C 5700.8 R297e 1998 c. 3

RECIDIVISM IN OKLAHOMA:
Examining the Problem

by
Oklahoma Criminal Justice Resource Center
June 1998

Nicholas S. Dean, Research Assistant, Principal Investigator
Christopher M. Hill, Research Assistant
Krista R. Schmitz, Research Assistant
Michael Connelly, Director, Oklahoma Statistical Analysis Center
Paul O'Connell, Director, Oklahoma Criminal Justice Resource Center

RECIDIVISM IN OKLAHOMA:
Examining the Problem

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary.....i

Introduction.....1-2

Purpose of The Study.....2-3

Data.....3-4

Methodology.....4

Demographic Data.....4-7

Program Data.....7-9

Sentence Data.....10-11

Misconduct Data.....11-13

Other Factors Influencing Recidivism.....13-14

Conclusion.....14-15

References.....16

SUMMARY OF FIGURES

Figure 1.Oklahoma Recidivism Rate..... 4

Figure 2.Recidivists by Gender.....5

Figure 3.Program Participation.....9

Figure 4.Recidivism by Adjudicating County.....10

SUMMARY OF TABLES

Table 1.Recidivism by Race.....6

Table 2.Test of Adult Basic Education Reading.....6

Table 3.Test of Adult Basic Education Math.....7

Table 4.Program Facilities Non-recidivist.....8

Table 5.Program Facilities Recidivist.....8

Table 6.Percentages on Non-recidivist among.....
Program Participants.....9

Table 7.Offenses Initially Committed by Recidivist.....11

Table 8.Summary of Misconducts Reported 13

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The growing costs of incarcerating inmates have caused concern around the country. A contributing factor to this problem is inmate recidivism. The Oklahoma Department of Public Safety and the Oklahoma Criminal Justice Resource Center, with its Statistical Analysis Center, coordinated this study of the problem of recidivism in Oklahoma in response to this issue. Review of the data collected from correctional records on inmates released in 1992 and followed up in 1995 indicates that Oklahoma has a recidivism rate of 28%. Specific data sets were reviewed on program effects, sentence data, and misconducts to determine the impact of this data on the recidivism rate.

The data indicate that the facility in which the program was taken and completed had an effect on inmate recidivism. Some facilities showed lower rates of recidivism by those enrolled in the programs offered at the facility. Other facility data indicate that there were a substantial number of recidivists originating from the facility. Program data indicated that some programs within the Department of Corrections have a significant impact on reducing inmate recidivism. The data indicate that of all inmates who were enrolled in programs, a significant number did not recidivate. Sentence data indicated that the majority of the recidivists in Oklahoma originate from Oklahoma County, Tulsa County, Cleveland County, Muskogee County, and Creek County. Sentence data on offenses committed indicate that Property and Drug/Alcohol crimes were most prevalent among recidivists. Data on inmate disciplinary misconducts indicated that non-recidivists are involved in more rule violations during incarceration than recidivists, who, in turn were more likely to commit new crimes behind bars. Information regarding "On The Street Factors" was presented and shown to impact the recidivism rate.

The results highlighted in this summary indicate that the Oklahoma recidivism rate is affected by a number of different factors. The factors highlighted in this study provide significant information on the issue of inmate recidivism. The data presented provide information that outlines the general trends in inmate recidivism in Oklahoma from which further discussions can begin and resolutions explored.

RECIDIVISM IN OKLAHOMA:
Examining the Problem

Introduction

In 1996 the Oklahoma Criminal Justice Resource Center (OCJRC) completed the first phase of a two-phase study of recidivism generally and in Oklahoma specifically (Appendix). *Recidivism in Oklahoma: Defining the Problem* (1996) outlined common problems with defining recidivism and factors which must be considered in any definition process. Among those factors for consideration were:

1. The time period from release to recidivism and the effect of programs on time not incarcerated;
2. The behavior(s) used to determine recidivism, such as a new offense, arrest, technical violation, conviction, or incarceration;
3. The relevance of interstate and national data for counting recidivism in one state from an offense in a different state;
4. The criminal justice status of the offender when recidivating, such as on bond, probation, etc., and the type of the earlier offense, such as juvenile or adult;
5. The uses and purpose of the data to determine recidivism; and
6. The differences among jurisdictions in defining recidivism and determinations of data comparability (pp.4-5).

Citing Beck and Shipley (1987), the first phase reported that "the majority of uses of recidivism tend to fit around re-arrest, re-conviction, and re-incarceration" (p.3). The difficulties of creating a "one-size-fits-all" definition of recidivism, then, are clear. Depending on the purposes of the definition, and the data and offenders that the definition is to fit, one can easily develop multiple and confusing definitions even within a single jurisdiction. When multiple jurisdictions are included in the formulation, the result is the definitional chaos which brought on the first phase of this study.

For example, if a researcher or policymaker is concerned about the cost-effective allocation of law enforcement resources, re-conviction and/or re-incarceration are at best secondary. Re-arrest rates, by offender, offense type, and/or time periods, will

be key. If judging program effectiveness is of importance, re-arrest may not be as convincing as re-conviction, while re-incarceration will be relatively less important. If projection of needs for prison space is vital, one must spell out the policy questions concisely, choose the proper data and measures for determining "recidivism," and identify which "recidivism" measure is being used--"arrest," "conviction," or "incarceration."

For the purposes of the second phase of this report, we are interested in the relationship of prior prison incarceration on later prison incarceration, especially when the prior incarceration included programs designed to provide skills associated with rehabilitation. These data will be used to make recommendations on program usage within Oklahoma prisons in order to reduce resource demands on those prisons. Because our data are limited to Oklahoma, we focus only on prior and re-incarceration in Oklahoma prisons. We will also accept the three-year time period found to be the median for states by Camp and Camp (1997) and advocated by Waldo and Griswold (1979). Our data will cover the period of releases in 1992 and subsequent state correctional populations in 1993, 1994, and 1995 to discover which released offenders reappeared in the system and when.

Specifically, we will examine the following:

1. The demographic characteristics of the recidivist and non-recidivist populations (as defined above) for the period;
2. The program participation of the two populations, by program site and type;
3. The types of offenders associated with recidivism, by offense type and county of offense; and by conduct while incarcerated;
4. The qualitative and other factors for which we do not have data but which have been implicated by other studies as influential on "incarcerative recidivism."

Purpose of the Study

Inmate recidivism is rapidly becoming one of the most important issues in discussions about corrections because of the impact that returning inmates have on the budgets of state correctional departments. In assessing the various aspects that contribute to the probability of previously incarcerated inmates recidivating, one is in the position to estimate the future inmate populations. This allows those in the state legislature to make informed decisions on budget projections which will

accurately reflect the numbers of inmates who will be incarcerated at any given time. A study on inmate recidivism within the Oklahoma Department of Corrections will also provide feedback information on the impact of various programs that have been initiated to assess the usefulness of budgeting such programs and how each relates to keeping former inmates from recidivating.

Faced with the problem of a steady increase in inmate populations and growing costs of incarceration, the State of Oklahoma has initiated various studies to identify resolutions to this growing problem. This project has been initiated to study the factors that contribute to inmate recidivism. As stated earlier, recidivism in this study is defined as the re-conviction and re-incarceration within a three year time period for any former state inmate previously convicted and incarcerated in Oklahoma. The purpose of this study is to acquaint all those concerned with the problem of inmate recidivism in Oklahoma with the dynamics of the problem and illustrate how various programs within the Oklahoma Department of Corrections impact the probability of an inmate returning to incarceration.

Data

The data for this study are taken from a cohort of prisoners released from custody in 1992. As the recidivism literature and practices of other states consistently measure recidivism based on a follow-up time of three years, this study looked at 1995 records for the return rate of these prisoners after a three year period. For example, a well cited review of recent literature on the issue of recidivism (Waldo and Griswold, 1979) states that " Until it has been demonstrated that shorter follow-up periods are adequate for evaluating programs, three year periods should be used in assessing recidivism" (p.246). Standardizing the measure of recidivism in this way leaves the reader in the position compare the results of one state with that of other states in the determination of the recidivism rates across states.

It is also theorized that program participation while incarcerated will decrease the likelihood of an inmate recidivating. Thus, this study uses follow-up data after three years as important information on the impact of programs on the recidivism rate. These data also provide information on offender characteristics that are useful in the study of inmate recidivism. The offender data obtained illuminate the general factors about those who recidivate. This information can be used in making informed

predictions of the rate of recidivism by the type of offender. Therefore, offender data are another source of predictive information that can be used to better understand the characteristics of the offenders that are more likely to recidivate.

Methodology

The data for this study, obtained from the Oklahoma Department of Corrections records on its inmate population, were collected in 1995 to determine the rate of inmates returning to the correctional system. These data focused on key variables such as demographics, programs, sentence data, and misconducts and were used to generate frequencies and cross-tabulations to illustrate the general trends in inmate recidivism within the Oklahoma Corrections system. A source book of variables and variable codes was compiled to facilitate a coherent structure and useful data analysis tool for further examination of the data. This study used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyze these data. All data were input into specific variable fields and analyzed based on frequencies and percentages pertaining to the variable category.

Demographic Data

Of those released from prison in Oklahoma in 1992, follow up data indicate that 28% of those released returned to incarceration. The 28% recidivism rate for Oklahoma inmates released during this time period indicated that roughly 1 out of every 4 incarcerated and released prisoners return to custody within a three year time period. This rate of recidivism coincided with other state recidivism rates. A January 13, 1997 report from The Minnesota Office of the Legislative Auditor, Program

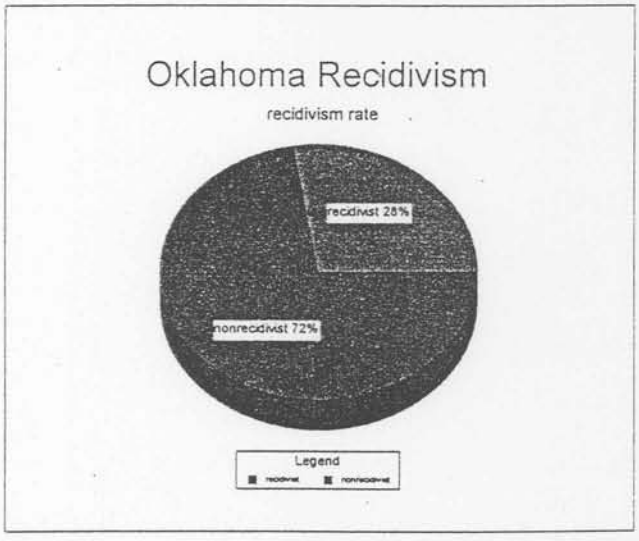

Figure 1

Evaluation Division, indicated that, among released prisoners tracked for three years, 28% were imprisoned for new offenses. In another study done by Clarke and Harrison (1992) in North Carolina in 1989, the data from the study indicated a inmate recidivism rate of 27.3%. Other national data on recidivism rates for various states consistently indicated a rate of recidivism for former inmates of approximately 28%.

The figures in the determination of the recidivism rates within Oklahoma and across other states used data drawn from both male and female recidivists. In the Oklahoma study on recidivism, 89.0% of the recidivists were male and 11.0% were female. The high number of male recidivists compared to female recidivists indicated that males in Oklahoma were more likely to recidivate than females. These facts indicated a significant difference between recidivism rates by gender. The Oklahoma recidivism rate can be further examined by looking at the race of the recidivist. In this study, 47.8% of the recidivists were White, 41.2% were Black, 8.3% American Indian, 2.1% Hispanic, 0.28% Mexican, 0.14% Other, and 0.07% Asian.

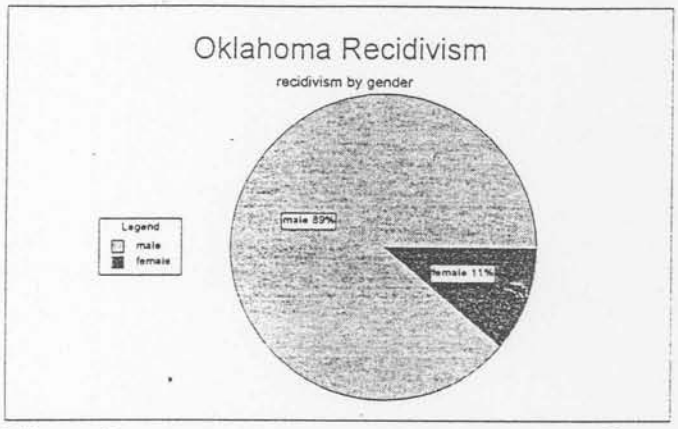

Figure 2

The demographic profile data reviewed for this study included information pertaining to the reading and math aptitudes of the inmates during incarceration. Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE) reading and math scores were compared between recidivists and non-recidivists to determine if a correlation existed between aptitude and incarceration status. The data obtained and tabulated showed that recidivists in Oklahoma scored higher on both aptitude tests than non-recidivists. The differences in mean scores for the two groups on both tests were found to be significant at the 0.05 level using the T-test procedure and Levene's Test for Equality of Variances.

Table 1. Oklahoma Recidivism by Race	
White	47.8%
Black	41.2%
American Indian	8.3%
Hispanic	2.1%
Mexican	0.28%
Other	0.14%
Asian	0.07%

Table 2. Most Recent Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) Score on Reading		
Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Non-Recidivist	5.66	5.37
Recidivist	8.02	4.30
Mean Difference= -2.36 T-test for the difference between two means indicates significant difference at the 0.05 level. Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F=468.5 P=.000		

Table 3. Most Recent Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) Score on Math		
Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Non-Recidivist	4.83	4.74
Recidivist	6.86	3.86
Mean Difference= -2.03 T-test for the difference between two means indicates a significant difference at the 0.05 level. Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F=344.6 P=.000		

This finding that recidivists scored higher on reading and math aptitude tests than the non-recidivists at the time of first incarceration is interesting given that one would normally assume that recidivists would have lower aptitudes than non-recidivists. The data, however, indicate an inverse relationship with respect to the incarceration status and aptitude. This finding opens the way for further investigation of this relationship in subsequent studies on inmate recidivism within the Oklahoma Department of Corrections.

In summary, the Demographic data presented on the characteristics of recidivism in Oklahoma in the period studied indicated an overall recidivism rate of 28% for former inmates. Recidivism rates were found to be higher among men, whites, and blacks. Information pertaining to inmate aptitude on TABE reading and TABE math tests during first incarceration indicated that recidivists scored higher on both reading and math skills tests than non-recidivists.

Program Data

This study surveyed data on program participation and completion by Oklahoma inmates using various variable categories. The categories that provided the most salient data on the impact of program participation on recidivism were (1) facility where program was completed and (2) programs with the highest enrollment and completion. As shown in Tables 4 and 5, the facilities with the highest number of inmates completing the program and not returning to incarceration after release (that

is, with the lowest recidivism) were John Lilley Correctional Center 74%, Ouachita Correctional Center with 71%, Jack E. Brannon with 69.2%, Dick Conner Correctional Center with 60%, and William S. Key Correctional Center with 59%. Facilities with the highest percentage of program completions by inmates that returned to incarceration (or, with the highest recidivism) were Oklahoma State Penitentiary with 45.4% recidivists, Oklahoma State Reformatory with 40.9%, Joseph Harp Correctional Center 40.7%, and Howard Mcleod Correctional Center with 40.0%.

Table 4. Facilities with the Highest Percentage of Inmates Completing Programs and not returning to incarceration.

Facility	Percentage Completing and No Return
John Lilley Correctional Center	74.0%
Ouachita Correctional Center	71.0%
Jack E. Brannon Correctional Center	69.2%
Dick Conner Correctional Center	60.0%
William S. Key Correctional Center	59.0%

Table 5. Facilities with the Highest Percentage of Inmates Completing Programs and Returning to Incarceration.

Facility	Percentage Completing and Returning
Oklahoma State Penitentiary	45.4%
Oklahoma State Reformatory	40.9%
Joseph Harp Correctional Center	40.7%
Howard McLeod Correctional Center	40.0%

These data indicated that there was a difference in recidivism rates based on the facility where the programs were taken and completed in this time period studied and, therefore, facility should be an important consideration for policymakers when determining the effectiveness of prison and programs on recidivism.

The next area of interest for this study that is significant in understanding the problem of inmate recidivism in Oklahoma is the impact of program participation on recidivism. Program data on inmate participation indicated that 68.5% of all inmates enrolled in programs within the Oklahoma Correctional System and released in 1992 did not recidivate. The programs with the highest percentages of enrollment by non-recidivists were ABE (Adult Basic Education) 73.7%, Computer Assisted Instruction 72.7%, Inmate Tutoring 69.8%, GED 65.1%, and MRT (Moral Reconation Therapy) 60.7%. Other programs, such as Daily Living Skills and Vo-Tech, had too few participants to draw statistical conclusions, although most had more non-recidivists than recidivists participating. This information indicated that participation in some programs did have an effect on keeping former inmates from recidivating.

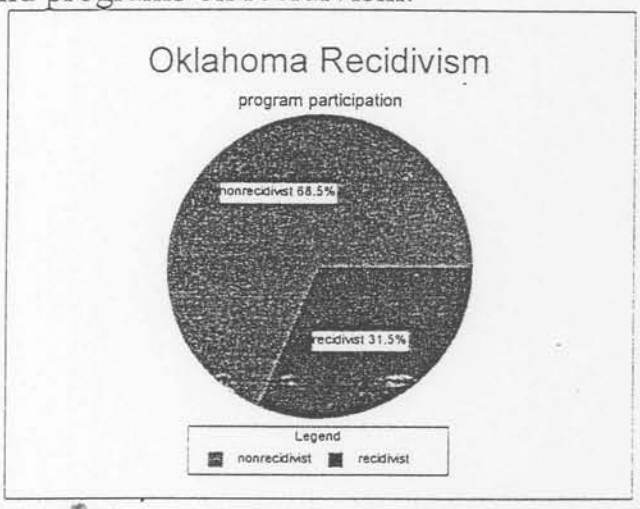

Figure 3

Table 6. Percentages on Non-Recidivists among Program Participants		
Program	% of participants not recidivating	% of participants recidivating
Adult Basic Education	73.8%	26.2%
General Education Degree (GED)	65.2%	34.8%
Computer Assisted Instru	72.7%	27.3%
Inmate Tutoring Program	70.0%	30.0%
MRT	60.8%	39.2%

Sentence Data

This section highlights sentence data on adjudicating counties with the highest number of recidivists and the types of crimes most frequently committed. The discussion on adjudicating county data illustrates the counties from which the majority of the recidivists originate. Sentence data are important in this study because they identify the crimes that most recidivists committed at the prior incarceration.

Adjudicating county data taken from Oklahoma's 77 counties indicated that the top five counties with the highest percentage of recidivists were Oklahoma 35.9%, Tulsa 16.6%, Cleveland 3.0%, Muskogee 2.7%, and Creek 2.2%. The remaining 72 counties taken together made up the other 39.6% of the recidivists in the period studied. The problem of the large number of recidivists from these five counties may be due to the number of arrested,

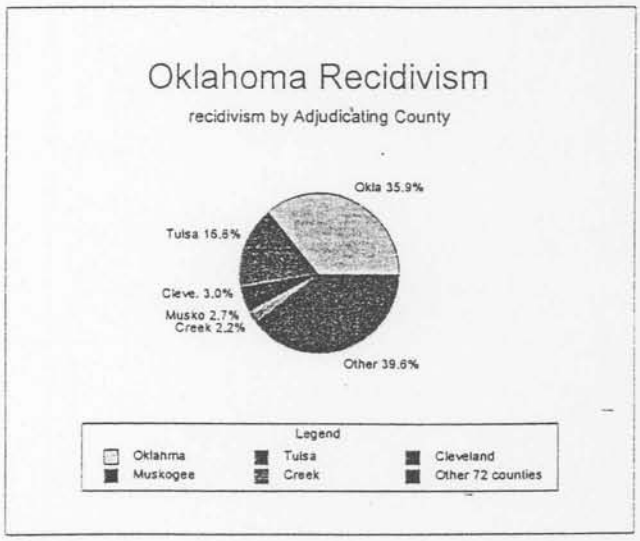

Figure 4

convicted, and incarcerated inmates who are handled by these counties on a regular basis or it may stem from the characteristics of the inmates themselves. The data do not allow exact determination at this time.

Among offenses initially committed by recidivists in Oklahoma, property crimes and alcohol and drug offenses were most frequent. The sentence data showed that Burglary-2nd Degree was the most prevalent offense, accounting for 16.6% of the all offenses initially committed by recidivists. This offense was followed by Driving Under the Influence of Alcohol, 16.4%: 15.1% Illegal Possession of Controlled and Dangerous Substances, Illegal Distribution of Controlled and Dangerous Substances 13.0%, Receiving/ Possession/ Concealing Stolen Property 11.7%. Other sentence data on offenses initially committed by recidivists showed that 5.1% of the offenses were for Larceny of Merchandise from a Retailer, 4.9%, for Obtaining Property Under False Pretenses, and 4.5% for Grand Larceny.

Table 7. Offenses Initially Committed by Recidivists

Offense Type	Percentage Committed by Recidivist
Burglary-2nd Degree	16.6%
Driving Under the Influence of Alcohol	16.4%
Illegal Possession of Controlled and Dangerous Substances	15.1%
Illegal Distribution of Controlled and Dangerous Substances	13.0%
Receiving/Possession/Concealing Stolen Property	11.7%
Larceny of Merchandise from a Retailer	5.1%
Obtaining Property Under False Pretenses	4.9%
Grand Larceny	4.5%

Misconduct Data

Data on disciplinary infractions by recidivists will be examined in this section of the study. This aspect of the recidivism study is important in determining if recidivists are more involved in actions that are not in compliance with institutional policies and procedures than non-recidivists. The data will be surveyed in this section to ascertain the types of misconducts that were filed against the entire population generally and against recidivists and non-recidivists separately.

Data on the types of misconducts reported indicated that the top categories of reported misconducts for both recidivists and non-recidivists were Failure to Obey Verbal or Written Order 21.7%, Employment Misconduct 9.5%, Under the Influence of Illegal Substance 8.1%, Using Abusive/Obscene Language 6.3%, Possession of Another's Property 5.0%, Battery of Another Person 4.6%. Other Misconduct categories of interest were Outside Defined Boundaries within Facility 4.5%, Un-excused Absence 4.3%, Possession of Unauthorized Substance 2.8%, Violation of City, State, or Federal law 2.7%, and Failure to Comply with Extended Limits of Confinement 2.6%.

Comparing the misconducts between recidivists and non-recidivists, however, revealed interesting differences. Data on misconducts by recidivists indicated the top categories were Under the Influence of Illegal Substances 5.5%, Aiding or Abetting 4.7%, Employment Misconduct 2.7%, Failure to Obey Verbal or Written Order 1.9%, Taking Over Part of the Facility 1.5%, Possession of Unauthorized Substance 1.4%, Outside Defined Boundaries within Facility 1.4%, and Possession of Another's Property 1.3%. Data on misconducts by non-recidivists for the categories highlighted indicates that, 19.8% Failure to Obey Verbal or Written Order, 6.8% Employment Misconduct, 3.66% for Possession of Another's Property, 3.1% Outside Defined Boundaries, 2.6% were of Under the Influence of Illegal Substances, and 1.4% Possession of Unauthorized Substance. In other words, recidivists appeared to receive more misconducts for new offenses whereas non-recidivists received more misconducts for technical violations of prison rules.

Table 8. Summary of Misconducts Reported		
Type of Misconduct	Non-Recidivist	Recidivist
Under the Influence	2.6%	5.5%
Aiding and Abetting	-----	4.7%
Taking Over Part of the Facility	-----	1.5%
Failure to Obey Verbal or Written Order	19.8%	1.9%
Employment Misconduct	6.8%	2.7%
Possession of Another's Property	3.6%	1.3%
Outside Defined Boundaries	3.1%	1.4%
Possession of Unauthorized Substances	1.4%	1.4%

Other Factors Influencing Recidivism

The post-release experiences of previously incarcerated inmates varies by the individual. Some released inmates take the incarceration experience and learn vital lessons about being a productive member of society. Others develop negative and vindictive attitudes toward the correctional system for the punishment that has been inflicted and never return to society in a productive capacity. For these individuals, the experience of incarceration is so positively detrimental to their existing psychologies and philosophies that readjustment as a functional individual in society is never fully achieved. Plagued by life outside prison, the decisions to be made, the

work that has to be done, and the relationships that must be nurtured, they revert to criminal behavior as a response to the overwhelming and often insurmountable challenges to surviving outside.

The problems that are experienced after release are too numerous to treat with sufficient depth in a study of this nature. What is vital to note is that along with these statistical data presented on recidivism in Oklahoma, it is important to give some investigative attention to " On the Street Factors." On the Street Factors include the environmental influences and psychological readjustment factors outside of prison that have an impact on previously released inmates in their attempts to avoid future conviction and incarceration. The outside factors that affect inmate recidivism entail a wide range of variables, including such things as personal history, criminal history, lifestyle, substance abuse, age, and cognitive predispositions. What is important to understand when looking at On the Street Factors that contribute to inmate recidivism is the overwhelming outside influences that produce stressors in the released inmate's life. These environmental stressors make incarceration more appealing than living outside of the penal institution. The pressures of outside life while incarcerated are removed and replaced with factors that stem from the incarceration experience. The incarceration experience removes the inmates from those natural pressures of outside life and replaces them with those only found in the incarceration experience. Thus, when released to the streets again, the inmates possess few coping mechanisms to address everyday outside pressures in a socially acceptable manner.

Upon being released, the inmates may suffer from problems with family instability, decreased chances for employment, drug/alcohol issues, and prior criminal associations and activities, which all contribute negatively to the possibility of released inmates remaining free. When there are no coping skills in place or when existing skills are replaced with those found in the incarceration experience, the likelihood of a successful readjustment into society is minimal. Thus, recidivism becomes highly probable and hinges only on the releasees getting caught in the act. In the development of correctional programs, it is necessary to take into account the range and impact of On the Street realities of released inmates if one is truly committed to better understanding the problem and successfully reducing criminal recidivism. The evidence presented in this study indicates that some prison programs are effective in helping to deal with On the Street factors and that certain types of misconducts may point to offenders not yet ready to deal with those factors.

Conclusion

The Oklahoma Department of Corrections, in conjunction with the Oklahoma Criminal Justice Resource Center and its Statistical Analysis Center, has worked toward a better understanding of the problem of inmate recidivism in Oklahoma. This study was initiated to define recidivism, study recidivism in Oklahoma, and examine the possible impact of various categories of data on recidivism. In meeting these objectives, this report serves as an indicator of the general trends in the Oklahoma recidivism.

The data presented revealed that the Oklahoma recidivism rate is consistent with those found across the nation. The data on program participation showed that many programs offered within the Oklahoma Department of Corrections have an impact on keeping former inmates from recidivating. The data consistently indicated that program participation and completion could have a negative impact on the recidivism rate. The sentence data presented indicated that recidivists were more involved in Property and Drug/Alcohol crimes than any other offense. Misconduct data surveyed for this report indicated that non-recidivists were involved in different disciplinary proceedings than recidivists. This is an interesting finding which must be further investigated to tease out the salient factors in this respect. The 'On The Street' factors that were alluded to in this report established a theoretical basis for understanding why some inmates recidivate and others do not.

This report was compiled to illustrate some of the factors that are contributory to a more in-depth understanding of this issue. The data presented do not indicate an unusual failure in the Oklahoma corrections system to keep former inmates from recidivating. The state's recidivism rate is comparable to national averages, and the categories of data that were reviewed showed an impact on preventing recidivism. Keeping these findings in mind, it is important to continue this present study into future. This would be useful in illuminating deeper relationships that are important in assessing this issue and provide further information for discussions of this issue in the future. This report serves only as a first step toward understanding the problem and providing information for dialogue on the issue of inmate recidivism in the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, Oklahoma Department of Public Safety, Oklahoma Legislature, and all others concerned with the issue of recidivism in Oklahoma.

REFERENCES

Beck, A. & Shipley, B. (1987). Recidivism of young parolees. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report.*

Beck, A. & Shipley, B. (1989). Recidivism of prisoners released in 1983. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report.*

Beirne, P. (1993). *Inventing Criminology: Essays on the rise of Homo Criminalis.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Camp, C. G. & Camp, G. M. (1997). The Corrections Yearbook. *The United States Adult Correctional Systems.*

Clarke, S. H. & Harrison, A.L. (1989). Recidivism of Criminal Offenders Assigned to Community Correctional Programs or Released from Prison in North Carolina in 1989. *Institute of Government, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*

Jones, M. & Ross, D.L. (1997). *What Works? What Matters? Recidivism among Probationers in North Carolina.* East Carolina University, Criminal Justice Program (NC).

Minnesota Office of the Legislative Auditor, Program Evaluation Division (1997). Recidivism of Adult Felons. *Research Bulletin*, 13, January.

Waldo, G. & Griswold, D. (1979). Issues in the measurement of recidivism. In Lee Sechrest, Susan O. White, and Elizabeth D. Brown, eds., *The Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders: Problems and Prospects.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences.

Zamble, E. & Quinsey V.L. (1997). *The Criminal Recidivism Process.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY.