

Essex County Sheriff's Department Kevin F. Coppinger, Sheriff

2017 One-Year Recidivism

June 2019

Data collected: January - December 2018 Inmates released: January – December 2017 2017

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Essex County Sheriff's Department Mission Statement

The Essex County Sheriff 's Department's top priority is to protect residents in the region from criminal offenders. This is accomplished by:

- Housing inmates in a secure and fair manner.
- Practicing correctional policies that comply with all local, state and federal laws.
- Using innovative correctional approaches that are in accord with the mission.
- Informing and educating the public about the department through the media, tours of the facility and public appearances by the sheriff, administrators, K-9 unit and uniformed personnel.
- Providing a professional working environment for the staff, which takes into account at all times their welfare, safety and opportunities for professional advancement.
- Providing rehabilitation and academic training to offenders while they are incarcerated, so they will not repeat their mistakes once they are released.
- Devising and structuring post-release supervision plans for offenders, to assist them in transitioning back into their respective communities.
- Partnering with local, state and federal law enforcement agencies in the development of campaigns and programs that fight crime and promote public-safety initiatives.

Research and Statistics Division Mission Statement

The Research and Statistics Division of the Essex County Sheriff's Department strives to remain on the cutting edge of data collection, analysis, and presentation. Through diligence, integrity and attention to detail the division will provide relevant and highly reliable information.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Since becoming Sheriff of Essex County in January 2017, Kevin F. Coppinger has maintained that "Reintegration begins day one." This focus ensures that each inmate receives comprehensive initial screening and individualized attention while in the department's custody and makes them better prepared for community re-entry. In a time when our state is facing unprecedented rates of opioid use and abuse, Sheriff Coppinger is at the forefront of reintegration through his commitment to providing state of the art substance abuse treatment and mental health services to some of our most vulnerable individuals. Thank you Sheriff Coppinger for your commitment to the care, custody and control of our incarcerated population, and thank you to every ECSD employee for the work you do every day.

ECSD OVERVIEW

ECSD serves the 34 communities and 800,000 people of Essex County. ECSD staff operate three correctional facilities, a Civil Process Division and three Offices of Community Corrections, resulting in care of approximately 2,000 inmates at any time. With approximately 9,000 inmate bookings each year, the department's employees remain dedicated to public safety and care for those individuals in their custody.

Superintendent Aaron Eastman oversees the Middleton medium-security facility for men, which houses approximately 1,200 inmates. This number includes pre-trial inmates, individuals held overnight or a weekend for local or state police departments (i.e. safe-keeps) and sentenced inmates who do not qualify to be housed in the department's minimum-security facility. The Middleton facility also houses both female and male detox units as well as a temporary detainment area for female inmates.

Superintendent Michael Marks oversees the Essex County Pre-Release and Re-Entry Center (ECPRC), which is ECSD's minimum-security facility for men. Located in Lawrence, it houses inmates with less serious records as well as those who are approaching the end of their sentences and have earned the privilege of being transferred to the lower-security facility. The facility houses sentenced inmates and supervises men on the Electronic Monitoring Program (EMP). The ECPRC staff's primary mission is to provide reintegration services for inmates through the "step-down" process, a method that classifies and houses inmates according to their criminal history, risk level, rehabilitation needs and conduct while incarcerated. This is reflected in the recidivism rate for each facility.

Assistant Superintendent Kerri Patterson oversees the Women in Transition (WIT) facility in Salisbury, which is a female pre-release facility that houses approximately 24 women. The WIT is also responsible for women on the Electronic Monitoring Program. All residents have been transferred from MCI Framingham.

In 2017 the Essex County Sheriff's Department processed 9,215 inmate admittances: 1,966 safekeeps; 5,865 pre-trial inmates and 1,384 sentenced inmates. The 2017 average daily population (ADP) for each facility is listed in Table one below.

Table 1. 2017 Average Daily Population by Facility								
Facility	Sentenced	Pre-trial	Safekeeps	Fed./State	Male Detox	Female Detox	EMP*	Total ADP
Midd.	420	684	12	4	41	31	n/a	1,192
ECPRC	185	26	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	36	247
WIT	19	0	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	9	28

*EMP: Electronic Monitoring Program (bracelet)

Offenses for Which Incarcerated

As shown in Table two below, of sentenced inmates released in 2017, straight assault and assault & battery (A&B) accounted for almost one-in-five (18%) of offenses for which inmates were sentenced to ECSD. Accounting for the remaining top five offenses were drug related crimes (16%), robbery/burglary/larceny (10%), motor vehicle related crimes (10%), breaking & entering (6%), and OUI (6%). Drug offenses and OUIs accounted for a combined 22% of offenses (consistent with the 2016 rate of 21%), highlighting that substance abuse remains prevalent among sentenced inmates.

Table 2. Offenses for Which Incarcerated	
Offense	(%)
Assault/A&B	18
Drug Related	16
Robbery/Burglary/Larceny	10
Motor Vehicle Related	10
Breaking & Entering	6
OUI	6
Abuse Prevention Act/Restraining Order/209A Violations	4
Receiving Stolen Property	3
Firearms/Weapons	3
Shoplifting	3
Sex Crimes	2
Threat/Attempt to Commit a Crime	2
Vandalism/Destruction of Property	2
Non-payment of Child Support	2
Fraud/Bribery/Forgery	2
Parole Violation	2
Fugitive from Justice	1
Witness Intimidation	1
Resisting Arrest	1
Other*	6
* "Other" includes offenses with less than 1% response.	

Communities to Which Released

Lawrence, Lynn and Haverhill perennially receive the most people released by ECSD. This trend continued for inmates released in 2017: 16% went to Lawrence, 13% to Lynn, and 13% to Haverhill. Seventy-one percent remained in Essex County and 93% remained in Massachusetts (see Table 3).

Table 3. Communities to Which Released	
City	(%)
Lawrence	16
Lynn	13
Haverhill	13
Salem	5
Peabody	4
Methuen	3
Gloucester	2
Beverly	2
Amesbury	2
Saugus	2
Salisbury	1
Danvers	1
Newburyport	1
North Andover	1
Other Communities in Essex County	5
Out of Essex County	22
Out of Massachusetts	7

INTRODUCTION, PURPOSE & REPORT DETAILS

This report presents the one-year recidivism rate for sentenced inmates released in 2017. Recidivism is considered by ECSD to be a conviction, new arraignment or probation/parole violation occurring within one year of an inmate's release.

Method

Information for this report was gathered from ECSD's Offender Management System (OMS) as well as the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Information System (CJIS).

The Released Cohort

All participants in this study were released from the custody of ECSD in 2017. Sixty-seven percent were released from the department's Middleton facility, 28% from the ECPRC and 5% from WIT. Of former inmates that recidivated, 72% were released from the Middleton facility, 24% from the ECPRC and 4% from WIT. This pattern is consistent with results from the 2016 recidivism study.

Measures

Recidivism was calculated by dividing the number of former sentenced inmates *who recidivated* (n = 814) by the number *who were released* in 2017 (N = 1,778). This resulted in a one-year recidivism rate of **45.78%.**

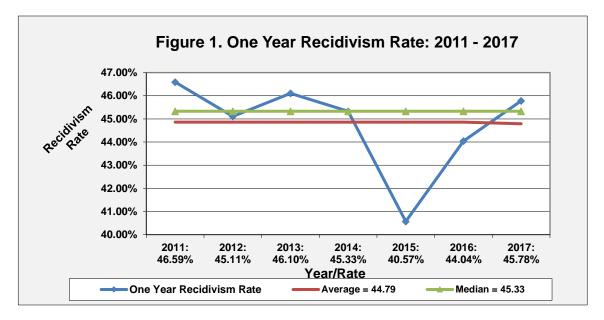
Data Collection

Data on recidivism were obtained by running a Board of Probation (BOP) on each inmate one year after his or her release. A BOP, which is a type of Criminal Offender Record Information (CORI), is a Massachusetts criminal history and court activity report which details arraignments, offenses, court of origin, and parole or probation violation notices or findings. It also includes the overall disposition of each case which could be a conviction, acquittal, continued without a finding (CWOF), dismissal, probation imposed by a court, or default statuses by a defendant. ECSD's ability to view these data makes the BOP a highly useful resource for determining if a former inmate has recidivated according to the parameters of this report.

RECIDIVISM STATISTICS

During 2017, 1,778 sentenced inmates were released from the custody of the Essex County Sheriff's Department. Of these former inmates, 814 recidivated, resulting in a one-year recidivism rate of 45.78%. This rate is relatively consistent with the 2016 recidivism rate of 44.04% and represented an increase of 1.74%. The 2017 recidivism rate was also only 1.16 percentage points higher than the average for the previous six years, showing relative stability in the number of inmates who recidivated.

Figure one shows the recidivism rate for years 2011 through 2017, with an average of 44.79%. Note that 2015 had an unusually low recidivism rate at 40.57%. When the 2015 outlier is removed, the average recidivism rate across years is 45.49% and commensurate with the 2017 recidivism rate.



Recidivism by Facility

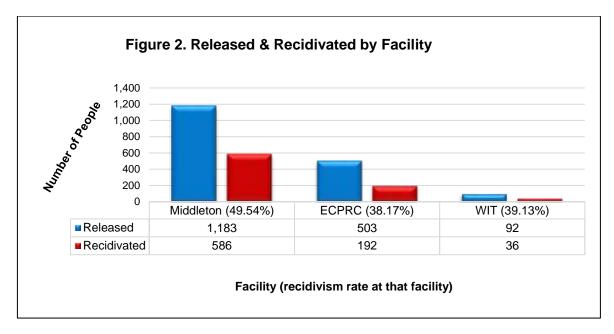
ECSD operates three correctional facilities, each housing a different level of offender. As Middleton is medium-security, it houses the more serious male offenders as well as those male inmates who do not qualify for the ECPRC. Accordingly, it consistently exhibits the highest recidivism rate. The ECPRC is a minimum-security re-entry facility for men. Minimum security means the inmates either have less serious charges than the inmates at the Middleton facility, or they have earned their way to the ECPRC as part of the step-down process. Consequently, the ECPRC has a lower recidivism rate than Middleton. The Women In Transition center in Salisbury is also a minimum-security re-entry facility. The recidivism rate for the WIT is always lower than Middleton and comparable to the ECPRC.

The recidivism rates by facility are as follows:

Middleton: 49.54%

ECPRC: 38.17%

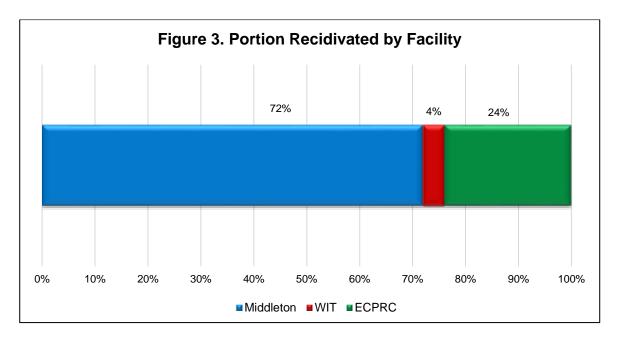
WIT: 39.13% (see Figure 2).



Comparing 2016 and 2017, Table four shows that the recidivism rate of the WIT remained virtually the same (increasing by only a fraction of a percent). The ECPRC, the facility with the second highest number of releases, had an increase of 1.85%. Middleton, the facility with the largest number of inmates released, showed an increase of only 1%. These slight increases ultimately affected the increase in the overall recidivism rate.

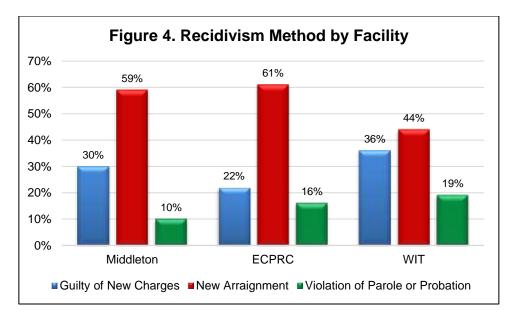
Table 4. Recidivism Rate by Facility: 2016 – 2017							
Facility	2016 Releases	2016 Recidivists	2016 Recidivism Rate	2017 Releases	2017 Recidivists	2017 Recidivism Rate	% Change
Middleton	1,166	566	48.54%	1,183	586	49.54%	1.00%
ECPRC	603	219	36.32%	503	192	38.17%	1.85%
WIT	118	46	38.98%	92	36	39.13%	0.15%

The Middleton facility accounted for the largest <u>portion</u> of inmates who recidivated. The ECPRC had the second largest portion of inmates who recidivated, and the WIT had the smallest portion. Of inmates who recidivated after being released in 2017, 72% were released from Middleton, 24% from the ECPRC and 4% from WIT (see Figure 3).

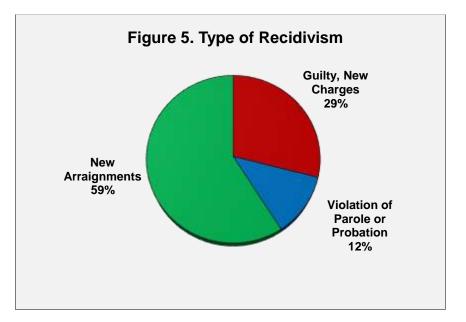


Recidivism Categories

As shown in Figure four below, new arraignments were the most common form of recidivism for all three facilities at 59% for Middleton, 61% for ECPRC, and 44% for WIT. The percentage found guilty of new charges was lowest for ECPRC, at 22%. Middleton and WIT facilities showed 30% and 36%, respectively for those found guilty of new charges. Violation of Parole or Probation (VOP) represented the least common form of recidivism across sites, as evidenced by a rate of 10% for Middleton, 16% for ECPRC, and 19% for the WIT.

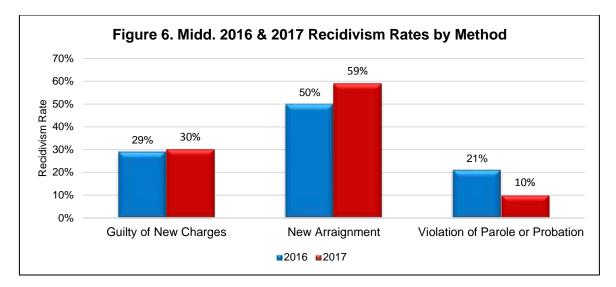


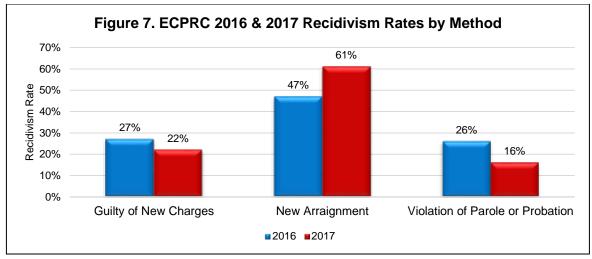
Of the 814 former inmates who recidivated, 59% had new arraignments, 29% were found guilty of new charges and 12% recidivated by violating parole or probation (see Figure 5). New arraignments routinely account for a high percentage of recidivism as many former inmates have open and unresolved cases, court scheduling issues, dismissal or non-prosecution of charges or continuances without a finding

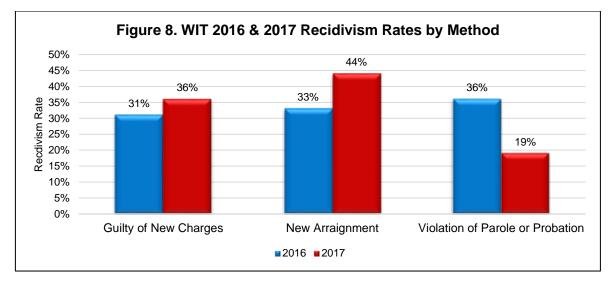


In comparison to 2016 recidivism rates, while the recidivism rate increased for new arraignments across facilities, there was a marked decrease in recidivism due to violation of parole or probation (11% decrease). The recidivism rate for those found guilty of new charges remained stable.

Figures six through eight below compare the 2016 and 2017 recidivism rates by method for each facility.







Examining 2017 Recidivism Across Nine Cohorts

The Male and Female Detox Units at the Middleton facility had the highest recidivism rates with 61.90% and 64.58% respectively. The Female Detox unit, housing our inmates with the most complex issues, saw a 10.53% increase. In contrast, rates decreased 3.70% for the Male Detox Unit. For comparison, ECSD's 80-Bed substance treatment unit at Middleton and the Re-entry/substance treatment unit at the ECPRC were used as **control groups**, as they too provide substance abuse treatment for inmates. While these two units do not offer the level of treatment offered by the detox units, they provide an excellent reference point to see how inmates with different levels of addiction are succeeding after incarceration at the ECSD.

The 80-Bed Unit's recidivism rate of 46.88% is lower than the previous year (1.33% decrease) and lower than each of the detox units. This is primarily due to the 80-Bed inmates having less severe substance abuse issues. ECSD's Program Director, Assistant Superintendent Jason Faro, explained that generally detox participants were more recently involved with serious drug use and/or relapse than 80-Bed participants. A.S. Faro further explained that ECPRC's Re-entry Unit participants have been screened and deemed to have a lower risk of relapse, resulting in the lowest recidivism rate, even lower than all three general population facilities.

Figure nine offers a complete comparison of the nine cohorts examined in the 2016 and 2017 recidivism reports, and Table five lists all the cohorts studied (by unit) and their recidivism rates for 2017.

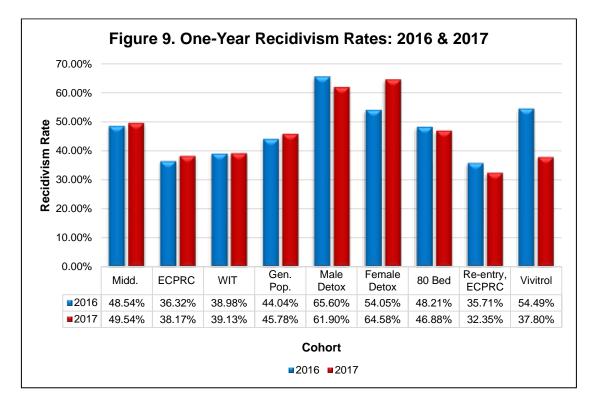
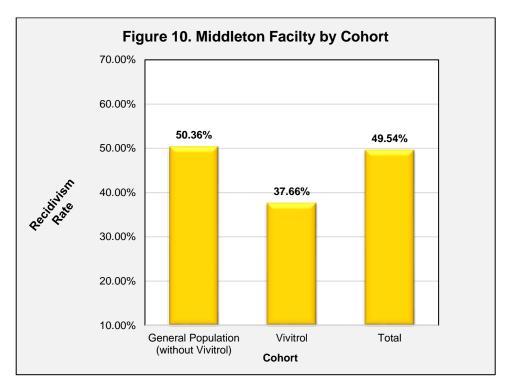
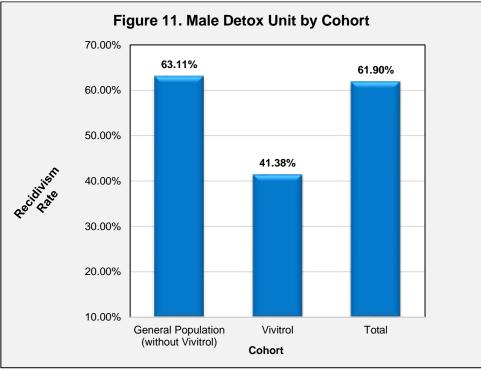


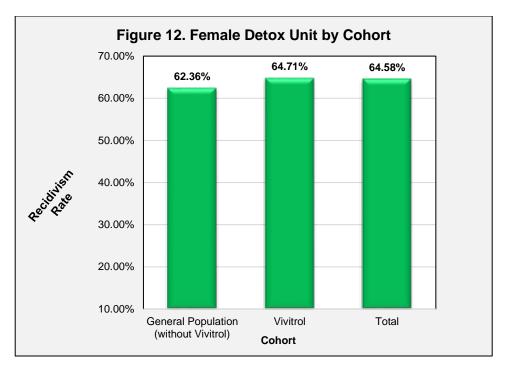
Table 5. 2017 Recidivism Rates by Cohort	
Cohort	Recidivism Rate
General Population	
Middleton	
General (without Vivitrol)	50.36%
Vivitrol (n=77)	37.66%
Total	49.54%
ECPRC (No inmates received Vivitrol)	38.17%
WIT (No inmates received Vivitrol)	39.13%
Overall General Population	45.78%
Male Detox	
General (without Vivitrol)	63.11%
Vivitrol (n=57)	41.38%
Total	61.90%
Female Detox	
General (without Vivitrol)	62.36%
Vivitrol (n=58)	64.71%
Total	64.58%
80-Bed (No inmates received Vivitrol)	46.88%
Re-entry at ECPRC (No inmates received Vivitrol)	32.35%

Vivitrol[®] (Naltrexone) is a medication used to manage addiction by decreasing the craving for opioids and alcohol. In 2017, Vivitrol was provided to some inmates in the general population of ECSD's Middleton facility as well as some inmates in the Male and Female Detox Units. As is shown in Figure nine above, 2017 Vivitrol recipients had a significantly lower recidivism rate (37.80%) when compared to 2016 recipients (54.49%). Table five shows that the 2017 Middleton and Male Detox Facility Vivitrol recipients had lower recidivism rates than those who did not receive Vivitrol. In contrast, the recidivism rate did not differ significantly between those who received and did not receive Vivitrol for Female Detox recipients of Vivitrol. The fact that women who received Vivitrol showed higher recidivism rates when compared to their male counterparts may reflect the fact that female offenders are twice as likely as men to suffer co-occurring substance abuse and mental health disorders, present with higher rates of trauma history, and report high rates of mental health problems, such as depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (CASA, 2010; Green, Miranda, Daroowalla & Siddique, 2005).

Figures 10 through 12 show the Middleton facility, Male Detox Unit and Female Detox Unit, detailing the recidivism rate for each cohort within each facility or unit.







Current data suggest that Vivitrol is a viable treatment option and may be associated with a significant reduction in recidivism amongst male offenders with substance abuse disorders. The ECSD and Sherriff Coppinger should be commended for being on the forefront of addressing opioid addiction through the implementation of various interventions, including medication assisted treatment. At the same time, female offenders with substance abuse disorders appear to be at a higher risk for recidivism, possibly due to higher rates of other mental health issues, history of trauma / abuse, and socioeconomic factors. As such, increased attention to program needs of female offenders, and gender-responsive approaches to transition and community re-entry are of utmost importance. Fortunately, under the leadership of Sheriff Coppinger, the ECSD has already responded to this need. For example, the WIT provides female offenders with individual and group counseling, as well as access to education and community service opportunities. Moreover, as women step-down from the WIT, they are connected to various programs throughout Essex County and Massachusetts, including substance use disorder programs and parenting skills training.

Ultimately, staff are placing inmates with the most serious substance abuse issues in the most intense treatment programs. It is reasonable to expect that the recidivism rates will be higher for these more-intense programs.

Spotlight on Male & Female Detox Units

The Male and Female Detox Units serve as pre-emptive measures, most often allowing individuals to receive treatment and move forward with their lives as an alternative to incarceration. With this process, individuals are remanded to the Essex County Sheriff's Department's Detox Unit by the presiding judge. Upon completion of the 28-day treatment program, they may be able to dispose of their cases and utilize non-custodial tools as opposed to traditional incarceration. People who successfully complete the program may be recommended to continue with services such as probation, employment counseling, day reporting at an Office of Community Corrections, drug testing, electronic monitoring or sober houses.

In order to be remanded to the 28-day Detox Unit, an individual must meet certain standards. He or she must be alleged to have committed a quality of life crime and cannot be deemed as either a sexual or violent offender. Eligible candidates for the units include individuals who have violated probation, tested positive for opiates, have other drugs or alcohol in their urine, shown clear signs of addiction, or have had numerous low-level offenses. The person must be invested in receiving help at no cost to themselves.

Individualized care includes all aspects of well-being; physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual. Respect for others and the rehabilitation process, personal hygiene and accountability are expected from all participants. The design of the facility is based on efficiency and effectiveness:

- > 42 beds in a medical/detoxification environment
- Medical treatment
- Programming components
- Initial court-ordered confinement for treatment followed by a court appearance to further consider the offender's pre-trial status
- Post-release care plan

The **2017 statistics for the Male & Female Detox Units**, listed in Table six below, show the success of the detox program.

Table 6. 2017 Detox Participants	Male (opened 12/7/15)	Female (opened 7/5/16)
Released from unit	653	364
Bailed or extradited	10	6
Program failures	80	69
Successfully completed	563	289
Success Rate (%)	563/653 = 86%	289/364 = 79%

CONCLUSON

This report focuses on recidivism rates of numerous cohorts one year after their release.

Defining Recidivism

The one-year recidivism rate reflects the success of sentenced inmates that have been released. Simply put: how many former inmates remained out of the criminal justice system? The lower the recidivism rate, the higher the success rate. In order to fully appreciate the recidivism rate, one may ask two questions:

Q1: What period is being examined?

A: This is a one-year recidivism report specifically examining the 1,778 sentenced inmates released in 2017, one year after they have been released.

Q2: What is the definition being used?

A: The answer to this question may be different depending on the agency conducting the study. The Essex County Sheriff's Department has a broad definition of recidivism, including:

- Being found guilty of a new crime;
- Having a new arraignment;
- Violating parole or probation.

This rather wide definition means that ECSD's recidivism rate is higher than if the department used a narrower definition, perhaps not including "technical violations" (i.e. violating parole or probation) or not including new arraignments (Some would argue that just because a person has been arraigned, they did not necessarily recidivate). We believe that the current definition, used by ECSD since 2005, allows researchers to utilize a conservative/pragmatic approach while including all types of recidivism. By using the same definition for the past 15 studies, researchers have been able to accurately measure the one-year recidivism rate in a consistent manner.

2017 Recidivism Rate

While the 2017 one-year recidivism rate of 45.78% is slightly higher than the 2016 rate of 44.04% (see Figure 1), when looking at this 1.74% difference, one must consider three points:

- New arraignments largely accounted for the increase in recidivism rate, while there was a significant reduction in recidivism due to violation of parole / probation. Sheriff Coppinger's philosophy that "reintegration begins day one," combined with his mission to expand mental health services, detox treatment and improve re-entry programs is most certainly reflected in this decrease in overall parole / probation violations.
- 2) The sample size (n) for each facility is relatively small. Therefore, it does not take many additional inmates to recidivate in order to increase the overall recidivism rate. Let us use the 1,778 total sentenced inmates released in 2017 and compare the 2016 and 2017 recidivism rates. The 2017 rate of 45.78% means 814 people recidivated. Applying the

2016 rate of 44.04% to the 2017 released population of 1,778, we would have had 783 people that recidivated, a difference of 31 people or approximately only three per month.

3) Using the *Bell Curve*, the 2017 rate of 45.78% is well within the *normal distribution* of recidivism rates from 2005 to 2017. The theory of the Bell Curve is that in a normal distribution of measurements (e.g. batting averages, heights or in this case ECSD's recidivism rates) 68% of the measurements will be within one *standard deviation* (SD) of the average.

The SD is calculated based on the distribution and the average of the measurements obtained. With an average of 44.79% and an SD of 2.03% (2005 - 2017), one SD would range from 42.76% to 46.82% with 2017's rate of 45.78% falling within that range. This tells us that 2017's recidivism rate is not unusually high or low.

Recidivism by Facility

As the Middleton facility is the largest of the three facilities and houses more serious offenders, it once again accounted for the highest number of inmates released (1,183), the highest number that recidivated (586) and the highest recidivism rate (49.54%, see Figures 2 & 3).

Released Cohorts

Examining all cohorts, with three of them broken down by Vivitrol recipients & non-Vivitrol recipients, we found that the Male and Female Detox Units had the highest recidivism rates with 61.90% and 64.58% respectively (see Figures 10 - 12). This is to be expected as the department is placing inmates with the most serious substance abuse issues on these units. As this report illustrates, substance abuse dramatically affects recidivism.

The Male Detox Unit had a sizable Vivitrol recipient sample with 57. The Vivitrol recipients' recidivism rate of 41.38% was significantly lower than that of the general population on this unit (i.e. those who did not receive Vivitrol) of 63.11% (see Figure 11 and Table 5). Similarly, 77 offenders within the Middleton facility received Vivitrol and recidivated at a far lower rate than the general population (37.66% versus 50.36%, respectively).

Both Male and Female Detox Units were quite successful in 2017 as defined by those who completed the program. The male unit released 653 inmates, 86% of whom successfully completed the program. The female unit released 364 inmates, 79% of whom successfully completed the program. Combined, both detox units released 1,017 inmates, 84% of whom successfully completed the program.

Offenses for Which Incarcerated

Drug-related offenses at 16% and OUIs at 6% accounted for more than one-fifth of offenses for which inmates were incarcerated (see Table 2), demonstrating that substance abuse is a major contributing factor in inmates' lives.

Communities to Which Released

Of sentenced inmates released in 2017, 71% remained in Essex County, with Lawrence, Lynn and Haverhill once again receiving the largest portions at 16%, 13% and 13%, respectively (see Table 3).

Summary Statement

The data presented in this report were collected primarily between January 1, 2018 and December 31, 2018. Using objective measures (i.e. records obtained through the Massachusetts Department of Criminal Justice Information Services and the Essex County Sheriff's Department's Offender Management System) the recidivism rates were calculated for nine cohorts of inmates released in 2018. These cohorts accounted for all 1,778 sentenced inmates and the 1,017 Detox (pre-trial) inmates released in 2017.

In addition, researchers spoke with ECSD staff and conducted limited outside research, specifically material written by other researchers.

Below are our findings.

- 1) ECSD staff have a very clear understanding of their common goal: To provide excellent care for the inmates in their custody while preparing them for life after incarceration.
- 2) ECSD management has taken steps to support employees in obtaining this goal:
 - a. Enhanced employee training.
 - b. Increased employee <u>accountability</u> and at the same time <u>encouragement</u> by management.
 - c. Improved communication among employees, vendors and management.
 - d. Review of vendor relationships & contracts. In some cases, new vendors have been brought on board, providing better services for inmates.
- 3) The result has been improved services to inmates:
 - a. A greater focus on inmate needs.
 - b. An increase in the number as well as the quality of programs.
 - c. A higher caliber of vendors, teachers and counselors.
 - d. Improved medical and psychological services.
- 4) Since 2005, the one-year recidivism rate has been ECSD's standard measurement of postincarceration success. The 2017 one-year recidivism rate of 45.78% represents a 1.74% increase over the 2016 rate and a 1.16% increase over the average of the previous six years. This slight increase in the recidivism rate shows that despite challenges such as the opioid epidemic and limited financial resources, ECSD has continued to provide an excellent level of care for inmates.

Moving forward

It is our hope that new legislation will result in alternatives to incarceration for lower-level offenders. This will result in fewer low-level offenders being held at our facilities. This means a larger portion of more serious offenders being held – and released. The result will mean an increase in future recidivism rates.

Follow the Essex County Sheriff's Department:



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