

AVENUES FOR JUSTICE

Andrew Glover Youth Program

Annual Progress Report
2019



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Executive Summary

Avenues for Justice (AFJ) is a non-profit, community-based program. The program focuses on youthful offenders and at-risk youth in Manhattan, served at sites located in the Lower East Side and East Harlem. During 2019, AFJ worked with 622 youth. Specifically, AFJ worked with:

- ✓ 260 youth offender clients who enrolled in AFJ's intensive crime prevention and court advocacy program designed to prevent further involvement with the criminal justice system (137 served at the Lower East Side site and 123 served at the East Harlem site);
- ✓ 163 at-risk clients (93 served at the Lower East Side site and 70 served at the East Harlem site) who participated in crime prevention programs at AFJ's two community centers; and
- ✓ 199 youth who were referred to other agencies that were better suited to meet their needs.

The following report focuses on the 260 youthful offenders.

Characteristics of the 2019 Clients

- Most of the participants were Hispanic (46%) or Black/African American (42%), 71% were male, and the majority were under age 21 at intake (85%).
- The program enrolled 76 new clients in 2019.

Participation

- There were more than 25,000 client encounters during 2019; the mean number of encounters per client was 107 and the median was 50 during the year.
- Five-hundred and fourteen referrals were provided to AFJ clients in 2019.

Program Outcomes

- Of the cases that had court outcomes during 2019, 58% were adjourned and 21% received deferred sentences.
- Only 9% (n=13) of all AFJ clients in the recidivism study (n=141) were re-arrested in New York State within three years after enrolling in the program, compared to a 76% re-arrest rate among prisoners released in 2004 across 30 states who were under 25 at the time of release. The three-year recidivism rate for successful graduates of AFJ was 8% (n=5).
- Only 4% (n=5) of the AFJ clients in the study have been incarcerated in the three years since intake, compared to 40% of New York prisoners released in 2004 who returned to prison within three years of release, 52% of prisoners ages 18-24 and 57% of minor age prisoners across 15 states who returned to prison within three years of release, and 80% who returned to detention or prison within three years of leaving a New York juvenile facility. Among successful graduates, just 3% (n=2) were incarcerated within three years of enrollment.

Introduction

Avenues for Justice (AFJ) is a non-profit, community-based program. The program focuses on youthful offenders and at-risk youth in Manhattan, served at sites located in the Lower East Side and East Harlem. During 2019, Avenues for Justice worked with 622 youth. Two-hundred and sixty offender clients were enrolled in AFJ's intensive crime prevention and court advocacy program designed to prevent further involvement with the criminal justice system (137 served at the Lower East Side site, 123 served at the East Harlem site). These offenders are the focus of this report. One-hundred and sixty-three at-risk clients participated in crime prevention programs at AFJ's two community centers (93 from the Lower East Side site and 70 from the East Harlem site). Another 199 youth were referred to other agencies that were better suited to meet their needs.¹

The first section of this report, **Characteristics of AFJ Clients**, presents a demographic profile of the 260 clients served in the more intensive program in 2019. It also provides information about new enrollments.

The second section, **Participation**, shows how long current clients have been participating in AFJ, how long clients are retained in the program, and encounter information. A summary of referrals made by AFJ is also presented.

The **Program Outcomes** section presents court outcome data, the number of clients successfully engaged in work or school, or both, and other client behavioral outcomes since enrolling in the program. A summary of the annual recidivism study is also included.

¹ For example, a NYC judge may call the Executive Director (ED) of AFJ saying there is a teenager from the Bronx who needs some form of community service. The ED will then refer this teenager to an agency that provides the needed service.

Characteristics of AFJ Clients

As seen in Table 1, most of the 260 youthful offenders served during 2019 were male (71%), identified as Hispanic (46%) or Black/African American (42%), and were under 21 at intake (85%). While these clients were served in sites located in the Lower East Side and East Harlem, the majority lived outside of those neighborhoods. Seventy-six of these clients were newly enrolled during 2019; the majority were placed in the Intensive Phase of the program.²

Table 1: Demographics at intake ³	All Youth Offenders (n=260)	Newly Enrolled Clients (n=76)
Gender		
Male	71%	70%
Female	29%	30%
Race/Ethnicity	(n=260)	(n=76)
Hispanic/Latino	46%	39%
Black/African American	42%	50%
White/Caucasian	0%	0%
Other/Multiethnic ⁴	12%	11%
Age	(n=260)	(n=76)
15 years and younger	17%	26%
16-20 years	68%	51%
21-24 years	14%	23%
25 years and older	1%	0%
Living Situation	(n=235)	(n=73)
Two parents	18%	15%
One parent	57%	59%
Guardian(s), relative(s), foster care	12%	15%
Intimate partner or sibling (no parent)	8%	7%
Self and their child(ren)	1%	0%
Alone	2%	3%
Other, unspecified	2%	1%
Receipt of Public Assistance/Welfare	(n=182)	(n=64)
Yes	31%	31%
Receipt of Food Stamps	(n=198)	(n=69)
Yes	45%	42%
Intake Source	(n=254)	(n=76)
Self-referred	10%	9%
Family	24%	25%
Court	39%	33%
School	2%	5%
Other	25%	28%
Program Phase	(n=260)	(n=76)
Intensive	53%	72%
Supportive	47%	28%
Neighborhood	(n=260)	(n=76)
Lower East Side	28%	18%
East Harlem	12%	13%

² Intensive Phase client services include court appearances, school visits, regular counseling, mandatory check-in at centers, and monitoring of individualized services (e.g., substance abuse programming, support services at community sites, and other mandated activities). Supportive Phase client services are a step down from the Intensive Phase and, as such, require less court reporting and reduced frequency of in-person contacts while continuing to provide tutoring and support counseling according to individual need.

³ Sample size fluctuates as some items were not included on older intake forms and/or data were not provided on newer forms.

⁴ The other/multiethnic category is comprised of 17 clients who are Hispanic and African American, one Arabic, one Asian, one Russian, one Italian, one Native, one Spanish and 8 others who indicated they were a mix of multiple ethnicities.

Table 1: Demographics at intake ⁵	All Youth Offenders	Newly Enrolled Clients
Other parts of Manhattan	36%	32%
Outside of Manhattan	23%	37%

Most AFJ clients come to the program involved in criminal proceedings (75% of all clients and 70% of newly enrolled clients). Over two-thirds (65%) of AFJ clients were enrolled in school or some other educational program at intake, and many had a high school diploma or GED. Fifty-one percent of all clients had recently used marijuana and 21% used alcohol during the month prior to intake. Very few of these clients used cocaine or other drugs in the month prior to intake. Three-quarters (76%) of the AFJ clients were sexually active and the majority used condoms at last intercourse. Twenty-two percent had ever been pregnant/caused a pregnancy.

Table 2: Client Risk History at Intakes	All Youth Offenders	Newly Enrolled Clients
Prior criminal history	Average	Average
Arrests (average number)	1.7 (n=151)	1.7 (n=72)
Convictions	0.5 (n=94)	0.3 (n=47)
Misdemeanors	0.9 (n=103)	0.8 (n=49)
Felonies	0.6 (n=100)	0.6 (n=49)
Education and Employment Status	% Yes	% Yes
In school/educational program	65% (n=236)	59% (n=71)
Have high school diploma	14% (n=228)	13% (n=75)
Have GED	4% (n=202)	9% (n=67)
Currently employed	15% (n=239)	8% (n=76)
Substance use		
(In the past month, have used...)		
alcohol	21% (n=219)	19% (n=70)
marijuana	51% (n=226)	56% (n=75)
cocaine	3% (n=208)	1% (n=67)
other drug(s)	4% (n=205)	0% (n=67)
Sexual behavior		
Sexually active	76% (n=244)	84% (n=75)
At last intercourse:		
Used condom	78% (n=175)	76% (n=62)
Used another form of birth control	20% (n=148)	22% (n=58)
Been pregnant or caused a pregnancy	22% (n=232)	17% (n=76)
Have a child/children	13% (n=217)	14% (n=74)

⁵ Intake forms were replaced with Assessment Forms in 2013. For this reason, the sample sizes on these items vary, as not all items were on the older forms nor were all items completed on newer forms.

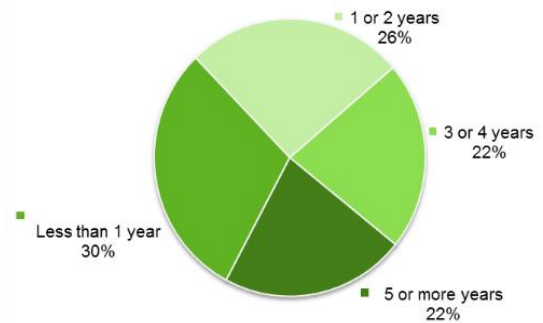
Participation

Participation and retention

Figure 1 illustrates the length of participation for AFJ clients seen in 2019. Thirty percent of clients had been in the program for less than one year and 26% had been in the program for one or two years. Forty-four percent had been attending for three or more years. On average, clients had been with the program for 3.0 years.

Of the 26 members who enrolled during 2018 and were eligible to be active (did not graduate the program) one year later, the program retained 88%. Of the 21 members who enrolled during 2016 and were eligible to be active three years later, the program retained 95%.

Figure 1
Length of Participation
n = 260



Client encounters

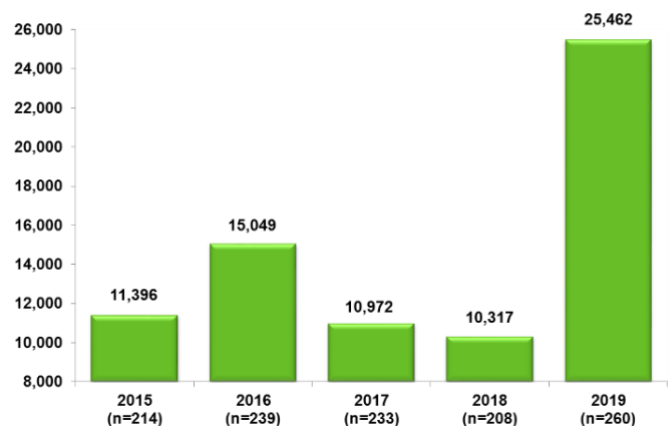
As seen in Table 3, there were more than 25,000 client encounters recorded during 2019 – including telephone, electronic, letter, and face-to-face contacts which may involve counseling, tutoring, or workshop attendance. Overall, the 260 clients had an average of 107.0 encounters with staff during 2019; the median number of encounters was 50.0⁶. The 76 new clients had a total of 7,675 encounters during 2019, for an average of 109.6 encounters with staff; the median number of encounters was 66. On average, new clients are seen more often.

Table 3: Encounters (2019)	Overall (n=260)	New clients (n=76)
Total	25,462	7,675
Mean	107.0	109.6
Median	50.0	66.0
Range	1 to 844	1 to 670
Monthly mean	14.0	18.0
Monthly median	6.0	11.3

Note: The monthly mean and monthly median are calculated by dividing the number of encounters during the reporting period by the number of months a client was active during that reporting period. Because the majority of new 2019 clients entered the program in the second half of the year, the monthly mean and median figures for new clients are significantly higher than the annual figures. Thus, the monthly figures may provide a more accurate measure of the frequency of encounters, particularly for new clients.

Figure 2 shows the total number of encounters for the past five years. The number of youth offender clients is included below each year in parenthesis. The number of encounters increased substantially in 2019 due to improvements in data collection. During this year AFJ case workers recorded all client contacts separately (in previous years, multiple contacts on a given day were recorded as one encounter).

Figure 2
Number of Client Encounters
2015 - 2019



⁶ The mean number of encounters is much higher than the median number of encounters because individual clients ranged from one to as many as 844 encounters during 2019. The median is the more accurate way to consider a typical case.

Summary of referrals made by AFJ

Table 4 shows the number of employment, education, substance abuse, mental health, and housing referrals during 2019. During the year, there were 514 total referrals for 105 clients. Employment referrals occurred most often. Referrals are used to help prevent further involvement in the juvenile justice system and have become a substantial part of AFJ's work.

Table 4: Client referrals	# of clients	# of referrals	Avg. # of referrals per client
Employment	79	254	3.2
Education	45	112	2.5
Substance abuse – inpatient	12	68	5.7
Substance abuse – outpatient	12	13	1.1
Mental health – inpatient	4	8	2.0
Mental health – outpatient	30	49	1.6
Housing	8	10	1.3
Total referrals	105	514	4.9

Program Outcomes

Graduation outcomes

Graduation outcomes for clients who exited the program over the last four years are shown in Table 5. As seen here, successful completions comprise the bulk of client exits.

Table 5: Graduation outcomes for clients who exited the program	Successful completion	Completed, not all goals met	Terminated/ incarcerated	Total # of clients who exited the program
2016	27 (69%)	9 (23%)	3 (8%)	39
2017	35 (67%)	17 (33%)	0 (0%)	52
2018	16 (67%)	6 (25%)	2 (8%)	24
2019	32 (63%)	16 (31%)	3 (6%)	51

Additionally, Table 6 shows the outcomes of the new clients served over the past seven years as of January 2020. Of the 321 new enrollees over this seven-year time period, 61% were still active in the AFJ program as of January 2020 and 27% successfully completed the program. Far fewer completed the program without meeting their goals or were terminated.

Table 6: Exit data per newly enrolled cohort over the past seven years	Newly enrolled	Still active	Successful completion	Completed, not all goals met	Terminated/ incarcerated
2013	46	13	27	5	1
2014	53	22	21	8	2
2015	42	21	11	6	4
2016	40	20	12	7	1
2017	32	16	12	4	0
2018	32	26	5	1	0
2019	76	76	0	0	0
TOTALS	321	194 (61%)	88 (27%)	31 (10%)	8 (2%)

Court outcomes

In 2019 there were 302 court outcomes reported for 64 clients. Some client cases may have more than one outcome (for example, a case might have been adjourned and later dismissed; or a conditional discharge might have resulted in a prison sentence later in the year). Most of the court outcomes were adjournments with deferred sentences. AFJ staff state that an AFJ client's court case can have multiple adjournments as the court and judge evaluate a client's progress with the program.

Table 7: Court outcomes (n=302)	# (%)
Case adjourned	176 (58%)
Deferred sentence	64 (21%)
Conditional discharge/ACD	29 (10%)
Plead	9 (3%)
Sent to probation	7 (2%)
Adjudicated youth offender	5 (2%)
Case dismissed	4 (2%)
Sent to prison	3 (1%)
Bail set	3 (1%)
Other	1 (<1%)
Paroled	1 (<1%)
Split sentence	0 (0%)
Community service	0 (0%)
Acquitted	0 (0%)
Assigned to AFJ	0 (0%)

Client behavioral changes over time

Intake forms were replaced with assessment forms in 2013. Part of the intention behind the form change was to collect periodic follow-up data while a client was active, as well as at program completion (exit forms). This would provide some information about behavioral changes during program involvement. In 2019, AFJ submitted exit data on 51 clients. Additionally, 2019 follow-up data exist for 179 of the active clients⁷. The following tables show changes in employment, education, sexual activity and condom use, and substance use outcomes.

Table 8 shows progress in employment and education outcomes⁸ among current clients for whom intake and follow-up/exit data are available. As seen below, 35% of the 2019 clients (n=54) received their diploma or GED while in the program. Additionally, 82% of clients (212 of 260) were either employed or in school based on their last available data (not shown).

Table 8: Employment and Education (change from intake to last follow-up/exit)	Employment (n=159)	Education (n=130)	Diploma/GED (n=153)	Employment and/or Education (n=172)
Improvement/Advancement	25%	58%	35%	52%
No change	65%	35%	65%	43%
Decline	10%	7%	-	5%

⁷ Newly enrolled clients are not yet eligible for follow-up data collection.

⁸ Improvement in employment constitutes getting a job from intake to last follow-up/exit. Improvement in education constitutes being enrolled in an educational program from intake to last follow-up and/or advancing within their current program..

Table 9 shows changes in sexual activity and condom use from intake to last follow-up/exit. As seen here, both sexual activity and condom use at last intercourse increased significantly over time.

Table 9: Sexual Activity & Condom Use	% at Intake	% at last follow-up/exit
Sexually active (n=119)	70%	87%***
Use of condom at last intercourse (n=75)	77%	89%*
Use of condom and some other form of birth control at last intercourse (n=53)	11%	28%*

Difference is statistically significant when *p<.05 / ***p<.001.

Table 10 shows marijuana use in the past month declined significantly from intake to last follow-up/exit.

Table 10: Substance Use (in the past month used...)	% at Intake	% at last follow-up/exit
...alcohol (n=116)	22%	13%
...marijuana (n=117)	49%	17%***
...cocaine (n=107)	3%	2%
...any other drug (n=91)	9%	3%

Difference is statistically significant when ***p<.001.

Recidivism

Study design

A primary focus of the Avenues for Justice (AFJ) program is to keep court-involved clients out of prison. AFJ provides counseling, training, education, and employment assistance in an effort to prevent future involvement in crime. To track this outcome, a recidivism study began in 2017.⁹ Three cohorts of AFJ participants have been included in this study to date: 46 young people who were enrolled in AFJ in 2013, 53 who were enrolled in 2014, and 42 who enrolled in 2015.

Follow-up recidivism data were collected each year (2017, 2018, and 2019), and three-year recidivism rates were calculated using the date of enrollment in AFJ as the starting point to three different end points including: 1) arrest, 2) conviction, and 3) incarceration.¹⁰ To put the AFJ recidivism rates into some context, comparison data are presented as well.

Study sample

Demographic characteristics were gathered from program enrollment data completed by AFJ employees. As seen in Table 11 (following page), the majority of offenders identified as male. On average, they were about 18-years-old and ranged in age from 10 to 24. The majority were black or African American or Hispanic/Latino.

⁹ A prior recidivism study which ran from 1994-2015 was discontinued in anticipation of this study, which includes more detailed data collection.

¹⁰ To obtain follow up data, AFJ was provided with a list of clients. AFJ staff searched the NYS Unified Court System's eCourts case tracking service and provided arrest, conviction, and incarceration data to Philliber Research & Evaluation. Documentation of the recidivism data presented in this report is stored at AFJ.

Table 11: Demographics at intake	2013 Cohort (n=46)	2014 Cohort (n=53)	2015 Cohort (n=42)	Total (n=141)
Gender	(n=46)	(n=52)	(n=42)	(n=140)
Male	70%	81%	88%	79%
Female	30%	19%	12%	21%
Race/Ethnicity	(n=44)	(n=49)	(n=42)	(n=135)
Hispanic/Latino	33%	47%	52%	44%
Black/African American	48%	39%	45%	44%
White/Caucasian	2%	0%	0%	1%
Other/Multiethnic	17%	14%	3%	11%
Age	(n=46)	(n=53)	(n=42)	(n=141)
15 years and younger	13%	21%	12%	16%
16-20 years	74%	73%	76%	74%
21-24 years	13%	6%	10%	9%
25 years and older	0%	0%	2%	1%

Recidivism outcomes

The definition of recidivism varies across studies and across locations. In this study, we calculated three different recidivism rates starting from enrollment in AFJ to 1) first arrest after program enrollment, 2) first conviction after program enrollment, and 3) first incarceration after program enrollment. Recidivism will necessarily decline as the measures progress from arrest, to conviction, to incarceration as each measure relies on the less serious measure. For example, those who were arrested may not have been convicted, and those convicted may not have been sentenced to incarceration.

Within three years of enrollment, 9% of AFJ clients were rearrested within New York State, most were charged with misdemeanors (Table 12).¹¹ Of the 59 clients who successfully completed the program, 7% (n=4) were arrested and charged with a misdemeanor crime and 2% (n=1) with a felony within three years of enrollment in AFJ.

Table 12: Arrested within three years of intake	2013 Cohort	2014 Cohort	2015 Cohort	Total
Among entire sample	(n=46)	(n=53)	(n=42)	(n=141)
No new arrest	78%	94%	100%	91%
New misdemeanor arrest	18%	2%	0%	6%
New felony arrest	4%	4%	0%	3%
Among clients who successfully completed program	(n=27)	(n=21)	(n=11)	(n=59)
No new arrest	85%	95%	100%	91%
New misdemeanor arrest	11%	5%	0%	7%
New felony arrest	4%	0%	0%	2%

¹¹ Cohort percentages may change over time with the inclusion of updated information on pending cases.

Within three years of enrollment, 5% of AFJ clients were reconvicted within New York State (Table 13). Of the 59 clients who successfully completed the program, 3% (n=2) were convicted of a misdemeanor crime within three years of enrollment in AFJ.

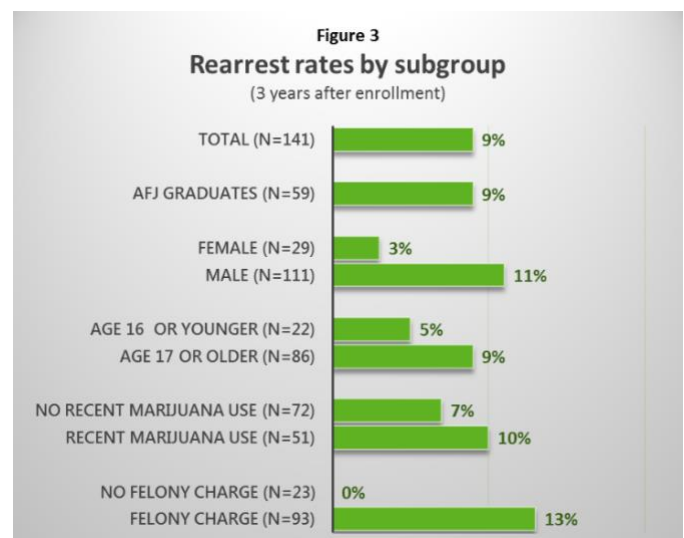
Table 13: Reconvicted within three years of intake	2013 Cohort	2014 Cohort	2015 Cohort	Total
Among entire sample	(n=46)	(n=53)	(n=42)	(n=141)
No new conviction	87%	98%	100%	95%
New misdemeanor conviction	11%	0%	0%	4%
New felony conviction	2%	2%	0%	1%
Among clients who successfully completed program	(n=27)	(n=21)	(n=11)	(n=59)
No new conviction	93%	100%	100%	97%
New misdemeanor conviction	7%	0%	0%	3%
New felony conviction	0%	0%	0%	0%

Just 4% of AFJ offender clients were incarcerated within three years of their enrollment in AFJ (Table 14). Of the 59 who successfully completed the program, 3% (n=2) were incarcerated within three years of enrollment in AFJ as a result of a new misdemeanor conviction.

Table 14: Incarcerated within three years of intake	2013 Cohort	2014 Cohort	2015 Cohort	Total
Among entire sample	(n=46)	(n=53)	(n=42)	(n=141)
No new incarceration	91%	98%	100%	96%
New misdemeanor incarceration	9%	0%	0%	3%
New felony incarceration	0%	2%	0%	1%
Among clients who successfully completed program	(n=27)	(n=21)	(n=11)	(n=59)
No new incarceration	93%	100%	100%	97%
New misdemeanor incarceration	7%	0%	0%	3%
New felony incarceration	0%	0%	0%	0%

Rearrest rates were examined by client characteristics at program enrollment (combining all cohorts). Although rearrest rates varied by client characteristics, there were no statistically significant differences between subgroups (Figure 3).

Males were more likely than females to be rearrested within three years of AFJ program enrollment, as were older youth, and those who used marijuana in the month prior to enrollment compared to those who did not. Of the clients who had a felony charge at intake, 13% had been rearrested within three years, compared to none of the clients who had a misdemeanor or other charge at intake.

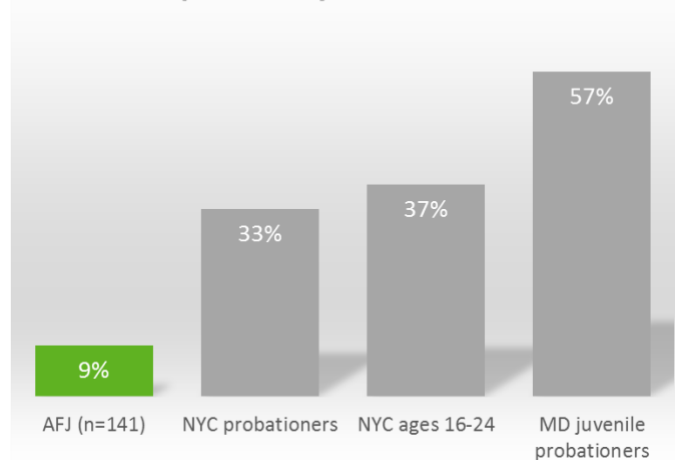


Comparison data

This section highlights comparison data from several studies (Figure 4) but caution should be used when considering comparison recidivism data. The design of a study will affect the reported recidivism rates. For example, recidivism may be defined as rearrest, reconviction, or reincarceration. Some studies may include incarceration for technical violations while others may not. Further, study samples may include only prisoners or probationers, while others may include only juveniles or adults.

Although sampling techniques, sample characteristics, and definitions of recidivism and incarceration vary, published recidivism data suggest AFJ clients have rearrest, reconviction, and incarceration rates considerably lower than comparison samples.

Figure 4
Comparison 3-year rearrest rates



- Of New York City probationers sentenced in 2014, **32.7%** were arrested for a felony offense within three years of being sentenced to probation.¹²
- Based on a 2009 dataset, the New York City rearrest rate within one year was **33.4%**, or **37.3%** among those who were 16-24 years old at time of arrest.¹³
- A study of Maryland juvenile offenders with first-time probation dispositions found that within three years of the start date of community supervision, **57.2%** were rearrested, 29.7% were reconvicted, and 17.1% were incarcerated.¹⁴
- A study published in 2010, found that **69%** of New York City parolees were rearrested within three years, 59% were reconvicted within three years, and 44% were revoked (34% for a new crime, 10% for a technical violation).¹⁵
- Based on a study of 2001-2008 New York City parolees, **53%** were rearrested within three years, 42% were reconvicted, and 29% returned to prison (23% on a technical violation, 6% due to a new felony conviction).¹⁶ Another study of New York City parolees focusing on those whose incarceration crime was committed in Manhattan, found that 44% were

¹² Division of Criminal Justice Services Office of Justice Research and Performance (March 1, 2018). *Probationer Felony Re-Arrest Rates Following Sentence to Probation*, <http://www.criminaljustice.ny.gov/crimnet/ojsa/probationer-rearrests.pdf>. Accessed August 2018.

¹³ New York City's Data Analytics Recidivism Tool (DART), v1.0. <http://recidivism.cityofnewyork.us>. Accessed October 2017.

¹⁴ Maryland Department of Juvenile Services. (December 2016). *Data Resource Guide: Fiscal Year 2016*. http://www.djs.maryland.gov/Documents/2016_full_book.pdf. Accessed October 2017.

¹⁵ Hamilton, Z. (2010). *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism?* Retrieved October 2017.

¹⁶ Herrschaft, B.A., & Hamilton, Z. (2011). *Recidivism Among Parolees in New York City, 2001-2008*. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation.

reincarcerated within three years of their release from prison (34% new crimes, 10% technical violations).¹⁷

- A survey study found that 39.9% of New York prisoners released in 2004 returned to prison within three years.¹⁸
- A study published by the federal Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) in 2016 examined offenders placed on federal community supervision during fiscal year 2005, reported that **35%** of federal offenders had been arrested at least once during the three years after their placement on community supervision,¹⁹ while another study found that **69%** of New York City parolees were rearrested within three years of their release from prison.²⁰
- A study of Pennsylvania juvenile offenders found that **21.6%** had a subsequent adjudication of delinquency in juvenile court or a conviction from a misdemeanor or felony offense within two years of their termination from juvenile court supervision.²¹
- Another recidivism study of prisoners released in 30 states found that **67.8%** of prisoners released in 2005 were arrested within three years of release. That same study showed a 3-year rearrest rate of **75.9%** among prisoners who were 24 years old or younger at the time of release.²²
- Others have found that 52% of prisoners ages 18-24 and the 57% of minor age prisoners across 15 states returned to prison within three years of release,²³ and 80% returned to detention or prison within three years of leaving a New York juvenile facility.²⁴

¹⁷ Hamilton, Z. (2010). *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism?* Retrieved October 2017.

¹⁸ Pew Center on the States. (April 2011). *State of Recidivism: The Revolving Door of America's Prisons*. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trust.

¹⁹ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. (June 2016). *Recidivism of offenders placed on federal community supervision in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010*. <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ropfcs05p0510.pdf>. Accessed October 2017.

²⁰ Hamilton, Z. (2010). *Do Reentry Courts Reduce Recidivism?* Retrieved October 2017.

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