

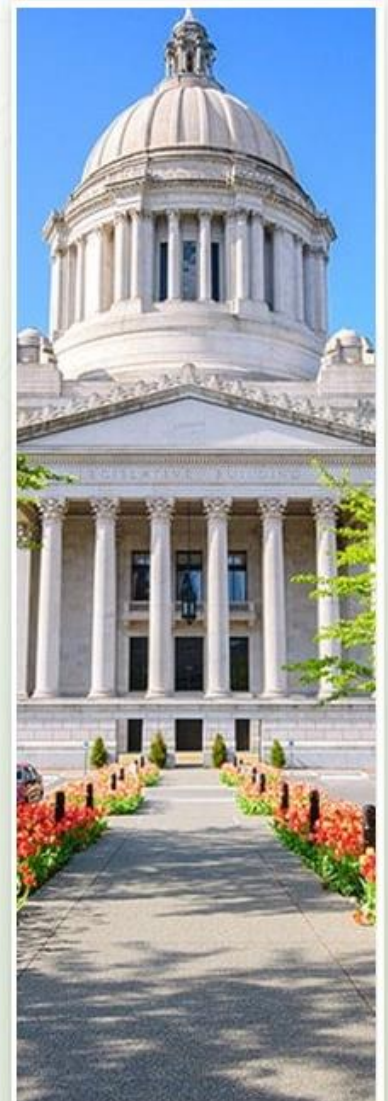
WASHINGTON STATE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS CENTER

Criminal Justice Research & Statistics Center

Informing a data-driven justice system

Long-Term Recidivism: Assessing the Washington Prison Population's Return to Prison

Hanna Hernandez, M.A. & Vasiliki Georgoulas-Sherry, Ph.D.



Contents

- Abstract..... 1
- Background..... 1
 - Recidivism within the U.S. prison released populations..... 1
 - Current report..... 2
- Data Parameters and Methods..... 3
 - Limitations..... 4
- Results..... 5
 - Demographics of Released Cohort and Recidivators 5
 - Table 1. Distribution of released cohort..... 5
 - Table 2. Distribution of recidivators 6
 - Rates of Long-Term Recidivism by Frequency..... 6
 - Table 3. Distribution of recidivators by frequency of recidivism..... 7
 - Rates of Long-Term Recidivism by Frequency and by Sex 8
 - Table 4. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by sex 8
 - Table 5. Ratio of recidivistic events by sex 8
 - Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by BIPOC Community..... 8
 - Table 6. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by BIPOC community 9
 - Table 7. Ratio of recidivistic events by BIPOC community 9
 - Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Age at Time of Initial Release 9
 - Table 8. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by age at time of release 9
 - Table 9. Ratio of recidivistic events by age at time of release 10
 - Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Prior Prison 10
 - Table 10. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by prior prison 10
 - Table 11. Ratio of recidivistic events by prior prison..... 11
 - Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Initial Offense..... 11
 - Table 12. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by initial offense 11
 - Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Initial Custody Status 12
 - Table 13. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by initial custody status 12
 - Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Initial Admission Region..... 12
 - Table 14. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by admission region..... 13

Disclaimer	14
References	15
Appendix.....	16
Appendix A. Distribution of incarcerated individuals released in CY 2004 (left) and those who recidivated (right), by admission region	16
Appendix B. Percentage of recidivators, by year and by frequency of return	17
Appendix C. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by sex	18
Appendix D. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by sex.....	18
Appendix E. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by sex	19
Appendix F. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by BIPOC community.....	20
Appendix G. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by BIPOC community.....	20
Appendix H. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by BIPOC community.....	21
Appendix I. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by age at time of initial release.....	22
Appendix J. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by age at time of initial release	22
Appendix K. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by age at time of initial release.....	23
Appendix L. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by prior prison	24
Appendix M. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by prior prison	24
Appendix N. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by prior prison	25
Appendix O. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by initial offense.....	26
Appendix P. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial offense	26
Appendix Q. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by initial custody level.....	27
Appendix R. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial custody level	27
Appendix S. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by initial custody level.....	28
Appendix T. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by initial admission region	29
Appendix U. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial admission region	30

To accommodate people with disabilities, this document is available in alternate formats by calling the Office of Financial Management at 360-902-0555. TTY/TDD users should contact OFM through the Washington Relay Service at 711 or 1-800-833-6388.

Abstract

Rates of recidivism have been commonly used as a key measure for public safety and in assessing the effectiveness of the criminal justice system – sentencing, jails, prisons, community supervision, treatment and reentry programming. There is continued interest in tracking recidivism rates beyond a three-year follow up. Tracking long-term recidivism can provide information for supporting incarcerated individuals and promoting their success to reintegrate into the community following a prison sentence.

To evaluate long-term recidivism rates in Washington, the Washington Statistical Analysis Center (SAC) applied for and received the 2021 State Justice Statistics (SJS) grant from Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). Under this grant from BJS, the SAC will draw on publicly available data from the Washington State Department of Corrections (WADOC) to evaluate the long-term recidivism trends of incarcerated individuals released from prison.

Background

Across the U.S., individuals are being incarcerated to jails and prisons, as many as 11 million times each year. While over 50% of the nation’s incarcerated population is housed in prisons, a little under a third (27%) are housed in local jails, and about a fifth (17%) are housed in juvenile facilities, federal facilities, territorial prisons or other detention facilities (Loeffler et al., 2022; Western et al., 2022). While these rates of incarceration showcase issues surrounding overall mass incarceration, these statistics do not highlight the consistent and pervasive changes within the prison populations.

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), in 2019, the U.S. incarceration rate decreased to the lowest rates since 1995. However, despite this rate in decline, the U.S. still incarcerates a bigger percentage of its population compared to any other country. Most recently, 2022 has shown a 2% increase in population as compared to the 2021 rates – this increase made the 1% decline reported in 2021 non-existent, and most historically, highlighted the first increase in rates in both federal and state prison population within the last decade; it is important to note COVID-19 impacts might have significantly reduced this population (Martyn et al., 2022; Nowotny et al., 2021). According to the BJS (2023), “at yearend 2022, an estimated 32% of sentenced state and federal prisoners were black; 31% were white; 23% were Hispanic; 2% were American Indian or Alaska Native; and 1% were Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Other Pacific Islander” (5). Similarly, pandemic impacts might have significantly impacted these findings – for example, as pretrial populations were almost back to full pre-pandemic populations – more than two thirds of this population had not been convicted of a crime. Another reason could be due to many jurisdictions reducing their use of prison incarceration.

Recidivism within the U.S. prison released populations

The rate at which people return to prison following release is a key measure of the performance of the nation’s criminal justice system. Recidivism has had different operationalizations, but in Washington, recidivism is operationalized as any offense committed after a release to the community that results in a Washington State court legal action (i.e., a conviction, deferred disposition, or diversion agreement as defined by Washington State statutes) within three years of release (i.e., the set period of time during which an individual’s behaviors are monitored for recidivism events). Recidivism research is embedded in a wide range of criminal justice work and has been viewed as one of the most integral performance measures for criminal justice, as it can potentially assess future criminal activity, effectiveness of the carceral system and community supervision, or effectiveness of jail and prison programs. Recidivism is a significant variable when considering the primary criminal justice themes of deterrence, incapacitation, criminal desistance and rehabilitation. There has been recent interest in tracking recidivism that spans a longer period than the

typical 3-year mark, which is labeled long-term recidivism. Long-term recidivism is a multifaceted issue with significant implications for both the criminal justice system and the community the individuals are released into. Understanding and assessing long-term recidivism is essential in developing effective interventions, rehabilitation strategies and policy reforms.

U.S. recidivism rates are some of the highest rates, in comparison to the rest of the world, although different operationalizations can impact these rates. In 2023, BJS reported that the national rates of recidivism were at 44%. A study by BJS (2021) found that 66% of incarcerated individuals who were released across 24 states in 2008 were re-arrested within 3 years, and 82% were re-arrested within 10 years (more than half of those incarcerated individuals who were released and returned to prison within the 10 years returned for a new offense or parole/ probation violation). However, it is important to note that BJS (2021) utilized re-arrest rates, versus re-incarceration, as part of their recidivism operationalization.

Rates of recidivism are impacted by several factors. Research has shown that while severity of the original conviction offense and sentence length are not indicative of recidivism risk, types of crimes (although it is important to note that criminal activity is not highly specialized), individuals' age at time of release, and longer-term criminal histories have shown as indicative of recidivism risk (Goodley et al., 2022; Katsiyannis et al., 2019; Loeffler et al., 2022). In terms of crime type, a study by the U.S. Sentencing Commission (USSC) showed that violent offenders were more likely to recidivate, and recidivate quicker, at a higher rate than non-violent offenders. Furthermore, according to the USSC, "over one-fourth (28.4%) of the violent offenders who recidivated had assault as their most serious new charge, followed by public order crimes (15.6%) and drug trafficking (11.1%). Of the non-violent offenders who recidivated, public order crimes were the most common new charge (20.9%), followed by assault (17.9%) and drug trafficking (12.0%)" (Loeffler et al., 2022, 137). For sentence length, incarcerated individuals who were sentenced to less than six months were more likely to have lower recidivism rates than incarcerated individuals who were given longer sentences (Goodley et al., 2022).

However, in a more recent study, for national trends, the BJS has shown that recidivism rates have dropped considerably. In 2018, BJS found that individuals released from a U.S. state prison in 2012 were less likely to return to a U.S. prison than those individuals who were released in 2005; specifically, following the first year from prison release, about 20% of the 2012 prison cohort returned to prison as compared to their 2005 cohort who returned about 30%. And for the three-year prison return rate, which continues to be the more common definition of recidivism, the rates decreased from 50% to 39% and continued to persist through the full five-year tracking period. Specific to Washington, the DOC also reported decreased recidivism rates (i.e., a three-year period of return to prison), from 27.4% in May 2022 to 22.2% in June 2023. While the reason for this reduced rate is not fully clear, there are some factors to consider. For one, and most recently, the COVID-19 impact which caused reductions in prison populations, lower arrests rates and decreased court appearances (note: COVID-19 impacts are still being examined, both for short- and long-term impacts) (BJS, 2023). Additionally, minor and major criminal justice policy changes (i.e., reduction in penalizing technical violations) likely have impacted the reduction of recidivism rates as well as potential behavioral changes from those who have been released. However, findings are still novel, and more research is necessary to assess whether this trend is atypical or characteristic of a change in the criminal justice climate.

Current report

In recent years, there has been an increased bipartisan consensus that U.S.' mass incarceration is a mistake – both ethically and fiscally unsustainable. This mass incarceration emerged from the political push toward punitive actions in order to be "tough on crime." With a few decades worth of policies and reforms prioritizing the use of jails and prisons as the main way to address and fight crime, this has made the U.S. a world leader in mass incarceration. With mass incarceration comes a need to understand the implications of incarceration. As recidivism rates have been continuously used as a measure to evaluate the effectiveness of

the criminal justice system, this report endeavors to explore the outcomes of long-term recidivism. This study will utilize a cohort of individuals who were released from WADOC custody in 2004. While most recidivism methodologies look at returns to incarceration within the three years following release, in this current report, long-term recidivism will be defined as Washington State criminal justice involvement for up to 19 years following release.

The Washington SAC applied for and received the 2021 SJS grant from BJS. Under this grant from BJS, the SAC drew on publicly available data from WADOC to evaluate trends in recidivism in the prison population.

Data Parameters and Methods

This exempt study was reviewed by the Washington State Institutional Review Board; this study does not intend to generalize any findings.

As part of the 1981 Corrections Reform Act, the Washington State Legislature transferred the administration of adult correctional institutions from the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS), Division of Adult Corrections to the newly created WADOC. As such, WADOC manages all state-operated adult prisons and supervises individuals who live in the community and are under WADOC supervision; WADOC maintains information for people incarcerated in WADOC facilities and for people under community supervision in Washington.

Operationalizations and data parameters include:

- Demographic variables included sex, race and gender. Demographic values are limited to WADOC values (i.e., sex was limited to the binary values of “male” and “female”; race was limited to “black,” “white,” “Aleut,” “Eskimo,” “Noth American Indian,” or “Asian/Pacific Islander” [note: for analysis purposes only, this report will break demographic variable to binary values: Black, Indigenous, and/or people of color (BIPOC) and non-BIPOC]). Age is operationalized as the age of the individual at the time of release in calendar year (CY) 2004. Only individuals 18 and older when they released from WADOC in CY 2004 are included in the data. This report includes separate recidivism trends for demographic groups, including sex, race and age.
- Recidivism is operationalized as any offense committed after a release to the community during the follow-up period (i.e., a set period during which an individual’s behaviors are monitored for recidivism events) that results in a Washington state prison admission. As this report endeavored to assess long-term recidivism, a 19-year long follow-up period was utilized. Typically, in Washington state, a common follow-up period is 36 months. It is important to note that time is critical in follow-up periods as criminal proceedings (e.g., legal court actions, etc.) can be long and complex.
- Recidivistic event is operationalized as the event that resulted in a Washington state prison admission; this includes any offense committed after a release to the community, during the follow-up period. It is important to note that in this report, individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense.
- Release cohort: A group of persons released from confinement into the community during a specific period (i.e., release from prison during a specific year). For the current report, this refers to a person released in CY 2004.
- Custody level: Per DOC 300.380 Classification and Custody Facility Plan Review, custody level and appropriate facility placement of incarcerated individuals are determined using an objective scoring tool that measures individual progress, while evaluating risks to the community, staff, other incarcerated individuals, visitors, the orderly operations of facilities and agency needs. Custody level designation is determined by the Custody Review Score. The Custody Review Score is based on current custody level, infraction behavior, program behavior, detainers and escape history. The

levels include the most severe (close [i.e., more supervision, less freedom of movement, limits on property and programs]), second most severe (maximum [i.e., less supervision than close but more supervision than medium, more freedom than close but less freedom of movement than medium]), second least severe (medium [i.e., less supervision than maximum but more supervision than minimum, may participate in outside work crews, within four years to release]), and least severe (minimum [i.e., less supervision, more freedom of movement, less limits on property and programs]).

- Prior prison is operationalized as an individual who has previously been incarcerated in a prison.
- Offense is defined as the worst crime convicted and sentenced. It is important to note that there is a potential that one incarcerated individual could have been convicted and sentenced for more than one offense – in this report, only the worst offense was utilized.
- Admission region is operationalized as the region of the admission associated to the CY 2004 release. Due to potential low numbers, admission region, not county, was utilized.
 - North Central: Chelan, Douglas, Grant, Kittitas, and Okanogan counties
 - North Puget Sound: King, Snohomish and Island counties
 - Northeast: Ferry, Lincoln, Pend Oreille, Stevens and Spokane counties
 - Northwest: San Juan, Skagit and Whatcom counties
 - Peninsula/Coastal: Clallam, Jefferson, Gray’s Harbor Kitsap and Pacific counties
 - South Central: Benton, Franklin, Klickitat, Walla Walla and Yakima counties
 - South Puget Sound: Lewis, Mason, Pierce and Thurston counties
 - Southeast: Adams, Asotin, Columbia, Garfield and Whitman counties
 - Southwest: Clark, Cowlitz, Skamania and Wahkiakum counties

The present study utilized a sample of 8,140 individuals who were incarcerated in one of WADOC’s facilities and were released in CY 2004.

Limitations

First, in terms of demographic assessment (i.e., sex, age, race), these results must be interpreted with caution due to the limitations of the data. It is important to note that any analysis of race in criminal justice data is negatively impacted by true reliability and validity, as race data can be misclassified. Additionally, any analyses of demographic disproportionality are based on comparisons of outcomes for individuals who are convicted of a criminal offense. This report’s findings, as with other findings retrieved from criminal justice data, can be skewed due to the already documented disproportionate treatment in criminal justice. For example, equal dispensation of justice is a consistent concern of policymakers and the public (Kovera, 2019). The evidence of differential treatment, unequal dispensation and injustice in the justice system is significant. Additionally, demographic values are limited to WADOC values (i.e., sex was limited to the binary values of “male” and “female”; race was limited to “black,” “white,” “Aleut,” “Eskimo,” “Noth American Indian,” or “Asian/Pacific Islander.”).

Second, analyzing trends in recidivism can be difficult because criminal justice data are collected by different agencies and often lack a common identifier. Measuring recidivism is complex not only due to unique operationalizations utilized throughout different local, state and national agencies, but also in large part due to the timeliness of the criminal justice system. The siloed nature of Washington state’s criminal justice records complicates the ability to link criminal justice data together. For example, while WADOC provided admission and release data, this data was limited to recidivistic events recorded in Washington state. If an offense occurred in a different state, this would likely not be present in the data sets used. This data might not reflect a true picture of potential crime committed by the sample.

Third, individuals incarcerated in prison represent only a small portion of the overall offending population, and as such, only felony offenses meet the statutory requirements for a prison sentence. This sample is more likely to include individuals with potentially longer prison sentences and a greater degree of severity in

seriousness of crime. This means individuals who committed offenses with lesser degrees of seriousness were likely not in the sample, as these individuals would be serving out their sentence in the community or jail. As this report measures recidivism as an event that returns one to prison, this approach likely generates larger rates of more serious recidivism. Additionally, as this sample was more likely to have committed more serious offenses, individuals who returned to prison in the first few years of the study’s time frame might not have been out in the community long enough to potentially recidivate. Moreover, as this report evaluated return to prison, it does not capture any true crime trends, as not all charges result in prison convictions.

Fourth, the time frame of this sample employed for this endeavor was significantly limiting, as this report captures only individuals who were released in CY 2004. A CY 2004 sample was utilized to evaluate recidivism with a longer follow-up period in the community due to the need to assess long-term recidivism. Furthermore, this report followed the same CY 2004 cohort for 19 years, and results from this sample cannot be generalized to other released cohorts. Additionally, as the follow-up period began at the at-risk date and continued for a set period of time (note: The at-risk date begins when an individual is released to the community and consequently has the opportunity to commit a new criminal offense), the follow-up period might have been limiting for individuals who were convicted with longer sentences, and therefore, were still in prison and did not have the opportunity to recidivate. Additionally, as this data evaluated returns to prison from 2004 to 2023, there is potential that the data could have been skewed with the impact of COVID-19 with the court closures associated with the “Stay Home, Stay Healthy” order. This may have impacted court filing data due to court closures and impacted prison admissions due to social distancing. Furthermore, 19 years of data can also be impacted by other significant changes to criminal sentencing laws and policies (e.g., Blake Decision, law enforcement reform). This report does not reflect the true magnitude or representation of the WADOC population, and results should be interpreted cautiously. Analyses of recidivism within this report do not utilize multiple release cohorts, and therefore cannot assess year-over-year patterns of desistance during reentry into the community.

Lastly, this report does not attempt to identify causal relationships that may explain changes in trends. This report intends to provide analyses that were descriptive and non-generalizable in nature. The results are modest, and subsequently, inferences and implications are limited. Results should be interpreted with caution.

While some limitations are identified in this report, there are likely more not listed that could impact information and conclusions yielded from this work.

Results

Demographics of Released Cohort and Recidivators

8,140 individuals under WADOC custody were released in CY 2004 (see Table 1). Individuals ranged in age at the time of release from 18 to 105 years old (M = 34.8, SD = 9.9). On average, individuals spent 1.8 years incarcerated (SD = 2.5), ranging as high as 35 years of incarceration; it is important to note that due to potential earned jail credit, individuals might not have technically served time at a DOC facility. Less than half (41.2%) of the sample had served a prior prison sentence.

Table 1. Distribution of released cohort

	N	%		N	%
Age at Time of Release			Offense		
18 to 25	2,290	28.1	Assault	302	3.7
26 to 35	2,817	34.6	Drug	1,523	18.7
36 to 45	2,174	26.7	Manslaughter	37	0.5

>= 46	786	9.7	Murder	39	0.5
BIPOC Community			Other/Unknown	5,325	65.4
Yes	3,065	37.7	Property	519	6.4
No	5,075	62.3	Robbery	95	1.2
Sex			Sex Offense	300	3.7
Female	1,058	13.0	Custody Level		
Male	7,082	87.0	Minimum	5,782	71.0
Prior Prison			Medium	1,412	17.4
Yes	3,350	41.2	Closed	418	5.1
No	4,790	58.8	Maximum	60	0.7

Notes: Due to missing, incomplete, unmatched, or inconsistent data, and rounding the total may not equate to 100%. Percentages represent those based on the column totals. Results could be skewed when analyzing demographic variables as the data is individual level data. Offense is defined as the worst crime sentenced suggesting that there is a potential that one incarcerated individual could have been sentenced for more than one offense – in this report only the worst offense was utilized.

Out of the 8,140 individuals who were released, 51.1% recidivated (n = 4,162) within 19 years following release to the community; a little less than a half (42.4%) of released individuals (n = 1,772) recidivated only once. At the most, seven individuals recidivated up to eight times within the 19-year follow-up period (Table 2). As such, the released cohort produced 9,136 recidivistic events.

On average, recidivating individuals spent 1.5 years incarcerated (SD = 1.9), ranging as high as 32 years of incarceration; it is important to note that due to potential earned jail credit, individuals might not have technically served time at a WADOC facility. More than half (52.7%) of the recidivators had served a prior prison sentence. As a supplement to Table 1 and 2, Appendix A shows the distribution of incarcerated individuals released in CY 2004, and then those who recidivated by admission region.

Table 2. Distribution of recidivators

	N	%		N	%
Age at Time of Initial Release			Initial Offense		
18 to 25	904	21.7	Assault	37	0.9
26 to 35	1,629	39.1	Drug	528	12.7
36 to 45	1,250	30.0	Murder	--	--
>= 46	379	9.1	Other/Unknown	3,404	81.8
BIPOC Community			Property	170	4.1
Yes	1,540	37.0	Robbery	--	0.1
No	2,622	63.0	Sex Offense	16	0.4
Sex			Frequency of Recidivism		
Female	435	10.4	One	1,772	42.6
Male	3,727	89.6	Two	1,032	24.8
Initial Custody Level			Three	647	15.5
Minimum	2,797	67.2	Four	374	9.0
Medium	896	21.5	Five	212	5.1
Closed	279	6.7	Six	79	1.9
Maximum	43	1.0	Seven	39	0.9
Prior Prison			Eight	--	--
Yes	2,195	52.7			
No	1,967	47.2			

Notes: Due to missing, incomplete, unmatched, or inconsistent data, and rounding the total may not equate to 100%. Percentages represent those based on the column totals. Results could be skewed when analyzing demographic variables as the data is individual level data. Offense is defined as the worst crime sentenced suggesting that there is a potential that one incarcerated individual could have been sentenced for more than one offense.

Rates of Long-Term Recidivism by Frequency

Rates of recidivism by frequency of recidivating by demographic variables (i.e., sex, BIPOC, age at time of initial release, prior prison, custody status, admission region and time spent in prison during original incarceration) were evaluated using chi-square test of independence (i.e., a statistical test that measures whether variables are related to one another).

Out of the 4,162 who recidivated within the 19 years following release to the community, first time recidivators returned to a WADOC prison before the first year (n = 1,031) of their 2004 release (Table 3). Fifty-five individuals who were released in CY 2004 returned to a WADOC facility for the first time in year 15 or subsequent years. Following release in 2004, individuals recidivated the most in 2005 (n = 1,227) – around the one-year mark (Appendix B). Note that the sample included individuals who released as early as January 1, 2004 – therefore, some individuals could have returned to prison as early as 2004 (n = 382).

Table 3. Distribution of recidivators by frequency of recidivism

	N (%)				
	Once	Twice	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Sex					
Male	1,519 (40.8)	932 (25.0)	604 (16.2)	349 (9.4)	203 (5.4)
Female	253 (58.2)	100 (23.0)	43 (9.9)	25 (5.7)	--
BIPOC					
Yes	649 (42.1)	398 (25.8)	248 (16.1)	132 (8.6)	79 (5.1)
No	1,123 (42.8)	634 (24.2)	399 (15.2)	242 (9.2)	133 (5.1)
Age at Time of Initial Release					
18 to 25	402 (37.5)	255 (23.8)	195 (18.2)	103 (9.6)	77 (7.2)
26 to 35	632 (39.2)	406 (25.2)	259 (16.1)	167 (10.4)	90 (5.6)
36 to 45	551 (47.3)	302 (25.9)	157 (13.5)	87 (7.5)	41 (3.5)
>= 46	187 (59.4)	69 (21.9)	36 (11.4)	17 (5.4)	--
Prison Prior to 2004 Release					
Yes	827 (37.7)	554 (25.2)	396 (18.0)	225 (10.3)	122 (5.6)
No	945(48.0)	478 (24.3)	251 (12.8)	149 (7.6)	90 (4.6)
Initial Offense					
Assault	28 (75.7)	--	--	--	--
Drug	299 (56.6)	115 (21.8)	62 (11.7)	26 (4.9)	18 (3.4)
Manslaughter	--	--	--	--	--
Murder	--	--	--	--	--
Other/Unknown	1,317 (38.7)	879 (25.8)	558 (16.4)	345 (10.1)	189 (5.6)
Property	106 (62.4)	33 (19.4)	22 (12.9)	--	--
Robbery	--	--	--	--	--
Sex Offense	15 (93.8)	--	--	--	--
Initial Custody Level					
Minimum	1,271 (45.4)	683 (24.4)	415 (14.8)	227 (8.1)	123 (4.4)
Medium	306 (34.2)	233 (26.0)	165 (18.4)	93 (10.4)	60 (6.7)
Closed	96 (34.4)	69 (24.7)	47 (16.8)	36 (12.9)	24 (8.6)
Maximum	14 (32.6)	11 (25.6)	--	--	--
Initial Admission Region					
North Central	67 (45.0)	35 (23.5)	18 (12.1)	16 (10.7)	10 (6.7)
North Puget Sound	551 (41.7)	349 (26.4)	202 (15.3)	120 (5.5)	73 (5.5)
Northeast	154 (44.3)	80 (23.0)	53 (15.2)	35 (4.6)	16 (4.6)
Northwest	77 (41.6)	47 (25.4)	31 (16.8)	12 (6.5)	10 (5.4)
Peninsula/Coastal	144 (45.9)	73 (23.2)	45 (14.3)	25 (8.0)	12 (3.8)
South Central	141 (41.5)	79 (23.2)	53 (15.6)	33 (9.7)	21 (6.2)
South Puget Sound	417 (41.0)	253 (24.9)	171 (16.8)	95 (9.3)	47 (4.6)
Southeast	13 (52.0)	--	--	--	--
Southwest	207 (44.9)	111 (24.1)	70 (15.2)	36 (7.8)	22 (4.8)

Notes: Percentages represent those based on the column totals. Due to low N's, some data were removed; due to low numbers, Table 2 presents only the first through fifth frequency of return. Detail may not sum to total due to rounding. Initial offense is defined as the worst crime sentenced (in initial sentence that was served in 2004), suggesting that there is a potential that one incarcerated individual could have been sentenced for more than one offense – in this report only the worst offense was utilized. Initial custody level is defined by the initial sentence that was served in 2004.

Rates of Long-Term Recidivism by Frequency and by Sex

Findings show that there was no significant relationship between recidivism by frequency and by sex ($\chi^2 (7, N = 4,162) = 58.62, p = 0.38, NS$). Table 4 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by sex. Findings did suggest that recidivism declined more for females than males. As a supplement to Table 4, Appendix C shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of the recidivist events by frequency and by sex and Appendix D shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by sex.

Table 4. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by sex

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Female	Count	253 _a	100 _b	43 _b	25 _b	--	--	--
	% within sex	58.2%	23.0%	9.9%	5.7%	--	--	--
	% within recid	14.3%	9.7%	6.6%	6.7%	--	--	--
	% of total	6.1%	2.4%	1.0%	0.6%	--	--	--
Male	Count	1519 _a	932 _b	604 _b	349 _b	203 _b	75 _{a, b}	38 _{a, b}
	% within sex	40.8%	25.0%	16.2%	9.4%	5.4%	2.0%	1.0%
	% within recid	85.7%	90.3%	93.4%	93.3%	95.8%	94.9%	97.4%
	% of total	36.5%	22.4%	14.5%	8.4%	4.9%	1.8%	0.9%

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

As an addition to Table 4, Table 5 shows the ratio of recidivistic events for male and female recidivators. To examine sex differences, the ratio of male recidivators as compared to female recidivators was computed. Findings revealed that, on average, male recidivators had a greater number of recidivistic events than female recidivators. As a supplement to Table 5, Appendix E shows the recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by sex.

Table 5. Ratio of recidivistic events by sex

Recidivistic Event Ratio	Male Recidivators	Female Recidivators
1.29	2.23	1.74

Notes: To examine sex differences, the ratio of recidivistic events by males as compared to females was computed. A value of "1" indicates that the average number of recidivistic events for females and males were the same. A value greater than "1" indicates that, on average, that males had a greater number of recidivistic events than females.

Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by BIPOC Community

Findings show that there was no significant relationship between recidivism by frequency and by BIPOC community ($\chi^2 (7, N = 4,162) = 8.34, p = 0.30, NS$). Table 6 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by BIPOC community. Findings revealed no differences between recidivism by frequency and by BIPOC community. As a supplement to Table 6, Appendix F shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of the recidivist events by frequency and by BIPOC

community, and Appendix G shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by BIPOC community.

Table 6. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by BIPOC community

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
non-BIPOC	Count	1123 _a	634 _a	399 _a	242 _a	133 _a	57 _a	30 _a
	% within BIPOC	42.8%	24.2%	15.2%	9.2%	5.1%	2.2%	1.1%
	% within recid	63.4%	61.4%	61.7%	64.7%	62.7%	72.2%	76.9%
	% of total	27.0%	15.2%	9.6%	5.8%	3.2%	1.4%	0.7%
BIPOC	Count	649 _a	398 _a	248 _a	132 _a	79 _a	22 _a	--
	% within BIPOC	42.1%	25.8%	16.1%	8.6%	5.1%	1.4%	--
	% within recid	36.6%	38.6%	38.3%	35.3%	37.3%	27.8%	--
	% of total	15.6%	9.6%	6.0%	3.2%	1.9%	0.5%	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

As an addition to Table 6, Table 7 shows the ratio of recidivistic events for BIPOC and non-BIPOC recidivators. To examine race differences, the ratio of BIPOC recidivators as compared to non-BIPOC recidivators was computed. Findings revealed that, on average, the non-BIPOC recidivators and BIPOC recidivators had the same number of recidivistic events. As a supplement to Table 7, Appendix H shows the recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by BIPOC community.

Table 7. Ratio of recidivistic events by BIPOC community

Recidivistic Event Ratio	BIPOC Recidivators	Non-BIPOC Recidivators
0.97	2.16	2.21

Notes: To examine race differences, the ratio of recidivism by BIPOC community as compared to non-BIPOC community was computed. A value of "1" indicates that the average number of recidivistic events for non-BIPOC and BIPOC were the same. A value greater than "1" indicates that, on average, BIPOC recidivators had a greater number of recidivistic events than non-BIPOC recidivators.

Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Age at Time of Initial Release

Findings show that there was a relationship between recidivism by frequency and by age at time of initial release ($\chi^2 (21, N = 4,162) = 103.22, p < .001$). Table 8 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by age at time of initial release. Findings revealed differences in recidivism by frequency and by age at time of initial release suggesting that recidivism declined more as age increased. As a supplement to Table 8, Appendix I shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of the recidivist events by frequency and by age at time of initial release and Appendix J shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by age at time of initial release.

Table 8. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by age at time of release

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
18 to 25	Count	402 _a	255 _{a, b}	195 _{b, c}	103 _{a, b, c}	77 _c	20 _{a, b, c}	16 _{a, b, c}
	% within age	37.5%	23.8%	18.2%	9.6%	7.2%	1.9%	1.5%
	% within recid	22.7%	24.7%	30.1%	27.5%	36.3%	25.3%	41.0%
	% of total	9.7%	6.1%	4.7%	2.5%	1.9%	0.5%	0.4%

26 to 35	Count	632 _a	406 _{a, b}	259 _{a, b}	167 _b	90 _{a, b}	39 _{a, b}	16 _{a, b}
	% within age	39.2%	25.2%	16.1%	10.4%	5.6%	2.4%	1.0%
	% within recid	35.7%	39.3%	40.0%	44.7%	42.5%	49.4%	41.0%
	% of total	15.2%	9.8%	6.2%	4.0%	2.2%	0.9%	0.4%
36 to 45	Count	551 _a	302 _{a, b}	157 _b	87 _{a, b}	41 _b	18 _{a, b}	--
	% within age	47.3%	25.9%	13.5%	7.5%	3.5%	1.5%	--
	% within recid	31.1%	29.3%	24.3%	23.3%	19.3%	22.8%	--
	% of total	13.2%	7.3%	3.8%	2.1%	1.0%	0.4%	--
46+	Count	187 _a	69 _b	36 _b	17 _b	--	--	--
	% within age	59.4%	21.9%	11.4%	5.4%	--	--	--
	% within recid	10.6%	6.7%	5.6%	4.5%	--	--	--
	% of total	4.5%	1.7%	0.9%	0.4%	--	--	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

As an addition to Table 8, Table 9 shows the ratio of recidivistic events for those 35 and younger and 36 and older recidivators. To examine age differences, the ratio of younger recidivators as compared to older recidivators was computed. Findings revealed that, on average, the individuals 35 and younger had a greater number of recidivistic events than 36 and older recidivators. As a supplement to Table 9, Appendix K shows the recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by age at time of release.

Table 9. Ratio of recidivistic events by age at time of release

Recidivistic Event Ratio	35 and Younger Recidivators	36 and Older Recidivators
1.20	2.33	1.94

Notes: To examine age differences, the ratio of recidivistic events by 35 and younger as compared to 36 and older was computed. A value of "1" indicates that the average number of recidivistic events by 35 and younger as compared to 36 and older were the same. A value greater than "1" indicates that, on average, the 35 and younger recidivators had a greater number of recidivistic events than 36 and older recidivators.

Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Prior Prison

Findings show that there was a relationship between recidivism by frequency and by prior prison ($\chi^2 (7, N = 4,162) = 56.33, p < .001$). Table 10 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by prior prison. Findings revealed differences in recidivism by frequency and by prior prison suggesting that recidivism declined more for recidivators who had no prior prison experience than recidivators who had prior prison experience. As a supplement to Table 10, Appendix L shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of the recidivist events by frequency and by prior prison and Appendix M shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by prior prison.

Table 10. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by prior prison

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Yes	Count	827 _a	554 _b	396 _b	225 _b	122 _{a, b}	44 _{a, b}	23 _{a, b}
	% within prior prison	37.7%	25.2%	18.0%	10.3%	5.6%	2.0%	1.0%
	% within recid	46.7%	53.7%	61.2%	60.2%	57.5%	55.7%	59.0%
	% of total	19.9%	13.3%	9.5%	5.4%	2.9%	1.1%	0.6%
No	Count	945 _a	478 _b	251 _b	149 _b	90 _{a, b}	35 _{a, b}	16 _{a, b}
	% within prior prison	48.0%	24.3%	12.8%	7.6%	4.6%	1.8%	0.8%
	% within recid	53.3%	46.3%	38.8%	39.8%	42.5%	44.3%	41.0%
	% of total	22.7%	11.5%	6.0%	3.6%	2.2%	0.8%	0.4%

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

As an addition to Table 10, Table 11 shows the ratio of recidivistic events for those with prior prison experience and those without. To examine prior prison differences, the ratio of recidivators with prior prison as compared to those without was computed. Findings revealed that, on average, the individuals with prior prison experience had a greater number of recidivistic events than those without prior prison experience. As a supplement to Table 11, Appendix N shows the recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by prior prison.

Table 11. Ratio of recidivistic events by prior prison

Recidivistic Event Ratio	Prior Prison Recidivators	No Prior Prison Recidivators
1.13	2.32	2.06

Notes: To examine those with prior prison differences, the ratio of recidivistic events by those with and without prior prison was computed. A value of "1" indicates that the average number of recidivistic events for those with and without prior prison were the same. A value greater than "1" indicates that, on average, those with prior prison had a greater number of recidivistic events than those without prior prison.

Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Initial Offense

Findings show that there was a relationship between recidivism by frequency and by initial offense (i.e., murder, manslaughter, sex, robbery, assault, property) ($\chi^2 (42, N = 4,162) = 150.00, p < .001$). Table 12 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by initial offense. Findings revealed differences in recidivism by frequency and by initial offense suggesting that the proportion of those returning to prison who initially committed a drug or property offense were uniquely different to that of the proportion of those returning to prison who initially committed any other offense (i.e., murder, manslaughter, sex, robbery, assault). As a supplement to Table 12, Appendix O shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of the recidivist events by frequency and by initial offense, and Appendix P shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial offense.

Table 12. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by initial offense

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Murder	Count	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sex	Count	15 _a	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	93.8%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	0.8%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.4%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Robbery	Count	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Assault	Count	28 _a	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	75.7%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	1.6%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.7%	--	--	--	--	--	--

Property	Count	106 _a	33 _b	22 _{a, b}	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	62.4%	19.4%	12.9%	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	6.0%	3.2%	3.4%	--	--	--	--
	% of total	2.5%	0.8%	0.5%	--	--	--	--
Drug	Count	299 _a	115 _b	62 _b	26 _b	18 _b	--	--
	% within offense	56.6%	21.8%	11.7%	4.9%	3.4%	--	--
	% within recid	16.9%	11.1%	9.6%	7.0%	8.5%	--	--
	% of total	7.2%	2.8%	1.5%	0.6%	0.4%	--	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Initial Custody Status

Findings show that there was a relationship between recidivism by frequency and by initial custody level (i.e., minimum, medium, maximum, closed) (χ^2 (28, N = 4,162) = 95.43, $p < .001$). Table 13 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by initial custody level. Findings revealed differences in recidivism by frequency and by initial custody level suggesting that recidivism declined more for higher initial custody status (i.e., maximum, close) than lower (i.e., medium, minimum). As a supplement to Table 13, Appendix Q shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those recidivist events by frequency and by initial custody level, Appendix R shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial custody level, and Appendix S shows the recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by custody level.

Table 13. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by initial custody status

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Min	Count	1271 _a	683 _{a, b}	415 _b	227 _b	123 _b	53 _{a, b}	22 _{a, b}
	% within status	45.4%	24.4%	14.8%	8.1%	4.4%	1.9%	0.8%
	% within recid	71.7%	66.2%	64.1%	60.7%	58.0%	67.1%	56.4%
	% of total	30.5%	16.4%	10.0%	5.5%	3.0%	1.3%	0.5%
Med	Count	306 _a	233 _b	165 _b	93 _b	60 _b	22 _{a, b}	13 _{a, b}
	% within status	34.2%	26.0%	18.4%	10.4%	6.7%	2.5%	1.5%
	% within recid	17.3%	22.6%	25.5%	24.9%	28.3%	27.8%	33.3%
	% of total	7.4%	5.6%	4.0%	2.2%	1.4%	0.5%	0.3%
Max	Count	14 _a	11 _a	--	--	--	--	--
	% within status	32.6%	25.6%	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	0.8%	1.1%	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.3%	0.3%	--	--	--	--	--
Close	Count	96 _a	69 _{a, b}	47 _{a, b}	36 _{a, b}	24 _b	--	--
	% within status	34.4%	24.7%	16.8%	12.9%	8.6%	--	--
	% within recid	5.4%	6.7%	7.3%	9.6%	11.3%	--	--
	% of total	2.3%	1.7%	1.1%	0.9%	0.6%	--	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Rates of Recidivism by Frequency and by Initial Admission Region

Findings show that there was no relationship between recidivism by frequency and by initial admission region (χ^2 (63, N = 4,162) = 50.14, $p = .88$, NS). Table 14 shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of those returning to prison following their CY 2004 release by frequency and by initial admission region. Findings revealed

differences in recidivism by frequency and by initial admission region. As a supplement to Table 14, Appendix T shows a crosstabulation of the proportion of the recidivist events by frequency and by initial admission region and Appendix U shows the percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by admission region.

Table 14. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivism by frequency and by admission region

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
North Central	Count	67 _a	35 _a	18 _a	16 _a	10 _a	--	--
	% within region	45.0%	23.5%	12.1%	10.7%	6.7%	--	--
	% within recid	3.8%	3.4%	2.8%	4.3%	4.7%	--	--
	% of total	1.6%	0.8%	0.4%	0.4%	0.2%	--	--
North Puget Sound	Count	551 _a	349 _a	202 _a	120 _a	73 _a	14 _a	11 _a
	% within region	41.7%	26.4%	15.3%	9.1%	5.5%	1.1%	0.8%
	% within recid	31.1%	33.8%	31.2%	32.1%	34.4%	17.7%	28.2%
	% of total	13.2%	8.4%	4.9%	2.9%	1.8%	0.3%	0.3%
North- east	Count	154 _a	80 _a	53 _a	35 _a	16 _a	--	--
	% within region	44.3%	23.0%	15.2%	10.1%	4.6%	--	--
	% within recid	8.7%	7.8%	8.2%	9.4%	7.5%	--	--
	% of total	3.7%	1.9%	1.3%	0.8%	0.4%	--	--
North- west	Count	77 _{a, b}	47 _{a, b}	31 _{a, b}	12 _b	10 _{a, b}	--	--
	% within region	41.6%	25.4%	16.8%	6.5%	5.4%	--	--
	% within recid	4.3%	4.6%	4.8%	3.2%	4.7%	--	--
	% of total	1.9%	1.1%	0.7%	0.3%	0.2%	--	--
Peninsula / Coastal	Count	144 _a	73 _a	45 _a	25 _a	12 _a	11 _a	--
	% within region	45.9%	23.2%	14.3%	8.0%	3.8%	3.5%	--
	% within recid	8.1%	7.1%	7.0%	6.7%	5.7%	13.9%	--
	% of total	3.5%	1.8%	1.1%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%	--
South Central	Count	141 _a	79 _a	53 _a	33 _a	21 _a	--	--
	% within region	41.5%	23.2%	15.6%	9.7%	6.2%	--	--
	% within recid	8.0%	7.7%	8.2%	8.8%	9.9%	--	--
	% of total	3.4%	1.9%	1.3%	0.8%	0.5%	--	--
South Puget Sound	Count	417 _a	253 _a	171 _a	95 _a	47 _a	21 _a	12 _a
	% within region	41.0%	24.9%	16.8%	9.3%	4.6%	2.1%	1.2%
	% within recid	23.5%	24.5%	26.4%	25.4%	22.2%	26.6%	30.8%
	% of total	10.0%	6.1%	4.1%	2.3%	1.1%	0.5%	0.3%
Southeast	Count	13 _a	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within region	52.0%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	0.7%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.3%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Southwest	Count	207 _a	111 _a	70 _a	36 _a	22 _a	--	--
	% within region	44.9%	24.1%	15.2%	7.8%	4.8%	--	--
	% within recid	11.7%	10.8%	10.8%	9.6%	10.4%	--	--
	% of total	5.0%	2.7%	1.7%	0.9%	0.5%	--	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Discussion and Conclusion

Reviewing recidivism up to a 19-year follow up offers a larger look into individuals' long-term involvement with the criminal justice system. Future research should evaluate all involvement with the criminal justice system and not just WADOC recidivisms. Due to data constraints, the present study could not accurately

show individuals' trajectories through the Washington criminal justice system. Showing the long-term recidivism trends through each decision point (i.e., arrest, jail bookings, sentencing) is vital in improving the Washington criminal justice system and how individuals of different demographics are impacted.

While stated above, it merits repeating that this report provided analyses that were descriptive and non-generalizable in nature. The results are modest, and subsequently, inferences and implications are limited. Results should be interpreted with caution. As the report was non-generalizable and was not a true representation of the entire population of data, causal relationships cannot be determined and conclusions, if any, are incredibly limiting. No recommendations outside of a need for further analyses, including true research endeavors, are presented. While this report was limiting, it did offer an opportunity to discuss the need to further assess and review demographic differences—and at times, disparities—in how long-term recidivism and involvement with the Washington criminal justice impact different demographic groups, and how these trends vary by offense categories and time.

Evaluating recidivism can assist as an effective tool in assessing the success of criminal justice policies and programs. Likewise, descriptive measures of recidivism, like those studied in this report, can inform practitioners and policy makers about the necessity to create new interventions or programs, or modify what is currently available. As there is no one true operationalization of recidivism, the assessment of recidivism can be complex. For example, different follow-up periods can result in various outcomes of recidivism rates. This report, which utilized a longer follow-up period, likely reported more recidivism than reports that utilized a shorter follow-up period. While it is important that follow-up periods should be long enough to sufficiently capture much of the reoffending behavior of individuals, too long of a follow up can also negatively impact results. Follow-up periods, especially ones that look at return to prison, should also include enough time to allow the criminal justice system to process offenses and render a final disposition and/or sentence. Also, as the definition includes only returns to prison, this consists of only a small portion of convictions, since not all convictions result in an incarceration sentence. Furthermore, since analyses were limited to felony offenses, the rates of recidivism are lower than if the definition of recidivism includes misdemeanor offenses (however, those individuals would likely not have resulted to serving a prison sentence). In this report, for example, most individuals recidivated within the first few years of release from prison, so there is potential that a 19-year follow up might have been unnecessary.

Practitioners, researchers and policy makers must continuously and cautiously assess the operationalizations behind each recidivism measure to address different varieties of policy and research questions. The lack of caution can lead to incorrect conclusions and impact. However, different measures in recidivism can allow for unique approaches to assisting in research and policy questions. Future endeavors to evaluate impact on recidivism could potentially include investigating disparities in sentencing decisions; evaluating programs available to those currently incarcerated to divert criminogenic thoughts, feelings and actions; or reviewing community resources for individuals reintegrating into the community as an aid to reverting individuals from continuing to be justice involved.

Disclaimer

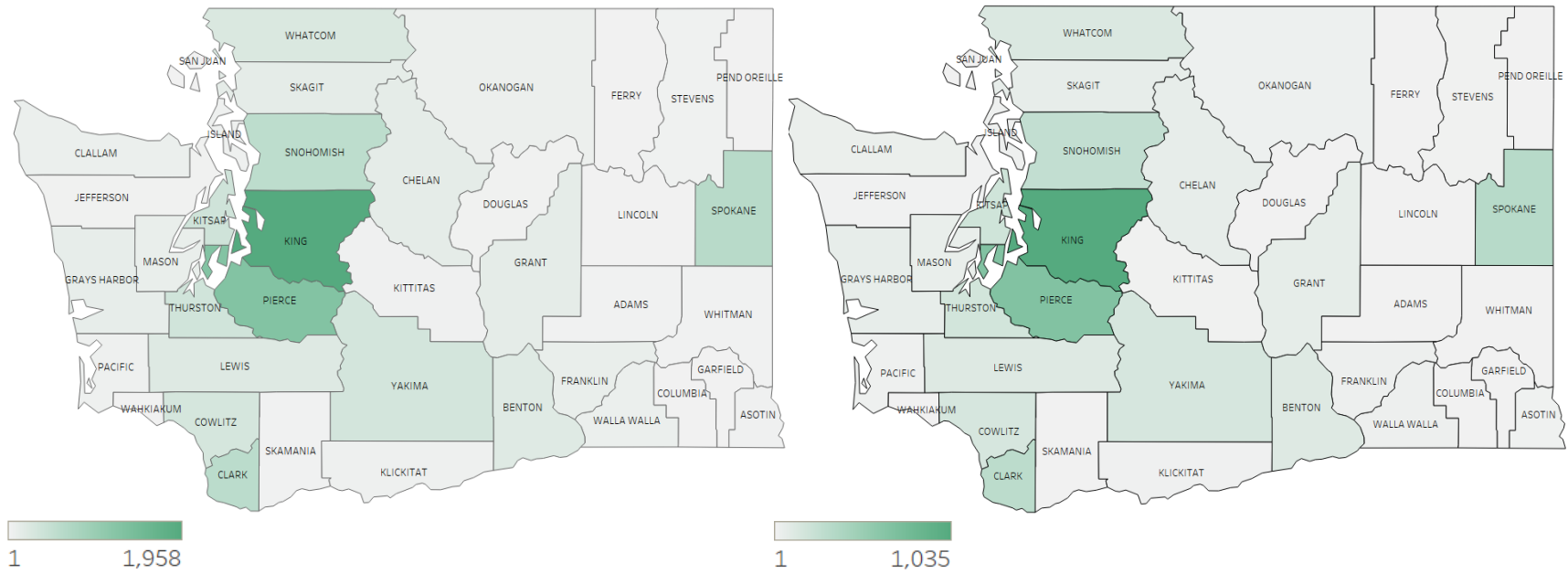
This material utilizes publicly available data from DOC. The views expressed here are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the DOC or other data contributors. Any errors are attributable to the author(s).

References

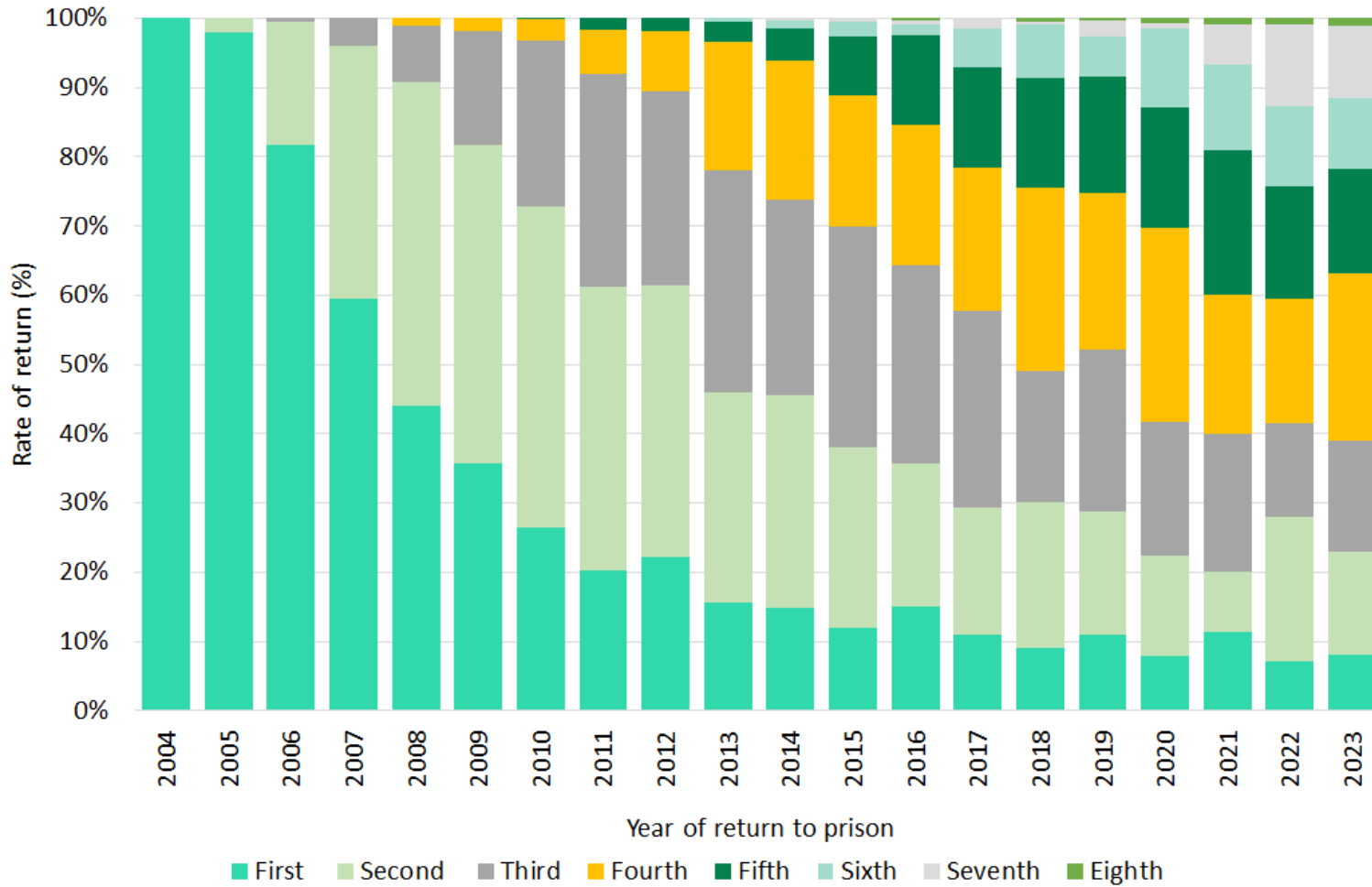
- Alper, M., Durose, M. R., & Markman, J. (2018). 2018 update on prisoner recidivism: A 9-year follow-up period (2005-2014) (p. 2). Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Alper, M., & Durose, M. R. (2019). Recidivism of sex offenders released from state prison: A 9-year follow-up (2005-14). *Americana*, 40(27.2), 38-0. Retrieved from <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/rsorsp9yfu0514.pdf>
- Donnelly, E. A. (2017). The politics of racial disparity reform: Racial inequality and criminal justice policymaking in the states. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(1), 1-27. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-016-9344-8>
- Durose, M. R., & Antenangeli, L. (2021). Recidivism of prisoners released in 34 states in 2012: A 5-year follow-up period (2012–2017). Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.antonioacasella.eu/nume/Durose_Antenangeli_july21.pdf
- Goodley, G., Pearson, D., & Morris, P. (2022). Predictors of recidivism following release from custody: A meta-analysis. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 28(7), 703-729. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2021.1962866>
- Heley, R. C., & Eberhardt, J. L. (2018). The numbers don't speak for themselves: Racial disparities and the persistence of inequality in the criminal justice system. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 183-187. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721418763931>
- Katsiyannis, A., Whitford, D. K., Zhang, D., & Gage, N. A. (2018). Adult recidivism in United States: A meta-analysis 1994–2015. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27, 686-696. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0945-8>
- Kovera, M. B. (2019). Racial disparities in the criminal justice system: Prevalence, causes, and a search for solutions. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(4), 1139-1164. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12355>
- Martyn, K. P., Ansel, S., Stockman, M. R. N., & Grommon, E. (2022). Decarceration from local county jails during the COVID-19 pandemic: A closer look. *Corrections*, 7(5), 369-390. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23774657.2021.1978905>
- Monk, E. P. (2019). The color of punishment: African Americans, skin tone, and the criminal justice system. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(10), 1593-1612. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1508736>
- Nowotny, K. M., Bailey, Z., & Brinkley-Rubinstein, L. (2021). The contribution of prisons and jails to US racial disparities during COVID-19. *American Journal of Public Health*, 111(2), 197-199. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2020.306040>
- Western, B., Davis, J., Ganter, F., & Smith, N. (2021). The cumulative risk of jail incarceration. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(16), e2023429118. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2023429118>

Appendix

Appendix A. Distribution of incarcerated individuals released in CY 2004 (left) and those who recidivated (right), by admission region



Appendix B. Percentage of recidivators, by year and by frequency of return



Notes: Recidivators from sample of individuals released from DOC in CY2004. Recidivators showed a minimum of one recidivist event up to 8 recidivist events following 19 years of release. Individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense, and therefore, there is potential that one individual can be present in multiple years as they can return to prison more than once.

Appendix C. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by sex

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Female	Count	435 _a	182 _b	82 _b	39 _b	14 _b	--	--
	% within sex	57.4%	24.0%	10.8%	5.1%	1.8%	--	--
	% within recid	10.5%	7.6%	6.0%	5.5%	4.2%	--	--
	% of total	4.8%	2.0%	0.9%	0.4%	0.2%	--	--
Male	Count	3727 _a	2208 _b	1276 _b	672 _b	323 _b	120 _{a, b}	45 _{a, b}
	% within sex	44.5%	26.4%	15.2%	8.0%	3.9%	1.4%	0.5%
	% within recid	89.5%	92.4%	94.0%	94.5%	95.8%	96.0%	97.8%
	% of total	40.8%	24.2%	14.0%	7.4%	3.5%	1.3%	0.5%

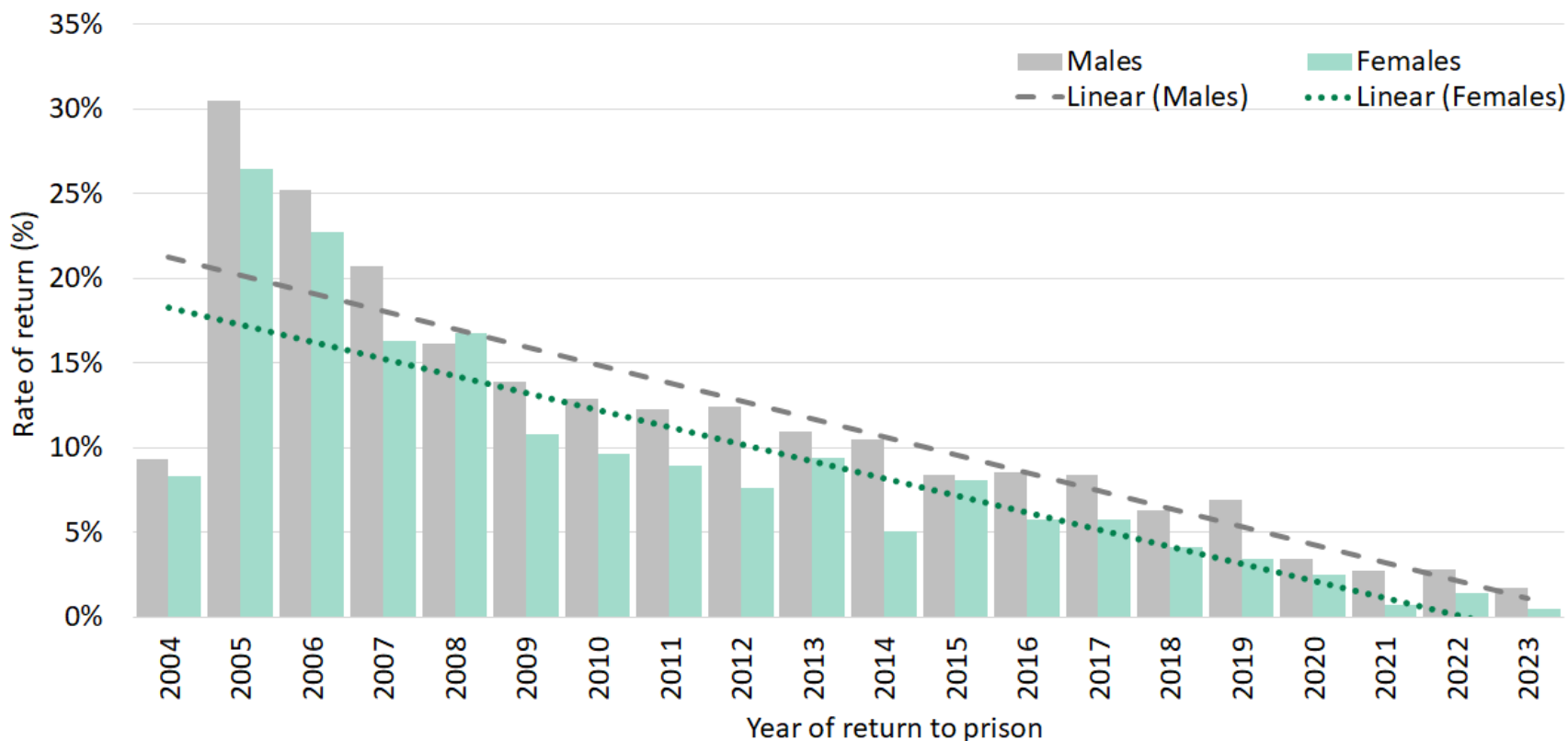
Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix D. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by sex

		Frequency of Recidivism													
		Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Females		0.06	0.02	0.01	0.01				0.05	0.02	0.01				
Males		0.36	0.22	0.15	0.08	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.41	0.24	0.14	0.07	0.04	0.01	

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix E. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by sex



Notes: Recidivators from sample of individuals released from DOC in CY 2004. Recidivators showed a minimum of one recidivist event up to 8 recidivist events following 19 years of release. Individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense, and therefore, there is potential that one individual can be present in multiple years as they can return to prison more than once. The appendix shows the rate of recidivism for each year using bar graphs with trend lines. The trend lines depict the general linear trend in the rate of recidivism between 2004 to 2023. The trend lines allow the reader to interpret the general trends (e.g., an increase or decrease) in recidivism with relative ease. However, the bar charts and trend lines do not allow for precise comparisons of year-over-year changes in rates of recidivism. It may not be immediately clear whether different demographic groups are experiencing similar or divergent patterns in the rate of recidivism over time or at any point between 2003 to 2024.

Appendix F. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by BIPOC community

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
non-BIPOC	Count	2622 _a	1499 _a	865 _a	466 _a	224 _a	91 _a	34 _a
	% within BIPOC	45.2%	25.8%	14.9%	8.0%	3.9%	1.6%	0.6%
	% within recid	63.0%	62.7%	63.7%	65.5%	66.5%	72.8%	73.9%
	% of total	28.7%	16.4%	9.5%	5.1%	2.5%	1.0%	0.4%
BIPOC	Count	1540 _a	891 _a	493 _a	245 _a	113 _a	34 _a	12 _a
	% within BIPOC	46.2%	26.7%	14.8%	7.4%	3.4%	1.0%	0.4%
	% within recid	37.0%	37.3%	36.3%	34.5%	33.5%	27.2%	26.1%
	% of total	16.9%	9.8%	5.4%	2.7%	1.2%	0.4%	0.1%

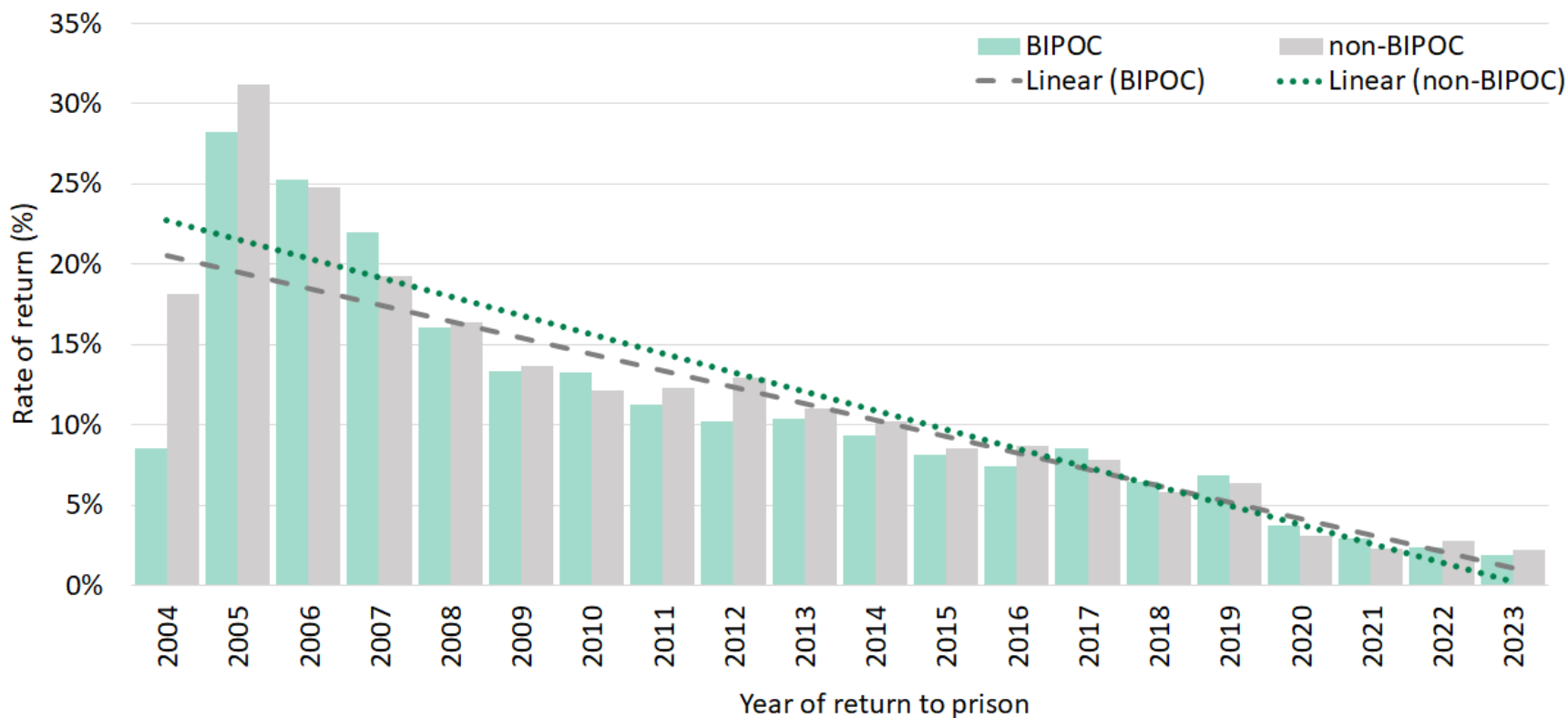
Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix G. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by BIPOC community

		Frequency of Recidivism													
		Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BIPOC		0.16	0.10	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01		0.17	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.01		
Non-BIPOC		0.27	0.15	0.10	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.29	0.16	0.09	0.05	0.02	0.01	

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix H. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by BIPOC community



Notes: Recidivators from sample of individuals released from DOC in CY2004. Recidivators showed a minimum of one recidivist event up to 8 recidivist events following 19 years of release. Individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense, and therefore, there is potential that one individual can be present in multiple years as they can return to prison more than once. The appendix shows the rate of recidivism for each year using bar graphs with trend lines. The trend lines depict the general linear trend in the rate of recidivism between 2004 to 2023. The trend lines allow the reader to interpret the general trends (e.g., an increase or decrease) in recidivism with relative ease. However, the bar charts and trend lines do not allow for precise comparisons of year-over-year changes in rates of recidivism. It may not be immediately clear whether different demographic groups are experiencing similar or divergent patterns in the rate of recidivism over time or at any point between 2003 to 2024.

Appendix I. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by age at time of initial release

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
18 to 25	Count	1071 _a	669 _{a, b}	414 _b	219 _{a, b}	116 _b	39 _{a, b}	19 _{a, b}
	% within age	42.0%	26.2%	16.2%	8.6%	4.5%	1.5%	0.7%
	% within recid	25.7%	28.0%	30.5%	30.8%	34.4%	31.2%	41.3%
	% of total	11.7%	7.3%	4.5%	2.4%	1.3%	0.4%	0.2%
26 to 35	Count	1612 _a	980 _a	574 _a	315 _a	148 _a	58 _a	19 _a
	% within age	43.5%	26.4%	15.5%	8.5%	4.0%	1.6%	0.5%
	% within recid	38.7%	41.0%	42.3%	44.3%	43.9%	46.4%	41.3%
	% of total	17.6%	10.7%	6.3%	3.4%	1.6%	0.6%	0.2%
36 to 45	Count	1164 _a	613 _{a, b}	311 _b	154 _b	67 _b	26 _{a, b}	--
	% within age	49.7%	26.2%	13.3%	6.6%	2.9%	1.1%	--
	% within recid	28.0%	25.6%	22.9%	21.7%	19.9%	20.8%	--
	% of total	12.7%	6.7%	3.4%	1.7%	0.7%	0.3%	--
46+	Count	315 _a	128 _b	59 _b	23 _b	--	--	--
	% within age	59.1%	24.0%	11.1%	4.3%	--	--	--
	% within recid	7.6%	5.4%	4.3%	3.2%	--	--	--
	% of total	3.4%	1.4%	0.6%	0.3%	--	--	--

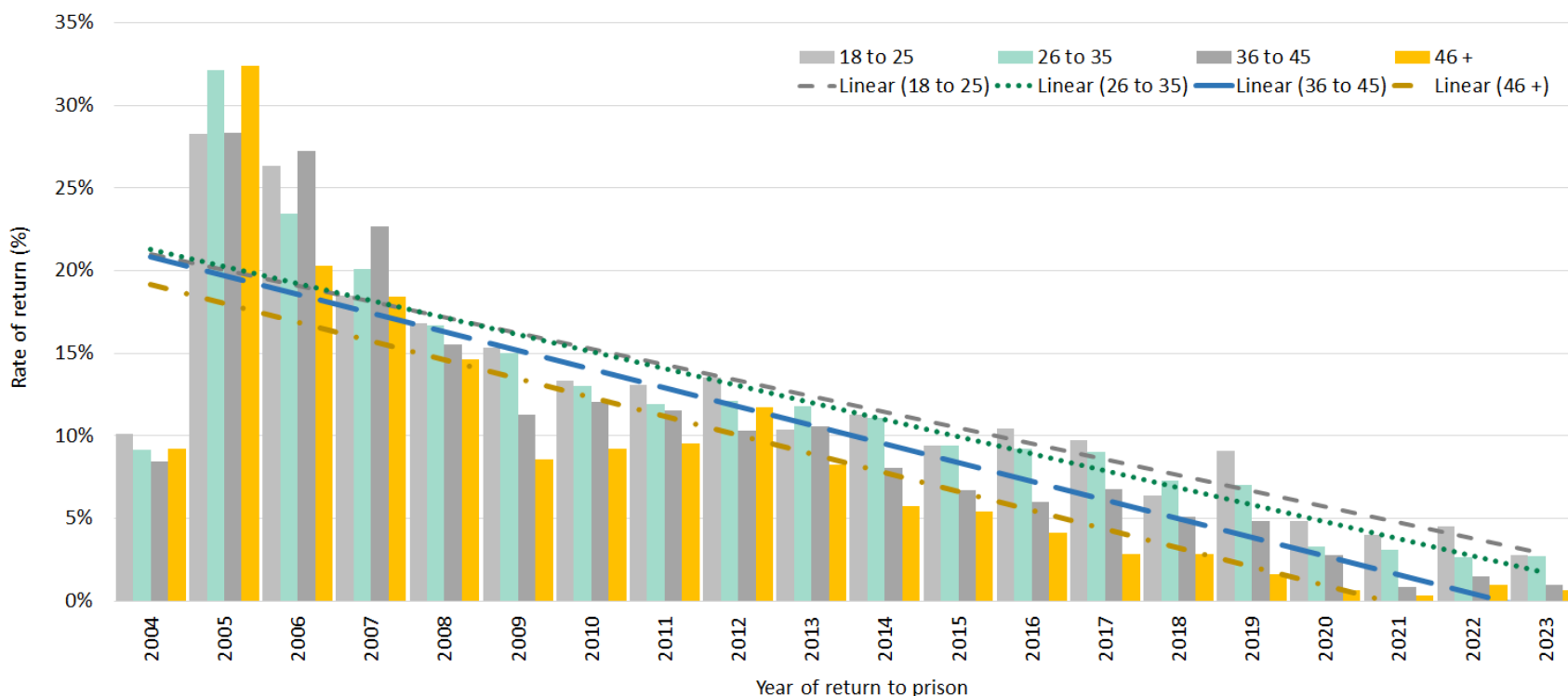
Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix J. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by age at time of initial release

	Frequency of Recidivism													
	Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18 to 25	0.10	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.02			0.12	0.07	0.05	0.02	0.01		
26 to 35	0.15	0.10	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01		0.18	0.11	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01	
36 to 45	0.13	0.07	0.04	0.02	0.01			0.13	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.01		
> = 46	0.04	0.02	0.01					0.03	0.01	0.01				

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix K. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by age at time of initial release



Notes: Recidivators from sample of individuals released from DOC in CY2004. Recidivators showed a minimum of one recidivist event up to 8 recidivist events following 19 years of release. Individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense, and therefore, there is potential that one individual can be present in multiple years as they can return to prison more than once. The appendix shows the rate of recidivism for each year using bar graphs with trend lines. The trend lines depict the general linear trend in the rate of recidivism between 2004 to 2023. The trend lines allow the reader to interpret the general trends (e.g., an increase or decrease) in recidivism with relative ease. However, the bar charts and trend lines do not allow for precise comparisons of year-over-year changes in rates of recidivism. It may not be immediately clear whether different demographic groups are experiencing similar or divergent patterns in the rate of recidivism over time or at any point between 2003 to 2024.

Appendix L. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by prior prison

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Yes	Count	2195 _a	1368 _b	814 _b	418 _{a, b}	193 _{a, b}	71 _{a, b}	27 _{a, b}
	% within prior prison	43.1%	26.9%	16.0%	8.2%	3.8%	1.4%	0.5%
	% within recid	52.7%	57.2%	59.9%	58.8%	57.3%	56.8%	58.7%
	% of total	24.0%	15.0%	8.9%	4.6%	2.1%	0.8%	0.3%
No	Count	1967 _a	1022 _b	544 _b	293 _{a, b}	144 _{a, b}	54 _{a, b}	19 _{a, b}
	% within prior prison	48.6%	25.3%	13.4%	7.2%	3.6%	1.3%	0.5%
	% within recid	47.3%	42.8%	40.1%	41.2%	42.7%	43.2%	41.3%
	% of total	21.5%	11.2%	6.0%	3.2%	1.6%	0.6%	0.2%

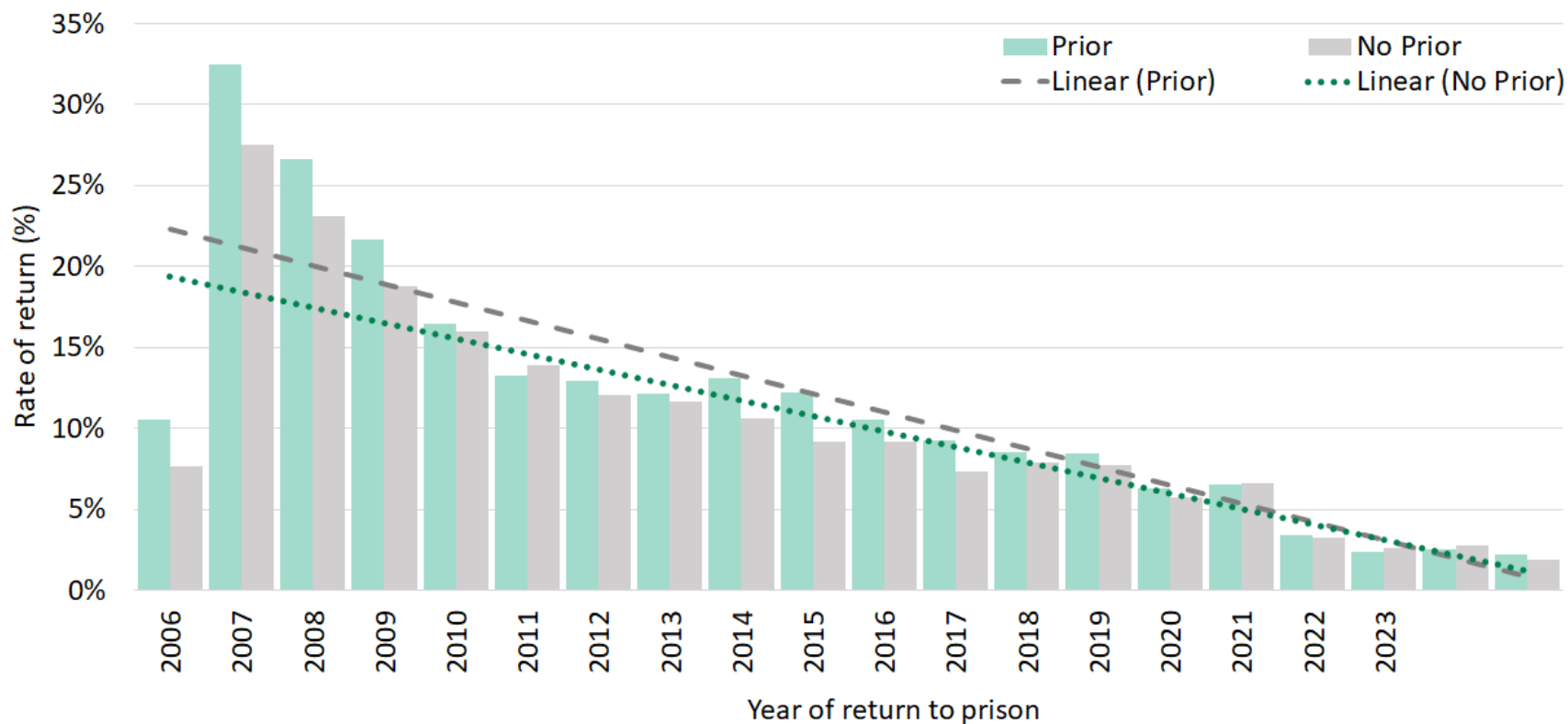
Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix M. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by prior prison

		Frequency of Recidivism													
		Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Yes		0.20	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.22	0.11	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01	
No		0.23	0.11	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01		0.24	0.15	0.09	0.05	0.02	0.01	

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix N. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by prior prison



Notes: Recidivators from sample of individuals released from DOC in CY2004. Recidivators showed a minimum of one recidivist event up to 8 recidivist events following 19 years of release. Individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense, and therefore, there is potential that one individual can be present in multiple years as they can return to prison more than once. The appendix shows the rate of recidivism for each year using bar graphs with trend lines. The trend lines depict the general linear trend in the rate of recidivism between 2004 to 2023. The trend lines allow the reader to interpret the general trends (e.g., an increase or decrease) in recidivism with relative ease. However, the bar charts and trend lines do not allow for precise comparisons of year-over-year changes in rates of recidivism. It may not be immediately clear whether different demographic groups are experiencing similar or divergent patterns in the rate of recidivism over time or at any point between 2003 to 2024.

Appendix O. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by initial offense

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Assault	Count	37 _a	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	74.0%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	0.9%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.4%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Drug	Count	528 _a	229 _b	114 _b	52 _b	26 _{a, b}	--	--
	% within offense	54.9%	23.8%	11.9%	5.4%	2.7%	--	--
	% within recid	12.7%	9.6%	8.4%	7.3%	7.7%	--	--
	% of total	5.8%	2.5%	1.2%	0.6%	0.3%	--	--
Property	Count	170 _a	64 _{a, b}	31 _{a, b}	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	60.5%	22.8%	11.0%	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	4.1%	2.7%	2.3%	--	--	--	--
	% of total	1.9%	0.7%	0.3%	--	--	--	--
Sex	Count	16 _a	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within offense	88.9%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	0.4%	--	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.2%	--	--	--	--	--	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table. Murder and robbery are not shown in the table due to low sample sizes. Unknown/missing offenses significantly skewed results.

Appendix P. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial offense

		Frequency of Recidivism													
		Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assault		0.01													
Drug		0.07	0.03	0.01	0.01				0.06	0.03	0.01	0.01			
Property		0.03	0.01	0.01					0.02	0.01					
Robbery															

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table. Murder and robbery are not shown in the table due to low sample sizes. Unknown/missing offenses significantly skewed results.

Appendix Q. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by initial custody level

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Min	Count	2797 _a	1526 _{a, b}	843 _b	428 _b	201 _{a, b}	78 _{a, b}	25 _{a, b}
	% within status	47.4%	25.9%	14.3%	7.3%	3.4%	1.3%	0.4%
	% within recid	67.2%	63.8%	62.1%	60.2%	59.6%	62.4%	54.3%
	% of total	30.6%	16.7%	9.2%	4.7%	2.2%	0.9%	0.3%
Med	Count	896 _a	590 _{a, b}	357 _b	192 _b	99 _b	39 _{a, b}	17 _{a, b}
	% within status	40.8%	26.9%	16.3%	8.8%	4.5%	1.8%	0.8%
	% within recid	21.5%	24.7%	26.3%	27.0%	29.4%	31.2%	37.0%
	% of total	9.8%	6.5%	3.9%	2.1%	1.1%	0.4%	0.2%
Max	Count	43 _a	29 _a	18 _a	13 _a	--	--	--
	% within status	39.4%	26.6%	16.5%	11.9%	--	--	--
	% within recid	1.0%	1.2%	1.3%	1.8%	--	--	--
	% of total	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	--	--	--
Close	Count	279 _a	183 _a	114 _a	67 _a	31 _a	--	--
	% within status	40.8%	26.8%	16.7%	9.8%	4.5%	--	--
	% within recid	6.7%	7.7%	8.4%	9.4%	9.2%	--	--
	% of total	3.1%	2.0%	1.2%	0.7%	0.3%	--	--

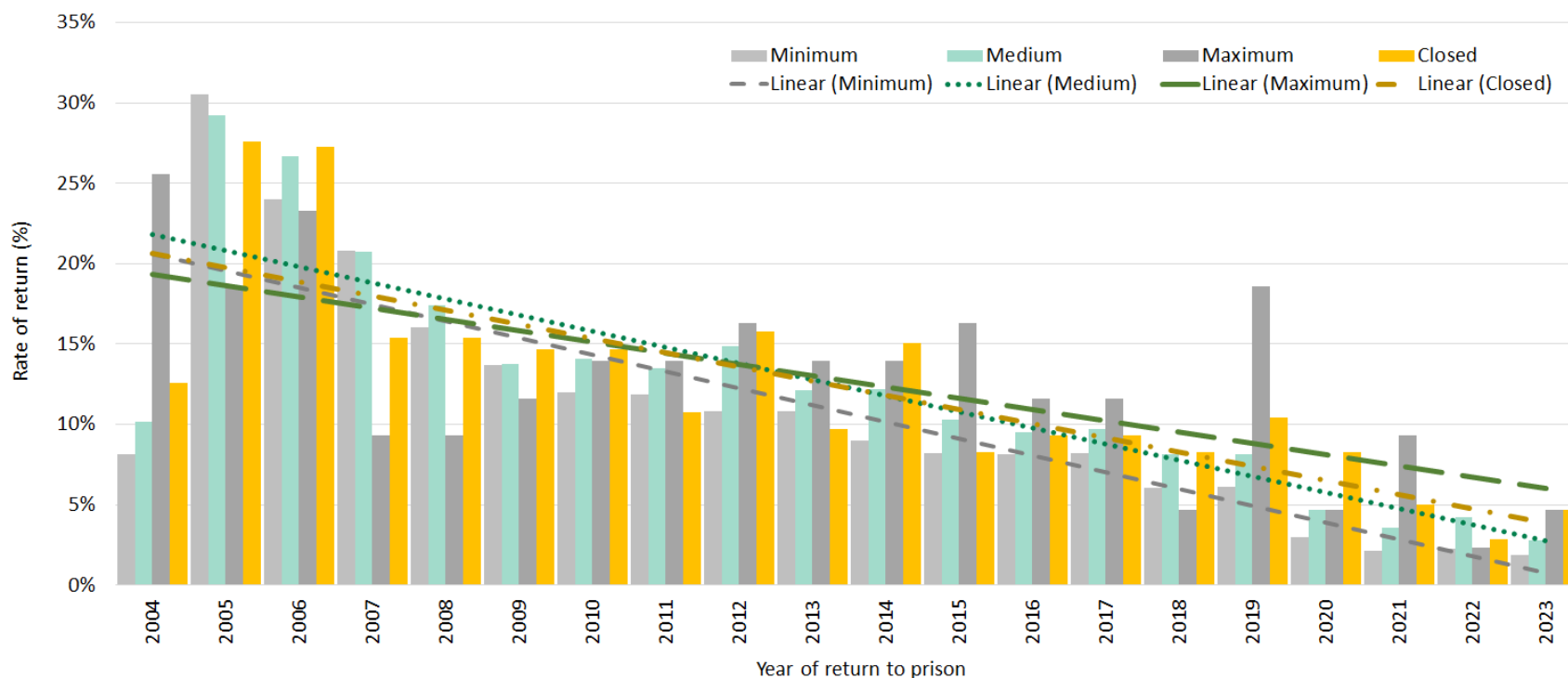
Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix R. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial custody level

		Frequency of Recidivism													
		Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Min		0.31	0.16	0.10	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.31	0.17	0.09	0.05	0.02	0.01	
Med		0.07	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01		0.10	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01		
Max															
Close		0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01			0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01			

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix S. Recidivism rates of recidivators by year of return and by initial custody level



Notes: Recidivators from sample of individuals released from DOC in CY 2004. Recidivators showed a minimum of one recidivist event up to 8 recidivist events following 19 years of release. Individuals could have multiple recidivistic events within the same day, month or year as an individual can be convicted for more than one offense, and therefore, there is potential that one individual can be present in multiple years as they can return to prison more than once. The appendix shows the rate of recidivism for each year using bar graphs with trend lines. The trend lines depict the general linear trend in the rate of recidivism between 2004 to 2023. The trend lines allow the reader to interpret the general trends (e.g., an increase or decrease) in recidivism with relative ease. However, the bar charts and trend lines do not allow for precise comparisons of year-over-year changes in rates of recidivism. It may not be immediately clear whether different demographic groups are experiencing similar or divergent patterns in the rate of recidivism over time or at any point between 2003 to 2024.

Appendix T. Crosstabulation for rates of recidivistic event by frequency and by initial admission region

		Frequency of Recidivism						
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
North Central	Count	149 _a	82 _a	47 _a	29 _a	13 _a	--	--
	% within region	46.0%	25.3%	14.5%	9.0%	4.0%	--	--
	% within recid	3.6%	3.4%	3.5%	4.1%	3.9%	--	--
	% of total	1.6%	0.9%	0.5%	0.3%	0.1%	--	--
North Puget Sound	Count	1321 _a	770 _a	421 _a	219 _a	99 _a	26 _a	--
	% within region	46.0%	26.8%	14.7%	7.6%	3.5%	0.9%	--
	% within recid	31.7%	32.2%	31.0%	30.8%	29.4%	20.8%	--
	% of total	14.5%	8.4%	4.6%	2.4%	1.1%	0.3%	--
North- east	Count	348 _a	194 _a	114 _a	61 _a	26 _a	10 _a	--
	% within region	46.1%	25.7%	15.1%	8.1%	3.4%	1.3%	--
	% within recid	8.4%	8.1%	8.4%	8.6%	7.7%	8.0%	--
	% of total	3.8%	2.1%	1.2%	0.7%	0.3%	0.1%	--
North- west	Count	185 _a	108 _a	61 _a	30 _a	18 _a	--	--
	% within region	44.6%	26.0%	14.7%	7.2%	4.3%	--	--
	% within recid	4.4%	4.5%	4.5%	4.2%	5.3%	--	--
	% of total	2.0%	1.2%	0.7%	0.3%	0.2%	--	--
Peninsula / Coastal	Count	314 _a	170 _a	97 _a	52 _a	27 _a	15 _a	--
	% within region	46.1%	25.0%	14.2%	7.6%	4.0%	2.2%	--
	% within recid	7.5%	7.1%	7.1%	7.3%	8.0%	12.0%	--
	% of total	3.4%	1.9%	1.1%	0.6%	0.3%	0.2%	--
South Central	Count	340 _a	199 _a	120 _a	67 _a	34 _a	13 _a	--
	% within region	43.8%	25.6%	15.4%	8.6%	4.4%	1.7%	--
	% within recid	8.2%	8.3%	8.8%	9.4%	10.1%	10.4%	--
	% of total	3.7%	2.2%	1.3%	0.7%	0.4%	0.1%	--
South Puget Sound	Count	1017 _a	600 _a	347 _a	176 _a	81 _a	34 _a	13 _a
	% within region	44.8%	26.4%	15.3%	7.8%	3.6%	1.5%	0.6%
	% within recid	24.4%	25.1%	25.6%	24.8%	24.0%	27.2%	28.3%
	% of total	11.1%	6.6%	3.8%	1.9%	0.9%	0.4%	0.1%
Southeast	Count	25 _a	12 _a	--	--	--	--	--
	% within region	49.0%	23.5%	--	--	--	--	--
	% within recid	0.6%	0.5%	--	--	--	--	--
	% of total	0.3%	0.1%	--	--	--	--	--
Southwest	Count	461 _a	254 _a	143 _a	73 _a	37 _a	15 _a	--
	% within region	46.5%	25.6%	14.4%	7.4%	3.7%	1.5%	--
	% within recid	11.1%	10.6%	10.5%	10.3%	11.0%	12.0%	--
	% of total	5.0%	2.8%	1.6%	0.8%	0.4%	0.2%	--

Notes: The column proportions test within the crosstabulation table assigns a subscript letter to the categories of the column variable. For each pair of columns, the column proportions (for each row) are compared using a z test. If a pair of values is significantly different, the values have different subscript letters assigned to them. Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table.

Appendix U. Percentage of recidivism and recidivistic events by frequency and by initial admission region

	Frequency of Recidivism													
	Recidivators							Recidivistic Event						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
North Central	0.02	0.01						0.02	0.01	0.01				
North PS	0.13	0.08	0.05	0.03	0.02			0.14	0.08	0.05	0.02	0.01		
Northeast	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01				0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01			
Northwest	0.02	0.01	0.01					0.02	0.01	0.01				
P/C	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01				0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01			
South Central	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01			0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01			
South PS	0.10	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01		0.11	0.07	0.04	0.02	0.01		
Southeast														
Southwest	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01			0.05	0.03	0.02	0.01			

Notes: Low sample sizes might skew results; due to low N's, some data were removed, and the eighth frequency of recidivism is not shown in table. PS = Puget Sound; P/C = Peninsula/Coastal