 incarceration, we explored the offense type in which they were convicted. Specifically, we found that most of those released served time for a drug-related (40%, n = 4,541) or a non-violent crime, 32% (31.7%, n = 3,595); see Chart 1).

We also examined the recidivist event that resulted in the recidivism cohort's reincarceration or probation imposition. Those released to supervision by the Arkansas Parole Board are expected to abide by the conditions of their parole. Those who violate these conditions or commit a criminal offense can be reincarcerated. Of the 10,580 people released to supervision. 62% violated the conditions of their parole and returned to incarceration. The remaining 38% were convicted of a new criminal offense. Of those who recidivated for a new criminal offense, most were convicted of a drug-related (55.8%) or non-violent crime (32.2%; see Chart 1).





Note: The "non-violent" category includes "failure to register."

Situational Factors

Length of Incarceration and Criminal History

Sentence length can impact future criminality among formerly incarcerated individuals (Collins, 2010; Rydberg & Clark, 2016). To better understand how long someone spent incarcerated before their 2018 release, we included an item for sentence length (measured in months). For the 2018 release cohort, the average length of incarceration was 17 months (17.4 months) and almost 14 months (13.8 months) for those who recidivated. Sentence length also differed by type of recidivism and gender. On average, the males served 18.5 months, while their female counterparts were incarcerated for 11 months (10.9 months) before being released.

Criminal history or frequent criminal justice system involvement can influence recidivism (Doerner & Demuth, 2014; Kurlychek et al., 2006). As a proxy measure for criminal history, we explored previous incarcerations and probation sentences among those released in 2018. Previous incarcerations ranged from one to 17 (M = 2.8), while past probation sentences varied from zero to 11 (M = 1.3) among the release cohort. For the individuals who recidivated, the average number of previous incarcerations and probation impositions was slightly higher (M = 3.2, M = 1.4) than the release cohort.

Restrictive Housing

Restrictive housing or confinement to a cell for at least 22 hours a day is reserved for those posing a direct threat to themselves or those around them.³ Approximately 11% (11.3%, n = 1,289) of the 2018 release cohort had spent some time in restrictive housing during the last year of their incarceration. Of these, 60 received a probation imposition, while 663 were reincarcerated within 36 months of their release. This means that the recidivism rate for those who were in restrictive housing before their 2018 release was 56.1% (n = 723).

Reentry and Supervision Sanction Programs

The Reentry Program is a 180-day program designed to ease incarcerated individuals' transition from imprisonment to society and promote successful reintegration. Program participants live in a reentry facility licensed by the DOC, but they are still considered an "ADC inmate." After participants complete the program, they are released to community supervision. In 2018, 542 individuals were released from the Reentry Program. Within 36 months, 229 former program participants were reincarcerated (42.3%), and 26 received a probation imposition (4.8%). This means that the recidivism

³ Arkansas Department of Corrections, Administrative Directive 2021-15.

Table 7

Release Frequencies and Recidivism Rates for the Supervision Sanction Program (SSP)

	Released (N = 11,346)	Recidivated (N = 5,624)	Recidivism Rate	Time to Recidivism (Months)
SSP Participation	f	f	%	
Yes	1,228	571	46.5	20.1
No	10,118	5,053	49.9	12.8

rate for those released from the Reentry Program in 2018 was 47.0%.

The Supervision Sanction Program (SSP) is a short-term (viz., 90 or 180 day) residential alternative sanction program.⁴ The purpose of SSP is to reduce revocations among probation and parole violators and alleviate overcrowding in DOC correctional facilities. Overall, 1,228 individuals participated in the SSP after their 2018 release. Of these, 571 SSP participants recidivated, making the recidivism rate 46.5% (see Table 7).

Transitional Facilities

The transitional housing program provides housing to justice-involved individuals who were released to supervision by the Arkansas Parole Board or placed on probation by a circuit

court. Of the 11,346 released individuals, 1,274 lived in a transitional facility after their 2018 release.5 Individuals who lived in a transitional house at some point after their release had a 49.5% recidivism rate. Namely, 72 individuals received a probation imposition, and 559 were reincarcerated. Though we included transitional facilities in the current report, these individuals go to a transition house after release. The recidivism rate should not be used to make causal assumptions about the effectiveness of the transitional facilities. This is particularly important, considering homeless and marginally housed people are more at risk of reoffending than those with stable housing (Lutze et al., 2014). This suggests that their recidivism rates are likely due to their housing situation, not the facility or its practices.

 $^{^{4}}$ Recently, the length of the SSP changed from 90 and 120 days to 60 and 90 days.

⁵ The data exclude the time spent in transitional facilities.

Predictors of Recidivism

To better understand the impact of specific factors on the risk of recidivism, we employed binary logistic regression, a statistical technique that allowed us to regress relevant variables on recidivism. This analysis helped us identify statistically significant predictors of recidivism. Further, the findings can be used to inform our policies and practices.

We regressed age, gender, race, transitional facility living, restrictive housing, previous incarcerations, STTG affiliation, and release offense on recidivism among a sample of 11,002 individuals released from a DOC facility in 2018.6 The results of the binary logistic regression revealed that the model significantly predicted recidivism, X2 (16) = 1011.65, p < .001 (see Table 8). More specifically, age, gender, race, previous incarcerations, STTG affiliation, and release offense were statistically significant predictors of recidivism. Conversely, spending time in restrictive housing before release and transitional facility living were not statistically significant in the model.

The results were consistent with previous research on the impact of age and gender on recidivism. Namely, younger individuals are more likely to recidivate than their older counterparts. Compared to those between 25 and 34, people between 18 and 24 are 1.5 times more likely to recidivism within 36 months

Table 8

Binary Logistic Regression
Analysis of Recidivism

Variable	OR	В	SE			
Age (25 to 34)						
18 to 24	1.53	.43**	.07			
35 to 44	.66	41**	.05			
45 to 64	.40	90**	.06			
65+	.14	-1.89**	.36			
Gender (Female)						
Male	1.54	.44**	.06			
Race (White)						
Black	.55	59**	.05			
Other	.48	73	.11			
Previous Incarcerations	1.22	19**	.01			
STTG						
Yes	1.98	.68**	.05			
Release Offense (Drug)						
Violent and Sexual	.68	38**	.12			
Violent	.96	04	.05			
Sexual	.37	99**	.23			
Non-Violent	.98	02	.05			
Transitional Living	Transitional Living					
Yes	.99	01	.06			

Note: *N* = 11,002

The "other" racial category includes Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native American individuals.

Base categories are in parenthesis.

Robust standard errors are displayed for coefficients. p < .05. p < .001.

⁶ Diagnostics for binary logistic regression were run but omitted from this report. None of the assumptions of binary logistic regression were violated. For more information on sample demographics, variables, and diagnostics please contact Dr. Tabrina Bratton at Tabrina.Bratton@arkansas.gov.

of their release (OR = 1.53, p < .001). People 35 years of age and older are less likely to recidivate than those between 25 and 34. The probability of males recidivating is 1.5 times higher than females (OR = 1.54, p < .001).

Race also predicted recidivism. The probability of White individuals recidivating is greater than those whose race was reported as Black, Asian, Hispanic, Pacific Islander, and Native American (OR = 1.41, p < .001). The bulk of the existing literature suggests that White individuals are less likely than non-White individuals to be incarcerated, so this finding is unexpected (Monk, 2018).

What happens during incarceration and one's incarceration history also influences recidivism. That is, those identified as an STTG affiliate before their 2018 release

are nearly two times more likely to recidivate within 36 months of release than non-affiliates (OR = 1.98, p < 001). We also found that past incarceration increases the probability of future incarceration. Namely, for every previous incarceration, the likelihood of recidivism increases by 1.2 times (OR = 1.22, p < .001). Release offense also matters. The odds of recidivism are higher for individuals incarcerated for a drugrelated crime than a non-drug offense (OR = 1.03, p < .001).

The results suggest that programming and behavioral interventions meant to address the factors that increase the risk of criminality should target those between 18 and 24 years of age, STTG affiliates, and those with a history of drug use and prior incarceration(s).

Recidivism by State

There is not an agreed upon definition of recidivism across states. Put differently, how recidivism is defined and measured in Arkansas differs from other states, making state recidivism rates incomparable. We reviewed DOC websites, reports, and state legislation for 48 states to better understand the differences between states' recidivism definitions. Figures 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the variation among states.

Figure 1 shows the various lengths of time used to measure recidivism across states. States that measure recidivism over a more extended period could capture more recidivists than states that employ a shorter time span.

Figure 2 represents the number of states that use a specific calendar type to measure recidivism. A calendar year is from January 1 to December 31, whereas a fiscal year can begin on any date and end 365 days later. The difference in

Figure 1

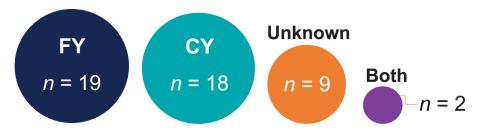
Number of States and Recidivism

Length in Years

Figure 2

Number of States Reporting Recidivism

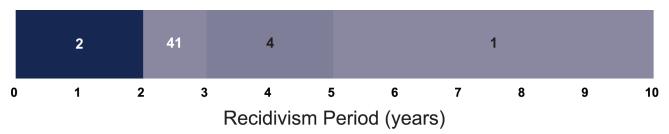
Rates for Calendar and Fiscal Year



Note: Unknown refers to states that did not specify calendar type. Both refers to states that reported recidivism rates by calendar and fiscal year.

calendar types further complicates state comparisons.

Recidivism is generally measured with one or a combination of four components: arrests, convictions, incarcerations, and revocations (see Figure 3). A state's recidivism rate depends on the component(s) they employ. For example, a state that uses arrests and convictions to measure its recidivism rate will likely have a much higher rate than a state that only considers convictions in its measure. Thus, comparing these states' recidivism rates would be moot.



Note: Recidivism period is the highest number of years reported by states unless a specific length of time was provided in their definition.

As a final note, states periodically change how they define and measure recidivism. This means that our understanding of states' recidivism rates is subject to change, and comparing rates from two different years from the same state can be just as problematic as other types of comparisons.

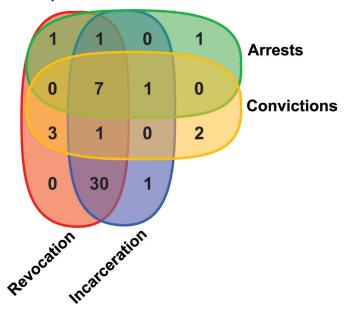
We also noted a few unique components of recidivism:

- Two states place individuals with technical violations may be placed in county facilities rather than state prisons.
- Three states have a required initial and/or returning sentence length to be considered a recidivist (i.e., a least a sentence of one year to be considered a prison sentence).
- Fourteen states limit the offenses included in their release or return cohorts (e.g., felonies or serious misdemeanors).

Figure 3

Number of States and the Common

Components Used to Define Recidivism



Note: Although six other states use the same components as Arkansas, the definitions differ. For instance, these states differ in how they measure the components (e.g., prison incarcerations or jail incarcerations) and whom they consider a recidivist (e.g., individuals who are incarcerated for one year before they are considered a recidivist; only counting felonies and not misdemeanors as a recidivist event). This means that even states with similar definitions cannot be compared.

Conclusion

Recidivism and incarceration adversely impact families, the economy, our communities, and crime, as well as delinquency rates.⁷ The far-reaching negative effects warrant an in-depth look at the Arkansas carceral population and the recidivism rates of formerly incarcerated individuals. Like past recidivism reports, we explored the characteristics of those released in 2018. We also examined the probation, return, and recidivism rates of those who received a probation imposition or

were reincarcerated within 36 months of their release. Additionally, we ran a binary logistic regression to identify the predictors of recidivism among a sample of 11,002 adults released from the DOC in 2018. This is important because the findings can inform the design and implementation of intervention strategies. Lastly, the results can inform correctional policy and practice that seek to help justice-involved individuals desist from crime, ultimately reducing crime and victimization rates.

⁷ Massoglia et al., 2011.

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