

August 2019

The Rabble in the Suburbs: An Examination of Jail Reentry in a Non-Metropolitan County

Matt Richie
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Criminology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Richie, Matt, "The Rabble in the Suburbs: An Examination of Jail Reentry in a Non-Metropolitan County" (2019). *Theses and Dissertations*. 2239.
<https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/2239>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by UWM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UWM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact open-access@uwm.edu.

THE RABBLE IN THE SUBURBS
AN EXAMINATION OF JAIL REENTRY IN A NON-METROPOLITAN COUNTY

by
Matt Richie

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in Social Welfare

at
The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
August 2019

ABSTRACT

THE RABBLE IN THE SUBURBS AN EXAMINATION OF JAIL REENTRY IN A NON-METROPOLITAN COUNTY

by

Matt Richie

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2019
Under the Supervision of Professor Thomas P. LeBel

The rabble was a term first used by Irwin (1985) to describe the detached individuals that are incarcerated in America's jails. These individuals are not overly violent or malicious, rather these are the people that the rest of society would rather not have on their streets. Irwin's (1985) work was completed in San Francisco in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, since then there has been very little replication of his work. This study examines a more contemporary jail population to see if Irwin's analysis is still relevant. Moreover, this study examines a jail population in a non-urban area. Much of the reentry literature has examined individuals returning from prison in urban areas. While the research indicates that the majority of individuals return to urban areas, a fair number of individuals are never arrested or incarcerated in urban areas. Thus, it is important to better understand how recidivism from jail operates in a non-urban area.

This study takes a mixed-methods approach in uncovering how this kind of recidivism operates as well as who is incarcerated in a non-urban jail. The quantitative portion of this study examined data from the Pretrial Services Screening Report (PSSR)¹, which provides information on the barriers to reentry (mental and physical health issues, alcohol and substance abuse, education, housing, veteran status) and factors that are associated with desistance from crime

¹ This data is collected by Wisconsin Community Services on all individuals booked into the jail on new charges.

(marriage, employment, parenthood). By combining both desistance factors and barriers to reentry, this study helps us better understand why individuals recidivate as well as how they avoid further involvement with the criminal justice system. Also, within the quantitative portion, will be a replication of Irwin's (1985) typology. However, this typology was constructed using hierarchical cluster analysis, instead of interviews with incarcerated individuals.

For the qualitative portion, the grounded theory methodology was used to construct a theoretical framework for understanding jail reentry in a non-urban area. This analysis was conducted by interviewing the security and administrative staff (correctional officers, command staff, case managers, and jail screeners) at the Waukesha County Jail. Much of the reentry literature has interviewed inmates in understanding their reentry experience. While this is valuable information, the decision to interview correctional staff was made because of their experiences with individuals incarcerated at their facility, specifically the individuals who have cycled in and out of the jail. Interview participants were asked questions surrounding what kinds of offenders are in jail, the issues these individuals face, and why they come back. With these two approaches, the results were used to triangulate the answers to the major research questions – who is in a non-urban jail and why they come back?

Results suggest that young, male individuals, with a prior record, and whose initial charge was a property offense were most likely to reoffend. However, the reasons for recidivism differ by location. It is clear that individuals in urban and non-urban areas differ in terms of barriers to reentry and desistance factors. This study also highlights why using a mixed methods study allows the researcher to develop more detailed conclusions and a deeper understanding of the problem at hand. The combination of descriptive statistics, logistic regression, cluster

analysis, and in-depth interviews allowed the researcher to better understand not only who was in jail but why some individuals come back.

Irwin's (1985) analysis revealed that the jail is a warehouse for San Francisco's underclass. The primary goal of this study was to examine if jails in the suburbs are housing the underclass and how recidivism operates for this offender population. Essentially, this study was looking for (and found) the rabble in the suburbs.

© Copyright by Matt Richie, 2019
All Rights Reserved

To Charlotte,
whose first five years of life have been anything but boring

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review	18
Chapter 3: Methodology	72
Chapter 4: Descriptive Statistics Results	102
Chapter 5: Regression Results	128
Chapter 6: Cluster Analysis Results	181
Chapter 7: Qualitative Results	198
Chapter 8: Discussion	226
Chapter 9: Conclusion.....	250
References.....	260
Appendix WCS PSSR Screen.....	296
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	299

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Census and UCR Information Table	8
Table 2: Number of Screens by Year	76
Table 3: Variable Operationalizations	87-88
Table 4: Qualitative Data Analysis	98
Table 5: ANOVA Results	103-110
Table 6: New Charge DV Overall Sample	132
Table 7: New Conviction DV Overall Sample	135
Table 8: New Jail Sentence DV Overall Sample	138
Table 9: New Prison Sentence DV Overall Sample	140
Table 10: New Charge DV Waukesha City Sample	144
Table 11: New Conviction DV Waukesha City Sample	146
Table 12: New Jail Sentence DV Waukesha City Sample	148
Table 13: New Prison Sentence DV Waukesha City Sample	150
Table 14: New Charge DV Waukesha County Sample	153
Table 15: New Conviction DV Waukesha County Sample	155
Table 16: New Jail Sentence DV Waukesha County Sample	157
Table 17: New Prison Sentence DV Waukesha County Sample	159
Table 18: New Charge DV Milwaukee City Sample	162
Table 19: New Conviction DV Milwaukee City Sample	164
Table 20: New Jail Sentence DV Milwaukee City Sample	166
Table 21: New Prison Sentence DV Milwaukee City Sample	168
Table 22: New Charge DV Milwaukee County Sample	171
Table 23: New Conviction DV Milwaukee County Sample	173
Table 24: New Jail Sentence DV Milwaukee County Sample	174
Table 25: New Prison Sentence DV Milwaukee County Sample	176
Table 26: Cluster Results	184-186
Table 27: Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees	201

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. PSSR Employment Question	83
Figure 2. Cluster Analysis Dendogram	182
Figure 3. Causal Map for Theoretical Framework	206

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people to thank for their help with this project and for their support throughout my doctoral education. First, I could not have completed any of this without the love and support of my wife Kelly, whose patience and perspective has gotten us through this entire process. I would also like to thank Charlotte and Ben, who blindly believe I can do anything and are always excited to hear about jails and crime.

I also need to thank my mother, Karen, who recognizes the difficulty of the doctoral program, but like Charlotte and Ben, simply knew I could do it. I'd like to thank my father, James, for providing encouragement, in his way. I need to thank my in-laws, Chris and Dannette, for always being available to help out when I was in a pinch. Rounding out the family, I'd like to thank my brothers Jonathan and Dan for making me laugh when things got tense. And of course, Betty (who is proud) and LeRoy (who I know would have been proud).

Aside from my family are the people who agreed to be on the committee. First and foremost, Dr. Thomas LeBel has been my advisor for seven years and two degrees. He has taught me so much over the years about research, teaching, and service to the university and one's community. Despite being a Boston sports fan, we have gotten along well, regardless of what sport was in season. I have had the pleasure of getting to know Dr. Tina Freiburger over the years as well and early on she put out an open invitation to ask any question about academia and I have probably worn out that invitation at this point. However, Dr. Freiburger taught me how to work and challenged me in ways that continue to benefit me. Dr. Michael Brondino is the classic statistics professor which is why the only assignment I got a 100% on his class is still tacked to my wall. Dr. Danielle Romain has challenged me to think about the interactions within the criminal justice system and the language that is used; which at times has been uncomfortable but has made me a better researcher when I'm observing or discussing various aspects of the criminal justice system. Dr. Jonathan Caudill offered me a different perspective and taught me how to collaborate with organizations in the criminal justice system. His lessons on not overpromising and professionalism continue to be an asset in my new position. Finally, I need to thank the hardworking men and women working as correctional officers – they have a story that is seldom heard. This project would not have been possible without them.

I also need to thank several friends and colleagues that have pushed me towards the end of this long journey. Daniela Imig was at times the bulldozer for this project, doing anything to make sure this study got done. Ben Grams was my first officemate in graduate school and taught me how graduate school works and was in some ways my protector in that first year. His insights over the years have always been helpful. Ali Sheeran and I made it through 27. Ali has always been a helpful and encouraging friend while we slogged through graduate education; in the darker moments of graduate school, it was good to have someone to commiserate with. Taylor Rowley has been a friend outside of social welfare and was a great lunch friend through the preliminary exam and dissertation prospectus and final product. Having someone to commiserate with through graduate school helps immensely. Darin Haerle and Charlotte Bradstreet for reminding me I could do this. Win Shelley for calling me out about the job market. Mike and Dale from Scuttlepuck. James and Jimmie from Small Town Murder. Bob Dylan, George Harrison, Jeph Loeb, Kurt Vonnegut, Dr. Cynthia Pan, and the congregations of Holy Cross Lutheran Church and Gloria Dei Lutheran Church.

I need to thank guys at Manchester Group Inc. and the folks in my fantasy hockey and fantasy football leagues that helped provide a distraction during graduate school. I would also like to thank the members of the qualitative working group – Dr. Joan Blakey, Hui Xie, and Megan Meyer.

Finally, I want to thank all of the faculty and staff of the Helen Bader School of Social Welfare, in my time working there I got married, had two children, dealt with the deaths of close friends and family, and dealt with my son's medical issues. I figured out how to be an adult on the 10th and 11th floors of Enderis Hall; and it was wonderful. The folks at HBSSW are the nicest and most caring people I have ever had the pleasure of knowing. This is a great place to work.

Thank you!

Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose and Importance

The purpose of this dissertation is to describe the reentry experience for those being released from a jail in a non-urban county. As will be discussed in further detail below, both jail reentry and reentry in non-urban areas are under-researched topics in criminal justice and criminology. Moreover, there is a lack of theory explaining jail incarceration and recidivism in non-urban areas. As such, this dissertation presents a theoretical framework to explain this phenomenon. The introductory section presents a brief overview of the nature of jail and reentry. The second section discusses reentry in non-urban areas. The final section presents an argument for the importance of a study that examines jail reentry in non-urban areas.

The Jail

Aside from police lock-ups or drunk tanks, jails are typically one's first experience with incarceration as well as the gateway into the criminal justice system. These facilities are unique from prisons in a few ways. First, jails typically house individuals either awaiting trial or who have been sentenced². Kang-Brown and Subramanian (2017) found that 61 percent of individuals in jail are awaiting trial. Whereas in prison, individuals have been convicted of a felony. Jails are responsible for incarcerating individuals who have not been convicted of a crime while also incarcerating those that have been. Minton and Golinelli (2013) estimated that only 38 percent of individuals in jail have been convicted of their current charge; 60 percent of which are for misdemeanor crimes (Clear, Cole, & Reisig, 2016).

Second, there are more individuals in prison at any given point in time than in jail. Kaeble and Glaze (2016) found that in 2015 the United States prison population was more than

² Jails are also responsible for housing individuals who are incarcerated for immigration violations (Kang-Brown & Subramanian, 2017).

twice that of the jail population. However, the Vera Institute of Justice (2015) estimates that there are vast differences between the number of people that are admitted to jails and prisons. They found that local jail admissions totaled more than 11 million people and were 19 times higher than state and federal prison admissions (Vera Institute of Justice, 2015). It is unlikely that these 11 million admissions are all different people, evidence shows that there is a group of individuals who cycle in and out of local jails.

MacDonald and colleagues (2015) examined these “frequent flyers” at New York’s Rikers Island Jail and found that over the course of six years, these individuals were admitted an average of 23.9 times with the highest number of admissions being 66. Moreover, these individuals had high rates of serious mental illness, substance abuse issues, and were more likely to experience homelessness. These individuals also were more likely to have a host of medical issues, including HIV, hepatitis C, and diabetes, when compared to a similar group of offenders that had an average of almost 4 admissions in the past 6 years (MacDonald et al., 2015). Of course, there are individuals who enter jail once and never come back – the point remains that there is a group of individuals who enter jail at numerous points of their life.

Because of this reality, jail can be more disruptive to a person’s livelihood than prison (Pogrebin, Dodge, & Katsampes, 2001). If an individual is sent to prison, they will be out of civilian life for typically more than a year and it is expected that they will have to simply start over upon release. The short jail sentence is different in that it is intended to be a “wake up call” for otherwise law-abiding citizens (Maruna, 2016, p. 99). Meaning that, a short stay in jail will allow the individual to take stock of their life and decide against criminal behavior. Maruna (2016) is critical of this rational choice framework and argues that the evidence for this “wake up call” notion contradicts existing evidence in criminology. Essentially, the short-term sanction

can have negative implications for employment, housing, and familial relationships, especially for those with children (Pogrebin et al., 2001). While jail is typically seen as a lesser punishment, the aftereffects may not differ for the offender when compared to prison.

The number of jailed offenders far surpasses those in prison. Additionally, there are individuals who cycle in and out of jail quite often. These individuals are afflicted with a number of issues that make life more difficult. Despite these concerns, much of the reentry literature has examined men and women leaving prisons.

While the work of MacDonald and colleagues (2015) examines jail reentry, it describes who comes back frequently but ignores the question of what circumstances surrounded their readmission and the reasons they were reincarcerated. Rather, their analysis is a broad view of frequently incarcerated individuals at Rikers Island.

Another limitation of their study is generalizability, in that there are few places like New York City and fewer jails like Rikers Island. Thus, the results of their study are well-situated within the anomalous streets of New York City, but offer few solutions or policy recommendations for the more suburban or rural communities dealing with jail reentry. The question then turns to what should guide these communities and are the issues in New York City analogous to suburban or rural areas. There is a need for a richer and deeper understanding of jail reentry, particularly as it relates to non-urban small cities and towns as these areas contain approximately 86 percent of the jails throughout the United States (Kang-Brown & Subramanian, 2017).

As for the current study, the Waukesha County Jail is classified as a medium and small metro area. According to Kang-Brown and Subramanian (2017) there are 361 jails like this in the country which consists of 25 percent of the country (77 million residents; counties with

population more than 250,000 but less than a million residents) and accounts for a fifth of the nation's jail population (148,674 individuals)³.

Non-Urban Reentry

Given that many offenders come from urban areas, it is not surprising that they return to the same areas (Stohr & Walsh, 2016). Indeed, several studies have examined how returning to urban areas affects reentry for offenders (LaVigne, Kachnowski, Travis, Naser, & Visher, 2003; LaVigne, Mamalian, Travis, & Visher, 2003; LaVigne, Thomson, Visher, Kachnowski, & Travis, 2003; Watson, Solomon, LaVigne, Travis, Funches, & Parthasarathy, 2004). However, there is evidence that individuals in non-urban areas are increasingly more likely to be sent to prison compared to individuals who live in more urban areas (Keller & Pearce, 2016).

Milwaukee County has the highest prison admission rate in the state of Wisconsin at 26.4 per 100,000 people. However, since 2006 this number has decreased by 37 percent. In comparison, Waukesha County, has a prison admission rate of 10.4 per 100,000 people, but this number has increased by 14 percent since 2006. Given this trend, understanding the lives of individuals living in non-urban areas is critical to understanding reentry (Keller & Pearce, 2016).

There are a few factors that are different in urban versus non-urban areas. The first difference relates to employment. Garland and colleagues (2011) found that employment has benefits in rural areas similar to those found in more urban environments (King, 2013; Uggen, 2000). However, Wodahl (2006) argues that because rural employers tend to employ fewer

³ These figures exclude the following states because they do not have county jails, rather they have a unified prison-jail system: Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Rhode Island, and Vermont (Kang-Brown & Subramanian, 2017). For reference, urban areas consist of 62 jails for 31 percent of the country (95 million residents; counties with more than a million individuals) and 27 percent of the nation's jail population; small metro areas consist of 715 jails for 33 percent of the country (91 million residents; counties with less 250,000 individuals but more than 50,000 individuals) and 33 percent of the nation's jail population; and rural areas consist of 1,936 county jails for 15 percent of the country (45 million residents; counties with fewer than 50,000 individuals) and 20 percent of the nation's jail population (Kang-Brown & Subramanian, 2017).

individuals, they can be more selective in who they hire and are less likely to hire formerly incarcerated individuals.

Housing poses similar issues; aside from the economic issue of not being able to find affordable housing, rental properties make up less than a quarter of the housing stock in rural areas (Wodahl, 2006). This often requires offenders to live in situations that could pose a risk to the conditions of their probation (i.e. living with peers who they are not allowed to have contact with). Without affordable and prosocial housing the alternative is oftentimes being homeless.

Another factor that is different in non-urban areas is transportation. While this is also an obstacle in urban environments, public transportation and mass transit in non-urban areas is virtually nonexistent. A lack of or limited public transportation makes reentry in non-urban areas more difficult. Wodahl (2006) cites that it is more difficult to obtain employment in rural areas because of the transportation issues, which is often a condition of supervision (Wodahl, 2006). Offenders also struggle getting to appointments for physical and mental health because of this issue (Zajac, Hutchison, & Meyer, 2014).

Addressing the risks and needs for recently released offenders has been shown to reduce recidivism (Blandford & Osher, 2013). However, Zajac and colleagues (2014) found that there is a lack of support services for returning offenders that address criminal thinking, problem-solving skills, and programming for sex offenders in non-urban areas.

Those who wish to seek treatment for their drug and alcohol issues, often must attend programs that emphasize religion (12-step programs) because of the limited social service network in non-urban areas (Edmond, Aletaris, & Roman, 2015; Wodahl, 2006). Garland and colleagues (2011) found that some of their participants did not mind this and may have done better because of the religious undertones. Other participants resisted this type of programming

and went without treatment. Another issue with treatment in non-urban areas is the lack of privacy. The smaller number of individuals living in these areas does not allow for the anonymity that the urban treatment centers and self-help groups can allow for. This can lead to increased perceptions of stigma for their mental health or substance abuse issues (Garland et al., 2011).

Finally, there is also evidence that professional treatment, outside of self-help groups, is at a lower standard than in urban centers (Edmond et al., 2015). Edmond and colleagues (2015) found that individuals in rural areas have reduced access to highly educated counselors, fewer wraparound services, and were less likely to have a physician on staff. Because there are fewer resources for individuals with substance abuse issues in rural areas, the treatment for these disorders is at a lower standard compared to more urban areas.

While the assumption for most of criminological history has been that the inner city is where individuals struggle most, there is a fair amount of research that points to the opposite. In a recent conversation with the jail administrator of a non-urban county, one that he referred to as the wealthiest county in the state, he said the reason why the county is so wealthy is that they do not spend on these services because the people who have the money are not directly affected by these issues and the people who need these services do not have the capital or voice to make changes to better their situation (personal communication, Jail Administrator, March 3, 2017).

Defining Rural and the Case for Waukesha

The US Census Bureau (2010) defines urban areas based on population threshold, density, land use, and distance from urban development. For population threshold, locations with 50,000 or more people are classified as urbanized areas; urban clusters include areas with

less than 50,000 people but more than 2,500 people. Urban density is defined as a census block that has 1,000 people per square mile or more. Areas with a density of 500 people per square mile are included as urban areas as well to allow for areas that are a mix of residential and non-residential land use. Aside from residential areas, land use is also part of the criteria for urban areas. The US Census Bureau categorizes an area as urban if a high amount of the area is paved or occupied by parking lots, airports, or commercial real estate. Furthermore, areas can be considered urban if they are within 2.5 miles of areas that meet the first two criteria. For instance, if there were two urban areas separated by a large shopping center (no more than 2.5 miles apart), the entire area would be considered urban. If an area does not meet these criteria, it is categorized as rural by the US Census Bureau. This definition categorizes both smaller cities outside major metropolitan areas and smaller towns even further removed as rural.

All of this being the case, the census definition of urban lacks clarity on what it really means for an area to be urban, suburban, or rural. As such, the case must be made that Waukesha is not an urban county and that it is an ideal location for this study. This case will be made by using US Census (2018) and UCR Crime Data (FBI, 2015). There is little debate that the city of Milwaukee represents an urban area and by extension, Milwaukee County is more urban than not. The four locations for this study are Waukesha County, Waukesha City, Milwaukee County, and Milwaukee City. These four locations share some similarities as they are affluent areas in all four locations but there are also more impoverished parts in each of these locations where crime is more pervasive. While there may be some similarities, when examining the census information and crime data for these locations, differences emerge. As such, figures (**Table 1**) are presented to highlight the differences between Waukesha City, Waukesha County,

Milwaukee City, and Milwaukee County. Figures for the state of Wisconsin are also reported to serve as a reference category.

Table 1: Census and UCR Information Table					
	Wisconsin	Waukesha City	Waukesha County	Milwaukee City	Milwaukee County
Sample Count	6828	2196	2255	1953	422
Population	5,795,483	72,489	328,132	595,351	356,734
White alone	81.30%	78.50%	90.71%	35.80%	77.70%
Black alone	6.70%	3.70%	1.14%	38.90%	7.68%
Hispanic	6.90%	12.50%	3.10%	18.40%	9.59%
American Indian	1.20%	0.30%	0.30%	0.50%	1.83%
Asian	2.90%	3.40%	3.77%	4.00%	5.07%
Foreign born persons	4.90%	7.30%	4.61%	9.70%	7.30%
Median household income	\$56,759	\$61,380.00	\$85,504.04	\$38,289.00	\$60,960.47
Median value housing-owned	\$169,300	\$194,800.00	\$277,695.86	\$115,800.00	\$207,873.66
Persons in poverty, percent	11.30%	10.60%	3.52%	27.40%	5.25%
High school diploma or higher	91.70%	93.20%	96.62%	83.00%	94.74%
Bachelor's degree or higher	29.00%	36.20%	44.38%	23.80%	40.61%
Violent Crime	17,647	108	221	9583	655
Violent Crime Rate	30.45	14.90	6.74	160.96	18.36
Murder	240	3	2	145	5
Murder Rate	0.41	0.41	0.06	2.44	0.14
Rape	3004	31	52	436	33
Rape Rate	5.18	4.28	1.58	7.32	0.93
Robbery	5232	25	37	3749	345
Robbery Rate	9.03	3.45	1.13	62.97	9.67
Aggravated Assault	10395	49	130	5253	272
Agg. Assault Rate	17.94	6.76	3.96	88.23	7.62
Property Crime	113924	1135	3145	25602	11587
Property Crime Rate	196.57	156.58	95.85	430.03	324.81
Burglary	19554	162	329	5481	1172
Burglary Rate	33.74	22.35	10.03	92.06	32.85
Larceny	83385	940	2664	12741	9212
Larceny Rate	143.88	129.67	81.19	214.01	258.23
Auto Theft	10985	33	143	7380	951
Auto Theft Rate	18.95	4.55	4.36	123.96	26.66
Arson	405	2	7	223	29
Arson Rate	0.7	0.28	0.21	3.75	0.81

The first row represents how many individuals are represented in the current sample by location. The total sample only included individuals in Wisconsin and was 6,828 individuals. Waukesha County had the most individuals from the study sample (n=2,255). Waukesha City had the second highest number of individuals from the sample (n=2,196). Followed by Milwaukee City that had just slightly fewer individuals (n=1,953). Milwaukee County had the fewest number of individuals in the study sample (n=422). The figures for Waukesha County do not include information for Waukesha City; the same is true for the figures for Milwaukee County⁴.

In terms of population, Milwaukee City had the highest population, which is slightly more than 10 percent of the state's population. Milwaukee County has the second highest population when Milwaukee City is removed, which is just over 350,000 individuals. Waukesha County has a slightly smaller population with almost 330,000 individuals. Waukesha City has the smallest population with just over 70,000 individuals.

Waukesha County is the most homogenous location with approximately 90 percent of the location being white. Waukesha City and Milwaukee County were both just below the state percentage for white individuals. Milwaukee City is the most diverse location with over a third of the population being white but almost 40 percent of the population being African American. This is much higher than the state percentage of African Americans and the other locations. Milwaukee City also had the highest percentage of Hispanic individuals (18.4 percent), followed by Waukesha City (12.5 percent), and Milwaukee County (9.59 percent). Only three percent of Waukesha County consists of Hispanic individuals. The percentages for American Indian are all

⁴ This is why the population for Milwaukee County is lower than the population for Milwaukee City, despite Milwaukee City being housed within Milwaukee County.

quite low, but Milwaukee County had the highest percentage American Indian individuals with almost two percent. Milwaukee County also had the highest percentage of Asian individuals at approximately five percent, but all locations were higher than the state percentage of Asian individuals. In terms of foreign-born persons, Milwaukee City had the highest percentage at almost 10 percent. Waukesha County had the lowest percentage of foreign-born persons with just under five percent. Milwaukee County and Waukesha City had the same percentage of foreign-born persons (7.3 percent).

To explain the differences for socioeconomic status, median household income, median value of owner-occupied housing units, and the percent of persons in poverty were used. Waukesha County had the highest median household income (\$85,504.04) which was more than twice as high as Milwaukee City's median household income (\$38,289.00) which had the lowest. Milwaukee County and Waukesha City had similar median household incomes at around \$61,000. A similar trend emerged for median value of owner-occupied housing. Waukesha County had the highest and Milwaukee City had the lowest. However, this type of housing in Milwaukee County was on average \$13,000 more than in Waukesha City. For persons in poverty, Waukesha County (3.52 percent) had the lowest percentage but was closely followed by Milwaukee County (5.25 percent). Around 10 percent of Waukesha City was below the poverty line, but approximately 27 percent of residents in Milwaukee City were below the poverty line.

As with socioeconomic status, education followed a similar trend. Waukesha County has the highest percentage of individuals that graduated high school (96.62 percent) or had a bachelor's degree (44.38 percent). Milwaukee City had the lowest percentage of individuals who graduated high school (83 percent) and had a bachelor's degree (23.8 percent). Milwaukee

County and Waukesha City were again close in terms of education, but Milwaukee County had a slightly higher percentage of individuals that graduated high school or had a bachelor's degree.

For the census information, it is clear that Waukesha County is the most affluent and educated. Whereas Milwaukee City has the least education and is the least affluent. Milwaukee County and Waukesha City are comparable in terms of education and socioeconomic status, but Milwaukee County is slightly more educated and affluent than Waukesha City, but still below Waukesha County.

In terms of crime information, Milwaukee City is consistently higher than the state rate for all UCR offenses. In contrast, Waukesha County is consistently lower than the state rate for UCR offenses.

For violent crime rate, Milwaukee City was more than five times higher than the state rate, whereas Waukesha County was a fifth of the state rate. Waukesha City had the second lowest violent crime rate, followed by Milwaukee County. For murder rate, Waukesha County and Milwaukee County were lower than the state rate. Waukesha City had the same murder rate as the state rate and Milwaukee City was much higher than the state rate. Milwaukee County had the lowest rape rate, followed by Waukesha County. Waukesha City had the second highest rape rate, but this was still below the state rate. Milwaukee City's rape rate was the highest across the four locations and was higher than the state rate. In terms of robbery, Milwaukee City's rate was seven times that of the state rate. Milwaukee County's rate was near the state rate. Waukesha County had the lowest robbery rate and Waukesha City had the second lowest robbery rate. Similar to other violent crime rates, Waukesha County had the lowest aggravated assault rate and Milwaukee City was the highest aggravated assault rate. Waukesha City has a

slightly lower aggravated assault rate than Milwaukee County but both rates were below the state aggravated assault rate.

For property crime rates, the Waukesha locations were consistently lower than the Milwaukee locations. For overall property crime rates, Waukesha County had half the property crime rate of the state; whereas Milwaukee City had more than double the state rate. Milwaukee County had the second highest property crime rate. Waukesha City's property crime rate was lower than the state rate but higher than Waukesha County's property crime rate. The rates for burglary followed a similar trend. The Waukesha locations were still the lowest rates and Milwaukee City had the highest burglary rate. Milwaukee County had the second highest burglary rate, but this rate was slightly lower than the state rate. In terms of larceny, Milwaukee County had the highest rate, followed by Milwaukee City. Waukesha County had the lowest larceny rate. Waukesha City's larceny rate was lower than the state rate but higher than the Waukesha County larceny rate. There were similar trends for the auto theft and arson rates. Waukesha County was the lowest, followed by Waukesha City. For both auto theft and arson, Milwaukee County was higher than the state rate and Milwaukee City had the highest rate of auto theft and arson.

Crime appears to be much lower in the more affluent Waukesha County and much higher in the less affluent Milwaukee City. Milwaukee County appears to be slightly more affluent but with much more crime than Waukesha City. Thus, the expectation was that Waukesha County residents would be the least likely to recidivate, followed by Waukesha City, then Milwaukee County residents. Finally, given the lack of resources and the high crime rates in Milwaukee City, these residents would be most likely to recidivate.

It should also be noted that Wisconsin can be a difficult place for minority individuals to live, especially for African Americans and American Indian individuals (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013). Pawasarat and Quinn (2013) found that the percentage of African Americans incarcerated in Wisconsin is almost double the percentage of African Americans incarcerated across the United States (12.8 percent versus 6.7 percent). Additionally, the percent of incarcerated American Indian individuals in Wisconsin is more than twice as high as the percentage of American Indian individuals incarcerated across the country (7.6 percent versus 3.1 percent). In fact, Wisconsin has the second highest percentage of African Americans (Nellis, 2016) and the highest percentage of American Indian individuals incarcerated compared to any other state in the union (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013).

More locally, Milwaukee has historically been seen as an intensely segregated area (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013) and it is clear that racial demographics of Milwaukee and Waukesha City and County are quite different. Because of their proximity, there is the potential for disproportionate minority contact for individuals traveling from Milwaukee to Waukesha or even further to Madison and the Minneapolis and St. Paul area. Existing evidence shows that “Driving While Black” (DWB) is a problem for minority individuals, especially when individuals are confronted by local or municipal police (Warren, Tomaskovic-Devey, Smith, Zingraff, & Mason, 2006). That is to say that when minority individuals, specifically African American individuals, are driving in areas where they are not the majority of the population, they are more likely to get pulled over and searched, simply for being African American (Withrow, 2004). In terms of this study, the findings from Withrow (2004) are especially important because African Americans are more likely to be stopped in predominantly white areas, like Waukesha City and Waukesha County. As such, it is not difficult to see how African Americans

who are traveling in Waukesha City or Waukesha County could be more susceptible to race-based traffic enforcement.

All this information is important in understanding the locations in which individuals will be returning to after their initial incarceration at the Waukesha County Jail. Prior literature has demonstrated the importance of neighborhood effects in reentry (Chamberlain & Wallace, 2016; Kubrin & Stewart, 2006; McNeeley, 2018; Morenoff, 2014; Reisig, Bales, Hay, & Wang, 2007; Stahler, 2013; Wang, Mears, & Bales, 2010). Kubrin and Stewart (2006) found that the neighborhood in which individuals return to influences how they fare in terms of recidivism. By including measures for neighborhood disadvantage, Kubrin and Stewart (2006) were able to show that individuals returning to more disadvantaged areas were more likely to recidivate than individuals who returned to less disadvantaged areas. Additional evidence of neighborhood effects was demonstrated by Wang and colleagues (2010) who found that black individuals who returned to areas with higher unemployment were more likely to recidivate.

With this finding, it is expected that reentry will differ by location. The four locations being used for this study are unique in terms of census information and crime data. Milwaukee City appears to be the poorest, least educated, and most crime-ridden. Whereas Waukesha County appears to be overwhelmingly white, highly educated, affluent, and relatively crime free. As for Milwaukee County and Waukesha City, there are issues at hand for both areas. The quality of life in Milwaukee County is better than in Milwaukee City, but there are still serious crime issues. Whereas in Waukesha City there is more crime and less affluence than in Waukesha County. Finally, there is a clear difference between the Milwaukee and Waukesha locations – Waukesha appears to be less disadvantaged compared to Milwaukee in general.

Significance of the Study

This study is important for a few reasons. First, the study shows the needs (mental health, physical health, alcohol and substance abuse, housing, education, employment and income, and veteran-specific needs) of jail inmates in a non-urban county by using administrative screening data. Second, it identifies which needs are significant predictors of recidivism by using Wisconsin's Consolidated Court Automation Program (CCAP) to follow offenders over a three-year period.

Third, given the various barriers to reentry, this study incorporates factors associated with desistance from crime (marriage, employment, and parenthood) to examine if these factors impact recidivism. Fourth, the study site has offenders from urban and non-urban counties. As such, this study examines the needs of jail inmates and predictors of recidivism by where an individual lived prior to incarceration.

Fifth, prior literature has examined correctional staff's attitude towards rehabilitation and rehabilitative programming in general (Cullen, Lutze, Link, & Wolfe, 1989; Lambert & Hogan, 2009). This study continues this line of research but expands it to include correctional staff's attitudes and perceptions on what factors influence recidivism.

Finally, this study presents a theoretical framework that explains jail incarceration and recidivism in non-urban areas. Understanding the factors associated with recidivism from jail in non-urban areas is the first step in easing the strain this population puts on society.

The rest of this dissertation is separated into eight chapters. The second chapter discusses the conceptual framework guiding this study; which is largely based on the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) as well as a review of the literature that will inform the current analysis, including the literature on barriers to reentry, desistance from crime, and correctional staff

perceptions of rehabilitation and rehabilitative programming. Research questions for this study are discussed throughout the second chapter with the according recidivism factors. The third chapter outlines the methodology for this study. A mixed methods design was used to better understand jail incarceration and recidivism in a non-urban area. Data from the Wisconsin Community Services' Pretrial Services Screening Report (PSSR) (see appendix) was used in conjunction with recidivism data collected from CCAP in quantitative analyses. The grounded theory methodology was used in the qualitative analysis where interviews with correctional staff and observations at the Waukesha County Jail were collected and analyzed.

The fourth chapter presents and summarizes the descriptive statistics for the sample. This discussion includes the figures for dependent and independent variables for the overall sample as well as for the four locations (Waukesha City, Waukesha County, Milwaukee City, and Milwaukee County). The fifth chapter presents the results for the logistic regression models for the four dependent variables (new charge, new conviction, new jail sentence, and new prison sentence) for the overall sample as well as the four locations. The sixth chapter discusses the results of the cluster analysis. The analysis revealed seven cluster groups – three of which are described as recidivists (more than 90 percent of the individuals in each cluster was charged with a new crime) and non-recidivists (less than a quarter of the individuals in each cluster was charged with a new crime).

The seventh chapter presents the theoretical framework that was constructed through interviews with correctional staff members. This chapter also provides evidence that correctional staff were the proper group of individuals to ascertain this information. The eighth chapter provides a discussion of the qualitative and quantitative results of the study. Given the mixed-methods approach to this study, the results will be woven together in answering the

research questions. The last chapter summarizes the major findings of this study as well as provides research and policy implications for academics and practitioners.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

Conceptual Framework

To understand reentry from jail, it is first important to understand who is in jail. The more recent literature on jail has examined specific issues inmates are affected by such as mental illness (Baillargeon, Binswanger, Penn, William, & Murray, 2009), substance or alcohol abuse (Dowden & Brown, 2002; Phillips, 2010), physical illness (Mallik-Kane & Visser, 2008), housing (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008), employment (Decker, Ortiz, Spohn, & Hedberg, 2015; Holzer, Raphael, and Stoll, 2006), and gender-specific reentry issues (Fedock, Fries, & Kubiak, 2013; Rose & LeBel, 2017). In understanding existing jail literature, it is important to understand how these unique difficulties interact with one another. Individuals in jail are likely suffering from more than one ailment (i.e. an individual with a substance abuse and mental health issue) (Blandford & Osher, 2013; Hammett, Roberts, & Kennedy, 2001; Rose & LeBel, 2017).

The work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) provides a framework that integrates the various needs of jail inmates. For Goldfarb (1975), jails are the “nation’s dumping ground” (p. 2) where individuals with serious limitations are housed because they cannot function in society. These sentiments are echoed by Irwin (1985) who calls these individuals “the rabble” (p. 2) or the underclass of society. Both scholars make the point that individuals in jail are there because the public thinks they should not be allowed in mainstream society. Irwin (1985) argues that individuals in jails are either detached from society or seen as too disreputable or offensive to the law-abiding class of citizens. That is, their very existence on the margins of society provides the rationale for incarcerating them. In this way, the jail is effectively a form of social control that

targets individuals based on their threats to social order, rather than the seriousness of their criminal behavior.

Another point that both scholars make is that most individuals in jail have not necessarily committed serious crimes (homicide, rape, armed robbery, aggravated assault, etc.). Rather, there is more variability in the criminality of those in jail, in that any arrestable offense can be found within the jail. This is not true of prisons. Individuals arrested for public drunkenness or a minor disorderly conduct charge will not see the inside of a prison; they are reserved for the jail. However, an individual charged with first degree homicide will spend some time in jail and if he or she is convicted, will spend a great deal of time in prison as well. Jails house individuals charged with any crime, regardless of the severity or seriousness of the crime. The work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) diverge in important ways, which will be discussed in this section.

Goldfarb's Ultimate Ghetto

Goldfarb (1975) identifies five unique populations within the jail – the poor, the sick, narcotics addicts, alcoholics, and juveniles⁵. Goldfarb (1975) is less concerned about why individuals are in jail in terms of their criminality, rather, his analysis is concerned with the jail being a warehouse whose major purpose is to confine individuals that cannot or will not abide by society's norms and mores. Moreover, an overarching theme of his analysis revolves around resources and wealth, in that the jail is typically full of individuals who lack access to resources and wealth. The belief is that if they had access to either of these, they would not be in jail.

⁵ This dissertation examines adults, a discussion on juveniles is not included, but the first four populations are discussed. More current literature will be discussed concerning these populations as well.

The Poor

Goldfarb (1975) is quick to point out that the United States has used and continues to use the law and correctional facilities to incarcerate poor individuals. This is not done overtly, in that there is no law against being poor, rather poor individuals are incarcerated because they cannot afford bail or even the bondsman's fee. Which in effect, is punishment for being destitute. Rather than letting these individuals engage in the workforce outside of correctional facilities, the jail houses them for their inability to pay. Goldfarb (1975) is critical of the cash bail system and the bondsmen option of paying 10 percent of the bail amount for release. He argues that this trend has inflated bail amounts because the judiciary still want the actual cost to the defendant to remain high. This is especially problematic when considering Goldfarb's (1975) observation that the serious offenders that would need additional supervision or incarceration before trial can typically buy their way out of jail, leaving many lower-level and less serious offenders occupying the jail.

Of course, bail is still a controversial topic to this day. The Vera Institute of Justice (2015) estimates that approximately 60 percent of defendants are detained prior to their trial and must provide the entire bail amount or a portion of it. This is especially concerning with the finding that average bail amounts have increased 43 percent between 1990 and 2009 (\$38,800 to \$55,400) (Vera Institute of Justice, 2015). Moreover, the percentage of people released were more likely to have been released on some sort of financial payment (bond or bail) in 2009 compared to 1990 (61 percent bond or bail; 38 percent release on recognizance). Bail is still an issue and Goldfarb's (1975) analysis is still accurate in that America's jails continue to operate like poorhouses and allow those with more wealth to exit the jail and prepare for their case. The

corollary of bail issues in Goldfarb's (1975) time and the present is meant to demonstrate, at least preliminarily, that the issues he wrote about are still pressing today.

Another contemporary example of incarcerating the poor is for child support nonpayment (Spjeldnes, Yamatani, & Davis, 2015). Spjeldnes and colleagues (2015) state that between 40,000 and 50,000 individuals are incarcerated in jail because of their inability to pay child support. Their review of the child support literature presents a clear case as to why these individuals cannot make these payments. Many of these individuals are unemployed, have little education, and are more likely to have a prior criminal record. As such, individuals incarcerated for nonpayment are not refusing to pay child support, they simply do not have the resources to make child support payments (Spjeldnes et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the punishment for the inability to pay child support is incarceration.

The Sick

In recent history, a larger emphasis has been placed on the mental health issues of incarcerated populations (Mallik-Kane & Visher, 2008). Goldfarb (1975) noted that these issues are widespread in the jail, but that treatment for these conditions is not at the level it needs to be to care for these individuals (Solomon et al., 2008). Current estimates for the prevalence of mental illness in jail show that Goldfarb's (1975) claims are still accurate (Steadman, Osher, Robbins, Case, & Samuels, 2009). Goldfarb (1975) argues that mental illness does not discriminate between individuals of different social classes, but that wealthier individuals suffering from these issues can afford treatment outside of the jail. Irwin (1985) also noted that a small section of his sample was struggling with a mental health issue. The deinstitutionalization of these individuals allowed them back into the community for treatment, but it did not decrease their offensiveness to the public. For both Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) individuals

struggling with a mental health issue are there because there is nowhere else for them to go. These individuals lack the resources to get the treatment they need but they do not commit serious crimes, so they are held for a shorter period where treatment is scarce (Solomon et al., 2008).

Goldfarb (1975) also addresses the prevalence of physical illness in jails. Prior to admittance into jail, individuals must receive medical clearance so that they enter the facility with no immediate physical injuries. However, many physical illness issues are chronic and require continued attention, such as epilepsy, asthma, heart-related conditions, HIV or AIDS, and diabetes to name a few (Goldfarb, 1975; Maruschak & Berzofsky, 2015; Mears & Cochran, 2012; Rose & LeBel, 2017). Given the various medical issues inmates are afflicted with, Goldfarb (1975) cites that the treatment and care available for these issues is lacking with a physician or nurse typically coming in periodically throughout the week or month. Unfortunately, since Goldfarb's (1975) analysis, the state of medical care in jails and the issues individuals face have not drastically changed for the better (Vera Institute of Justice, 2015)⁶

Individuals with Substance Abuse Histories

Both Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) identified several inmates in jail who are suffering from substance abuse issues. Also, both scholars identify heroin as the major problem substance. Goldfarb (1975) makes the point that addiction status differs by societal status, with the wealthier addicts rarely being incarcerated because they have access to pill-form narcotics or more synthetic narcotics. However, the individuals of lower socioeconomic status do not have this access and thus turn to heroin. Treatment for this addiction also differs by income level.

⁶ It should be noted that there are a wealth of interventions currently being employed to combat mental health issues in jails. Freudenberg & Heller (2016) provide a review of the ways in which the health of justice-involved individuals could be improved, specifically while these individuals are incarcerated.

While wealthier individuals with histories of addiction can enroll in treatment programs, the heroin addicts are left to either live on the streets or behind bars (Goldfarb, 1975).

For Irwin (1985), these individuals are faced with a life that is complicated by their addiction and for whom criminality is a way to satisfy their habit. Obtaining and maintaining their high is their goal and as such they are in constant conflict with law enforcement officers. Moreover, the criminality that is encouraged by substance abuse is something the law-abiding class does not approve of and is better dealt with by the jail. Especially, when the evidence suggests that substance abuse is a significant predictor of property crimes (Walters, 2016).

Between the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) and the present day, the major problem substance was crack cocaine (Inciardi, 2008). Recent news articles point to heroin making a “come back” in recent years (Seelye, 2016). Nevertheless, there is a group of individuals in jails that are often ripped from the streets and their drug use where they are housed in the jail and must deal with their addiction and the consequences of not being able to use (i.e. withdrawals). For individuals with histories of addiction, the jail often employs the “cold turkey” recovery option for those who cannot afford a more patient-centered recovery model – an option that the individual would not necessarily choose (Abadie, Gelpi-Acosta, Davila, Rivera, Welch-Larowitz, & Dombrowski, in press; Fresquez-Chavez & Fogger, 2015).

Alcoholics

Because of its prevalence, alcohol is not usually thought of as a dangerous substance. Also, because of the number of people who consume alcohol that are not involved in criminality, it receives less attention in the literature (White, Lee, Mun, & Loeber, 2012). Whereas members of different socioeconomic status have different access to drugs, Goldfarb (1975) argues that alcoholism does not differentiate along the same lines. Meaning that an addiction to alcohol can

happen to persons of any socio-economic status – alcohol is a classless drug. However, the laws for excessive drinking and drunkenness are not classless. Specifically, the types of laws that forbid drinking that occurs on the street corners and other public places. Irwin (1985) argues that the stereotypical homeless individual that drinks excessively, garners more attention from law enforcement than the middle-class individual who drinks too much at the bar, as long as he or she does not drive after consuming alcohol. Aside from the drunken driving issue, the real difference for excessive consumption of alcohol is the offensiveness of the individual consuming. The aggressive panhandler who is drinking is more likely to raise the attention of law enforcement than the college student stumbling back to their dorm room.

While there is some overlap with alcoholism and homelessness, the two can be examined separately. If we are to accept Goldfarb's (1975) claim that alcohol is a classless drug than it is certainly possible that not all alcohol-dependent inmates are homeless. Moreover, the high incident rate of drunken driving provides evidence that not all these individuals are destitute, poor, and homeless. In the very least, drunk driving requires the individual to have access to a vehicle. Alcoholism or alcohol dependence is a major factor for those in jail, for the wealthy and the rabble. Especially in Wisconsin, where more than 26,000 arrests were made for drunk driving in 2013 (465.21 per 100,000) (Data Planet, 2017a). This issue is also quite serious in Waukesha and Milwaukee County as well, where the rates per 100,000 for driving under the influence in 2013 were 408.99 and 386.03, respectively. These numbers have improved over the years for Waukesha County but in 2006 the rate of drunk driving was nearly double that of Milwaukee County (Data Planet, 2017b).

It is important to note that at the time of Goldfarb's (1975) writing, there were few if any laws against drunk driving (Wutke, 2016). However, in 1980 the organization Mothers Against

Drunk Driving (MADD) began raising public awareness to this problem. Since then, legislation has been changed in every state in the nation enacting laws against drunk driving and by 2004 all states had established .08 BAC as the legal limit for drunk driving (MADD, 2018). All of this being the case, Wisconsin seems to have a problem with alcohol. It is the only state that does not criminalize the first offense and has the “nation’s highest level of binge drinking” (CBS, 2015). As such the situation for members of the current sample may be even more dire. While a great deal has been done since MADD began, drunk driving (and now drugged driving) remains a large issue in America – indicating that Goldfarb’s assessment may still ring true, despite legislative measures.

Goldfarb’s (1975) analysis of who is in jail is still largely accurate. His four overarching themes are still apparent in correctional populations. However, his analysis does not incorporate criminality quite like Irwin (1985) does.

Irwin’s Rabble

Goldfarb’s (1975) examination of jail inmates focuses on *who* is in jail; Irwin (1985) was also concerned with this question but is much more interested in *what* these individuals did to be incarcerated in jail. As previously discussed, there is much overlap between the two works, but Irwin (1985) incorporates the criminal activity of these individuals to a much larger extent and is more concerned with their offensiveness. Taking these two factors into account, Irwin (1985) constructs a typology of distinct types of jail inmates. This analysis was done by examining the histories of a random sample of 95 felony arrests in the San Francisco County Jail. Three of these types were discussed earlier, namely the street alcoholics (14 out of the 95), drug (mostly heroin) addicts (6 out of the 95), or individuals with a mental health issue (4 out of the 95).

These three were closest to Goldfarb's (1975) examination, but because Irwin (1985) included criminality in his analysis, other types of inmates emerged.

Petty Hustler

Petty hustlers were the most common type of offender in jail (28 out of the 95). These offenders are characterized as stealing or conning enough to live, but not really making a career out of their criminality. They are the opportunists, engaging in petty theft, burglary, purse snatching, rolling drunks, and low-level drug dealing.

Corner Boys

This group was followed by the corner boys (14 out of the 95), who are characterized as young, working class men who display their masculinity by looking tough and mean. This can lead to these individuals beating up anyone, male or female, who challenges their manhood. They are typically employed in blue-collar jobs but engage in property crimes when the opportunity presents itself.

Square Johns

Square Johns (6 out of the 95) are a unique group in that they do not fit the rabble notion. These are more affluent people who got caught in the system, who can leverage their wealth and avoid punishment, regardless of guilt. Given the classless nature of alcohol, drunk driving may have been a prevalent offense for these individuals.

Outlaws

The last group is the outlaws (4 out of the 95) who are the career criminals and are likely to have served time in prison previously. These individuals have embraced a criminal identity and feel that crime is their only way to survive in society.

Reexamination of the Rabble Hypothesis

Given this typology of offenders it is clear that criminal activity plays a role in who is in jail, but that this criminal behavior is situated in the offensiveness of the individuals in jail. For Irwin (1985), the jailed population is a warehouse of individuals who are either detached from society or are deemed too offensive to live among law-abiding citizens. With this, offense seriousness is not a driving factor, rather it is just more evidence of the individual's offensiveness. However, there are certain limitations with Irwin's (1985) analysis. First, it is a small sample of individuals. Irwin (1985) randomly sampled from the larger population, but there is still some doubt as to whether this population would generalize to the overall jail population. Second, Irwin's sample comes from a unique place (San Francisco, California). Thus, it is difficult to know if this population would be generalizable to the larger United States jail populations especially given the concerns that the sample may not even be generalizable to the initial jail. Given these limitations, a major strength of Irwin's (1985) analysis is the richness of his data, in that he was able to examine a great deal of the participants' lives in constructing his typology.

More recent research has examined Irwin's (1985) rabble hypothesis. Using two jails in the Pacific Northwest, Backstrand, Gibbons, and Jones (1992) evaluated this hypothesis. Their design examined current charge for individuals arrested and/or incarcerated at these two jails. This is a sharp contrast from Irwin's (1985) analysis in that their data is only looking at why the individual is in jail this time. Their analysis is a snapshot of who was arrested and how serious their current crime is. As such, their findings contradict Irwin's (1985) rabble conclusion. Backstrand and colleagues (1992) found that nearly three-quarters of inmates were in jail for a Class A, B, or C felony and more than 80 percent of the total jailed population in these two

facilities was incarcerated for a felony. In this updated, examination of the rabble hypothesis, Backstrand and colleagues (1992) conclude that Irwin (1985) has overstated his argument and that jail populations largely consist of dangerous criminals and that this is the reason they garner more attention from law enforcement – not because they are offensive or detached from mainstream society.

However, there are limitations with Backstrand and colleagues' (1992) analysis as well. First, their data consisted of only the current charge and no information on previous criminal behavior or history of incarceration is included in their analysis. Second, there is very little demographic information in this study or information regarding the inmate's life outside of jail. Third, there is little information on whether the individuals have been convicted of a crime or if they are awaiting trial. With almost a quarter of their sample being incarcerated for a Class A felony, it is difficult to believe that these individuals are serving out their sentence in a jail, rather than being transferred to prison. Moreover, there is little information on whether these individuals were incarcerated for a probation violation and their initial charge is what was used for analysis. Given these limitations, there are some serious doubts as to the validity of the claims made by Backstrand and colleagues (1992). Moreover, it is somewhat suspect that an analysis that examined offense seriousness found support that offense seriousness plays a larger role in what constitutes the jail population. Essentially, Backstrand and colleagues (1992) only examined one piece of the rabble hypothesis. However, their evidence is certainly contrary to Irwin's (1985) analysis and as such warrants further examination.

Changing face of jails

It is important to note that since the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985), jails have evolved in a few ways. One major change has been the shift towards direct supervision in jails,

where correctional officers engage with the inmates in a more open or podular-based design (Zupan & Menke, 1988). However, this shift has not dealt with the ever-present concern of overcrowding in American jails. Local jails often collaborate with agencies or adopt their own alternatives to incarceration or diversion programs to decrease the number of individuals in their specific jail (Ruddell & Mays, 2011).

There is also evidence that the population within American jails is changing. Certainly, one of the larger shifts has been in California where individuals who would otherwise be sent to prison are now serving their sentence in a county jail (Caudill, Trulson, Marquart, Patten, Thomas, & Anderson, 2014). In 2013, there were more than 1,000 inmates serving sentences of five years or more in various California jails; which translated to the vast majority of jail inmates serving a felony sentence (84 percent) (May, Applegate, Ruddell, & Wood, 2014).

Continuing with the theme of a changing jail population, these facilities have served as detention facilities for the undocumented individuals in the United States, which saw a dramatic increase after the 9/11 attacks (Ruddell & Mays, 2011). Moreover, less populated jails will frequently house federal prisoners. What differentiates these offenders from those associated with the realignment efforts is that jails are compensated for housing these offenders. Because the operational cost to hold these offenders is significantly lower than the compensation they receive for such, federal prisoners and undocumented individuals have become a significant source of revenue for smaller jails in the United States (Ruddell & Mays, 2011).

All of this being the case, there are still facets of the jailed population that have not changed since the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985). As will be discussed later, jail inmates are still plagued with certain barriers to reentry; namely poor physical and mental health,

alcohol and substance abuse issues, inability to obtain or maintain employment, and several other issues. As such, this topic warrants further examination.

Summary

The conceptual framework for this study draws on a few areas of research. The first is the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) who argue that individuals incarcerated in jail are the undesirables of society. Thus, a question answered in this dissertation is whether their findings are still accurate today. Moreover, both scholars examined urban jail populations; Irwin (1985) exclusively with his examination of the San Francisco jail. Given the evidence discussed in the non-urban reentry section, in that the plight of individuals in non-urban areas is in some ways different (i.e. more difficult) than individuals in urban areas, do the findings of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) generalize to more affluent suburban or rural communities?

Finally, Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) were primarily interested in who is in jail. While this is interesting in an academic sense, the real concern for taxpayers and the public is more likely who goes back to jail. Both scholars describe the underclass or rabble in a static fashion, in that these individuals go to jail, get released, and then get reincarcerated. There is certainly evidence for this cycle (MacDonald et al., 2015), but who goes back and how quickly they return is a question that has not been answered within the context of the rabble hypothesis. Furthermore, what does reentry from jail look like for individuals from urban and non-urban areas. The questions of “who is in jail,” “how recidivism operates for jailed offenders,” and “does their housing address location when screened entering the jail matter” are the basis for this dissertation.

Literature Review

Given that much work has been done since Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985), a review of the literature surrounding reentry is presented in the following section. This review is separated into six sections. The first section discusses correctional staff's perception of inmates, specifically their views on rehabilitation and rehabilitative programming. The second section will discuss the jail reentry literature. Much of this literature is situated within programming in the jail, including holistic programming as well as programming for cognitive skills, substance abuse, and mental health. The third section will discuss barriers to reentry. Reentry literature typically examines individuals leaving prisons. As such this literature is incorporated to give a broader understanding of the obstacles individuals face upon release. These include problems related to mental and physical health, substance and alcohol abuse, housing, employment and income, education, and veteran-specific issues. Some individuals do not return to jail; thus, the fourth section discusses research surrounding desistance from crime. Specifically, the effects of employment, marriage, and parenthood on reoffending. Prior literature has found that engaging in these activities can reduce one's criminal behavior. The fifth section presents a review of the literature surrounding criminal history and demographic factors. The sixth section briefly summarizes the current study.

Correctional Staff Perceptions

Goldfarb (1975) travelled to several jails and had conversations with the staff in constructing his text. Irwin (1985) took a different approach and interviewed inmates and analyzed their records. Both scholars identified certain needs and deficits within the offender population. This may be because they were looking for these issues. On the other hand, it may be that these issues are so prevalent that individuals entering into a jail cannot help but take

notice. To understand which is more likely, it is important to consider the views and perceptions of the men and women who spend the most time with these incarcerated individuals, correctional officers and staff.

Scholars have come to different conclusions in relation to the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985). Stohr and Zupan (1992) examined whether correctional staff could identify the needs of inmates. They did this by surveying officers and inmates based on eight needs (privacy, freedom, support, safety, structure, activity, emotional feedback, and social stimulation) and examined whether the responses converge⁷. Their results point to officers inaccurately identifying the needs of inmates and the two parties prioritize needs differently. However, the analysis from Stohr and Zupan (1992) is in some ways answering a more philosophical question in that the survey asked inmates to prioritize their general needs. Today, officers are required to respond to immediate needs, at the start of every shift, officers are given orders on which inmates require specific services. Stohr and Zupan (1992) argue that “correctional officers are relatively oblivious to the needs of the inmates they supervise” (p. 88). However, the design of their study can only make conclusions based on what general needs inmates feel are important, not the actual delivery of these services. Thus, inmates in this study may be responding more to the conditions and regulations of the correctional facility rather than the correctional officer’s ability to deliver these services or their attentiveness to the daily needs of the incarcerated population.

Given the findings and design of Stohr and Zupan (1992), it is important to examine what other scholars have found regarding the connection between officers and inmates. Sykes (1958) wrote that the officers are generally ambivalent to the criminal nature of the inmates and that

⁷ The survey was a modified version of Toch’s (1977) Prison Preference Inventory.

over time even the most hardened criminals lose this label and become normal men, at least in the eyes of the officer. Thus, punishments received in prison are more likely based on infractions in prison rather than for crimes committed prior to incarceration.

However, the question that remains is how punishment is delivered and for what infractions. Sykes (1958) wrote in his section on the defects of total power that correctional officers are pitted between two conflicting forces. First, the inmates who wish to exercise as much liberty as they can, even if it is a violation of prison rules; and second, upper level prison administration who seek total compliance and order within their prison. For the frontline correctional officer, this is easier said than done. Ultimately, the correctional officer must allow some petty deviance to maintain order. Sykes (1958) wrote that if an officer were to write a ticket for every small infraction, both the prisoners and the administration would not respond favorably. The inmates will quietly and not-so-quietly resent the officer and the administration will express their dissatisfaction with the amount of paperwork in ways that could challenge the officer's employment status. Thus, correctional officers develop working relationships with the inmates to avoid larger conflicts. This strategy is similar to the old beekeeper adage – you catch more bees with honey, than with vinegar.

This discussion is not meant to imply that officers are overly friendly to inmates, but rather a working relationship between the two parties leads to better outcomes (Crewe, 2011). Philliber's (1987) review of officer's attitude towards inmates provides evidence to this point. She found that in general, officer perceptions of inmates are generally unfavorable but that officers that use interpersonal skills in their management of inmates are more likely to sympathize with inmates. This is especially important considering the transition to direct supervision in jails across the country, where officers are taught to use communication as a

means of gaining compliance, rather than force (Applegate, Surette, & McCarthy, 1999). Additional evidence of the use of interpersonal skills and the existence of a working relationship can be found in the work of Ricciardelli (2016) in her interviews with former prisoners in Canada. She found that there are a number of officers who seek to create balance between the demands of the administration and the inmates by developing a working relationship with inmates. This *moral dualist* officer is sensitive to the plight of the inmate but recognizes that order within the prison must be maintained. With these findings, it is reasonable to think that officers may be aware of an inmate's issues, even if they are not sensitive to them. Moreover, that interpersonal skills are being utilized in the management of inmates.

The results of Ricciardelli (2016) and Sykes (1958) contradict the results of Stohr and Zupan (1992) in that it is more likely that correctional officers know details about the inmates in their institution, even if there is a disagreement on which general needs are most important between the two parties. Thus, it is more likely than not, that officers can answer the first question discussed above – what type of people are in jail?

The second question of who comes back to jail and why has been less researched. However, there has been research on whether correctional staff support rehabilitative efforts. Jurik's (1985) examination of 179 correctional officer perceptions of rehabilitation sought to find out how perceptions of rehabilitation differ based on the officer's race and gender. Their results show that minority officers were more likely to hold favorable views of rehabilitation of inmates. However, the results for the entire sample were not in favor of a rehabilitative-orientation.

However, research since Jurik's (1985) analysis has come to different conclusions. Cullen and colleagues (1989) examined correctional staff attitudes towards rehabilitation and compared their responses to a poll conducted on Galesburg, Illinois residents. The correctional

officer sample came from a prison in the southern United States. In general, correctional staff were more likely to support rehabilitative efforts. In response to the prompt “rehabilitating a criminal is just as important as making a criminal pay for his or her crime,” approximately 70 percent of correctional staff agreed compared to just over half of poll respondents. Further, in response to the prompt “the rehabilitation of adult criminals just does not work,” just over a fifth of correctional staff agree, but 43.2 percent of the poll respondents agreed with this statement. Thus, it appears that at least with this sample, correctional staff are more optimistic about rehabilitation than the general public.

Lambert and Hogan (2009) found additional evidence of this. In their examination of correctional staff at a Midwestern private juvenile facility, respondents were more in favor of rehabilitative survey items than not. Six items from Cullen and colleagues (1989) were presented with a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). The mean on treatment views was 20.30 with the minimum score possible being 8 and the maximum score was 30. This indicates that individuals are either ambivalent to rehabilitative efforts or agree with the items, but that in general they do not disagree with the effectiveness of rehabilitative programs or the rehabilitation orientation of corrections.

This section sought to demonstrate two things. The first was that correctional staff are aware of the needs of the inmates they are responsible for and that this awareness often comes from a working relationship between both parties. The second is to illustrate a gap in the literature concerned with correctional staff perceptions. While there seems to be some consensus that correctional staff are not necessarily opposed to rehabilitative practices, the question has not been posed as to who correctional staff think will return to jail and, more importantly, why they will return. Given the various needs and risks associated with offenders in jail it is unlikely that

correctional staff believe all inmates will return. Moreover, the shift towards the direct supervision model with an increase in interpersonal skills being utilized, implies that correctional staff know more about inmates than they did prior to the shift. Thus, it is important to get their perspective on who will come back and why because these are the men and women with whom the inmate has the most contact.

Recidivism

Research Question 1: What is the recidivism rate for the current sample?

Research Question 2: Does recidivism differ by location ⁸?

Recent BJS estimates from prisoners released in 30 states suggest that more than two-thirds of all these formerly incarcerated persons were arrested in the three years after being released (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014). Individuals who recidivated were more likely to be male, younger, have an extensive prior arrest record, and were initially charged with a property crime. The BJS reports tell us a great deal about recidivism over time, but there are still a number of factors that contribute to recidivism. Moreover, the issues surrounding non-urban recidivism are largely neglected in their report. Referring back to the discussion in chapter one, individuals in these areas are faced with fewer resources for mental and physical health as well as treatment options for substance and alcohol issues (Edmond et al., 2015; Wodahl, 2006; Zajac et al., 2014). Furthermore, there are fewer affordable housing and employment opportunities in non-urban areas (Wodahl, 2006).

Program Evaluations

Much of the reentry literature surrounding jail has been situated within the program evaluation literature. Thus, to better understand the specific barriers to returning to society from

⁸ In terms of the research questions, the locations for the study are Waukesha City, Waukesha County, Milwaukee City, and Milwaukee County.

jail, a review of program evaluations is presented. As will be discussed in further detail below, individuals in jail have a variety of criminogenic and health-related needs. However, because of the short time offenders spend in jail, programming can be problematic. It is difficult to structure programs in a way that accommodates their short sentence and as such less funding is typically available to provide these programs (Solomon et al., 2008). Larger jail systems can provide more services but the smaller, more typical, jails struggle to provide rehabilitative services beyond the basics of physical and mental health needs.

Solomon and colleagues (2008) cite that less than two-thirds of jails offer alcohol-related treatment and just over half of jails offer substance abuse programming. These programs are typically self-help or 12-step programs like alcoholics anonymous or narcotics anonymous. A quarter of jails offer basic adult education but only 15 percent of jails offer job search training. Less than half of all jails provide 24-hour mental health care and less than a third of all jails assist in connecting inmates with community-based mental health providers prior to release.

With these limited treatment options available in jails, scholars and practitioners have developed and tested alternative solutions to better enhance reentry from jail. Many of these programs take an individualized and holistic approach to jail reentry (Braga, Piehl, & Hureau, 2009; Miller & Miller, 2010; Miller & Miller, 2015; White, Saunders, Fisher, & Mellow, 2012; Wikoff, Linhorst, & Morani, 2012), but a few examine a specific need such as problem-solving skills (Ronan, Gerhart, Dollard, & Maurelli, 2010), substance abuse (Miller, Miller, & Barnes, 2016), domestic violence (Shih et al., 2009), and mental health (Davis, Fallon, Vogel, & Teachout, 2008; Held, Brown, Frost, Hickey, & Buck, 2012). Important to note, is that much of the traditional reentry research for jails is often situated within various program evaluations, rather than studies that examine which inmates return to jail and what their needs are. The next

section presents existing evidence of which factors are associated with recidivism more generally, including recidivism from prison or jail as well as factors associated with recidivism while on probation or parole.

Barriers to Reentry

In their review of challenges to prisoner reentry, Phillips and Spencer (2013) discuss several factors: education, employment, housing, substance use issues, physical health, mental health, and the stigma surrounding having a prior criminal record. There is also evidence that veterans of the armed forces encounter certain barriers when returning home from a custodial sentence (Albertson, Irving, Best, 2015; Estle-Cronau, 2014; Frederick, 2014; Schaffer, 2009; 2014; 2016; Timko et al., 2014). This section will review the literature surrounding the aforementioned factors in terms of recidivism.

Mental and Physical Health

Research Question 3: Does reporting a mental health problem impact recidivism?

Research Question 4: Does this effect (mental health) differ by location?

Research Question 5: Does reporting a physical health problem impact recidivism?

Research Question 6: Does this effect (physical health) differ by location?

The current mental health issues present in local jails can be understood through a historical lens. Lurigio, Rollins, and Fallon (2004) argue that major shifts in mental health policy are the reason so many individuals in jail are dealing with mental health issues. The first of these major shifts came after World War II, when many state mental hospitals began releasing patients into the community for treatment at community-based providers. This deinstitutionalization movement was largely driven by accounts of patient abuse and a push to allow these individuals to stay in the community where more social support was expected for

these individuals. However, this shift was poorly implemented, and several individuals did not receive the same level of services and/or did not have access to the hypothesized social support (Lurigio et al., 2004).

The second shift was that these community-based providers were not equipped to handle the needs of these individuals due to a lack of funding. Furthermore, these providers could not provide the holistic and individualized treatment the patients' required (Lurigio et al., 2004). Finally, with law enforcement shifting towards order-maintenance and zero tolerance policing, individuals with mental health issues were targeted because of the threat they posed to the quality of life of individuals in various communities (Lurigio et al., 2004).

Blandford and Osher (2013) estimated that jail inmates are more than three times as likely to have a serious mental disorder compared to the public (17 percent versus 5.4 percent)⁹. Moreover, approximately a quarter of jail inmates are responsible for 60% of jail costs because of mental health-related issues. Existing evidence suggests that individuals with mental health issues are overrepresented at every stage of the criminal justice system, from policing (Martinez, 2010) to jail (Compton et al., 2017; Davis, Fallon, Vogel, & Teachout, 2008; Draine, Blank, Kottsieper, & Solomon, 2005; Drapalski, Youman, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2009; Kubiak, Essenmacher, Hanna, & Zeoli, 2011; Shafer, Arthur, & Franczak, 2004) to probation (Brooker, Sirdfield, Blizard, Denney, & Pluck, 2012; Epperson, Thompson, Lurigio, & Kim, 2017; Gowensmith, Peters, Lez, Heng, Robinson, & Heng, 2016; Matejkowski, Draine, Solomon, & Salzer, 2011; Skeem, Encandela, & Loudon, 2003; Stone & Morash, 2014; Tomar et al., 2017) and prison (Boduszek, Belsher, Dhringa, & Ioannou, 2014; Cotter, 2015; Phillips & Spencer, 2013, Visher, 2003).

⁹ Blandford and Osher (2013) define serious mental disorders as post-traumatic stress disorder, major depressive disorder, bipolar disorders, schizophrenia, and nonschizophrenia psychotic disorders.

Mental health issues are clearly affecting the criminal justice system and can impact recidivism (Becker, Andel, Boaz, & Constantine, 2011; Boduszek et al., 2014; Baillargeon et al., 2009; Ostermann & Matejkowski, 2014). Additionally, mental health issues appear to be more prevalent in female offenders (Fedock, Fries, & Kubiak, 2013; Steadman et al., 2009; Stone & Morash, 2014; Tonkin, Dickie, Alemagno, & Grove, 2004), youth (Heretick & Russell, 2013), sex offenders (Chen, Chen, & Hung, 2016), and individuals experiencing homelessness (Fries, Fedock, & Kubiak, 2014; Reich, Picard-Fritsche, Lebron, & Hahn, 2015; Zelenev et al., 2013). As will be discussed later, mental health issues are often associated with alcohol and substance abuse and can make employment and housing more difficult to obtain, which ultimately affects recidivism (Mallik-Kane and Visser, 2008; Proctor & Hoffman, 2012).

Physical health problems are also an issue for incarcerated populations (Andress, Wildes, Rehtine, & Moritsugu, 2004; Fu et al., 2013; Maeve, 2001; Phillips & Spencer, 2013; Tonkin et al., 2004; Zelenev et al., 2013). Compared to the general population, jail inmates are significantly more likely to have physical health problems (Mears & Cochran, 2012). This includes conditions such as hypertension, diabetes, heart-related problems, asthma, and cirrhosis of the liver. Specifically, jail inmates are almost twice as likely to have hypertension or asthma and more than five times as likely to have a heart-related condition compared to the general public. Regarding infectious diseases, jail inmates are more likely to have tuberculosis, hepatitis B and C, sexual transmitted diseases, and the AIDS virus¹⁰ (Maruschak & Berzofsky, 2015).

In their study of health care utilization, Ramaswamy and colleagues (2015) found that inmates were twice as likely to go to the emergency room and to be hospitalized prior to their incarceration when compared to the public. Moreover, these figures are higher among female

¹⁰ Some existing evidence suggests that being diagnosed with HIV increases the likelihood of recidivism (Fu et al., 2013).

inmates when compared to male inmates. Both Tonkin and colleagues (2004) and Maeve (2001) have found that female inmates typically are more likely to have physical health issues. Physical health problems are still very much an issue for jail inmates.

Having mental or physical health issues are a clear barrier to reentry but the situation is arguably worse in non-urban areas. Edmond and colleagues (2015) found that individuals in rural areas have reduced access to highly educated counselors, fewer wraparound services, and facilities were less likely to have a physician on staff. While these findings were for substance abuse treatment, it is not difficult to see how these findings would also apply for physical and mental health issues as well. Moreover, individuals in rural areas struggle getting to appointments for physical and mental health because of lack of public transportation (Zajac et al., 2014).

Substance and Alcohol Abuse

Research Question 7: Does reporting a substance abuse issue impact recidivism?

Research Question 8: Does this effect (substance abuse) differ by location?

Research Question 9: Does reporting an issue with alcohol impact recidivism?

Research Question 10: Does this effect (alcohol issues) differ by location?

Blandford and Osher (2013) cite that approximately two-thirds of jail inmates have a substance abuse disorder (alcohol or drugs) compared to only 16 percent of the general population. Several scholars have demonstrated that substance use and abuse is prevalent in the criminal justice system (Abreu et al., 2017; Broner et al., 2004; Draine et al., 2005; Fulkerson, 2012; Harris, Lowenkamp, & Hilton, 2015; LaMoure, Meadows, Mondschein, & Llewellyn, 2010; Linhorst, Linhorst, & Groom, 2012; McMillan, Lapham, & Lackey, 2008; Mire, Forsyth, & Hanser, 2007; Monico et al., 2016; Prendergast, Hall, & Wexler, 2003; Rossheim, Livingston,

Lerch, Taxman, & Walters, 2018; Shafer, Arthur, & Franczak, 2004; Staton-Tindall et al., 2009). However, just over half of all jails provide drug counseling (Solomon et al., 2008). Data from the *Returning Home* studies in Ohio (LaVigne et al., 2003) and Texas (Watson et al., 2004) estimate that more than 80 percent of respondents used drugs or were intoxicated (alcohol) at least once in the six months prior to incarceration. Moreover, individuals in these samples could be classified as substance abusers because of the frequency of their use. Almost half the men in these samples reported being intoxicated or using drugs more than once a week in the last six months before being incarcerated. For women, this figure is closer to 60 percent in these samples, indicating that women may be more likely to use and abuse substances like cocaine, heroin, and alcohol. Furthermore, these individuals are more likely to continue to abuse these substances post-release (Mallik-Kane & Visser, 2008).

These findings are especially concerning when situated in the results of Dowden and Brown's (2002; see also Walters, 2016) meta-analysis that examined the link between substance abuse and recidivism. The meta-analysis included risk factors predictive of recidivism found in the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) (Andrews & Bonta, 1995). By examining different types of substance abuse (drug, alcohol, and both), Dowden and Brown (2002) found that substance abuse plays a critical role in recidivism research. In fact, they are so confident in their findings that they argue that "drug abuse may be the strongest single predictor of recidivism" (Dowden & Brown, 2002, p. 261). Since, and prior to, this meta-analysis several scholars have found a link between substance abuse and recidivism (Benda, Corwyn, & Toombs, 2001; Berman, 2005; Costopoulos, Plewinski, Monaghan, & Edkins, 2017; Fitzgerald, Cherney, & Heybroek, 2016; Fries, Fedock, & Kubiak, 2014; Katsiyannis, Whitford, Zhang, & Gage, 2018; Kruttschnitt, Uggen, & Shelton, 2000; Kubiak et al., 2011; Reich, Picard-Fritsche, Lebron,

& Hahn, 2015; Rosenfeld, 2003; Rothbard, Wald, Zubritsky, Jaquette, & Chhartre, 2009; Sadeh & McNeil, 2015; Stone & Morash, 2014).

Individuals with alcohol issues are also prevalent in the criminal justice system (Drapalski, Youman, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2009; Dugosh, Festinger, & Marlowe, 2013; LaMoure et al., 2010; Lapham, Baca, Lapidus, & McMillan, 2007; Linhorst, Linhorst, & Groom, 2012; Maenhout, Poll, Vermassen, Delanghe, & ROAD Study Group, 2014; Marques, Tippetts, & Yeagles, 2014; Martyn, 2012; McMurrin, 2006; Rider, Voas, Kelley-Baker, Grosz, & Murphy, 2007; Wieczorek, 2013; Williams, McCartt, & Ferguson, 2007). Additionally, extant literature demonstrates a link between alcohol use and recidivism (Greenfield & Henneberg, 2001; Lapham et al., 2007; Putnins, 2005; Rothbard et al., 2009; Seruca & Silva, 2015; Shih et al., 2009) as well as a link between alcohol use and the commission of a crime (Day, Howells, Heseltine, & Casey, 2003; Kelly & Egan, 2012; Lipsky, Kernic, Qiu, Wright, & Hasin, 2014). Because of the link between crime and alcohol, many offenders with alcohol issues are required to have the interlock mechanism placed in their car that prevents them from starting the vehicle if they have been drinking (McCartt, Leaf, Farmer, & Eichelberger, 2013; Raub, Lucke, & Wark, 2003; Rauch, Ahlin, Zador, Howard, & Duncan, 2011; Shulman-Laniel, Vernick, McGinty, Frattaroli, Rutkow, 2017; Voas, Taylor, & Kelley-Baker, 2014).

With this finding, they encourage practitioners to treat specific abuse issues (i.e. drug abuse treatment or alcohol abuse treatment), rather than treating individuals with both forms of treatment if they are only afflicted by one abuse disorder (i.e. treating someone with a drug abuse disorder with both drug and alcohol abuse treatment). Thus, different substances, pose different risks for recidivism. This distinction can be made between alcohol and illicit substances, but it could also be made within illicit substances. Mallik-Kane and Visser (2008) found that cocaine

use was more prevalent than heroin use but given the latest trends in heroin use (Heroin Workgroup, 2014; Kleefisch & Nygren, 2016; Seelye, 2016,) and the legalization of marijuana in a few states, the type of substance may account for more of the risk of recidivism for recently released offenders.

Evidence of this can be found from some of the qualitative research concerning substance abuse and recidivism. Phillips (2010) interviewed 20 men released from prison that had been unsuccessful in returning to society. In her interviews, Phillips (2010) found that 15 of the 20 men identified substance abuse as the major reason they went back to prison. Moreover, half of the participants cited that the cravings they had for their substance of choice lead them back to a life of crime. One participant stated that as soon as they were released, they had a beer and they were back on the road to crime. Some of the participants noted that they used drugs or alcohol as a coping mechanism, with the implication being that this is how they deal with reentry and life, more generally. Interestingly, all the participants felt that substance abuse treatment would be helpful. This finding should make sense considering the sample of participants – all have a substance abuse problem, and most have cited this problem as the major reason they returned to prison. However, participants also noted that they were aware of the services available to them but ultimately relapsed, rather than take advantage of these services.

Not taking advantage of services could occur for a few reasons. Phillips (2010) cites that participants felt disconnected from these services and that recovery in these facilities was often disempowering. Begun, Early, and Hodge (2016) also found that substance abuse services are often taken advantage of at a “lower-than-needed rate” (p. 207). Their findings echo that of Phillips (2010) for treatment being disempowering and feeling disconnected from the facility, but Begun and colleagues (2016) also cite barriers such as competing responsibilities (children),

inability to pay for services, transportation issues, shame about substance abuse problem, and ultimately the client's readiness, or lack thereof, to stay sober (see also Rose, LeBel, Begun, & Fuhrmann, 2014).

As was stated earlier, having a substance or alcohol abuse issue is arguably worse in non-urban areas. Those who wish to seek treatment for their drug and alcohol issues, often must attend programs that emphasize religion (12-step programs) because of a limited social service network in non-urban areas (Edmond, Aletaris, & Roman, 2015; Wodahl, 2006). Garland and colleagues (2011) found that some of their participants did not mind this and may have done better because of the religious undertones. Other participants resisted this type of programming and went without treatment. Another issue with treatment in non-urban areas is the lack of privacy. The smaller number of individuals living in these areas does not allow for the anonymity that the urban treatment centers can provide. This can lead to increased perceptions of stigma for their mental health or substance abuse issues (Garland et al., 2011).

Finally, there is also evidence that professional treatment, outside of self-help groups, is at a lower standard than in urban centers (Edmond et al., 2015). Edmond and colleagues (2015) found that individuals in rural areas have reduced access to highly educated counselors, fewer wraparound services, and were less likely to have a physician on staff. Because there are fewer resources for individuals with substance abuse issues in rural areas, the treatment for these disorders is at a lower standard compared to more urban areas.

Co-Occurring Disorders

Mental health and substance abuse issues create more barriers for recidivism; especially, if the individual struggles with both issues (Abreu et al., 2017; Broner et al., 2017; Chen et al., 2016; Draine et al., 2005; Kubiak et al., 2011; Mire et al., 2007; Rossheim et al., 2018; Shafer et

al., 2004). The Vera Institute of Justice (2015) estimated that almost three-quarters of jail inmates have both a serious mental disorder and a substance abuse disorder, compared to a quarter of the general population are afflicted with this co-occurring disorder (Blandford & Osher, 2013). Additionally, some evidence suggests that having a co-occurring disorder is linked to recidivism (Fries et al., 2014¹¹; Kubiak et al., 2011; Reich et al., 2015; Wilson, Draine, Hadley, Metraux, & Evans, 2011). Wilson and colleagues (2011) found that over the course of four years, individuals with co-occurring disorders had the highest reincarceration rate compared to individuals with either a mental health or a substance abuse issue. More than two-thirds of individuals with a co-occurring disorder were readmitted to jail over the course of the four-year study (Wilson et al., 2011).

This situation can become even more dire when we expand beyond just two disorders. Hammett, Roberts, and Kennedy (2001) discuss the issue of treating a triply diagnosed individual within a correctional facility. Their discussion revolved around individuals who have a substance abuse and mental health issue but are also infected with HIV. Specifically, with HIV, practitioners must be attentive to whether the HIV condition is responsible for a mental health issue or if there was an underlying mental health issue prior to being diagnosed with HIV (Hammett et al., 2001). While Hammett and colleagues (2001) only discuss HIV as a potential third diagnosis, triply diagnosed individuals could be suffering from any number of physical health issues that would complicate treatment for substance abuse or mental health issues and would need to be considered (Rose & LeBel, 2017). Essentially, individuals in jail are dealing with a host of medical and mental health issues and treatments for these conditions must align with another.

¹¹ Fries and colleagues (2014) found that substance abuse and mental health issues were predictive of homelessness which ultimately increased the likelihood of recidivism.

Housing

Research Question 11: Does reporting being homeless impact recidivism?

Research Question 12: Does this effect (homelessness) differ by location?

There are considerable barriers to reentry (substance abuse, alcohol dependency, employment and income issues, mental and physical health treatment, stigma, etc.). However, the first step in returning to society may be obtaining housing, preferably housing that is affordable and supportive of the individual's reentry efforts (LeBel, 2017). If individuals do not have a place to live, the other barriers become more complicated (Geller & Curtis, 2011). Housing is especially an area of concern for incarcerated populations because the need for such is immediate (upon release) and long-term (permanent housing) (Fontaine & Biess, 2012). Moreover, existing evidence suggests that individuals who are experiencing homelessness are more likely to reoffend (Fries et al., 2014; Fu et al., 2013; Nyamathi et al., 2016; Phillips & Spencer, 2013; Reich et al., 2015).

Greenberg and Rosenheck (2008) examined the data from the adult state and federal prison inmates survey and found that approximately nine percent of the sample reported being homeless in the year prior to their incarceration. This figure is four to six times higher than the national estimates for homelessness. When homeless inmates were compared to housed inmates (those who were not homeless in the year prior to their incarceration), homeless inmates were less likely to be employed and more likely to have a substance abuse issue, mental health problem, or both.

This finding is not very surprising given that many individuals are restricted from housing programs because of their criminal record (Malone, 2009). The logic behind this law is two-fold. First, is the principle of least eligibility (Clear, Cole, & Reisig, 2016). Meaning that

individuals who have broken the law should not be given access to things beyond what law-abiding citizens already have access to. Essentially, the point is that tax payers would rather see their money go to those who they believe are least likely to squander it. Second, the assumption is that individuals with a criminal record will ultimately not remain housed and yet again the taxpayer will take the loss. On this second point, Malone (2009) provides evidence to the contrary. By examining homeless adults with various behavioral and health issues, he found that housing failure (not being housed two years after admittance to the program) was not associated with having a criminal record. Meaning that individuals with a criminal record are not necessarily predisposed to housing failure.

There is additional evidence that corroborates Malone's (2009) findings. Tsai and Rosenheck (2012) examined 751 individuals in supportive housing and found that a history of incarceration (versus no history of incarceration) lead to similar outcomes over the course of a year in supportive housing. Indicating again, that a criminal history does not predispose one to housing failure. By examining only offenders, Lutze and colleagues (2014) found that in the Reentry Housing Pilot Program (RHPP) offenders that were housed and provided with wraparound services were less likely to be convicted and sent back to prison for new crimes, compared to a group of similar offenders.

Essentially, the major finding surrounding homelessness is if you provide housing and services to individuals, they tend to do better than with the traditional model where the offender must locate housing and these services. This is the basis for the Pathways Housing First model, for which the first principle is "immediate access to housing with no readiness conditions" (Tsemberis, 2010). Pathways Housing First model is an evidence-based strategy that has been

used to guide the research discussed (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008). Thus, if offenders are provided with housing, the rest of the barriers to reentry become easier to overcome.

*Veteran-Specific Issues*¹²

Research Question 13: Does reporting being a veteran of the armed forces impact recidivism?

Research Question 14: Does this effect (veteran) differ by location?

Timko and colleagues (2014) state that seven percent of the country's population is a veteran of the armed forces. Yet this population is often overlooked when considering jail incarceration and recidivism. While most individuals returning home from their service have little difficulty adjusting to civilian life, for some the transition leads to incarceration (Albertson, Irving, & Best, 2015). These men and women are unique from the general population in jail in a few ways. These individuals are more likely to be afflicted with issues pertaining to their service in the military. Schaffer (2009) wrote that veterans are more likely to have physical and psychological scars due to their service. Because of these physical health conditions and mental health issues, they often turn to illicit substances or alcohol to cope with their issues which can result in homelessness and/or incarceration (Schaffer, 2009). As such there are a variety of programs available to these individuals, including veterans treatment courts (Frederick, 2014), housing and employment programs (Estle-Cronau, 2014), and other various reentry strategies employed by the Department of Veterans Affairs, including cognitive behavioral treatment programs such as Moral Reconciliation Therapy and Thinking For a Change (Schaffer, 2009; Timko et al., 2014).

However, even with these programs, some veterans struggle to adjust to civilian life and ultimately find themselves involved with the criminal justice system. Blonigen and colleagues

¹² At the time of this writing, I was unable to find any scholarly article that directly compared veterans and civilians in terms of recidivism.

(2016) conducted a systematic review of studies that examined the risk of recidivism for veterans, in hopes of determining whether there were veteran-specific risk factors for recidivism. Their results point to substance abuse, homelessness, and indicators of antisocial personality disorder being strong predictors of recidivism for veterans. As to whether there are veteran-specific risks for recidivism, Blonigen and colleagues (2016) found a strong link between violent offending and veterans who have post-traumatic stress disorder and traumatic brain injury, especially if these individuals suffer from irritability or anger issues. With these findings it is clear that veterans share some risks with the non-veteran population, but that injuries and conditions that occurred because of their time in the service play a role in their future criminality and recidivism.

While a great deal of the literature on justice-involved veterans has examined the issues these individuals have, there is evidence that the military experience can help individuals desist from crime. Specifically, Sampson and Laub (1993) found that entering the military can lead to an exit from criminal behavior. The effect of military experience will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter in the Age-Graded Theory of Informal Control section.

*Employment and Education*¹³

Research Question 15: Does graduating high school impact recidivism?

Research Question 16: Does this effect (high school graduate) differ by location?

It is a longstanding notion that individuals without employment are more likely to reoffend (Benda, Harm, & Toombs, 2005; Benda, Toombs, Peacock, 2003; Hall, 2015; Kruttschnitt, Uggen, & Shelton, 2000; Lockwood, Nally, & Ho, 2016; Miller & Miller, 2017; Nally, Lockwood, Ho, & Knutson, 2012; Phillips & Spencer, 2013; Rakes, Prost, & Tripodi,

¹³ Research questions for employment are reserved for the desistance from crime section.

2018; Robinson, 2000; Vigessa, 2013). LeBel and Maruna (2012) argue that most often the employment opportunities available to former offenders are less than ideal and might not even allow for individuals to receive a living wage. That is, if they can even find a job. As discussed earlier, employers are oftentimes skeptical of employing an ex-offender (King, 2013; Wodahl, 2006).

Much of this is due to the stigma associated with a criminal record (Decker et al., 2015; LeBel, 2008). Holzer and colleagues (2006) found that employers are rather dismissive of applicants with criminal records. Their analysis found that over 60 percent of employers in their study reported that they will “probably not” or “definitely not” hire an applicant with a criminal record. With the increasing use of criminal background checks, many applicants are dismissed from the application process early on (Holzer et al., 2006; Decker et al., 2015). However, these individuals are also facing a number of barriers as discussed in previous sections (substance abuse, mental health, housing, and physical health issues) as well as a lack of education and limited work history. This culminates with recently released individuals having fewer job prospects.

Inmates typically have less work experience than non-incarcerated individuals. Solomon and colleagues (2008) found that 30 percent of the jail population in 2002 was unemployed in the month prior to incarceration and almost an additional 30 percent of inmates reported limited employment (part-time employment or occasional employment) prior to their arrest. Solomon and colleagues (2004) cite that longer prison sentences impact an individual’s ability to obtain employment, because these individuals lose contacts and networks that could help with employment. Given that more than 80 percent of jail inmates are released in less than a month (Solomon et al., 2008), employment may not be as heavily impacted by jail incarceration.

However, the disruptive nature of the “skid bid” or short-term incarceration can cause individuals to have to look for a new job after they have been incarcerated if only after a few days (Maruna, 2016) which could negatively impact one’s employment network.

Ultimately, a history of incarceration negatively impacts one’s ability to find employment. Moreover, even if an individual can obtain employment, LeBel and Maruna (2012) argue that this employment consists of “McJobs” which are often low-paying, dead end jobs (p. 663). This type of underemployment does not allow individuals to thrive in society, rather they are working to live in jobs that are unsatisfying. Moreover, these individuals are unlikely to continue with employment that they feel will not provide enough for them to live (LeBel & Maruna, 2012).

Lacking formal education has also been associated with recidivism (Benda et al., 2003; Benda et al., 2005; Gordon & Weldon, 2003; Gutierrez, Wilson, Rugge, & Bonta, 2013; Hallstone, 2014; Nally et al., 2012; Phillips & Spencer, 2013; Stevens & Ward, 1997). Solomon and colleagues (2008) cite that sixty percent of jail inmates lack a high school diploma or a GED. Compared to 18 percent of the general population that lacks this education credential (Solomon, Johnson, Travis, & McBride, 2004). Even with more than half of jails nationwide offering some form of secondary education, jail inmates are competing with these individuals for a limited number of jobs and with the stigma of a criminal record. Even more troubling is that individuals with criminal records tend to do better when they enter a higher learning institution (Runell, 2015). Without a high school education, these individuals cannot reap the benefits of university learning.

Given the more selective nature of employment in non-urban areas, gaining employment and lacking education may be a more serious issue for individuals in these areas (Wodahl, 2006).

Additionally, the lack of public transportation makes employment more difficult to maintain (Wodahl, 2006) and would likely have similar effects for enrolling in post-secondary education and taking advantage of those benefits (Runell, 2015).

There are a number of barriers individuals face upon leaving jail or prison (mental and physical health, substance and alcohol abuse, co-occurring disorders, homelessness, veteran-specific issues, and issues relating to employment and education). Additionally, these barriers are likely worse for individuals in non-urban areas. From the lack of quality substance abuse treatment that deviates from the self-help support groups to a lack of public transportation, which complicates mental and physical health issues, to selective employers – individuals returning to non-urban areas have a harder road out of crime than individuals in urban areas.

However, there are a number of factors that can assist individuals leaving their life of crime or at least not recidivate again. Namely, marriage (Benda, Harm, & Toombs, 2005; Benda, Toombs, & Peacock, 2003; Bonta, LaPrairie, & Wallace-Capretta, 1997; Hall, 2015; Rakes, Prost, & Tripodi, 2018; Sampson & Laub, 1993), parenthood (Cid & Marti, 2012; Ganem & Agnew, 2007; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Rudolph, 2002; Schroeder, Giordano, & Cernkovich, 2010; Theobald, Farrington, & Piquero, 2015), and employment, if one can obtain it (Berg & Huebner, 2011; King, 2013; Ramakers, Van Wilsem, Nieuwbeerta, & Dirkzwager, 2016; Skardhamar & Savolainen, 2014; Tripodi, 2010; Tripodi, Kim, & Bender, 2010; Uggen, 2000; Visher, Debus-Sherrill, & Yahner, 2011),.

Sources of Desistance as Protective Factors

There are two theories selected to guide the discussion for individuals who do not return to jail or prison. The first is the age-graded theory of informal social control (Sampson & Laub, 1993) and the second is the theory of cognitive transformation (Giordano et al., 2002).

Age-Graded Theory of Informal Control

In their re-examination of the Glueck's (1937) data, Sampson and Laub (1993) developed the age-graded theory of informal control. Sampson and Laub (1993) found that a strong commitment to school and family decreases delinquency. They also find evidence for the labelling perspective in that stigmatizing punishments handed out by either the family or school has an adverse effect on the youth who were found to commit more delinquency after being punished. It is from here that Sampson and Laub (1993) argue that crime is the result of these two processes. Either the youth have a higher propensity to commit crime due to deficiencies, such as low self-control (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990), from school or family, or what they refer to as state dependence (Sampson and Laub, 1993). State dependence is described as delinquent behavior's cumulative effect on weakening bonds to conventional institutions in society, whether it be through labeling, structural disadvantage, or a mixture of both. Meaning that a lack of commitment to school and family may lead to attenuated bonds later in life, such as marriage and employment.

Their findings for the causes of crime paint a somewhat deterministic picture in that if individuals have early deficiencies, attenuated social bonds, or are subject to structural disadvantage, crime is inevitable. However, Sampson and Laub (1993) found that job stability and marital attachment have a negative effect on crime in adulthood. They cite Clausen's (1990) work on turning points, specifically marriage, employment, and military service, and that these influence an individual's ability to desist from crime. They conclude that changes in criminal behavior are due to the strengthening of bonds to family and work institutions (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Simply having a job or being married is not enough to change criminal behavior, rather it

is one's commitment to their spouse or employment¹⁴ that acts as a catalyst to move an individual away from criminal behavior. It is through these activities that an individual gains more social capital and relationships that in turn strengthen the bonds to normative institutions.

In their discussion of military service as a turning point, Sampson and Laub (1993) found that upon leaving the military some individuals were less likely to reoffend and eventually desist from crime. Additional evidence of this has been found in more recent years. Bouffard and Laub (2004) examined three birth cohorts from Wisconsin. Not all individuals in the cohorts served in the military but those who did, served during various years of the Vietnam era. Their findings indicate that individuals that served in the military were less likely to continue committing crime and that this effect is strongest for the most serious offenders. Bouffard and Laub (2004) concede that they could not identify the mechanism or process that encourages desistance after the military, but that future researchers should examine how serving in the armed forces can benefit other individuals. As was discussed earlier veterans face a number of obstacles during the reentry process, however it appears that in some cases serving in the military can also help later in life. Important to note is that the life histories where military service was helpful in changing behavior also featured marital attachment and job stability.

In the opposite direction, military service can have a harmful effect on one's life (Sampson & Laub, 1993). One life history told the story of an individual who was wounded during his military service, which subsequently impacted his ability to work. Military service may have an effect on individuals, but it is clear from their results that military service is an accompaniment to either positive or negative marital attachment or job stability, not a cause.

¹⁴ In that it is consistent employment with one employer and not sporadic with several employers.

Moreover, traumatic experiences during military service made it more difficult for these men to desist from crime.

The quantitative and qualitative analyses established that marital attachment and job stability decrease one's criminal behavior, but within their examination of life histories, Sampson and Laub (1993) discovered that crime is not always the effect in the cause-effect relationship. Rather their analysis points to crime, at times, impacting marital attachment and job stability. Similarly, Sampson and Laub (1993) noted that serious alcohol consumption impacted marital attachment and job stability. While alcohol consumption is not in itself a crime, excessive drinking does violate certain social norms and signals a lack of commitment to the family and work institutions. Scholars examining contemporary samples have also found that alcohol consumption has a negative effect on these bonds and criminal behavior (Farrall, Hunter, Sharpe, & Calverley, 2014).

Employment

Research Question 17: Does reporting full-time employment impact recidivism?

Research Question 18: Does this effect (full-time employment) differ by location?

Research Question 19: Does reporting two years of continuous employment impact recidivism?

Research Question 20: Does this effect (two years of continuous employment) differ by location?

Job stability or employment are beneficial for desistance from crime (Sampson and Laub, 1993). Tripodi (2010) examined the effect of marriage and employment on a sample of 250 Texas probationers using survival analysis. He found that marriage was not a significant predictor of reincarceration or time to reincarceration. However, individuals who were employed tended to avoid reincarceration for longer periods of time compared to the unemployed individuals. That being said, every individual in the sample was eventually

reincarcerated for either a new crime or a technical violation. In a follow-up study, Tripodi, Kim, and Bender (2010) removed marriage from the model and comparable results emerged.

King (2013) conducted in-depth interviews with 20 male probationers to determine if employment increased their ability to desist from crime. Overall the results were positive, many participants felt that employment was critical in their ability to refrain from criminal behavior. However, individuals felt that employment was difficult to obtain due to their criminal record and often resorted to informal labor such as temporary construction and work site jobs that paid cash.

Uggen (2000) incorporated the turning points notion in his examination of data from the National Supported Work Demonstration Project. Individuals were either placed into the treatment or control group, and the treatment group was offered minimum wage employment in the construction or service industry. Age was dichotomized with individuals 27 and older categorized as older offenders and individuals younger than 27 being categorized as younger offenders. By using event history models, Uggen (2000) found that treatment had little effect on self-report arrests for younger offenders. However, older offenders benefitted from the treatment condition. Uggen (2000) concludes that employment acts a turning point for older offenders but not as much for younger offenders.

Skardhamar and Savolainen (2014) utilized a similar turning points framework in the examination of 783 male recidivists from Norway. However, they argue that offending gradually declined before obtaining employment, implying that employment is the effect of reduced criminal behavior, rather than the cause. Their findings support this contention in that the vast majority of offenders who found employment had already begun desisting from crime prior to obtaining employment. There was some support for the turning points notion, in that

two percent of the sample was comprised of active offenders who reduced their criminal activity after obtaining employment.

Visher and colleagues (2011) examined the employment experiences of 740 formerly incarcerated men in Illinois, Texas, and Ohio as part of the *Returning Home* studies. In their study, men were less likely to be working if they were a racial minority, used illegal drugs shortly after release, or were suffering from a mental or physical health issue. However, the men in the sample were more likely to be employed post-release if they had more extensive employment histories, arranged employment prior to release, and worked in prison. This adds another dimension to employment and provides support for the social capital notion promoted by Sampson and Laub (1993), in that employers who knew or had a relationship with an individual prior to incarceration may see past their criminal activity and offer them employment after they have served their time. In the opposite direction, it may be that employers who do not know the former offender are more skeptical because of their offense status and the lack of a previous relationship between the two parties. The study by Visher et al. (2011) was replicated by Ramakers, Van Wilsem, Nieuwbeerta, and Dirkzwager (2016) in their study of Dutch pre-trial detainees. In examining the effect of employment prior to incarceration, Ramakers and colleagues (2016) found that a third of their sample found employment upon release with a former employer.

Berg and Huebner (2011) also examined social capital with recidivism but included familial ties and how this type of social capital could decrease the likelihood that an individual reoffends. These familial ties consisted of bonds with one's parents, relatives (aunts, uncles, siblings, or cousins), and an intimate partner. Their study examined a random sample of 401 male probationers in a Midwestern state. Their results show that individuals who had strong ties

to relatives were more likely to be employed and that these individuals were less likely to reoffend. Moreover, a history of unemployment typically meant that offenders were unemployed during the follow-up period but that this effect was moderated by strong ties to relatives. With these findings, it is clear that employment influences recidivism and that social capital through the ties and networks of relatives may also assist in reducing reoffending.

The literature presented here demonstrates that employment influences recidivism and that social capital generated from either employers or family seems to reduce the likelihood that individuals will reoffend. However, obtaining employment is difficult for those with a criminal record (Decker et al., 2015; Holzer et al., 2006; LeBel, 2008) unless they have had an extensive prior work history (Berg & Huebner, 2011; Visher et al. 2011) or went back to a former employer (Ramakers et al., 2016). Thus, the employment literature seems to suggest that it is in fact “who you know” that determines whether the offender obtains employment and ultimately whether they reoffend.

Marriage

Research Question 21: Does reporting being married impact recidivism?

Research Question 22: Does this effect (marriage) differ by location¹⁵?

Sampson and Laub (1993) also found that marital attachment was shown to reduce offending over the life course. This finding is not new to the field of criminology. Knight, Osborn, and West (1977) found that youth offenders who marry before the age of 25 decrease in offending. Moreover, the disapproval of crime from a partner has an effect on individual’s desire to commit crime (Knight & West, 1975). The marriage-crime link has spawned a field of research since the Gluecks (1937) and has had somewhat of a resurgence after Sampson and

¹⁵ There is a lack of evidence as to whether marriage has a stronger or weaker effect in non-urban areas. As such, it was tested in this study to see what effect marriage has in non-urban areas.

Laub (1993) reexamined their data. What follows is a review of where the literature on marriage and desistance stands.

In a recent meta-analysis, Skardhamar, Savolainen, Aase, and Lyngstad (2015) found evidence for Sampson and Laub's (1993) original claim. Of the 58 studies reviewed, marriage typically had an inverse relationship with offending. Further, studies that examine the quality of the marital relationship find stronger effects for a reduction in criminal behavior. However, their findings bring up the important methodological concern associated with marriage in that it does not lend itself to random assignment and thus cannot be examined with the classical true experimental design. Thus, researchers have used the counterfactual approach to estimate a causal relationship. Skardhamar and colleagues (2015) argue that studies that employ this approach have not yet accounted for the selection bias within marriage.

King and colleagues (2007) conducted a study with data from the National Youth Survey that used propensity score matching to estimate the counterfactual as discussed by Skardhamar and colleagues (2015). Their findings point to males least likely to marry benefitting most from marriage. However, women with a moderate propensity to marry, commit offenses at a significantly reduced rate than the matched sample of unmarried women. Sampson, Laub, & Wimer (2006) also employed a counterfactual approach with the original Gluecks' (1937) data. Unlike King and colleagues (2007), Sampson et al. (2006) only examined males and found that married males offend at a rate 35 percent lower than the matched sample of unmarried males. Scholars using the counterfactual approach are doing so in an attempt to establish a causal claim between marriage and crime. However, King and colleagues (2007) recognize the less than ideal nature of using propensity score matching to make causal claims¹⁶ and ultimately qualify their

¹⁶The lack of random assignment within propensity score matching does not eliminate unobserved differences, thus selection bias is still a real concern within the counterfactual design.

findings as not a causal link but that their methods are the “next-best approach” (Skardhamar et al., 2015, p. 430).

Bersani and DiPietro (2016) used the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth sample to examine the effect of marriage on crime but examined differences between races and only included men in their sample. Bersani and DiPietro (2016) found that marriage was inversely related to being arrested. With the theme of “those who need it most, do not receive it”, the marriage effect was stronger for Black men who tend to get married less often than White and Hispanic men. An important finding from their study was answering the question of what happens when the bond to a spouse ends in divorce; Bersani and DiPietro (2016) found that offending tends to increase for White and Black men.

There may also be differences in the effect of marriage on crime between genders. Doherty and Ensminger (2013) examined a historical sample of almost a thousand African Americans living in a Chicago neighborhood in the 1960s. Their findings point to the marriage effect being stronger for males than it is for females, meaning that men that get married typically have a larger reduction in criminal behavior than women. Similar evidence of this gendered effect was found by Bersani, Laub, and Nieuwbeerta (2009) in their examination 5,000 convicted felons in Netherlands. This may be due to the notion that men “marry up” and women “marry down” (Bersani et al., 2009, p. 19). Meaning that men tend to marry women who will pull them out of criminality, whereas women tend to marry men who will push them into more criminal behavior (Laub & Sampson, 2003).

The findings from Sampson and Laub (1993) and the results from the meta-analysis from Skardhamar and colleagues (2015) stress the importance of the quality of the relationship making a difference. In their examination of 600 African American adults, simply being married did not

have an effect on crime (Simons & Barr, 2014). However, a higher quality of the marriage was inversely related to criminal behavior. Their study also sheds light onto why marriage has this effect; Simons and Barr (2014) found that married individuals underwent a cognitive change of sorts where they began to feel better about relationships (because they were in a positive one) and the future (because they had someone to rely on). Married individuals also had increased commitment to positive social norms, signifying individuals were no longer interested in a life of crime.

The literature surrounding employment and marriage are certainly evidence that participation in these two institutions has an effect on desistance from crime and by extension reentry. However, there are additional factors that may act as protective factors for the returning inmate. It is at this point the theory of cognitive transformation and the notion of hooks for change help illustrate what other factors may assist in the reentry process.

Theory of Cognitive Transformation

Initially, Giordano and colleagues (2002) were interested in what predicted desistance from crime for female offenders as much of the research on desistance focused almost exclusively on male offenders (Glueck & Glueck, 1937; Maruna, 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Giordano and colleagues (2002) examined a sample of male (48.1%) and female (51.9%) youth offenders in Ohio to uncover what predicted desistance using a mixed methods approach. Their quantitative analysis revealed that having children, marriage, and employment (or what they refer to as the respectability package) has an effect on offending but that a more specific understanding of behavior change would be captured with qualitative means. The narrative accounts collected by Giordano et al. (2002) provide additional insight into how individuals desisted from crime. They presented a causal model that explained how individuals began

desisting from crime and how it was maintained. Individuals must first be open to changing their life or interested in desisting from crime. Second, individuals must be exposed and receptive to “hooks” for change. These hooks presented themselves in many ways. An individual may simply be tired of spending time incarcerated and this acts as a strong enough hook for behavior change. Like Sampson and Laub’s (1993) idea of strong commitment to family institutions, individuals may develop a strong attachment to the ‘hook’ of a spouse or their children (Giordano et al., 2002). Finally, religion may act as a ‘hook’ for someone looking to desist from crime.

It is from these hooks that individuals begin to see a more positive version of themselves or a replacement self. At this stage, the individual is in the process of not only redefining how they see themselves but is also impacted by a different and more positive environment and relationships. Given these new circumstances, the final stage in the transformation is the individual’s waning desire to commit crime and a lack of commitment to criminality as a means for success in life.

Giordano and colleagues (2002) set out to examine the differences between men and women in regards to desistance. However, participants came from similar backgrounds and both men and women followed similar trajectories in and out of the criminal lifestyle. Men and women in the sample had similar narrative accounts on how they desisted from crime. However, men and women responded to different ‘hooks.’ Men cited not wishing to return to prison and providing for their family as the driving force in their desistance from crime. Women were more likely to cite religious influences and taking care of their children as the predominant hooks in the stories of change. It was through these hooks that individuals were able to begin redefining who they were and how they saw criminality.

Parenthood

Research Question 23: Does reporting having minor children impact recidivism?

Research Question 24: Does this effect (having minor children) differ by location?

These hooks for change can manifest in a number of ways. As already discussed, parenthood or having children can act as a hook for a change, but that this finding is typically more pronounced for women. Giordano, Seffrin, Manning, and Longmore (2011) examined data from the Toledo Adolescent Relationship Study which consists of information from four waves of interviews of over a thousand male and female offenders, first in adolescent and then continuing into adulthood. Giordano and colleagues (2011) found that socioeconomic status and wantedness of the pregnancy play a significant role in what effect parenthood has on desistance from crime. Meaning that more disadvantaged individuals were less likely to desist from crime after becoming parents and individuals who did not plan on becoming pregnant were less likely to reduce their criminal behavior. However, this finding differed by gender – women were more likely to desist from crime after becoming mothers, regardless of socioeconomic status. This provided evidence for the notion that becoming a mother or bonds with their child acts as a hook for change. This finding implies that women had a stronger bond with their child, as such their criminal behavior declined at a greater rate compared to men. Additionally, stronger bonds between parent and child has been shown to predict desistance from crime (Ganem & Agnew, 2007, Theobald, Farrington, & Piquero, 2015).

Following the theme of parenthood, there is also evidence that the parent-child relationship can encourage desistance later in life. Schroeder, Giordano, and Cernkovich (2010) examined the effect of supportive parents for the adult-child offender data from the Ohio Life Course Study that interviewed 127 female inmates at three time points (1982, 1995, 2003). Their

results point to parents of the offender providing a stabilizing force in the lives of their children, specifically through emotional support. However, parents can also provide more tangible support such as housing (LeBel & Maruna, 2012). Cid and Marti (2012) describe this relationship as a “returning point” where the offender attempts to restart relationships with family members (p. 614). If the parents are willing to accept the offender back, this revitalized relationship can be very important for desistance from crime.

Parenthood can act as a hook for change in either direction, whether it be offenders having children or offenders returning to their parent’s care – either situation can reduce offending. Given this evidence, it may be that these situations may act as a protective factor against the barriers to reentry.

The factors discussed in this section may ease the transition from prison or jail for the offender. Moreover, the zigzag nature of desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2003) allows for individuals to deviate from a crime-free life over time, as long as the individual ultimately leaves crime at a later date. This study intends to use these factors to better understand how and if these factors contribute to an individual avoiding further incarceration after release from jail.

Criminal History

Research Question 25: How does having a prior felony conviction impact recidivism?

Research Question 26: Does this effect (prior felony conviction) differ by location?

Research Question 27: How does having a prior misdemeanor conviction impact recidivism?

Research Question 28: Does this effect (prior misdemeanor conviction) differ by location?

There is a great deal of evidence that demonstrates that criminal history or prior record is predictive of recidivism (Benda et al., 2001; Berman, 2005; Bonta, LaPrairie, & Wallace-Capretta, 1997; Degiorgio, 2013; Fu et al., 2013; Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Gutierrez,

Wilson, Rugge, & Bonta, 2013; Hoeve, McReynolds, & Wasserman, 2013; Kruttschnitt et al., 2000; Levenson, Letourneau, Armstrong, & Zgoba, 2010; Lovell, Johnson, & Cain, 2007; Phillips & Spencer, 2013; Reich et al., 2015; Roe-Sepowitz, Hickie, Loubert, & Egan, 2011; Sadeh & McNeil, 2015; Vigessa, 2013; Yang, Knight, Joe, Rowan-Szal, Lehman, & Flynn, 2013). Given the weight of this evidence, it is not surprising that decision-making in criminal justice is largely based on prior record (Giles & Mullineux, 2000). As such, additional evidence has found that this type of decision making can lead to racial disparities in the criminal justice system (Hester, Frase, Roberts, & Mitchell, 2018; Murphy, Fuleihan, Richards, & Jones, 2011; Westrope, 2018).

Despite the evidence of the predictive power of criminal history, scholars have also found that eventually individuals “age out of crime” (Blumstein & Nakamura, 2009; Denver, Siwach, & Bushway, 2017; Kurlychek, Brame, & Bushway, 2006). Accordingly, it would be unethical to punish these individuals forever for crimes committed during their youth, especially if a number of years have passed since their criminal behavior. Indeed, scholars have noted just how damning the stigma of a criminal record can be (Denver, Pickett, & Bushway, 2017; Garretson, 2016; Gottfredson, 2017; Pogarsky, 2006; Raphael, 2006; Skall, 2016; Taylor & Sprang, 2017). Furthermore, the more selective nature of employment in non-urban areas translates into employment being more difficult to obtain in these areas when the individual has a criminal history

While prior record is a consistent and strong predictor of recidivism, there are a number of issues surrounding its use in decision making. Moreover, we need to be cognizant of the stigma that surrounds criminal history as to not punish individuals beyond their custodial or community sentence.

Included in criminal history is the individual's current offense. In their study of recidivism in 30 states, Durose and colleagues (2014) found that individuals whose most serious offense was a property offense were more likely to be arrested in the five years after release from prison. Alper and colleagues (2018) conducted a follow-up study and measured recidivism for nine years and similar results were found. It is difficult to say if these results will translate to jail recidivism, but it is certainly clear that property offenders in prison are more likely to recidivate than individuals incarcerated for violent, drug, or public order offenses.

Demographics

Age

Research Question 29: What effect does age have on recidivism?

Research Question 30: Does this effect (age) differ by location?

Similar to criminal history, age of the offender has consistently been linked to criminality and recidivism; specifically younger offenders are consistently more likely to reoffend than older offenders (Benda, Toombs, & Peacock, 2003; Berman, 2005; Bonta et al., 1997; Costopoulos et al., 2017; Gendreau et al., 1996; Gutierrez et al., 2013; Hall, 2015; Hallstone, 2014; Katsiyannis et al., 2018; Levenson et al., 2010; Lovell et al., 2007; Nally, Lockwood, Ho, & Knutson, 2012; Putnins, 2005; Rakes, Prost, & Tripodi, 2018; Reich et al., 2015; Rosenfeld, 2003; Rothbard et al., 2009; Sadeh & McNeil, 2015; Vigessa, 2013; Walters & Crawford, 2013; Webster, Dickson, Staton-Tindall, & Leukefeld, 2015; Zgoba & Levenson, 2011).

However, and as previously discussed, most offenders eventually “age out of crime” (Blumstein & Nakamura, 2009; Denver, Siwach, & Bushway, 2017; Kurlychek, Brame, & Bushway, 2006). This shift may be due to engaging in adult social roles (Massoglia & Uggen, 2010; Rocque, Posick, & White, 2015) and the byproducts of being an adult such as employment

or marriage (Sampson & Laub, 1993). Aging out of crime might also be due to better decision making by the individuals (Cusson & Pinsonneault, 1986). Regardless of the mechanisms encouraging the aging out of crime process, it is clear that eventually most offenders stop committing crime as they get older.

Gender

Research Question 31: What effect does gender have on recidivism?

Research Question 32: Does this effect (gender) differ by location?

In terms of gender, men are consistently more likely to reoffend than women (Benda, Harm, & Toombs, 2005; Fitzgerald et al., 2016; Gendreau et al., 1996; Gutierrez et al., 2013; Hall, 2015; Hallstone, 2014; Hoeve et al., 2013; Katsiyannis et al., 2018; Levenson et al., 2010; Nally et al., 2012; Putnins. 2005; Rothbard et al., 2009). However, incarceration rates for women are growing at a faster rate compared to men, and women tend to have higher rate of mental and physical health issues as well as substance abuse issues (Stone & Morash, 2014; Tonkin et al., 2004). There is also evidence that women are more lacking in “soft skills” compared to men (e.g. interpersonal skills, reading, math, attitudes) and they typically do not have access to the informal labor positions men do (Mann, Sjpeldnes, & Yamatani, 2003; Tonkin et al., 2004). As such, both genders struggle in terms of recidivism but men are typically more likely to reoffend.

Race/Ethnicity

Research Question 33: What effect does race/ethnicity have on recidivism?

Research Question 34: Does this effect (race/ethnicity) differ by location?

Benedict and Huff-Corzine (1997) conducted a recidivism study with a nationally representative sample of probationers and found just under a third (31.2 percent) of all

probationers reoffended. Only a quarter of white probationers reoffended, but 35 percent of black probationers reoffended and almost 40 percent of Hispanic probationers reoffended. These results were largely a foreshadowing of the results to come in more recent years; where it became clear that white individuals are less likely to reoffend than individuals in minority groups (Benda et al., 2001; Costopoulos et al., 2017; Gendreau et al., 1996; Hall, 2015; Jung, Spjeldnes, & Yamatani, 2010; Kruttschnitt et al., 2000; Nally et al., 2012; Rakes et al., 2018; Swogger, Walsh, Christie, Priddy, & Conner, 2015; Zgoba & Levenson, 2011). This evidence is so consistent that some scholars have argued that race is a proxy for risk of criminality (Berdejo, 2018; Johnson & King, 2017; Singh & Sprott, 2017; Spohn, 2015). The consistency of this finding is likely due to the circumstances in these individuals' lives. Wang, Mears, and Bales (2010) found that African Americans that are released to areas of high unemployment are more likely to recidivate. Similarly, African Americans are more likely to recidivate if they are released to areas with higher racial inequality (Reisig, Bales, Hay, & Wang, 2007). As such, it is not surprising that access to treatment differs by race (Thompson, Newell, & Carlson, 2016). For the current study, there is higher unemployment in Milwaukee, as such, the expectation is that African Americans would be more likely to recidivate if they are from Milwaukee. Additionally, there is less diversity in Waukesha, thus the expectation is that African Americans returning to Waukesha would again be more likely to recidivate.

There is considerable evidence that minority individuals are more likely to recidivate. It is well established that African Americans struggle to desist from crime (Bachman et al., 2016; Doherty & Ensminger, 2013; Kirk, 2012; Miller & Miller, 2010; Paternoster, Bachman, Kerrison, O'Connell, & Smith, 2016; Simons & Barr, 2014; Tripodi, 2010; Tripodi et al., 2010; Uggen, 2000; Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998; White, Saunders, Fisher, & Mellow, 2012; Zweig et

al., 2011). However, there is evidence that suggests Hispanic individuals might be less likely to recidivate because of social support and informal social control (Lee, Guilamo-Ramos, Munoz-Laboy, Lotz, & Bornheimer, 2015). Lee and colleagues (2015) found that Hispanic individuals relied heavily on familial support after being released from prison. For many participants, family members served as both agents of control and agents of support. In terms of control, one participant stated that his mother kept him accountable in finding and keeping a job because she had made it clear that she would not buy him anything. For support, after one participant was released he stated that he called his mother in Puerto Rico and asked if he could live with her (was living in New York City) while he got back on his feet – she sent him a ticket shortly after that phone call. The evidence for reentry for Hispanic individuals is certainly mixed at this point. However, the majority of evidence suggests that whites will be less likely to reoffend compared to other racial or ethnic minority individuals.

Summary

Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) described the issues facing jail inmates more than 30 years ago. Unfortunately, it does not appear that matters have improved a great deal since their work was published. Existing evidence suggests that formerly incarcerated individuals are more likely to have issues relating to mental and physical health, substance abuse, housing, and education. These issues present unique difficulties for individuals in non-urban areas. Furthermore, issues surrounding racial tensions and prior criminal record make it even more difficult for individuals to realistically restart their lives. However, with all of these issues working against incarcerated persons, there are some factors that can assist individuals in avoiding recidivism. Existing literature on desistance from crime suggests that stable employment, parenthood, and marriage can facilitate an exit from criminal behavior. Given the

evidence thus far, is important to examine how these issues operate for a jailed population in a non-urban area.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology for the current study. It is separated into two overarching sections. The first is a description of the quantitative methods used for the study. This section is separated into three subsections. The first presents the dependent variables for the study – recidivism measured in four ways. The second section presents the independent variables that were used in this study. This section will discuss the operationalization of the variables used in this study. The third section presents the statistical analysis plan for the study, which will consist of several logistic regression models as well as a cluster analysis that will provide a typology of jailed offenders. This section will also describe the data management strategy.

The second overarching section pertains to the qualitative methods used in this study and is separated into five subsections. The first section presents a brief overview and justification of the grounded theory methodology for this study. The second section describes the sampling strategy and the procedure for data collection. The third section will present the questions that were posed to participants. The fourth section will present the strategy for data analysis. The fifth section will describe the methods for increasing rigor and validation in this study.

This study used a mixed methods approach. As such it is important to explain what type of mixed methods study it is and to illustrate how this study is not simply stacking quantitative and qualitative analyses on top of one another. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) argue that mixed methods research requires that both quantitative and qualitative designs are merged in answering a certain question. This combination of designs exists on somewhat of a continuum. Pure mixed methods research would give equal weight to both quantitative and qualitative

designs. However, mixed methods research can also be conducted with one design being emphasized over the other. By its very nature, mixed methods research is conducted in two waves. The first phase is typically analyzing quantitative data and then either confirming the findings of those analyses (Bahr, Harris, Fisher, & Armstrong, 2010; Giordano et al., 2003; Giordano et al., 2011; Massoglia & Uggen, 2010) or having to grapple with inconsistencies between the results of the statistical analyses and what participants discussed during the interviews (Giordano et al., 2008).

Cresswell and colleagues (2003) identify two ways to conduct studies with mixed methods research designs. The first is sequential, in which either the qualitative or quantitative component is completed first and is used to inform the other component. The second is a concurrent design where the quantitative and qualitative components are completed simultaneously and then the findings of both components are analyzed. This study will employ the concurrent design. The major strength of this approach is that it allows the researcher to remain open to possibilities outside of the limitations of either design. That is to say that employing the sequential design could lead to a series of dead ends. For instance, allowing the quantitative analysis to guide the qualitative analysis directly contradicts the main tenets of grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) clearly lays out that the researcher should have no preconceptions about the topic prior to starting the study. Furthermore, allowing the qualitative component to influence the quantitative component could lead to the removal or exclusion of important variables that were not discovered through the interviews. By conducting both components of the study simultaneously, the data from either component can help shape the other.

As will be discussed later, this study is largely exploratory because of the nature of the target population. Thus, the primary goals of this study are to (1) better understand jail incarceration and recidivism as well as (2) construct a theoretical framework that explains jail incarceration and recidivism in non-urban areas. The current study gives equal weight to both methods in constructing a larger explanation for jail incarceration and recidivism. As such, both sets of analyses were conducted simultaneously so that confirmations and discrepancies could be analyzed after both analyses were completed.

Study Site and Screened Sample

The site for this study is the Waukesha County Jail (WCJ). WCJ is a 469-bed facility in a non-urban county that shares a border with the most populous county in the state (Milwaukee). All data, interviews, and observations came from the WCJ. The interviews were conducted with security, command, and support staff from the WCJ. Also, the researcher spent approximately 30 hours within the WCJ observing and memoing throughout the data collection phase of this study. The data for this study comes from the Wisconsin Community Services Pretrial Services Screening Report (PSSR) which operates within the WCJ.

The PSSR is administered in the WCJ to all individuals who are booked into the jail for a new arrest or for an open warrant. The PSSR collects a great deal of information about the individual (current charges and prior criminal record, work and education history, substance abuse history, mental or physical health issues, treatment history [mental health and substance abuse], family situation, and demographics). Because the screen is administered in the jail, there are some concerns about coercion. Individuals who are booked into jail must submit to various booking procedures for classification and security reasons. The PSSR is part of these procedures for individuals who are in jail for a new arrest or for an open warrant.

The vast majority of the information from the PSSR is self-reported by the client. As such, there are doubts as to the truthfulness of their claims for mental and physical health as well as if they have an alcohol or substance abuse issue. Moreover, the information is a snapshot of the person's life at the moment of the screen. As such, the researcher was not able to determine if this period of incarceration was preceded by an individual getting divorced nor was the researcher able to determine if the individual lost their job due to their incarceration. Additionally, if an individual was homeless at the time of the screen, the researcher was not able to determine how long the individual had been homeless for or if they obtained housing prior to the screen. There are also concerns with the depth at which the data is collected, meaning that if a defendant notes that they were a veteran, there is no information as to which conflict they served in (Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc.) or what their role in the armed services was (combat, intelligence, etc.). Thus, the results of this study should be examined with great caution because of its self-report and secondary nature.

The instrument is administered to everyone who has a court date after being booked into jail. The PSSR is not administered to individuals on probation holds and federal inmates who are housed in the jail. However, these individuals represent a small minority of inmates in the jail. Despite its self-report nature, the information gleaned from the instrument is used for bail decision making and in referrals to pre-trial services. Meaning, that it is deemed credible for these purposes.

To allow for an appropriate follow-up period, this study examined individual screens that occurred between August 2009 and December 2013. All individuals in the data were 18 years of age or older. Individuals who were sentenced to prison (n=913) and not released in time for a

full three-year follow-up were removed from the sample (n=118). Individuals were also removed from the data if they did not live in the four locations (n=894).

Removing that many individuals from the data was not done without careful consideration. Of the 894 individuals removed, 235 lived outside the state of Wisconsin which would have made it more difficult follow these individuals with the recidivism measure. The remaining 659 individuals were removed because these individuals lived all over the state which did not lend itself to an appropriate comparison group. Some of these individuals lived in more urban centers (but smaller than Milwaukee) like Madison, Racine, and Green Bay, whereas others lived in smaller towns like Hubertus, Manitowoc, and Ixonia. Rather than including the counties that house these larger and smaller towns with the four locations, they were removed from the analysis. The sample size for this study is 6,828 individuals. **Table 2** provides a breakdown of number of screens by year. Across the four full years of screens, the numbers are relatively consistent in terms of how many individuals were screened. It is important to note that 2009 is approximately a third of all other years; this is because only a third of a year of data was available for analysis.

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Count	499	1,622	1,517	1,531	1,659

Table 2: Number of Screens by Year

Dependent Variable – Recidivism

Recidivism was operationalized in a few ways. The first is if the individual was charged with a new crime (51.6 percent of the sample). This measure excludes minor traffic violations and captures violent, property, public order, drug, and operating while intoxicated charges. The second is a new conviction (47 percent of the sample). This measure's strength is that it represents legal guilt for the offense. Whereas a new charge simply means that the individual

was accused of a crime. The third is whether the individual was incarcerated in jail for the new offense (39.4 percent of the sample). The fourth is whether the individual was incarcerated in prison for the new offense (15.2 percent of the sample).

Recidivism information was collected via Wisconsin's Consolidated Court Automation Program (CCAP). Individuals who had a new charge with the prefix CF (felony), CM (misdemeanor), or CT (criminal traffic) were included if the punishment for their offense was more than fine or forfeiture. An individual's first charge post-release was used to determine if they recidivated. If multiple charges occurred at the same time, the most serious sanction was used to define recidivism. For example, if an individual was charged with lane deviation and their operating while intoxicated (OWI), the fourth OWI charge was used to determine which of the dependent variables the individual was coded as. In this example, if this individual was sent to prison for their offense, they would have been coded as being charged and convicted of a new crime and receiving a new prison sentence.

Because this study must account for time incarcerated, information regarding an individual's release was collected via CCAP. CCAP is a statewide program that maintains the records of individuals who are being processed in the criminal justice system in Wisconsin (new charges, status hearings, sentence hearings, civil proceedings). This program is continuously updated by criminal justice personnel in every county in Wisconsin. Individual records were assessed post-release for three years from release for the recidivism variables (i.e. release date is January 1, 2010; last follow-up date would be January 1, 2013)¹⁷. This follow-up period is

¹⁷ Release dates had to be calculated for individuals in the sample. This was done by adding their sentence length to the day of their sentencing and then adding three years to know when this individual's follow-up period was. It is certainly possible that some individuals were released early, but if they had been and charged with a new offense prior to their calculated release date this would have shown up in CCAP and the offense would have been recorded. In the other direction it is possible that some follow-up periods were slightly longer than others because of how the release date was calculated and the possibility for early release. If individuals were not sentenced for their current offense, the day they posted bail or signed a signature bond was used as their release date as long as their court

consistent with prior research (Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998; Uggen, 2000; Zweig, Yahner, & Redcross, 2011) and is longer than other research that has only examined a couple months or years (Healy, 2010; Leverentz, 2014; Miller & Miller, 2010; Ramakers et al., 2016; White, Saunders, Fisher, & Mellow, 2012; Williams & Ariel, 2013).

With these measures of recidivism, there are two questions that were answered. The first question answered was what proportion of individuals receive a new charge, are reconvicted, and are sent back to jail or prison over the course of a three-year follow-up period? The second question revolves around the factors that make recidivism more or less likely. In the following section these factors (independent variables) will be discussed.

Independent Variables

This section will discuss the independent or predictor variables that were used in the study. This section is divided into four subsections. The first will describe the urban/non-urban variable and its operationalization. The second section will discuss the barriers to reentry independent variables and how they were measured with the PSSR. The third section will present the variables concerned with desistance from crime. The fourth section will present the additional demographic and prior record variables used in the analysis.

Urban vs. Non-Urban

The PSSR collects the address the individual was living at when they were screened. While this information does not necessarily indicate where the individual will be returning to upon release, prior research has shown that most individuals return to similar neighborhoods from which they came (LaVigne et al., 2003; LaVigne et al., 2003; LaVigne, et al., 2003; Watson et al., 2004). Most of the individuals screened are living in either Waukesha City or

record showed no additional time in custody. Unfortunately, there is no way of determining how prevalent this second possibility was.

Waukesha County at the time of the screen, but a fair number of individuals lived in Milwaukee City or Milwaukee County. Comparisons were made between residents of Milwaukee City, Milwaukee County, Waukesha City, and Waukesha County. Given the previous discussion on demographics and crime information on these four areas, the working hypothesis was that Milwaukee City would have the highest recidivism rate, followed by Milwaukee County, Waukesha City, and lastly Waukesha County. Waukesha City is used as the reference category because it had the highest proportion of the sample and because the jail is physically located in Waukesha City.

Barriers to Reentry

This section discusses the operationalization of the barriers to reentry variables. As the name of the section implies, the variables presented here make returning to society more difficult for the individual. Data for these variables was reported by the individual while in the jail or was collected during the pretrial investigation¹⁸.

Mental health problems

Mental health problems are consistently an issue for incarcerated populations, both in managing these individuals and for recidivism (Baillargeon et al., 2009; Blandford & Osher, 2013). In order to measure mental health in this study, individuals were asked “do you have any mental or emotional problems?” The screener then marked yes (1) or no (0)¹⁹.

¹⁸ The pretrial investigation is used by the PSSR to collect information as to whether an individual had a history of alcohol abuse or a history substance abuse.

¹⁹ If individuals reported a mental or emotional problem, they were asked if they had received treatment or were prescribed medication for this issue. None of the individuals in the data reported having received treatment or being prescribed medication, without reporting a mental or emotional problem.

Physical health issues

Physical health issues are less examined in the reentry research but pose unique problems for those returning to society (Mears & Cochran, 2012). In order to measure physical health issues, individuals were asked “do you have any serious medical problems?” The screener then marked yes (1) or no (0).

Alcohol or substance abuse issues

As with mental health, substance abuse is an almost ever-present issue among incarcerated populations (Blandford & Osher, 2013). With estimates ranging from 67 percent to more than 80 percent of formerly incarcerated individuals using drugs (Blandford & Osher, 2013; LaVigne et al., 2003; Watson et al., 2004), it is important to examine what effect drugs and alcohol have on jail recidivism in non-urban populations. In order to measure substance abuse, individuals were asked “are you currently using any illegal substances?” If the individual reported that they had previously used illegal substances repeatedly, abused illegal or prescription drugs, or if they had received drug treatment in the past, they were coded as having a substance abuse issue. Additionally, if an individual had a prior drug-related conviction, they were coded as having a substance abuse issue (yes=1;no=0). In order to measure alcohol abuse, individuals were asked “do you have an alcohol abuse problem?” If they reported that they did or had prior alcohol-related convictions, they were coded as having an alcohol abuse issue (yes=1; no=0).

Veteran-specific issues

As stated in the previous chapter, incarcerated veterans are an often-overlooked population in jail but represent a unique type of inmate (Schaffer, 2009). In order to measure

whether the individual was a veteran of the armed forces, individuals were asked if they were a veteran (Is a veteran?). The screener then marked yes (1) or no (0).

Education

Solomon and colleagues (2008) found that only forty percent of jail inmates have a high school diploma or GED. With the limited employment opportunities already available to the formerly incarcerated, education is increasingly important to overcome barriers to reentry. In order to measure education, individuals were asked for their highest grade completed (“Highest grade completed?”). Individuals who noted that their highest grade completed was 11th grade or lower were coded as “did not finish high school.” Individuals who noted that their highest grade completed was 12th grade or higher were coded as “completed high school.” Completed high school was coded 1; did not finish high school was coded 0.

Housing

Within the address field in the PSSR, a sizeable proportion of individuals are classified as homeless or living in various homeless shelters. With this information a variable was created noting that the individual was experiencing homelessness. The municipality the individual lives in is provided in the data so location can be assessed. An address that was a homeless shelter or was marked “homeless” was coded as 1; an address that was not a homeless shelter or was not marked “homeless” was coded as 0.

Desistance Factors

There are several barriers to reentry for incarcerated individuals. However, extant literature on desistance from crime has found several factors that assist in an individual no longer offending. This section will discuss these factors and how they were operationalized in this study.

Employment and Income

Given the limited education and work history of formerly incarcerated individuals and the stigma attached to this label, it is no surprise that jailed inmates struggle with employment and income issues. However, a major tenant in the desistance literature is stable employment (Sampson & Laub, 1993). The set of variables discussed in this section will provide a deeper understanding of what employment looks like for inmates at the WCJ and what effect employment, or lack thereof, has on recidivism. There are several employment variables available in the PSSR data. The first variable was whether the individual was employed at the time of their screen. The second variable was their hourly wage if they were employed²⁰. The third variable that was created is whether the individual was employed and working 36 or more hours per week at the time of their arrest. This is a dichotomous variable (Full time employment = 1). With Sampson and Laub's (1993) finding that stability of employment, not just simply being employed, influences desistance from crime, the fourth variable was created to denote if an individual has been working continuously for two years prior to incarceration. For two years of employment, individuals did not have to be working full time, they just had to be employed for two years prior to incarceration. These two variables represent full time employment and stability of employment (at least two years of employment prior to incarceration).

²⁰ This variable was calculated by dividing their monthly income by four times the hours they worked per week.

WORK HISTORY:(past 2 years)

Dates Start/Finish	Employer & Name of Supervisor	# Hours/Week

Months worked in the last 2 _____

FINANCIAL INFORMATION:

Current Monthly Income: \$ _____

Figure 1. PSSR Employment Question

Marital status

Sampson and Laub (1993) found that marital attachment reduced offending over the life course. This finding was reaffirmed by a recent meta-analysis that found that marriage typically has an inverse relationship with offending (Skardhamar et al., 2015). In order to measure marital status, individuals were asked “what is your marital status?” If individuals reported that they were married, they were coded as 1; if individuals reported being single, separated, divorced, or widowed, they were coded as 0. This measure is somewhat limited in the sense that it does not capture the quality of the relationship. However, this measure has been used in prior literature and produced positive effects (Bersani & DiPetro, 2016; King et al., 2007; Skardhamar et al., 2015).

Parenthood

There is mixed evidence for parenthood encouraging desistance. Typically, parenthood does not have an effect for males, but having children and being a parent has a stronger effect for female offenders (Giordano et al., 2002; Giordano et al., 2008). In order to measure parenthood, individuals were asked two questions – “are you the primary caregiver?” and “how many children do you have?” If individuals reported that they were the primary caregiver, they were coded as 1; if they were not a primary caregiver or did not have children, they were coded as 0.

For whether the individual had children, individuals who reported having one or more children were coded as 1; individuals who reported having zero children were coded as 0.

Respectability Package

Giordano and colleagues (2002) coined the term respectability package in the desistance literature. The respectability package consists of if an individual is employed, married, and has children. In an attempt to replicate the findings of Giordano and colleagues (2002), a dummy variable was created that represents the trifecta of if the individual is employed, married, and has children.

Demographics and Prior Record

This section presents the operationalization for demographic factors (sex, race, age), current offense type, prior record, and risk to recidivism.

Demographics and Current Offense

A few demographic variables were analyzed in this study. The PSSR collects the individual's sex, this was coded male = 1, female = 0. There were no instances of individuals identifying as transgender or a gender outside of the traditional male-female dichotomy. Ethnicity was dummy coded for all racial categories available (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian). The PSSR has five options for ethnicity (White, African American, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian). For regression analyses, White is used as the reference category. Date of birth is also collected in the PSSR. This date was used to calculate their age for when they were initially screened.

The PSSR records the most serious crime, thus a limitation of this study is that all known criminal behavior for this incarceration episode is not incorporated. The individual's current charge was coded based on what type offense it is. Dummy variables were created to denote if

their current charge was violent (robbery, assault), property (theft, operating motor vehicle without consent), operating while intoxicated (drunk driving, drugged driving), drug (possession or sale), disorderly conduct, public order (public drunkenness, concealed firearm), bail jumping, traffic (operating after revocation, hit and run), and other. Crimes coded as other included crimes such as “conspiracy” or “unlawful use of telephone.” Prior literature on current offense and recidivism indicates that property offenders are most likely to reoffend compared to individuals with violent, drug, and public order offenses (Durose et al., 2014; 2016). As such, the reference variable for the regression analysis is individuals charged with property offenses.

Prior Record and Risk to Recidivism

For prior record, the PSSR collects an individual’s offense history for the last five years. Specifically, if the individual had been convicted of a felony or misdemeanor in the last five years. Two dummy variables were created to indicate whether the individual had any prior felony or misdemeanor convictions. Variables were created to indicate if the individual had prior violent or operating while intoxicated convictions or if they had failed to appear (FTA) for court in the past.

The PSSR also uses the Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument (VPRAI) to screen individuals. The instrument is geared towards recidivism as well as failure to appear (FTA) convictions. The tool is based on nine factors. The first is whether the individual’s current charge is a felony. Second, if they have any pending charges. Third, if they have any outstanding warrants. Fourth, if they had any prior misdemeanor or felony convictions. Fifth, if they have any FTA convictions. Sixth, if they have any violent convictions. Seventh, if they have lived in their current residence for less than a year. Eighth, if they are employed or the

primary caregiver for their children (reverse coded). Ninth, if they admit to any illegal drug use or alcohol dependence. The overall score was included in the descriptive statistics section.

With these demographic factors, analyses were conducted to show the overall breakdown of these factors for those in jail. Including analyses that present descriptive statistics for demographic factors across residence location, barriers to reentry, and the desistance factors.

Analysis Plan

Descriptive statistics are provided for all dependent and independent variables. Moreover, the primary research question of “who is in jail” was answered with these descriptive statistics. Rather than using a “point-in-time” estimate of who is in jail, this study will answer the first research question by describing the entire sample of individuals screened from August 2009 through December 2013.

There were two primary analysis strategies utilized in this study. The first is logistic regression. Logistic regression is a statistical technique used to estimate the association between a dichotomous or binary dependent variable and one or more independent variables. Issues of multicollinearity are still possible with logistic regression (Cohen, Cohen, West & Aiken, 2003). As such the variance inflation factor (VIF) was calculated for each independent variable. Cohen and colleagues (2003) suggest that multicollinearity is evident if the VIF is 10 or more. As will be discussed later, VIF for all independent variables was far below 10 – as such multicollinearity does not appear to be an issue for the current study.

Separate models were constructed for the four dependent variables (new charge, reconviction, reincarceration in jail, and reincarceration in prison). **Table 3** provides the variables that were used in the regression models as well as their operationalization. Apart from

the current offense and prior criminal record variables (prior felony or misdemeanor convictions), all the variables are based on self-reported data.

Table 3: Variable Operationalizations

Variable Name	Operationalization
Location	1= Waukesha City (reference) 2= Waukesha County 3= Milwaukee City 4= Milwaukee County
Mental health	0 = No self-reported mental health issue 1 = Self-reported mental health issue
Physical health	0 = No self-reported physical health issue 1 = Self-reported physical health issue
Alcohol Issue	0 = No self-reported alcohol issue 1 = Self-reported alcohol issue
Substance Abuse Issue	0 = No self-reported substance issue (not alcohol) 1 = Self-reported substance issue (not alcohol)
Veteran	0 = Client did not report being a veteran 1 = Client reported that they were a veteran
Education	0 = Highest grade completed is 11 or lower 1 = Completed grade 12 or higher
Full time employment	0 = Client reported fewer than 36 hours of work per week 1 = Client reported 36 or more hours of work per week
Employed for 2 years	0 = Client reported fewer than 2 years of work 1 = Client reported 2 or more years of work
Homeless	0 = Client reported living at a residence during the screen 1 = Client reported not having a residence during the screen
Married	0 = Client is either single, divorced, separated, or widowed 1 = Client reported being married
Has minor children	0 = Client did not report having children under the age of 18 1 = Client reported having children under the age of 18
Prior felony conviction	0 = No prior felony convictions (past five years) 1 = One or more prior felony convictions (past five years)
Prior misdemeanor conviction	0 = No prior misdemeanor convictions (past 5 years) 1 = One or more prior misdemeanor convictions (past 5 years)
Sex	0 = Female 1 = Male
White	Reference category
Black	Dummy variable
Hispanic	Dummy variable
Asian	Dummy variable
American Indian	Dummy variable
Age	18 and up (continuous)
Current charge-Violent	Dummy variable
Current charge-Property	Reference variable

Current charge-OWI	Dummy variable
Current charge-Drug	Dummy variable
Current charge-Dis. Conduct	Dummy variable
Current charge-Public Order	Dummy variable
Current charge-Bail Jumping	Dummy variable
Current charge-Traffic	Dummy variable
Current charge-Other	Dummy variable

The four models provided estimates for how the independent variables are associated with the different measures for recidivism for the overall sample. To estimate the effect of a specific location (e.g. Waukesha City) the data was subsetted by location and the separate models were run to better understand the independent variables effect on the dependent variables across the locations. While this method does not allow the researcher to compare effects across locations, it did provide a more digestible way to understand the way in which jail recidivism operates in the four locations and for all individuals within the study sample.

Constructing a Typology for the Rabble

Both Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) constructed typologies for individuals incarcerated in jail. As such this study used cluster analysis to construct an updated typology of these offenders. Cluster analysis is a statistical technique that finds commonalities within the data and provides unique subgroups of the data. These commonalities can be between individuals or variables. There are numerous techniques under the umbrella of cluster analysis, but for this study the hierarchical cluster technique was used.

This study groups individuals based on several independent variables previously discussed. Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984) argue that selecting variables for cluster analysis is critical and should be based on the concepts that best represent the concept under examination. As such, variables selected for this method represent a near exhaustive profile of the offender.

The current study utilized the Jaccard distance measure because it is readily available in multiple statistical packages and performs as well as procedures developed by Dice and Russell/Rao (Finch, 2005). The independent and dependent variables were entered in the cluster analysis procedure to determine the typology of offenders²¹. As stated earlier, there has been less emphasis on recidivism with typologies, specifically with the analyses of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985). The current study provides an updated typology of jailed offenders by considering their characteristics (demographics, barriers to reentry, desistance factors, prior record, and current charge) and their criminal behavior after the initial screen (recidivism). The same variables used with the logistic regression (**Table 3**) were used to construct the typologies.

Qualitative Component

As stated earlier, there is very little known about jail reentry in non-urban populations. Prior literature shows that there are some similarities between non-urban recidivism and recidivism in urban populations. However, there are also differences between urban and non-urban areas in terms of recidivism. As such, it is important to “start over” and examine jail recidivism in non-urban areas more inductively. The quantitative portion of this study seeks to understand jail recidivism deductively, but the qualitative portion is not bound to variables collected by the PSSR, which allows for a broader examination and understanding of how jail recidivism operates. The qualitative portion can also go deeper than the quantitative analyses in that there are specific examples of who comes back and why. For instance, the quantitative analysis revealed that reporting an alcohol issue increases the likelihood of being charged with a new crime. The qualitative component can tell us why alcohol is having this effect. Moreover, participants shared stories about specific individuals who were struggling with substance abuse

²¹ Two other cluster analyses were completed for this project. The first excluded the dependent variables; the second excluded the location variables. A fuller discussion of those results is included in Chapter 6.

and what they learned from talking with these individuals. Using both a deductive and inductive approach in this study can help triangulate the results. In order to examine this population inductively, the grounded theory methodology was used.

Grounded Theory Overview

Grounded theory was first established by Glaser and Strauss (1967) who were dissatisfied with current theoretical frameworks that seemed ill-fitting for various populations. As such, their idea was to develop a theory based on the data, rather than retrofitting theories to new and different populations. Because of this data-driven approach, grounded theory is seen as more favorable to quantitative researchers, especially when there is not a strong theoretical framework for a certain process or population. Creswell (2013) wrote that grounded theory is typically used when trying to better explain a process or an event that occurs over time. In other words, the situation should be dynamic or have a cause and effect for which the current explanation is insufficient or needs improvement.

Charmaz (2006; see also Glaser & Strauss, 1967) identifies seven major components of the grounded theory methodology, six of these points were used to structure this portion of the study²². First, grounded theory requires the researcher to collect and analyze data simultaneously. This is done so that themes that emerge during the analysis can be better understood in subsequent interviews and observations. Second, data should be coded based on the data rather than already established themes. This process is also referred to as open coding and it is done this way to ensure that the process is truly data-driven and not retrofitted to pre-existing ideas about the topic. Third, data from participants should be compared throughout the

²² The seventh point from Charmaz (2006) is that the literature review for a grounded theory study should be written after the analysis. While this may be helpful in ensuring that the researcher is not biased by existing literature, the dissertation must have a literature review prior to the analysis. However, steps have been taken to minimize this type of bias (see question guide section for more information).

data collection and analysis period. Similar to the first point, in that interview data should be compared to see what themes are emerging within accounts. Fourth, theory development should be present at each stage of the analysis. This is a critical point, because the goal of the grounded theory methodology is to develop a theoretical framework that explains some process. The fifth point reminds the researcher to maintain notes or memos to “elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6). Because grounded theory requires an iterative process, memo-writing is a critical part of data analysis and theory construction. The sixth point is in regard to sampling strategy. In contrast to quantitative methods, sampling in grounded theory does not require that the sample be representative of the population the researcher seeks to better understand. Rather the sampling strategy for the grounded theory methodology should consist of individual accounts that would be best equipped for theory construction.

The aforementioned components were completed for the current study. The first three components will be discussed in the data analysis section and the sixth point will be discussed in further detail in the sampling strategy. In regard to the fourth and fifth component, these were completed throughout the study. From the beginning stages of this project, writing memos was an important and constant theme throughout. Prior to the proposal being written, the ideas for the project were shared with correctional staff at the WCJ during observations. During the proposal stage to the data collection phase and even in writing up all the results, memo writing has continued to be a constant and important way of organizing ideas for the studies.

Regarding theory development and construction, a major objective for the memo-writing was to always think about the unifying construct or set of constructs for who is in jail and who comes back. It would be relatively easy to list and summarize the interview data and statistical

figures, but this is not be congruent with the grounded theory methodology. As such, keeping the question of “what ties this all together?” was useful in developing and constructing a theory that explains non-urban jail reentry.

Justification

Grounded theory is not an overly popular method within criminal justice and criminology, but a few scholars have used it. Cobbina (2010; 2012) utilized grounded theory in her examination of women returning to home from prison. With this population, grounded theory is an appropriate methodology because little was known about prisoner reentry from the female perspective. However, there is no larger theoretical framework presented in either article. Pleggenkuhle and colleagues (2016) also used the grounded theory methodology but fail to provide an overarching theoretical explanation for prisoner reentry. This study used the grounded theory methodology and produced a theoretical framework that explains jail recidivism in a non-urban area.

The grounded theory methodology is an appropriate choice for two reasons. First, there is very little known about jail recidivism in non-urban areas. Second, there is no theoretical framework that has been established that specifically deals with non-urban offenders and reentry. Grounded theory is the most appropriate methodology for the current study because it not only answers questions that have been under-researched, but it offers the most complete methodological approach to the questions being asked.

Recruitment

After receiving approval from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee’s Institutional Review Board, participants were recruited for this study in three ways. The first step was to contact the administration at the jail to see if they would be willing to participate in the project

and if they would be willing to help facilitate interviews with staff at the facility. The second step was to shadow in the jail and garner interest for correctional staff to be interviewed from the project. The third step was emailing all correctional staff a flyer which advertised the study and invited individuals to participate in the study.

At each step, participants were made aware of the inclusion and exclusion criteria of the study. All participants were employed by or worked in the WCJ on a full-time basis and must have worked at the WCJ for at least six months. Participants were offered a small incentive of \$10 for participating in the interview.

Sample

As discussed above, theoretical sampling was used to recruit participants. Charmaz (2006) argues that many scholars misuse theoretical sampling and outlines the mistakes of these scholars. The first mistake is sampling to answer research questions. Because the major objective of grounded theory is to let the data speak for itself, introducing already established topics into the interview would corrupt the data (i.e. asking about mental health issues in jail and recidivism, instead of simply asking about jail and recidivism). The second mistake is to collect a sample that is representative. The desire to have a representative sample comes from more quantitative-minded scholars, but this is not required for theoretical sampling.

Representativeness and generalizability are not the goal for the grounded theorist, rather the point is to collect information from individuals that will assist in the development and construction of the theory.

For this study, the individuals that are best suited for developing a theory of jail incarceration and recidivism are the individuals who supervise these individuals. This decision was made for a few reasons. Interviewing inmates would provide personal accounts of who they

are and why they come back, but it is still an individual account. By interviewing correctional staff, the scope of the issues can be broader but still allow for personal accounts to illustrate these issues. Second, correctional staff, not unlike case managers or social workers, know a great deal about their clientele and as such are qualified and equipped to assist in the construction of a framework that explains why individuals are in jail and why they come back.

Mason (2010) cites that qualitative research should have a minimum of 15 participants if it hopes to reach saturation. However, this figure is qualified in that there is no empirical argument for this number and the notion of diminishing returns for qualitative research (i.e. more data does not necessarily translate into a better understanding) meant that the data had to be examined continuously to ensure that saturation was met. Initially, the goal for the study was to interview 20 individuals, with the understanding that more interviews would need to be scheduled if saturation was not met after the first 20. After interviewing and coding 17 individuals, saturation had clearly been met. However, interviews were already scheduled for after the initial 17 so these interviews were conducted, transcribed, and coded.

Data Collection

The data collected for this study was done through in-depth interviews with participants. The decision to do in-depth interviews rather than focus groups was done to ensure confidentiality amongst participants and thus allowing them to speak more freely about their experiences with inmates at the WCJ. All interviews were transcribed for data analysis. Observational data was also collected throughout the study period at the jail. As will be discussed later, the researcher shadowed in the jail and observed how the staff interact with inmates as well as the general happenings within the jail.

Question guide

There are two primary questions this dissertation is interested in: who is in jail and why do they come back? Below is the interview guide that was used to obtain answers for these questions. Referring to the brief discussion on Charmaz's (2006) seventh component of grounded theory research, the literature review for this study had already been written so there is the possibility that the results could be biased. To minimize this bias, the questions posed to participants are open-ended and the participant could take the conversation where they think it should go. However, questions were asked that highlight topics the participant has not discussed (i.e. if the participant is discussing mental health, substance abuse may be offered as an alternative explanation for jail recidivism). This was not done to lead the participant, rather the hope is to have the participant comment on other indicators of jail incarceration and recidivism.

- Who is in jail?
 - Probe: Current charge
 - Probe: Demographics
 - Probe: What kinds of issues do they have?
 - Probe: Differences between urban and non-urban institutions
 - Probe: Tell me about “frequent flyers” what are their issues?

- Are there differences between urban and non-urban inmates?
 - Probe: Current charge
 - Probe: Demographics
 - Probe: What kinds of issues do they have?
 - Probe: Do you think inmates differ by Milwaukee City/County and Waukesha City/County?

- Why do they come back?
 - Probe: What about XXX contributes to them coming back?
 - What are some of the individual-level factors that influence their return?
 - Are there things outside the individual that contribute to the person coming back?

- What is the role of the jail in reentry and recidivism?

Participants were also be asked to fill out a questionnaire that provided demographic information about the participant. The questionnaire inquired about the following information:

- Name
- Sex
- Age
- Race/Ethnicity
- Rank
 - How many years at WCJ?
 - How many years in corrections?
 - How many years working in the criminal justice system?
- Education level
 - Additional certifications
- Military experience
 - Which branch?
 - For how long?
- Where do you typically work in the WCJ?
 - Booking, Pods 1-5, Mobile security?

Data analysis

Analyzing the qualitative data from the interview with correctional staff at the WCJ was a six-step process (**Table 4**). This six-step process is not intended to be a linear progression rather the constant comparative method was utilized, which requires the researcher to revisit data repeatedly to ensure that all the data is included in the final analysis and coded in a similar fashion (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The six-step process comes from Charmaz (2006) who outlines how grounded theory studies can be conducted.

The first step is transcribing the interviews verbatim and then cleaning these transcriptions to ensure their accuracy. Audio tapes of the interviews were played for the researcher or the transcriptionist so that every word could be recorded in a word processing document. The second step involved coding the interviews with an open coding scheme. Charmaz (2006) refers to this process as “naming” (p. 46) the data or summarizing a segment of the data with a single word or shorter description of what the data is saying. Interviews were

coded shortly after the transcription was cleaned. The coding was completed in the R-based Qualitative Data Analysis (RQDA) program, which was selected because of its user-friendly interface and the low cost associated with the software (Huang, 2018).

The third step is the comparative analysis. This was completed by comparing the codes and transcripts of each interview every time a new one was completed (i.e. when interview three was completed, the codes and text from it were compared to the text and codes from interviews one and two, which were compared to one another prior to the third interview).

During this comparative analysis, certain codes and ideas were identified as the most significant, either because of the frequency in which they are mentioned or because of the time spent discussing certain ideas. This initiated the fourth step of focused coding. Charmaz (2006) describes focused coding as the process in which the researcher selects the codes that are most significant or frequently mentioned. These codes were used as a guidepost to better understand the larger picture that emerged from the data.

The fifth step, axial coding, begins the process of organizing the codes and the data into a more manageable system of relationships. Up until this point, the codes were separate and without a clear understanding of how different ideas relate to one another. The focused codes were used to better organize lower-level codes. For example, alcohol abuse was identified as a focused code, and beneath this code was loss of employment, homelessness, and poor physical health as the root causes of alcohol abuse.

Axial coding is largely used to organize the data to make the last step, theoretical coding, more manageable. In theoretical coding, the data analysis process moves beyond description and into interpretation. This step requires the researcher to explain what is happening in the data and

to offer a theoretical framework to better understand the larger issue. It is this step where the main components of the theoretical framework were constructed and presented.

Step 1	Transcription
Step 2	Initial/open coding
Step 3	Comparative analysis
Step 4	Focused coding
Step 5	Axial coding
Step 6	Theoretical coding
Table 4: Qualitative Data Analysis	

Rigor and validation

Validity is different in qualitative research and steps must be taken to ensure that the research is of high quality (Tracy, 2013). Essentially, steps must be taken in qualitative research to assert that the research was done rigorously. Creswell (2013) presents eight strategies to assist in the validation and strengthening of qualitative research (prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, peer-review or debriefing, negative case review, clarifying researcher bias, member checking, thick and rich description, and external audits) (p. 250-252). The recommendation from Creswell (2013) is that at least two of these criteria are used in all qualitative research. This study utilized five of these strategies.

The first strategy is prolonged engagement and persistent observation. This was done by continuing to shadow in the WCJ throughout the study. By staying close with the subjects of the qualitative portion of the study, additional information and context can be gleaned. It is certainly possible that misunderstandings may emerge through the interviews, as such it was important to stay close to the subjects to ensure that what the researcher is understanding and what the participants were saying are consistent with one another.

The second strategy is member checking. Member checking involves sharing results and emergent themes from the analysis with the participants. Staff at the WCJ are interested in what

this study has found; as such results from the quantitative and qualitative analyses will be shared with staff at the WCJ. Similar to prolonged observation, this validation strategy is used to ensure that there are no misunderstandings between the researchers and the subjects.

The third strategy is external audits. The data and results were shared (confidentially) with a qualitative working group at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee to obtain peer feedback on the stories of participants. This strategy assisted the researcher in avoiding tunnel vision and being open to themes that others recognize and feel contribute to the understanding of participant stories.

The fourth strategy is triangulation. Triangulation requires the researcher to use multiple forms of data to better understand the problem at hand. The qualitative portion of this study will not only be based on the interviews with correctional staff. Several memos were written describing the WCJ, the inmates, and their interactions with the correctional staff. These memos are used to triangulate the data. Furthermore, the quantitative portion of this project will be used to triangulate the information gleaned from the interviews.

Finally, clarifying the researcher bias is an important strategy to utilize. Glynn (2014) discusses the insider-outsider perspective, in which the researcher belongs to the group being studied, but in some ways is external to the group. For myself, this insider-outsider perspective applies for both the subjects that were interviewed and the individuals that were discussed during the interviews. In the interest of full disclosure, many of my friends work in law enforcement and corrections and many of my friends have been involved with law enforcement and corrections from the other side of the law. As such, many of the individuals that were discussed during the interviews and the individuals that were interviewed for this study will look like and have similar backgrounds to myself. Thus, it was important to be reflective on both fronts. For

the subjects being interviewed it was important to recognize they may be cynical about their clientele. For the individuals being discussed, it was important to recognize that these individuals may have made poor choices or are victims of circumstance, but to not minimize their criminality at the same time. Grounded theory requires the researcher to be led by the data and to avoid leading the participants to certain responses.

Furthermore, it is customary to clarify one's biases and as a member of the white middle-class, I have access to much more social capital than those outside this group. As such, it may be difficult for me to understand the plight of the African American man or woman who is living in poverty or the Hispanic individual who is being detained for immigration purposes. While I cannot relinquish my membership to the more affluent group, I intended to minimize my own biases towards these groups by remaining open to what individuals said about these individuals and being sensitive to their own biases throughout the project.

Summary

In the remaining chapters, this study will complete the following objectives. The first is a descriptive analysis of who is in jail in a non-urban county. The second is answering the question of how recidivism operates for this population. The third objective is to construct a typology to better understand the different profiles of individuals incarcerated in a non-urban county jail. The fourth is to qualitatively analyze correctional staff perceptions of jail inmates and recidivism in a non-urban county to construct a theoretical framework for understanding this unique population. The variables of interest for this study have been selected based on prior literature and conceptual frameworks on jail incarceration and recidivism.

This study contributes to the literature by providing evidence for which barriers to reentry and desistance-based variables have an impact on jail recidivism. The methods for this study are

appropriate given the nature of the question. Given the variables used in this study, both logistic regression and cluster analysis will satisfy the first three objectives. Given the lack of theory and clarity on how jail reentry operates in a non-urban county, a theoretical framework is presented to better understand this phenomenon. As such, the grounded theory methodology is the strongest choice for accomplishing the fourth objective.

Chapter 4: Descriptive Statistics Results

Descriptive statistics are available in **Table 5**. The mean and standard deviation was calculated for all dependent and independent variables. The first column represents the overall estimates and the remaining four columns provide the estimates for the four locations in the project (Waukesha County (WCO) and City (WCI) as well as Milwaukee County (MCO) and City (MCI)). A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for differences between the four locations. If the ANOVA results were significant Tukey's HSD post-hoc test was conducted to better understand where the specific significant differences were between the four locations.

Recidivism

Overall, slightly over half of all individuals in the sample were charged with a new crime after their initial confinement (0.516). The ANOVA test was significant for the new charge dependent variable, but there were only two significant differences. Individuals in Waukesha City (0.546) had a significantly higher proportion of individuals that received a new charge compared to individuals in Waukesha County (0.494). Individuals in Milwaukee City (0.506) also had a higher proportion of individuals who were charged with a new crime after initial confinement than individuals in Waukesha County.

For new conviction, slightly less than half of all individuals were convicted of a new crime after their initial confinement (0.469). The ANOVA test was again significant for this dependent variable with two significant differences. The proportion of individuals in Waukesha City that received a new conviction (0.508) was significantly higher than individuals residing in both Milwaukee City (0.443) and Waukesha County (0.455).

Variable	Overall		Waukesha City		Waukesha County	
	Mean N	SD	Mean N	SD	Mean N	SD
Waukesha City	0.322 2196	0.467	1 0	0	0 0	0
Milwaukee City	0.286 1953	0.452	0	0	0	0
Milwaukee County	0.062 422	0.241	0	0	0	0
Waukesha County	0.33 2255	0.47	0	0	1	0
New Charge	0.516 3523	0.5	0.546 1199	0.498	0.494 1114	0.5
New Conviction	0.47 3209	0.499	0.508 1116	0.5	0.455 1026	0.498
New Jail Sentence	0.394 2690	0.489	0.424 931	0.494	0.365 823	0.482
New Prison Sentence	0.152 1038	0.359	0.151 332	0.358	0.155 350	0.362
Prison Sentence	0.116 792	0.321	0.111 244	0.314	0.163 368	0.369
Physical Health Issue	0.303 2069	0.46	0.32 703	0.467	0.271 611	0.445
Mental Health Issue	0.283 1932	0.45	0.327 718	0.469	0.286 645	0.452
Substance Abuse Issue	0.474 3236	0.499	0.493 1083	0.5	0.525 1184	0.499
Alcohol Issue	0.187 1277	0.39	0.218 479	0.413	0.25 564	0.433
Drug Issue	0.357 2438	0.479	0.354 777	0.478	0.361 814	0.481
Mental and Physical Issue	0.13 888	0.336	0.156 343	0.363	0.118 266	0.322
Mental and Substance Issue	0.146 997	0.353	0.172 378	0.378	0.157 354	0.364
Substance and Physical Issue	0.141 963	0.348	0.159 349	0.366	0.132 298	0.338
Triply Diagnosed (Reported)	0.13 888	0.336	0.156 343	0.363	0.118 266	0.322
High School Graduate	0.637 4349	0.481	0.628 1379	0.483	0.737 1662	0.441

Variable	Overall		Waukesha City		Waukesha County	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	N		N		N	
Veteran	0.043	0.203	0.048	0.214	0.046	0.209
	294		105		104	
Homeless	0.043	0.202	0.081	0.272	0.021	0.143
	294		178		47	
Hourly Wage (Employed)	13.139	15.383	12.188	11.973	15.64	21.127
	2629		819		1026	
Employed	0.385	0.487	0.373	0.484	0.455	0.498
	2629		819		1026	
Full-Time Employment	0.219	0.414	0.209	0.407	0.283	0.451
	1495		459		638	
Two Years of Employment	0.162	0.368	0.144	0.352	0.23	0.421
	1106		316		519	
Has Kids	0.261	0.439	0.254	0.435	0.236	0.425
	1782		558		532	
Primary Caregiver	0.246	0.431	0.239	0.427	0.219	0.413
	1680		525		494	
Married	0.116	0.32	0.11	0.313	0.163	0.369
	792		242		368	
Respectability Package	0.038	0.191	0.039	0.194	0.055	0.229
	259		86		124	
Risk Score (average)	2.896	1.635	2.851	1.518	2.652	1.588
	6828		2196		2255	
Prior Misdemeanor Conviction	0.355	0.479	0.401	0.49	0.304	0.46
	2424		881		686	
Prior Felony Conviction	0.122	0.328	0.133	0.339	0.089	0.284
	833		292		201	
Prior Violent Conviction	0.007	0.081	0.012	0.108	0.003	0.056
	48		26		7	
Prior OWI Conviction	0.104	0.305	0.113	0.317	0.149	0.356
	710		248		336	
Prior Failure To Appear (FTA)	0.336	0.472	0.272	0.445	0.218	0.413
	2294		597		492	
Current Charge – Violent	0.193	0.395	0.249	0.433	0.243	0.429
	1318		547		548	
Current Charge – Property	0.256	0.437	0.143	0.35	0.175	0.38
	1748		314		395	
Current Charge – OWI	0.089	0.285	0.082	0.275	0.133	0.339
	608		180		300	

Variable	Overall		Waukesha City		Waukesha County	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	N		N		N	
Current Charge – Drug-related	0.111	0.314	0.113	0.317	0.113	0.316
	758		248		255	
Current Charge – Disorderly Conduct	0.151	0.358	0.229	0.42	0.165	0.371
	1031		503		372	
Current Charge – Public Order	0.051	0.22	0.052	0.223	0.062	0.241
	348		114		140	
Current Charge – Bail Jumping	0.081	0.273	0.093	0.291	0.07	0.255
	553		204		158	
Current Charge – Traffic	0.063	0.243	0.036	0.185	0.038	0.19
	430		79		86	
Current Charge – Other	0.004	0.062	0.002	0.043	0.004	0.059
	27		4		9	
Age	33.028	11.85	33.604	11.981	32.706	12.444
	6828		2196		2255	
Male	0.767	0.423	0.781	0.414	0.789	0.408
	5237		1715		1779	
White	0.678	0.467	0.741	0.438	0.932	0.252
	4629		1627		2102	
Black	0.258	0.438	0.161	0.367	0.044	0.205
	1762		354		99	
Hispanic	0.057	0.232	0.089	0.285	0.018	0.132
	389		195		41	
Asian	0.003	0.055	0.003	0.056	0.004	0.066
	20		7		9	
American Indian	0.004	0.06	0.006	0.077	0.002	0.042
	27		13		5	

Variable	Milwaukee City		Milwaukee County	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	N		N	
Waukesha City	0	0	0	0
Milwaukee City	1	0	0	0
Milwaukee County	0	0	1	0

Variable	Milwaukee City		Milwaukee County	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
	N		N	
Waukesha County	0	0	0	0
New Charge	0.506 988	0.5	0.517 218	0.5
New Conviction	0.443 865	0.497	0.474 200	0.5
New Jail Sentence	0.391 764	0.488	0.408 172	0.492
New Prison Sentence	0.15 293	0.357	0.151 64	0.358
Prison Sentence	0.061 119	0.24	0.153 65	0.361
Physical Health Issue	0.329 643	0.47	0.264 111	0.441
Mental Health Issue	0.229 447	0.42	0.285 120	0.452
Substance Abuse Issue	0.382 746	0.486	0.524 221	0.5
Alcohol Issue	0.082 160	0.275	0.172 73	0.378
Drug Issue	0.341 666	0.474	0.42 177	0.494
Mental and Physical Issue	0.12 234	0.325	0.111 47	0.314
Mental and Substance Issue	0.1 195	0.301	0.16 68	0.367
Substance and Physical Issue	0.13 254	0.336	0.149 63	0.356
Triply Diagnosed (Reported)	0.12 234	0.325	0.111 47	0.314
High School Graduate	0.527 1029	0.499	0.66 279	0.474
Veteran	0.029 57	0.167	0.071 30	0.257
Homeless	0.03 59	0.17	0.021 9	0.144

Variable	Milwaukee City		Milwaukee County	
	Mean N	SD	Mean N	SD
Hourly Wage (Employed)	10.405 615	5.379	12.295 167	9.44
Employed	0.315 615	0.465	0.396 167	0.49
Full-Time Employment	0.154 301	0.361	0.229 97	0.421
Two Years of Employment	0.104 203	0.305	0.151 64	0.358
Has Kids	0.302 590	0.459	0.238 100	0.426
Primary Caregiver	0.289 564	0.454	0.227 96	0.42
Married	0.076 148	0.265	0.083 35	0.276
Respectability Package	0.019 37	0.136	0.024 10	0.152
Risk Score (average)	3.149 1953	1.742	3.382 422	1.758
Prior Misdemeanor Conviction	0.36 703	0.48	0.368 155	0.483
Prior Felony Conviction	0.146 285	0.353	0.142 60	0.349
Prior Violent Conviction	0.005 10	0.071	0.005 2	0.069
Prior OWI Conviction	0.041 80	0.199	0.101 43	0.302
Prior Failure To Appear (FTA)	0.522 1019	0.5	0.434 183	0.496
Current Charge – Violent	0.094 184	0.292	0.097 41	0.296
Current Charge – Property	0.455 889	0.498	0.363 153	0.481
Current Charge – OWI	0.043 84	0.203	0.111 47	0.314
Current Charge – Drug-related	0.101 197	0.302	0.137 58	0.344

Variable	Milwaukee City		Milwaukee County	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Current Charge – Disorderly Conduct	0.067	0.25	0.057	0.231
	131		24	
Current Charge – Public Order	0.041	0.199	0.033	0.179
	80		14	
Current Charge – Bail Jumping	0.076	0.266	0.097	0.296
	148		41	
Current Charge – Traffic	0.117	0.321	0.094	0.293
	229		40	
Current Charge – Other	0.005	0.068	0.012	0.108
	10		5	
Age	32.683	10.964	33.345	11.782
	1953		422	
Male	0.724	0.447	0.776	0.417
	1414		327	
White	0.279	0.449	0.84	0.367
	545		354	
Black	0.647	0.478	0.108	0.311
	1264		46	
Hispanic	0.071	0.256	0.038	0.191
	139		16	
Asian	0.002	0.039	0.002	0.049
	4		1	
American Indian	0.002	0.039	0.012	0.108
	4		5	

Table 5 (cont'd)	Sig.	MCO- MCI	WCI- MCI	WCO- MCI	WCI- MCO	WCO- MCO	WCO- WCI
New Charge	**			*			**
New Conviction	***		***				**
New Jail Sentence	***						***
New Prison Sentence							
Prison Sentence	***	***	***	***			***
Physical Health Issue	***	*		***			**
Mental Health Issue	***		***	***			
Substance Abuse Issue	***	***	***	***			
Alcohol Issue	***	***	***	***		***	*
Drug Issue	*	*			*		
Mental and Physical Issue	***		**				***
Mental and Substance Issue	***	**	***	***			
Substance and Physical Issue	*		*				*
Triply Diagnosed (Reported)	***		**				***
High School Graduate	***	***	***	***		**	***
Veteran	***	***	**	*			
Homeless	***		***		***		***
Hourly Wage (Employed)	***			***			***
Employed	***	**	***	***			***
Full-Time Employment	***	**	***	***			***
Two Years of Employment	***		**	***		***	***
Has Kids	***	*	**	***			
Primary Caregiver	***	*	**	***			
Married	***		***	***		***	***
Respectability Package	***		**	***		**	*
Risk Score (average)	***		***	***	***	***	***
Prior Misdemeanor Conviction	***		*	***			***
Prior Felony Conviction	***			***		*	***
Prior Violent Conviction	**		*				**

*** = p < 0.001; ** = p < 0.01; * = p < 0.05

Table 5 (cont'd)	Sig.	MCO- MCI	WCI- MCI	WCO- MCI	WCI- MCO	WCO- MCO	WCO- WCI
Prior OWI Conviction	***	**	***	***		*	***
Prior Failure To Appear (FTA)	***	**	***	***	***	***	***
Current Charge – Violent	***		***	***	***	***	
Current Charge – Property	***	***	***	***	***	***	
Current Charge – OWI	***	***	***	***			***
Current Charge – Drug-related							
Current Charge – Disorderly Conduct	***		***	***	***	***	***
Current Charge – Public Order	**			*			
Current Charge – Bail Jumping	*						*
Current Charge – Traffic	***		***	***	***	***	
Current Charge – Other	*				*		
Age	*						
Male	***		***	***			
White	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Black	***	***	***	***	*	**	***
Hispanic	***	*	*	***	***		***
Asian							
American Indian	**	**				**	

*** = $p < 0.001$; ** = $p < 0.01$; * = $p < 0.05$

Approximately, 39 percent of individuals received a new jail sentence after their initial confinement. Results from the ANOVA test indicated that there were significant differences across the four locations. The only significant difference was between Waukesha City and Waukesha County with individuals living in Waukesha City (0.424) having a significantly higher proportion of individuals receiving a jail sentence when compared to individuals living in Waukesha County (0.365).

Only about 15 percent of individuals in the sample received a prison sentence for crimes committed after their initial confinement. This figure was consistent across the four locations

and the ANOVA test did not yield a significant finding – indicating that there were no significant differences across the four locations.

While it is not included as a dependent variable, information as to whether the current charge led to a prison sentence was collected for all individuals. Overall, approximately 11 percent of individuals were sent to prison for their current crime. The overall ANOVA test was significant and the post-hoc test revealed a few significant differences between the four locations. Of the individuals living in Milwaukee City, only around 6 percent were sent to prison for the current offense; this was significantly lower than individuals that received a prison sentence and were residents of the other three locations (Milwaukee County = 0.153; Waukesha County = 0.163; Waukesha City = 0.111). There was also a significant difference between individuals living in Waukesha County compared to those living in Waukesha City – the Waukesha County proportion was significantly higher than the Waukesha City proportion.

Overall, the results for the dependent variables are somewhat contradictory to the expectations discussed regarding location. It was expected that individuals in Milwaukee City would have the highest rates of recidivism, but it was individuals from Waukesha City that had a significantly higher proportion of individuals with a new charge, new conviction, and a new jail sentence. Indicating that in the WCJ, recidivism is most likely for Waukesha City residents. Also surprising was the finding that individuals from Waukesha County had the highest proportion of individuals who received a prison sentence for their initial crime.

Independent Variables

The independent variables will be discussed in three sections. The first section will discuss the barriers to reentry independent variables. The second section will discuss the

desistance factors. The third section discusses the prior record variables, current offense variables, and demographic factors.

Barriers to Reentry

Physical Health

Roughly 30 percent of all individuals in the sample reported that they had a physical health issue. The overall ANOVA test was significant and showed three significant differences. First, the proportion of individuals from Waukesha County (0.271) and Milwaukee County (0.264) with a physical health issue was less than the proportion of Milwaukee City residents with a physical health issue (0.329). Additionally, the proportion of individuals from Waukesha City (0.320) with a physical health issue was higher than the proportion of individuals with a physical health issue from Waukesha County (0.271).

Mental Health

Approximately, 28 percent of all individuals in the sample reported some kind of mental health issue. The overall ANOVA test was significant and indicated that the proportion of people who disclosed that they had a mental health issue in Milwaukee City (0.229) was significantly lower than similar individuals in Waukesha County (0.286) and Waukesha City (0.327).

Alcohol and/or Substance Abuse Issues

Almost half of all respondents (0.474) reported some issue with an illicit substance or alcohol. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, Milwaukee City had the lowest proportion of individuals who reported a substance abuse issue (0.382) compared to all other locations (Waukesha City = 0.493; Waukesha County = 0.525; Milwaukee County = 0.524).

Alcohol Issues

Almost a fifth of the sample (0.187) reported some issue with alcohol (dependency or alcoholism). The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. First, the proportion of individuals from Milwaukee City with an alcohol issue (0.082) was significantly lower than all other locations (Waukesha City = 0.218; Waukesha County = 0.250; Milwaukee County = 0.172). Additionally, the proportion of individuals from Waukesha County who reported an issue with alcohol was significantly higher than the same proportion of individuals from Milwaukee County or Waukesha City.

Substance Abuse Issues

Approximately, 35 percent of the sample reported a substance abuse issue. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, the proportion of individuals from Milwaukee County who reported a substance abuse issue (0.420) was significantly higher than the same proportion of individuals from Milwaukee City (0.341) or Waukesha City (0.354).

Co-occurring Disorders

To better understand co-occurring disorders, the proportion of individuals who suffered from more than one issue (physical health, mental health, substance abuse) were coded into four categories: (1) individuals who reported a physical and mental health issue, (2) individuals who reported a mental health and a substance abuse issue, (3) individuals who reported a physical health and a substance abuse issue, and (4) individuals who reported all three issues.

Physical and Mental Health Issues

Thirteen percent of the sample reported having both a physical health and mental health issue. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four

locations. The proportions of individuals from Waukesha City who reported both issues (0.156) was significantly higher than the proportion of individuals reporting the same issues from Milwaukee City (0.120) and Waukesha County (0.118).

Mental Health and Substance Abuse Issues

Approximately 15 percent of the sample reported having a mental health and substance abuse issue. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, the proportion of Milwaukee City residents who reported both issues (0.100) was significantly lower than the proportion of individuals from the other three locations (Waukesha City = 0.172; Waukesha County = 0.157; Milwaukee County = 0.160).

Substance Abuse and Physical Health Issues

Around 14 percent of the sample reported having a substance abuse issue and a physical health issue. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The proportion of individuals who reported both issues from Waukesha City (0.159) was significantly higher than similar individuals from Milwaukee City (0.132) and Waukesha County (0.130).

Triply Diagnosed (Reported)

Thirteen percent of the sample reported having all three issues, which indicates that if someone from the sample reported having a mental health issue and a physical health issue, they likely had a substance abuse issue as well. Similar to the results for individuals reported having a substance abuse issue and a physical health issue, the proportion of individuals from Waukesha City who reported having all three issues (0.156) was significantly higher than the similar proportion of individuals living in Milwaukee City (0.120) and Waukesha County (0.118).

Education

Overall, almost two-thirds of the sample reported that they had graduated high school (0.637). The ANOVA test revealed that almost every location was significantly different, apart from the proportion between Waukesha City (0.628) and Milwaukee County (0.660). Just over half of Milwaukee City residents reported having a high school education (0.527) and almost three-quarters of Waukesha County residents reported having a high school education (0.737).

Veteran

Approximately four percent (0.043) of the sample identified as a veteran of the armed services. The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The proportion of individuals who identified as veterans in Milwaukee City (0.029) was significantly lower than the other three locations (Milwaukee County = 0.071; Waukesha County = 0.048; Waukesha City = 0.046).

Homelessness

Roughly four percent of individuals (0.043) in the sample reported being homeless at the time of their intake. The ANOVA test was significant and the post-hoc test revealed that the proportion of individuals reporting they were homeless in Waukesha City (0.081) was significantly higher than all other locations (Milwaukee City = 0.030; Milwaukee County = 0.021; Waukesha County = 0.021).

Summary

Overall, the results for this section of independent variables are consistent with the figures for the dependent variables (and inconsistent with the expectations for this study) in that Waukesha City residents seem to be faring the worst. Waukesha City had the highest proportion of co-occurring disorders and homelessness. Additionally, Waukesha City had the second lowest

proportion for high school graduates behind the proportion from Milwaukee City. However, the results for Waukesha County appear to be somewhat consistent with the expectations of this study. These residents had lower rates of co-occurring disorders, the highest proportion of high school graduates, and the lowest proportion of homeless individuals. It is important to note that the figures for Milwaukee City are quite low for mental health issues and drug or alcohol abuse. It is difficult to ascertain whether this is due to underreporting or if these figures are an accurate picture of the issues Milwaukee City residents are struggling with. As such, these results should be understood with a fair amount of caution.

Desistance Factors

Employment

Almost two-fifths of the sample reported being employed at the time of their screen. The ANOVA test was significant and the post-hoc test revealed that there were a few significant differences between locations. Fewer residents of Milwaukee City (0.315) reported full-time employment compared to the other three locations (Milwaukee County = 0.396; Waukesha County = 0.455 Waukesha City = 0.373).

Full-Time Employment

Approximately, twenty-two percent of individuals in the sample reported full-time employment (36 hours/week or more). The ANOVA test was significant and the post-hoc test revealed that there were a few significant differences between locations. Fewer residents of Milwaukee City (0.154) reported full-time employment compared to the other three locations (Milwaukee County = 0.229; Waukesha County = 0.283; Waukesha City = 0.209). Post-hoc tests also revealed that the proportion of Waukesha County residents that had full-time

employment was significantly higher than the proportion of residents of Waukesha City who had full-time employment.

Two Years of Continuous Employment

Approximately, 16 percent of the sample reported 24 months, or 2 years, of continuous employment prior to their incarceration. The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, the proportion of Waukesha County (0.230) residents who were employed continuously for two years was significantly higher than the other three locations (Milwaukee City = 0.104; Milwaukee County = 0.151; Waukesha City = 0.144). Also, the proportion of residents living in Waukesha City that were employed continuously for two years was significantly higher than similar residents living in Milwaukee City.

Hourly Wage

For individuals who were employed, an hourly wage was provided via the PSSR. The average hourly wage was just over 13 dollars an hour. The overall ANOVA test indicated that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, individuals who were employed in Waukesha County made considerably more an hour (\$15.64) as compared to individuals in Waukesha City (\$12.19) and Milwaukee City (\$10.41).

Children

Just over a quarter of the sample reported having children under the age of 18. The ANOVA test revealed there were significant differences between the four locations. Milwaukee City residents in the sample reported the highest proportion of having children (0.302). This was significantly higher than all other locations (Milwaukee County = 0.238; Waukesha County = 0.236; Waukesha City = 0.254).

Primary Caregiver

Almost a quarter of the sample reported that they were the primary caregiver of their children²³. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Similar to individuals who reported having children, the proportion of Milwaukee City residents who reported being the primary caregiver (0.289) was higher than the same proportions for the other three locations (Milwaukee County = 0.227; Waukesha County = 0.219; Waukesha City = 0.239).

Marriage

Roughly 12 percent of the overall sample reported that they were married. The ANOVA test revealed there were significant differences between the four locations. Marriage has a similar trend compared to the significant differences between locations for two years of employment. The proportion of residents in Waukesha County (0.163) that reported being married was significantly higher than the other three locations (Milwaukee City = 0.076; Milwaukee County = 0.083; Waukesha City = 0.110). Also, the proportion of residents living in Waukesha City that were married was significantly higher than similar residents living in Milwaukee City.

Respectability Package

With the information on marital status, employment, and whether the individual had children, a variable was created to represent if an individual had the respectability package (Giordano et al., 2002). Almost 4 percent of the sample had the respectability package. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The proportion of individuals in Waukesha County (0.055) who had the respectability package

²³ This information should indicate whether the individual is the primary caregiver of their own children, but it is possible that the individual is reporting that they are the primary caregiver to someone else's child or children.

was significantly higher than all other locations (Waukesha City = 0.039; Milwaukee City = 0.019; Milwaukee County = 0.024). There was also a significant difference between Milwaukee City and Waukesha City in terms of who had the respectability package, with Waukesha City having a higher proportion of individuals with the respectability package.

Summary

The results for the desistance factors are consistent with the expectations for this study in terms of location. Waukesha County residents had the highest proportion of employment (generally, full-time, and two years of continuous employment) and they have the highest average hourly wage. Additionally, Waukesha County has the highest proportion of married individuals as well as the highest proportion for those who have the respectability package. However, Milwaukee City has the highest proportion of individuals with children and by extension the highest number of individuals who reported that they were the primary caregiver for their children.

Prior Record, Current Offense, & Demographics

Risk Score

Scores from the VPRAI (nine items; scores range from 0-9) were included in the descriptive section to provide some insight into how likely it would be for individuals to recidivate. The overall sample had an average risk score of 2.896. The ANOVA tests revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The average risk score for Milwaukee County residents (3.382) and Milwaukee City residents (3.149) was significantly higher than the average risk scores for residents in Waukesha County (2.652) and Waukesha City (2.851). Additionally, the average risk scores for Waukesha City residents was significantly higher than Waukesha County residents.

Prior Misdemeanor

More than a third of the sample had a prior misdemeanor conviction (0.355). The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The post-hoc test revealed that the proportion of individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction that lived in Waukesha County (0.304) was significantly less than the proportion of individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction living in either Milwaukee City (0.360) or Waukesha City (0.401).

Prior Felony

Approximately 12 percent of the sample had been convicted of a felony prior to their screen. The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, the proportion of individuals who had a prior felony conviction living in Waukesha County (0.091) was significantly lower than all other locations (Milwaukee City = 0.147; Milwaukee County = 0.145; Waukesha City = 0.134).

Prior Violent Offense

Less than one percent of the sample (0.7%) had a prior violent conviction. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, the proportion of individuals from Waukesha City (0.012) who had a prior violent conviction was greater than similar individuals from Waukesha County (0.003).

Prior OWI

Roughly 10 percent of the sample had a prior OWI conviction. The overall ANOVA test revealed several significant differences between the four locations. The proportion of Milwaukee City residents with a prior OWI conviction (0.041) was significantly less than all other locations (Milwaukee County = 0.101; Waukesha County = 0.149; Waukesha City =

0.113). Additionally, the proportion of Waukesha County residents with a prior OWI conviction was significantly higher than all other locations.

Prior FTA

Approximately a third of the sample had failed to appear for court in the five years prior to their screening. The overall ANOVA test revealed that all locations were significantly different. The proportion of Milwaukee City residents with an FTA incident (0.552) was significantly higher than all other locations. The proportion of Milwaukee County residents with an FTA incident (0.434) was second highest; followed by the proportion of Waukesha City residents (0.272), and Waukesha County residents (0.218).

Violent Offense

Approximately 19 percent of the sample was booked in for a violent offense. The ANOVA test revealed that there were differences between the four locations. However, the differences appear to be based on the county line. The proportion of residents in Waukesha City (0.249) booked in for a violent offense was significantly higher than that of similar residents in either Milwaukee County (0.097) or Milwaukee City (0.094). The same was true of residents living in Waukesha County (0.243); this proportion was significantly higher than the proportions for residents in both Milwaukee County and Milwaukee City, but was not significantly different from the Waukesha City proportion of residents.

Property Offense

Approximately a quarter of the sample was booked in on a property offense (0.256). As with current violent offense, current property offense is also somewhat divided by the county line. The proportion of residents in Milwaukee City (0.455) that were booked in on a property offense was significantly higher than similar individuals living in Waukesha County (0.143) and

Waukesha City (0.175). The same differences were found for residents in Milwaukee County booked in for a property offense (0.363). Unlike the estimate for current violent offense, residents booked in for a property offense in Milwaukee City and Milwaukee County were significantly different.

OWI

Almost 1 in 10 individuals in the sample were booked into jail for an operating while intoxicated (OWI) offense (0.089). The proportion of residents living in Milwaukee City (0.043) that were booked in for an OWI offense was significantly lower than the proportion of residents booked in for an OWI offense in the other three locations (Milwaukee County = 0.111; Waukesha County = 0.133; Waukesha City = 0.082). There was also a significant difference between individuals living in Waukesha County (higher) and Waukesha City, in terms of current OWI offense.

Drug Offense

Roughly 11 percent of the sample was booked in on a drug offense. The ANOVA test was not significant, thus there were no differences between the four locations.

Disorderly Conduct

Approximately 15 percent of the sample was booked in on a disorderly conduct charge. Proportions for this offense, seemed to be divided along county lines. The proportion of Waukesha County (0.165) residents with a disorderly conduct charge was higher than the proportion of residents in both Milwaukee City (0.067) and Milwaukee County (0.057) with a disorderly conduct charge. The same was true for residents in Waukesha City (0.229), but this proportion was also significantly higher than that of residents in Waukesha County.

Public Order

Around five percent of the sample was charged with a public order offense when they were screened with the PSSR. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the locations. Specifically, the proportion of Waukesha County residents with a public order charge (0.062) was significantly higher than similar individuals from Milwaukee City (0.041).

Bail Jumping

Roughly eight percent of the sample was booked in on a bail jumping charge. The overall ANOVA test indicated that there were significant differences between the locations. The proportion of Waukesha City residents with a bail jumping charge (0.093) was significantly higher than the proportion of Waukesha County residents with a bail jumping charge (0.070).

Traffic

Approximately six percent of the sample was booked in on a traffic offense. The overall ANOVA test indicated that there were significant differences between the four locations. The proportion of Milwaukee City (0.117) and Milwaukee County (0.094) residents booked in on a traffic charge was significantly higher than the Waukesha locations (Waukesha County = 0.038; Waukesha City = 0.036).

Other Offenses

As discussed earlier, the other offenses category includes “conspiracy” or “unlawful use of telephone.” Less than one percent of the sample was charged with these types of crime. The overall ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The post-hoc test indicated that the proportion of individuals in Waukesha City (0.002) was significantly lower than similar individuals from Milwaukee County (0.012).

Summary

If the risk assessment scores were valid, the working hypothesis for locations would be accurate. Milwaukee City residents would be the most likely to reoffend and Waukesha County residents would be the least likely to reoffend. The same would be true to some degree for prior misdemeanor and prior felony convictions. However, for prior OWI convictions Waukesha County has the highest proportion. For current offense, Milwaukee City has the highest proportion of property offenders, which as discussed previously, makes these individuals the most likely to recidivate. Essentially, in terms of prior record and current offense, Waukesha County residents should have been less likely to recidivate and Milwaukee City residents would be most likely to recidivate.

Age

The average age of the sample was approximately 33 years old. The ANOVA test revealed that there was a significant difference between the locations. However, the post-hoc tests did not reveal any significant differences.

Gender

Over three-quarters of the sample was Male (0.771). The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. Specifically, the proportion of males from Milwaukee City (0.724) was significantly lower than the proportion of males living in both Waukesha City (0.781) and Waukesha County (0.789).

White

More than two-thirds of the sample was white (0.678). The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between locations and the post-hoc tests revealed that all locations were significantly different from one another. Waukesha County had the highest

proportion of whites (0.932), followed by Milwaukee County (0.840) and Waukesha City (0.751). The proportion of white individuals in Milwaukee City was the lowest of the four locations (0.279).

Black

Approximately a quarter of the sample was black (0.258). Similar to the results for white individuals, the ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between locations and the post-hoc tests revealed that all locations were significantly different from one another. Almost two-thirds of the Milwaukee City sample was black (0.647). Followed by Waukesha City (0.161) and Milwaukee County (0.108). The proportion of black individuals in Waukesha County was less than five percent of the sample.

Hispanic

Almost six percent of the sample was Hispanic. The ANOVA test revealed that there were significant differences between the four locations. The post-hoc tests revealed that all locations were significantly different from one another, with the exception of the proportions of Hispanic individuals in Waukesha County and Milwaukee County. Waukesha City had the highest proportion of Hispanic individuals (0.089), followed by Milwaukee City (0.071) and Milwaukee County (0.038). Waukesha County had the lowest proportion of Hispanic individuals at just under 2 percent (0.018).

Asian

Less than one percent of the sample was Asian. This figure was consistent across the four locations as the overall ANOVA test was not significant.

American Indian

Similar to the Asian individuals in the sample, less than one percent of the sample was American Indian. The overall ANOVA test was significant and indicated that there were significant differences between the locations. Specifically, the proportion of individuals in Milwaukee County that were American Indian (0.012) was significantly higher than the proportion of similar individuals in Waukesha County and Milwaukee City.

Conclusion

Overall, more than half of all individuals were charged with a new crime and just under half were reconvicted. Most of these individuals were sent to jail but a fraction of them were sent to prison for their offenses. Around 10 percent of individuals were sent to prison for their current offense, but this varied by location. Approximately a third of the sample had either a physical health or mental health issue. Rates for substance abuse and alcohol issues were much lower for Milwaukee City residents compared to the other three locations, but this may be due to underreporting. Overall between 13 and 14 percent of the sample had either a co-occurring illness or reported suffering from all three conditions.

In each location, at least half of the sample graduated high school, but there was some variation between the locations; specifically, between Milwaukee City and the other locations. Nevertheless, most of the sample completed high school. Less than 40 percent of the sample was employed, only approximately 20 percent had full-time employment, and only around 16 percent had been employed for two years prior to their incarceration. These estimates varied greatly by location with Waukesha County residents driving the numbers up and Milwaukee City residents consistently lower than the other three locations. Around a quarter of the sample had children – this was higher in Milwaukee City and lowest in Waukesha County. Much of the sample was

unmarried, but this followed the same trend as employment. Given the figures for employment, having children, and marriage, it should come as no surprise that very few individuals had the respectability package.

Waukesha City had the highest proportion of individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction, but Milwaukee City had the highest proportion of individuals with a prior felony conviction. More than a quarter of the sample had a property offense for the reason they were screened; almost 20 percent were booked in for a violent offense. Average age is early to mid-30s, both overall and for the four locations. The sample is mostly male, but females make up almost 30 percent of the Milwaukee City residents. In terms of racial/ethnic identity, Milwaukee City is mostly African American whereas the other three locations are predominantly white. Finally, Waukesha City had the highest proportion of Hispanic individuals.

This chapter started to answer the question of “who’s in jail” by using descriptive statistics. In the next chapter I will present and discuss the findings for the predictive models for the second primary question of “who comes back to jail?”

Chapter 5: Regression Results

This chapter will present the results of the logistic regression analyses. The chapter is organized into five sections. The first section will discuss the results of the overall sample with all four locations included in the analysis. The second section will discuss the results for only the Waukesha City sample. Followed by sections on the samples for Waukesha County, Milwaukee City, and Milwaukee County. As discussed earlier there are four dependent variables, all representing a different measure for recidivism (new charge, new conviction, new incarceration in jail, and new incarceration in prison)²⁴. Each section will present the results for all four dependent variables. The independent variables used in all models are available in Chapter 3 on **Table 2**.

To ensure there is no multicollinearity within the models, the variance inflation factor (VIF) was calculated for each variable. All VIF estimates are below 10, as such multicollinearity does not appear to be an issue (Fox & Monette, 1992). However, there were a few moderately strong correlations between the independent variables²⁵. There was a negative correlation between male and reporting mental health issues (-0.21) as well as a negative correlation between age and reporting a substance abuse issue (-0.20).

There was a positive correlation between age and reporting a physical health issue (0.30) as well as age and reporting being married (0.22). There was a positive correlation between full-

²⁴ It is important to note that the measures for recidivism might not accurately reflect the true nature of recidivism. As mentioned before, the measures for recidivism only represent crimes known to the police. Furthermore, there is no information on decision-making processes within the system that may impact the decision to charge or sentence someone to jail or prison. These decision-making processes may vary by a number of factors. Officers may be more lenient with someone from the more affluent parts of Waukesha County and stricter with an individual from Milwaukee City. Furthermore, police departments in different areas are focused on different types of crime. Larger cities may not be as concerned with drunk driving as smaller cities are; this appears to be the case with the proportions for individuals with a prior OWI conviction in Waukesha County (0.149) and Milwaukee City (0.041). Additionally, the sentencing decision may be impacted by factors associated with the focal concern's perspective (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998) and may actually have less to do with the individual's criminal behavior.

²⁵ All correlation coefficients discussed in this section are significant at the 0.001 level.

time employment and two-years of continuous employment (0.50); as well as a positive correlation between reporting being married and having children (0.26). Finally, there were positive correlations between reporting a substance abuse issue and being charged with a drug-related offense (0.26) as well as reporting an alcohol issue and being charged with an OWI (0.25).

The log odds for the estimates were used to interpret the results. If the log odds are above one (or positively related to the dependent variable) then the results can be interpreted as an increase in the odds of the dependent variable. For instance, if the log odds for having a prior misdemeanor conviction was 2.10 then individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction would have a 210 percent increase in the odds of reoffending when compared to someone without a prior misdemeanor conviction. However, if the log odds are below 1 (or negatively related to the dependent variable) the same interpretation is not accurate. As such, in order to interpret these results, the log odds is used as the denominator and one is the numerator. For instance, if the log odds for being married was 0.65 then married individuals would have a 54 percent decrease in the odds of reoffending ($1/0.65 = 1.538$). For purposes of clarity, this inverted figure is provided when the results were significant and negatively related to the dependent variable.

Full Sample

Unlike the other models, the full sample models include variables that represent where the individuals lived prior to incarceration. For these variables, Waukesha City is used as the reference category. The sample size for these models is 6,828.

New Charge (Table 6)

More than half (0.516) of the overall sample was charged with a new crime in the follow-up period. In terms of the location variables, only Milwaukee City residents were significantly

less likely to be charged with a new crime compared to Waukesha City residents by a factor of 1.403 (1/0.713) or approximately 40 percent.

For the barriers to reentry variables, a few reached significance. Individuals who reported an alcohol issue had a 20 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Additionally, individuals who reported a substance abuse issue had a 13 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Individuals who reported having a high school education were significantly less likely to be charged with a new crime (log odds = 0.86 or an approximate 16 percent decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime [1/0.860=1.163]). A few estimates did not reach significance ($p < 0.05$) but provide some additional context for why individuals were at heightened risk of being charged with a new crime. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces had a 29 percent decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime in the overall sample. The same was true for individuals who reported a physical health issue. These individuals had an approximate 12 percent reduction in the odds of being charged with a new crime.

For the desistance variables, two variables were significant. Individuals who reported being employed continuously for the two years prior to incarceration had a 40 percent decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Similarly, individuals who reported being married had a 22 percent reduction in the odds of being charged with a new crime compared to unmarried individuals.

For prior record, individuals with a prior felony or misdemeanor conviction were significantly more likely to be charged with a new crime. Individuals with a prior felony conviction had a 20 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Individuals

with a prior misdemeanor conviction had a more than 200 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime compared to individuals without a prior misdemeanor conviction.

In terms of demographic variables, older individuals had a slight decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Males had an approximate 28 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime compared to females. Surprisingly, Hispanic individuals had a more than 60 percent ($1/0.616=1.624$) decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime compared to white individuals. While not significant at the 0.05 level, African American individuals had increased odds of being charged with a new crime compared to white individuals. Asian and American Indian individuals had a similar likelihood of being charged with a new crime compared to white individuals.

Consistent with expectations, individuals who had a property offense for their current offense had an increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime compared to individuals whose current offense was violent (ExpB = 0.584), OWI (ExpB = 0.702), drug-related (ExpB = 0.694), public order (ExpB = 0.713), or traffic-related (ExpB = 0.729). The only current offenses that did not reach significance were disorderly conduct, bail jumping, and other offenses; however, the coefficients for these variables were negative – indicating that these individuals were at reduced odds of being charged with a new crime compared with individuals booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 6: New Charge DV Overall Sample (n=6,828)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.787	0.128	0.000	2.198	
Milwaukee City	-0.339	0.079	0.000	0.713	1.403
Milwaukee County	-0.187	0.114	0.100	0.829	
Waukesha County	-0.113	0.066	0.088	0.893	
Mental Health Issue	0.004	0.060	0.944	1.004	
Physical Health Issue	-0.112	0.060	0.062	0.894	1.119
Alcohol Issue	0.188	0.070	0.007	1.207	
Substance Issue	0.126	0.058	0.030	1.135	
Veteran	-0.255	0.131	0.051	0.775	1.291
HS Graduate	-0.151	0.055	0.006	0.860	1.163
FT Employment	-0.103	0.072	0.155	0.902	
2 Year Employment	-0.342	0.082	0.000	0.711	1.407
Homeless	0.209	0.129	0.105	1.233	
Married	-0.203	0.088	0.021	0.817	1.224
Has Kids	0.079	0.063	0.208	1.082	
Prior Felony	0.205	0.082	0.012	1.228	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.722	0.056	0.000	2.058	
Age	-0.021	0.002	0.000	0.979	1.021
Male	0.246	0.065	0.000	1.279	
Black	0.139	0.074	0.061	1.149	
Hispanic	-0.485	0.117	0.000	0.616	1.624
Asian	-0.172	0.464	0.710	0.842	
American Indian	0.581	0.433	0.179	1.788	
Violent	-0.537	0.083	0.000	0.584	1.712
OWI	-0.354	0.108	0.001	0.702	1.424
Drug	-0.365	0.094	0.000	0.694	1.440
Disorderly Conduct	-0.124	0.088	0.158	0.883	
Public Order	-0.338	0.125	0.007	0.713	1.402
Bail Jumping	-0.022	0.105	0.835	0.978	
Traffic	-0.316	0.114	0.006	0.729	1.372
Other	-0.164	0.411	0.690	0.849	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.119					

New Conviction (Table 7)

Slightly less than half of the overall sample was convicted of a new crime during the follow-up period. For the location variables, Milwaukee City residents were at reduced odds of being convicted of a new crime by approximately 50 percent when compared to Waukesha City

residents. Additionally, Waukesha County residents had decreased odds (roughly 14 percent; $1/0.876=1.141$) of being convicted of a new crime compared to Waukesha City residents.

In terms of barriers to reentry, a few variables reached significance. Similar to the new charge dependent variable, individuals who reported an alcohol issue had a 24 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime; individuals who reported a substance abuse issue had a 12 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime. Furthermore, high school graduates had decreased odds of being convicted of a new crime (16 percent). Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces had significantly reduced odds of being convicted of a new crime. In fact, veterans had an almost 40 percent decrease in the odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to non-veteran individuals. For desistance variables, only individuals who reported being employed continuously for the two years prior to their incarceration had significantly reduced odds of being convicted of a new crime, by approximately 40 percent.

For prior record, individuals with a prior felony or misdemeanor were significantly more likely to be convicted of a new crime. Individuals with a prior felony conviction had about a 23 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime and individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction had a 200 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to individuals who did not have a prior misdemeanor conviction.

In terms of demographics, older individuals were at reduced odds of being convicted of a new crime by about 2 percent per year. Similar to the results for the new charge dependent variable, Hispanic individuals were at significantly lower odds of being convicted of a new crime by about 75 percent compared to white individuals. Additionally, African American, Asian, and American Indian individuals had roughly the same likelihood of being convicted of new crime

when compared to whites. Finally, males had a 32 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime.

For current offense, property offenders had increased odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to individuals booked into jail on a violent crime (ExpB = 0.589), OWI (ExpB = 0.665), drug-related offense (ExpB = 0.685), public order offense (ExpB = 0.700), and traffic-related offense (ExpB = 0.735). However, individuals booked into jail on a disorderly conduct charge, bail jumping, and other offenses were not significantly more or less likely to be convicted of a new crime.

Table 7: New Conviction DV Overall Sample (n=6,828)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.583	0.128	0.000	1.791	
Milwaukee City	-0.411	0.079	0.000	0.663	1.509
Milwaukee County	-0.209	0.114	0.066	0.811	
Waukesha County	-0.132	0.066	0.046	0.876	1.141
Mental Health Issue	-0.011	0.060	0.858	0.989	
Physical Health Issue	-0.083	0.060	0.170	0.920	
Alcohol Issue	0.216	0.070	0.002	1.241	
Substance Issue	0.119	0.058	0.041	1.126	
Veteran	-0.324	0.134	0.016	0.723	1.383
HS Graduate	-0.149	0.055	0.007	0.862	1.160
FT Employment	-0.063	0.073	0.385	0.939	
2 Year Employment	-0.338	0.083	0.000	0.713	1.402
Homeless	0.216	0.128	0.091	1.241	
Married	-0.153	0.089	0.086	0.858	
Has Kids	0.042	0.063	0.502	1.043	
Prior Felony	0.204	0.081	0.012	1.226	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.765	0.055	0.000	2.149	
Age	-0.021	0.003	0.000	0.980	1.021
Male	0.278	0.065	0.000	1.320	
Black	0.076	0.074	0.306	1.079	
Hispanic	-0.560	0.120	0.000	0.571	1.751
Asian	-0.223	0.473	0.637	0.800	
American Indian	0.557	0.429	0.195	1.745	
Violent	-0.529	0.083	0.000	0.589	1.698
OWI	-0.408	0.109	0.000	0.665	1.504
Drug	-0.378	0.094	0.000	0.685	1.460
Disorderly Conduct	-0.164	0.088	0.061	0.849	
Public Order	-0.357	0.126	0.004	0.700	1.429
Bail Jumping	0.005	0.104	0.964	1.005	
Traffic	-0.309	0.116	0.008	0.735	1.361
Other	0.028	0.411	0.945	1.029	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.122					

New Jail Sentence (Table 8)

Almost 40 percent of the overall sample received a new jail sentence for an offense committed in the follow-up period. Similar to the results for the new conviction dependent variable, both Milwaukee City and Waukesha County residents had decreased odds of receiving a jail sentence for a new crime compared to residents of Waukesha City. Milwaukee City residents had an approximate 35 percent decrease in the odds of receiving a new jail sentence for

a new crime compared to Waukesha City residents. Waukesha County residents had a 16 percent reduction in the odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to Waukesha City residents.

For barriers to reentry variables, individuals that reported an alcohol issue had an approximate 26 percent increase in the odds of receiving a jail sentence. Individuals who reported being veterans of the armed services had an approximate 67 percent reduction in the odds of receiving a jail sentence when compared to non-veterans. Additionally, individuals with a high school education were at significantly lower odds of receiving a jail sentence, by around 15 percent, compared to individuals who did not graduate high school.

In terms of desistance factors, two variables were significant. Individuals who reported being employed continuously for the two years prior to their incarceration had a roughly 39 percent decrease in the odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to individuals who were not employed continuously for the two years prior to incarceration. While it was not significant at the 0.05 level, individuals who reported full-time employment were at an approximate 15 percent reduced odds of receiving a new jail sentence. Additionally, married individuals had a 20 percent decrease in the odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to unmarried individuals.

For prior record, individuals with a prior felony conviction or prior misdemeanor conviction were significantly more likely to receive a jail sentence for a new crime. Individuals with a prior felony conviction had a more than 30 percent increase in the odds of receiving a new jail sentence compared to those without a prior felony conviction. Moreover, individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction had more than twice the odds of receiving a new jail sentence compared to individuals without a prior misdemeanor conviction.

For demographic factors, younger individuals and males had a significant increase in the odds of receiving a jail sentence. Hispanic individuals had an almost 70 percent decrease in the

odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to white individuals. There was no significant difference between whites and blacks for receiving a new jail sentence. However, American Indian individuals received a jail sentence at almost two and a half times the odds of whites.

For current offense, individuals charged with a property crime were significantly more likely to receive a jail sentence compared to individuals booked in for a violent offense (ExpB = 0.579), OWI offense (ExpB = 0.437), drug-related offense (ExpB = 0.695), disorderly conduct (ExpB = 0.798), public order offense (ExpB = 0.707), or traffic offense (ExpB = 0.635). Individuals booked into jail for bail jumping or an “other” offense were not significantly more or less likely to be given a jail sentence compared to property offenders.

Table 8: New Jail Sentence DV Overall Sample (n=6,828)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.148	0.131	0.259	1.159	
Milwaukee City	-0.296	0.081	0.000	0.744	1.345
Milwaukee County	-0.122	0.117	0.297	0.886	
Waukesha County	-0.149	0.068	0.029	0.862	1.160
Mental Health Issue	0.031	0.062	0.616	1.031	
Physical Health Issue	-0.032	0.062	0.603	0.968	
Alcohol Issue	0.233	0.072	0.001	1.262	
Substance Issue	0.103	0.059	0.079	1.109	
Veteran	-0.512	0.148	0.001	0.599	1.669
HS Graduate	-0.139	0.056	0.013	0.870	1.150
FT Employment	-0.139	0.076	0.066	0.870	1.149
2 Year Employment	-0.326	0.088	0.000	0.722	1.386
Homeless	0.139	0.128	0.277	1.149	
Married	-0.189	0.095	0.047	0.828	1.208
Has Kids	-0.066	0.065	0.310	0.936	
Prior Felony	0.280	0.080	0.000	1.323	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.797	0.056	0.000	2.220	
Age	-0.018	0.003	0.000	0.982	1.018
Male	0.337	0.068	0.000	1.401	
Black	0.092	0.076	0.223	1.097	
Hispanic	-0.519	0.126	0.000	0.595	1.680
Asian	-0.596	0.536	0.265	0.551	
American Indian	0.894	0.430	0.038	2.444	
Violent	-0.547	0.085	0.000	0.579	1.728
OWI	-0.828	0.118	0.000	0.437	2.288
Drug	-0.364	0.095	0.000	0.695	1.439
Disorderly Conduct	-0.226	0.088	0.010	0.798	1.254
Public Order	-0.347	0.128	0.007	0.707	1.415
Bail Jumping	-0.085	0.104	0.417	0.919	
Traffic	-0.454	0.120	0.000	0.635	1.574
Other	-0.243	0.416	0.560	0.785	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.136					

New Prison Sentence (Table 9)

Approximately 15 percent of the overall sample received a new prison sentence for an offense committed during the follow-up period. As discussed in the descriptive statistics, there were no significant differences in terms of location for recidivism defined as receiving a new prison sentence. For barriers to reentry, individuals who reported having an alcohol issue had an almost 40 percent increase in the odds of receiving a prison sentence compared to those who did

not report an alcohol issue. Similar to previous overall models, veteran status served as a protective factor. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces were at more than two and a half times ($1/0.395=2.532$) less likely to receive a prison sentence compared to individuals who did not report being a veteran of the armed forces. Finally, not graduating high school increased the odds that an individual would receive a prison sentence for a new crime (compared to those who had graduated high school).

The only desistance factor that was significant was two years of continuous employment – individuals who reported being employed continuously for two years prior to their initial incarceration had an almost 50 percent reduction in the odds of receiving a prison sentence ($1/0.672 = 1.489$). For prior record, and as has been consistent with other overall models, having a prior felony or misdemeanor conviction was directly related to being given a prison sentence for a new crime. Having a prior felony conviction increased the odds of receiving a prison sentence by approximately 32 percent. Having a prior misdemeanor conviction more than doubled an individual's odds of receiving a prison sentence for a new crime.

In terms of demographics, and consistent with previous overall models, younger and male individuals were at increased odds of receiving a prison sentence for a new crime. Hispanic individuals were at significantly reduced odds, approximately 60 percent ($1/0.626 = 1.598$), to receive a prison sentence compared to white individuals. However, American Indian individuals had more than four and half times the odds to receive a prison sentence for a new crime compared to white individuals. Males had more than twice the odds of females to receive a prison sentence in the overall sample. An interesting point about this finding and the overall sample is that as the severity of punishment increases, the odds that males will receive also increases.

Finally, individuals booked into jail with a property offense were at significantly higher odds to receive a prison sentence for a new crime when compared to individuals booked into jail for a violent offense (ExpB = 0.539), OWI offense (ExpB = 0.629), disorderly conduct (ExpB = 0.598), public order offense (ExpB = 0.684), and a traffic offense (ExpB = 0.454).

Table 9: New Prison Sentence DV Overall Sample (n=6,828)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	-1.595	0.182	0.000	0.203	4.929
Milwaukee City	-0.178	0.109	0.102	0.837	
Milwaukee County	-0.097	0.158	0.539	0.908	
Waukesha County	0.107	0.091	0.241	1.113	
Mental Health Issue	0.047	0.083	0.573	1.048	
Physical Health Issue	-0.042	0.085	0.618	0.958	
Alcohol Issue	0.291	0.092	0.002	1.338	
Substance Issue	0.109	0.077	0.154	1.115	
Veteran	-0.929	0.274	0.001	0.395	2.532
HS Graduate	-0.197	0.074	0.008	0.821	1.218
FT Employment	-0.052	0.102	0.611	0.949	
2 Year Employment	-0.398	0.129	0.002	0.672	1.489
Homeless	-0.058	0.173	0.738	0.944	
Married	-0.065	0.137	0.635	0.937	
Has Kids	-0.051	0.090	0.569	0.950	
Prior Felony	0.278	0.096	0.004	1.321	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.751	0.073	0.000	2.120	
Age	-0.022	0.004	0.000	0.978	1.022
Male	0.767	0.104	0.000	2.154	
Black	0.171	0.101	0.090	1.186	
Hispanic	-0.468	0.184	0.011	0.626	1.598
Asian	0.467	0.589	0.428	1.595	
American Indian	1.525	0.469	0.001	4.596	
Violent	-0.618	0.115	0.000	0.539	1.856
OWI	-0.463	0.157	0.003	0.629	1.589
Drug	-0.019	0.115	0.872	0.982	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.514	0.121	0.000	0.598	1.673
Public Order	-0.380	0.172	0.028	0.684	1.462
Bail Jumping	-0.195	0.135	0.150	0.823	
Traffic	-0.790	0.187	0.000	0.454	2.204
Other	-0.736	0.631	0.243	0.479	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.116					

Summary

For the overall models, a few key variables are worth further discussion. For the location variables, individuals from Milwaukee City were at reduced odds of being charged or convicted of a new crime as well as reduced odds in receiving a new jail sentence compared to the residents of Waukesha City in the sample. Similar results emerged for residents of Waukesha County; these individuals were at reduced odds of being convicted of a new crime or receive a new jail sentence compared to Waukesha City residents. Indicating that for the most part, Waukesha City residents were most likely to reoffend for non-prison offenses (where there were no significant differences between the four locations), but for less serious offenses, Waukesha City residents appear to recidivate the most.

Having a prior felony or misdemeanor conviction significantly increased the odds of recidivism. Especially, the figures for prior misdemeanor conviction that indicated that individuals were at more than twice the odds to recidivate, regardless of the operationalization. Also, somewhat surprising were the findings for Hispanic individuals being consistently less likely to recidivate compared to white individuals; and the fact that white and black individuals did not differ significantly in their likelihood to recidivate ($p < 0.05$). Unfortunately, not surprising were the findings for American Indian recidivism being quite high, especially in Wisconsin (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013).

For the barriers to reentry variables, individuals who reported an alcohol issue were consistently more likely to recidivate. This was also true of individuals who reported a substance abuse issue, but these individuals were not more likely to receive a prison sentence when compared to individuals who did not report a substance abuse issue. Additionally, having

graduated high school was significantly and inversely related to recidivism in all models – indicating that individuals who did not graduate high school were more likely to recidivate.

A surprising finding for the barriers to reentry variables was that reporting a mental health or physical health issue was not related to recidivism for any of the dependent variables. Another surprising finding was that veteran status was not positively related recidivism in any of the models. Despite the various issues veterans face when returning to civilian life, it appears that individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces tend to recidivate significantly less than individuals who did not report being a veteran of the armed forces.

Among the desistance variables, reporting two years of continuous employment prior to incarceration was consistently and inversely related to recidivism, regardless of the operationalization. Married individuals were only less likely to be charged with a new crime or receive a jail sentence. Not surprising was the consistent finding that younger individuals and males were significantly more likely to recidivate in all four models. Additionally, individuals booked into jail for a property offense were consistently more likely to recidivate than almost every other crime type.

Waukesha City

As described in chapter three, the models moving forward are subsetted to only include individuals residing in that area at the time they were screened. As such, the models in this section only include individuals that were residing in Waukesha City at the time of their screen. The sample size for this section is 2,196. From the overall models, there were some significant differences that indicated that Waukesha City residents would be more likely to recidivate, so it is important to target these issues in finding out why these individuals reoffended.

New Charge (Table 10)

Almost 55 percent of the Waukesha City sample was charged with a new crime in the follow-up period. For the barriers to reentry variables, reporting a substance abuse issue increased the odds of being charged with a new crime by approximately 20 percent. As was similar with the overall models, veteran status served as somewhat of a protective factor in that individuals who reported being a veteran had an almost 75 percent decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime ($1/0.572 = 1.748$).

The only desistance factor that reached significance was reporting two years of continuous employment and was found to be inversely related to being charged with a new crime. In fact, individuals who reported two years of continuous employment had an approximate 40 percent ($1/0.713 = 1.403$) decrease in the odds of being charged with a new crime when compared to individuals who did not report such employment prior to their incarceration.

In terms of prior record, individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction had a 92 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. However, having a prior felony conviction was not significantly related to being charged with a new crime but the estimate was positive.

For demographic factors, most variables were significant apart from the dummy variables for Asian and American Indian individuals. Age was inversely related to being charged with a new crime, indicating that younger individuals had increased odds of being charged with a new crime. Males were at increased odds of being charged with a new crime. Unique from the overall models was the finding that African American individuals had increased odds of being charged with a new crime when compared to white individuals – by approximately 66 percent.

However, consistent with the overall models, was the finding for Hispanic individuals who were at about 73 percent reduced odds of being charged with a new crime compared to white individuals.

In terms of current offense, individuals booked into jail for a violent offense had almost 75 percent decreased odds of being charged with a new crime compared to property offenders. Furthermore, individuals booked into jail for a property offense were almost twice the odds of being charged with a new crime as individuals with an OWI or a drug-related offense.

Table 10: New Charge DV Waukesha City Sample (n=2,196)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.469	0.224	0.036	1.598	
Mental Health Issue	-0.045	0.105	0.666	0.956	
Physical Health Issue	-0.108	0.105	0.304	0.898	
Alcohol Issue	0.192	0.117	0.101	1.212	
Substance Issue	0.365	0.105	0.001	1.441	
Veteran	-0.559	0.219	0.011	0.572	1.748
HS Graduate	-0.104	0.098	0.286	0.901	
FT Employment	-0.063	0.128	0.622	0.939	
2 Year Employment	-0.339	0.148	0.022	0.713	1.403
Homeless	0.142	0.173	0.413	1.153	
Married	-0.207	0.156	0.184	0.813	
Has Kids	0.092	0.114	0.421	1.096	
Prior Felony	0.053	0.143	0.711	1.055	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.657	0.097	0.000	1.929	
Age	-0.015	0.004	0.001	0.986	1.015
Male	0.331	0.118	0.005	1.392	
Black	0.507	0.133	0.000	1.661	
Hispanic	-0.548	0.166	0.001	0.578	1.730
Asian	-0.278	0.777	0.720	0.757	
American Indian	0.930	0.647	0.151	2.533	
Violent	-0.555	0.157	0.000	0.574	1.741
OWI	-0.678	0.205	0.001	0.508	1.969
Drug	-0.702	0.183	0.000	0.496	2.017
Disorderly Conduct	-0.248	0.158	0.116	0.780	
Public Order	-0.298	0.233	0.201	0.742	
Bail Jumping	0.322	0.201	0.108	1.380	
Traffic	-0.088	0.272	0.746	0.916	
Other	0.566	1.175	0.630	1.761	

Nagelkerke R² = 0.138

New Conviction (Table 11)

Just over half of the Waukesha City sample was convicted of a new crime in the follow-up period. The results for new conviction are similar to the results for new charge. Individuals who reported a substance abuse issue had roughly 40 percent increased odds of being convicted of a new crime. It did not reach significance ($p < 0.05$), but individuals who reported an issue with alcohol had a 24 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces had an approximate 80 percent decrease in the odds of being convicted of a new crime. Somewhat surprising was that none of the desistance factors were significant for the new conviction dependent variable²⁶.

For prior record, having a prior felony conviction was not significant, but having a prior misdemeanor conviction more than doubled the odds that an individual would be convicted of a new crime. In terms of demographic variables, comparable results to new charge were found. Younger individuals and males had increased odds to be convicted of a new crime. Black individuals had an almost 60 percent increase in the odds to be convicted of a new crime compared to white individuals. However, Hispanic individuals were at significantly reduced odds of being convicted of a new crime, by approximately 66 percent.

Individuals booked into jail for a violent offense ($\text{ExpB} = 0.568$) were at significantly lower odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to property offenders. Moreover, and as was similar to the new charge dependent variable, individuals with a property crime were more than twice the odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to individuals booked into jail for an OWI or drug-related offense.

²⁶ Two years of continuous employment was marginally significant – indicating that these individuals were at lower odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to those without such employment.

Table 11: New Conviction DV Waukesha City Sample (n=2,196)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.297	0.223	0.183	1.345	
Mental Health Issue	-0.087	0.105	0.405	0.916	
Physical Health Issue	-0.066	0.105	0.532	0.937	
Alcohol Issue	0.211	0.117	0.071	1.235	
Substance Issue	0.339	0.104	0.001	1.404	
Veteran	-0.587	0.224	0.009	0.556	1.798
HS Graduate	-0.053	0.097	0.583	0.948	
FT Employment	-0.060	0.128	0.640	0.942	
2 Year Employment	-0.281	0.150	0.061	0.755	
Homeless	0.165	0.172	0.339	1.179	
Married	-0.186	0.158	0.239	0.830	
Has Kids	-0.057	0.114	0.619	0.945	
Prior Felony	0.008	0.141	0.954	1.008	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.773	0.097	0.000	2.165	
Age	-0.014	0.004	0.001	0.986	1.014
Male	0.274	0.119	0.021	1.315	
Black	0.460	0.131	0.000	1.584	
Hispanic	-0.509	0.168	0.002	0.601	1.664
Asian	-0.704	0.850	0.407	0.494	
American Indian	1.048	0.649	0.106	2.852	
Violent	-0.566	0.156	0.000	0.568	1.761
OWI	-0.739	0.207	0.000	0.478	2.094
Drug	-0.732	0.183	0.000	0.481	2.080
Disorderly Conduct	-0.277	0.156	0.076	0.758	
Public Order	-0.313	0.232	0.178	0.731	
Bail Jumping	0.303	0.196	0.123	1.353	
Traffic	0.074	0.271	0.784	1.077	
Other	0.676	1.173	0.565	1.965	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.144					

New Jail Sentence (Table 12)

Approximately 42 percent of the Waukesha City sample received a jail sentence for a new offense committed during the three-year follow-up period. For the barriers to reentry variables, reporting either an alcohol or substance abuse issue were directly related to receiving a new jail sentence. Individuals who reported an alcohol issue had an approximate 30 percent increase in the odds of receiving a jail sentence when compared to individuals who did not report this issue. Individuals who reported a substance abuse issue had an approximate 32 percent

increase in the odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to individuals who did not report a substance abuse issue. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces were at significantly reduced odds to receive a new jail sentence by about 72 percent ($1/0.580 = 1.723$).

The only desistance factor that was significantly related to receiving a new jail sentence was whether the individual reported having minor children. Having children reduced the odds of receiving a new jail sentence by about a third ($1/0.749 = 1.334$). For prior record, having a prior misdemeanor conviction more than doubled an individual's odds of receiving a new jail sentence. However, having a prior felony conviction was not significantly related to receiving a new jail sentence.

In terms of demographic variables, younger individuals and males were at significantly higher odds of receiving a jail sentence. Black individuals had an approximate 56 percent increase in the odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to white individuals. Hispanic individuals had about 54 percent ($1/0.649 = 1.542$) reduced odds of receiving a jail sentence when compared to white individuals. Additionally, American Indian individuals were almost four times the odds of receiving a jail sentence when compared to white individuals.

Finally, current offense results are similar to the results of the previous Waukesha City models. Individuals booked into jail for a violent offense were at roughly 71 percent ($1/0.583 = 1.716$) reduced odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense. Individuals booked into jail for an OWI offense had about three times lower odds ($1/0.338 = 2.958$) of receiving a jail sentence when compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense. Individuals with a drug-related offense were less than two times the odds ($1/0.509 = 1.966$) of receiving a new jail sentence when compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 12: New Jail Sentence DV Waukesha City Sample (n=2,196)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	-0.131	0.225	0.562	0.878	
Mental Health Issue	-0.066	0.107	0.533	0.936	
Physical Health Issue	-0.045	0.107	0.673	0.956	
Alcohol Issue	0.266	0.118	0.024	1.305	
Substance Issue	0.280	0.105	0.008	1.323	
Veteran	-0.544	0.237	0.022	0.580	1.723
HS Graduate	-0.024	0.098	0.806	0.976	
FT Employment	-0.167	0.132	0.206	0.846	
2 Year Employment	-0.238	0.157	0.129	0.788	
Homeless	-0.007	0.172	0.966	0.993	
Married	-0.152	0.165	0.358	0.859	
Has Kids	-0.288	0.118	0.014	0.749	1.334
Prior Felony	0.141	0.140	0.312	1.152	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.841	0.097	0.000	2.319	
Age	-0.012	0.004	0.006	0.988	1.012
Male	0.324	0.123	0.008	1.383	
Black	0.446	0.129	0.001	1.562	
Hispanic	-0.433	0.175	0.013	0.649	1.542
Asian	-1.180	1.099	0.283	0.307	
American Indian	1.379	0.650	0.034	3.970	
Violent	-0.540	0.156	0.001	0.583	1.716
OWI	-1.084	0.223	0.000	0.338	2.958
Drug	-0.676	0.183	0.000	0.509	1.966
Disorderly Conduct	-0.282	0.155	0.068	0.754	
Public Order	-0.401	0.236	0.089	0.669	
Bail Jumping	0.182	0.190	0.338	1.200	
Traffic	-0.312	0.273	0.252	0.732	
Other	0.986	1.170	0.399	2.680	

Nagelkerke R² = 0.158

New Prison Sentence (Table 13)

Roughly 15 percent of the Waukesha City sample received a prison sentence for a crime committed during the follow-up period. None of the desistance factors were significant for receiving a new prison sentence and the only barriers to reentry variable that was significant was whether the individual reported having an alcohol issue. These individuals were at roughly 53 percent increased odds of receiving a prison sentence compared to individuals who did not report an alcohol issue. It did not reach significance ($p < 0.05$) but individual who reported being a

veteran were at reduced odds of receiving a prison sentence (Inverse odds = 2.368). Having a prior misdemeanor was significantly and directly related to being given a prison sentence (ExpB = 2.447).

For demographic characteristics, younger individuals and males had significantly increased odds of receiving a prison sentence. Males had twice the odds of receiving a new prison sentence compared to females. Older individuals were at reduced odds of receiving a new prison sentence by almost 4 percent per year of age. Black individuals had almost 50 percent increased odds of receiving a prison sentence compared to white individuals. Whereas white individuals were at twice the odds ($1/0.497 = 2.011$) of receiving a new prison sentence compared to Hispanic individuals. Finally, as was similar with the new jail sentence dependent variable, American Indian individuals were 23 times the odds higher to receive a prison sentence when compared to white individuals.

For current offense, individuals booked into jail for a violent offense had an approximate 74 percent ($1/0.574 = 1.741$) decrease in the odds of receiving a prison sentence compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense. Individuals booked into jail for an OWI were at roughly 91 percent ($1/0.522 = 1.915$) reduced odds to receive a prison sentence compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense. Unique to this section was the finding that individuals booked into jail for a drug-related offense were not significantly different from those booked into jail for a property offense. However, individuals booked into jail for disorderly conduct had an approximate 84 percent decrease in the odds to receive a prison sentence compared to individuals who were booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 13: New Prison Sentence DV Waukesha City Sample (n=2,196)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	-1.100	0.319	0.001	0.333	3.004
Mental Health Issue	-0.090	0.148	0.544	0.914	
Physical Health Issue	-0.010	0.150	0.949	0.990	
Alcohol Issue	0.422	0.157	0.007	1.525	
Substance Issue	-0.022	0.139	0.876	0.978	
Veteran	-0.862	0.474	0.069	0.422	2.368
HS Graduate	-0.193	0.131	0.142	0.825	
FT Employment	-0.087	0.183	0.633	0.916	
2 Year Employment	-0.354	0.240	0.140	0.702	
Homeless	-0.411	0.263	0.117	0.663	
Married	0.133	0.231	0.566	1.142	
Has Kids	-0.160	0.164	0.329	0.852	
Prior Felony	0.076	0.171	0.658	1.079	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.895	0.133	0.000	2.447	
Age	-0.037	0.007	0.000	0.964	1.038
Male	0.742	0.198	0.000	2.099	
Black	0.397	0.165	0.016	1.487	
Hispanic	-0.699	0.267	0.009	0.497	2.011
Asian	0.141	1.126	0.901	1.151	
American Indian	3.170	0.636	0.000	23.818	
Violent	-0.554	0.204	0.007	0.574	1.741
OWI	-0.650	0.311	0.037	0.522	1.915
Drug	-0.088	0.228	0.699	0.916	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.607	0.208	0.004	0.545	1.836
Public Order	-0.011	0.298	0.969	0.989	
Bail Jumping	-0.164	0.241	0.496	0.849	
Traffic	-0.665	0.399	0.096	0.515	
Other	-13.011	430.992	0.976	0.000	

Nagelkerke R² = 0.150

Summary

This section presented the results for the regression models for individuals who were residing in Waukesha City at the time of their screen. As such, the results were in some ways different than the overall models. Younger individuals and males were again consistently more likely to recidivate, regardless of the operationalization. With sex of the individual, it appears that as the severity of punishment increased, the odds of males receiving this punishment increases. Having a prior misdemeanor conviction was again one of the most consistent findings

for the Waukesha City sample. Indicating that prior lower-level convictions is an important factor in continuing involvement with the criminal justice system. However, having a prior felony conviction was not a significant predictor of recidivism in any model.

Somewhat surprising was the finding that reporting being a veteran of the armed forces was again inversely related to recidivism (with the exception of new prison sentence), indicating that veteran status may act as a protective factor. In terms of reporting an alcohol or substance abuse issue, it appeared that as the dependent variables got more severe (new charge to prison sentence) reporting a substance abuse issue faded out of significance (it was significant in the first three models but not in the fourth) and reporting an alcohol issue became more prominent (only significant for new jail sentence and new prison sentence).

Contrary to the overall models, black individuals were more likely to recidivate than white individuals in every model. However, the findings for Hispanic individuals in the Waukesha City sample mirror those of the overall models – in that these individuals were consistently less likely to recidivate than white individuals. Additionally, American Indian individuals were more likely to receive a jail or prison sentence, which was consistent with the overall models. Finally, individuals booked into jail for a property offense were consistently more likely to recidivate, regardless of the type of recidivism. However, there were fewer significant differences between the types of crime for the Waukesha City sample as compared to the full sample.

Waukesha County

As with the previous section, the results presented in this section concern only individuals who were residing in Waukesha County at the time of their screen. Waukesha County had the highest number of individuals in the jail (n=2,255). Referring to the discussion on location, the

demographics and crime information for Waukesha County made it seem like individuals in this location would be the least likely to recidivate.

New Charge (Table 14)

Just under half of the Waukesha County sample was charged with a crime during the follow-up period. For barriers to reentry variables, three variables were significant. First, reporting a physical health issue was inversely related to being charged with a new crime – indicating that these individuals were at reduced odds to be charged with a new crime than individuals who did not report a physical health issue. Individuals who reported an issue with alcohol had an approximate 40 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Finally, individuals that graduated high school were at significantly lower odds to be charged with a new crime, by about 34 percent, compared to individuals who did not graduate high school.

The only desistance factor that was significantly related to being charged with a new crime was if the individual had reported being employed continuously for two years prior to their incarceration. These individuals were at significantly lower odds to be charged with a new crime, by more than 50 percent, compared to individuals who had not reported such employment. Individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction were more than twice the odds to be charged with a new crime ($ExpB = 2.307$).

In terms of demographic characteristics or current offense, very few variables reached significance. Younger individuals were at increased odds to be charged with a new crime and individuals that were booked into jail for a violent offense were at an almost 60 percent reduced odds of being charged with a new crime compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense. Important to note is that none of the race/ethnicity variables were significant –

indicating that individuals of minority groups (Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian) were as likely to be charged with a new crime compared to white individuals. This finding was consistent across all four dependent variables. This may be due to the fact that 93 percent of the Waukesha County sample is white. As such, there may not be enough variation in the ethnicity dummy variables to show a significant association. Also, important to note is that sex was not a significant predictor for being charged with a new crime. Indicating that males and females were at similar odds to be charged with a new crime.

Table 14: New Charge DV Waukesha County Sample (n=2,255)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.851	0.215	0.000	2.341	
Mental Health Issue	0.042	0.104	0.684	1.043	
Physical Health Issue	-0.374	0.110	0.001	0.688	1.453
Alcohol Issue	0.333	0.110	0.003	1.395	
Substance Issue	0.188	0.105	0.073	1.206	
Veteran	0.175	0.223	0.432	1.192	
HS Graduate	-0.293	0.105	0.005	0.746	1.341
FT Employment	0.057	0.122	0.639	1.059	
2 Year Employment	-0.436	0.130	0.001	0.647	1.547
Homeless	0.116	0.315	0.714	1.123	
Married	-0.185	0.143	0.197	0.831	
Has Kids	0.100	0.117	0.389	1.106	
Prior Felony	0.018	0.164	0.913	1.018	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.836	0.103	0.000	2.307	
Age	-0.023	0.005	0.000	0.977	1.023
Male	0.065	0.117	0.579	1.067	
Black	0.029	0.223	0.896	1.029	
Hispanic	-0.233	0.349	0.504	0.792	
Asian	0.024	0.707	0.973	1.025	
American Indian	-0.871	1.258	0.489	0.419	
Violent	-0.469	0.147	0.001	0.626	1.598
OWI	-0.025	0.178	0.889	0.975	
Drug	-0.211	0.172	0.219	0.810	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.114	0.158	0.470	0.892	
Public Order	-0.265	0.213	0.213	0.767	
Bail Jumping	-0.260	0.201	0.196	0.771	
Traffic	-0.255	0.258	0.322	0.775	
Other	-0.287	0.770	0.709	0.751	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.147					

New Conviction (Table 15)

Approximately 46 percent of the Waukesha County sample was convicted of a crime committed during the follow-up period. The results for new conviction mirror those for new charge. Individuals that reported a physical health issue were at a 34.2 percent decreased odds of being convicted of a new crime. Individuals who reported an alcohol issue had a more than 40 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime. Finally, individuals who did not graduate high school were at significantly higher odds of being convicted of a new crime.

Reporting two years of continuous employment was again, the only desistance factor that was significant for the Waukesha County sample. Individuals who reported this type of employment had decreased odds of being convicted of a new crime, by about 54 percent. Additionally, individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction were significantly more likely to be convicted of a new crime; specifically, more than twice the odds when compared to individuals who did not have a prior misdemeanor conviction.

Also similar to the new charge models was the fact that only age and violent current offense were significant. Moreover, sex was not significant in either model, indicating that males and females were not significantly different for being charged or convicted of a new crime.

Table 15: New Conviction DV Waukesha County Sample (n=2,255)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.693	0.215	0.001	1.999	
Mental Health Issue	0.002	0.105	0.985	1.002	
Physical Health Issue	-0.294	0.111	0.008	0.745	1.342
Alcohol Issue	0.356	0.110	0.001	1.427	
Substance Issue	0.114	0.104	0.273	1.121	
Veteran	0.112	0.227	0.621	1.119	
HS Graduate	-0.307	0.104	0.003	0.735	1.360
FT Employment	0.061	0.122	0.616	1.063	
2 Year Employment	-0.453	0.132	0.001	0.636	1.573
Homeless	0.315	0.315	0.317	1.371	
Married	-0.140	0.145	0.337	0.870	
Has Kids	0.135	0.117	0.249	1.145	
Prior Felony	0.079	0.163	0.629	1.082	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.851	0.102	0.000	2.342	
Age	-0.024	0.005	0.000	0.976	1.025
Male	0.098	0.117	0.401	1.103	
Black	0.057	0.223	0.799	1.058	
Hispanic	-0.458	0.361	0.205	0.633	
Asian	0.171	0.707	0.809	1.186	
American Indian	-0.744	1.250	0.552	0.475	
Violent	-0.427	0.147	0.004	0.653	1.533
OWI	-0.063	0.178	0.724	0.939	
Drug	-0.198	0.171	0.245	0.820	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.145	0.157	0.358	0.865	
Public Order	-0.329	0.214	0.124	0.719	
Bail Jumping	-0.244	0.200	0.222	0.783	
Traffic	-0.179	0.258	0.488	0.836	
Other	-0.089	0.770	0.907	0.914	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.143					

New Jail Sentence (Table 16)

Roughly 37 percent of individuals in the Waukesha County sample received a jail sentence for a crime committed during the follow-up period. Only two barriers to reentry variables were significant for being given a new jail sentence. Individuals who reported an alcohol issue had a 45 percent increase in the odds of receiving a jail sentence and individuals with a high school education had an approximate 31 percent reduction in the odds for receiving a jail sentence. For the desistance factors, individuals reporting two years of continuous

employment prior to initial incarceration were at an almost 60 percent reduction in the odds of receiving a new jail sentence.

As has been the case with the Waukesha County models, individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction were two and a half times the odds to receive a jail sentence compared to individuals without a prior misdemeanor conviction. However, having a prior felony conviction was not a significant predictor of receiving a new jail sentence. Younger individuals had increased odds of receiving a jail sentence and males had an almost 30 percent increase in the odds of receiving a new jail sentence. For current offense, individuals who were booked into jail for either a violent offense (63 percent) or OWI (81 percent) had significantly lower odds of receiving a jail sentence compared to individuals who were booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 16: New Jail Sentence DV Waukesha County Sample (n=2,255)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.047	0.222	0.833	1.048	
Mental Health Issue	0.109	0.108	0.316	1.115	
Physical Health Issue	-0.208	0.117	0.077	0.812	
Alcohol Issue	0.373	0.115	0.001	1.452	
Substance Issue	0.146	0.107	0.171	1.157	
Veteran	-0.309	0.260	0.235	0.734	
HS Graduate	-0.272	0.107	0.011	0.762	1.312
FT Employment	0.016	0.128	0.901	1.016	
2 Year Employment	-0.463	0.142	0.001	0.629	1.589
Homeless	0.301	0.312	0.336	1.351	
Married	-0.129	0.158	0.415	0.879	
Has Kids	0.072	0.124	0.560	1.075	
Prior Felony	0.204	0.163	0.210	1.226	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.939	0.102	0.000	2.556	
Age	-0.021	0.005	0.000	0.980	1.021
Male	0.260	0.124	0.035	1.297	
Black	-0.096	0.236	0.682	0.908	
Hispanic	-0.418	0.389	0.282	0.658	
Asian	0.019	0.762	0.980	1.019	
American Indian	-0.333	1.252	0.790	0.717	
Violent	-0.488	0.151	0.001	0.614	1.629
OWI	-0.595	0.189	0.002	0.551	1.813
Drug	-0.147	0.172	0.393	0.863	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.199	0.160	0.215	0.820	
Public Order	-0.284	0.220	0.196	0.753	
Bail Jumping	-0.333	0.204	0.103	0.717	
Traffic	-0.454	0.272	0.095	0.635	
Other	-1.042	0.880	0.236	0.353	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.162					

New Prison Sentence (Table 17)

Approximately 16 percent of individuals in the Waukesha County sample received a prison sentence for a crime committed during the follow-up period. For the barriers to reentry variables, three variables were significant. Individuals who reported an alcohol issue had a 50 percent increase in the odds of receiving a prison sentence; individuals who reported a substance issue had a 60 percent increase in the odds of receiving a prison sentence. In terms of veteran status, individuals who did not report being a veteran of the armed forces were more than three

times the odds to receive a new prison sentence compared to individuals who reported that they were a veteran.

For the desistance factors, individuals who reported two years of continuous employment prior to incarceration had an approximate 63 percent reduction in the odds of receiving a prison sentence compared to individuals who did not have such employment. Having a prior misdemeanor conviction increased the odds of a prison sentence by a factor of 2.428.

In terms of demographic characteristics, only sex was significantly related to receiving a new prison sentence. Males had an 80 percent increase in the odds of receiving a new prison sentence compared to females. For the first time in the analysis, age was not a significant factor – indicating that age did not factor into receiving a prison sentence for those living in Waukesha County. For current offense, individuals who were booked in on a property offense had significantly higher odds of receiving a prison sentence when compared to individuals booked in for violent offenses (ExpB = 0.373), disorderly conduct (ExpB = 0.610), public order offenses (ExpB = 0.537), and traffic offenses (ExpB = 0.305).

Table 17: New Prison Sentence DV Waukesha County Sample (n=2,255)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	-1.783	0.303	0.000	0.168	5.950
Mental Health Issue	-0.138	0.148	0.351	0.872	
Physical Health Issue	-0.137	0.162	0.399	0.872	
Alcohol Issue	0.390	0.147	0.008	1.478	
Substance Issue	0.481	0.136	0.000	1.617	
Veteran	-1.163	0.528	0.028	0.312	3.200
HS Graduate	-0.063	0.140	0.651	0.939	
FT Employment	0.117	0.168	0.485	1.125	
2 Year Employment	-0.491	0.201	0.014	0.612	1.634
Homeless	0.582	0.349	0.095	1.790	
Married	-0.454	0.252	0.072	0.635	
Has Kids	0.015	0.174	0.932	1.015	
Prior Felony	0.006	0.192	0.973	1.006	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.887	0.129	0.000	2.428	
Age	-0.012	0.007	0.071	0.988	
Male	0.594	0.183	0.001	1.812	
Black	-0.050	0.327	0.879	0.951	
Hispanic	0.170	0.486	0.726	1.186	
Asian	0.563	0.922	0.542	1.756	
American Indian	-12.640	394.519	0.974	0.000	
Violent	-0.987	0.206	0.000	0.373	2.682
OWI	-0.405	0.233	0.082	0.667	
Drug	-0.187	0.201	0.351	0.829	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.495	0.206	0.016	0.610	1.640
Public Order	-0.621	0.295	0.035	0.537	1.862
Bail Jumping	-0.405	0.252	0.108	0.667	
Traffic	-1.188	0.430	0.006	0.305	3.281
Other	-0.790	1.121	0.481	0.454	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.166					

Summary

Overall, very few factors were significantly related to recidivism in Waukesha County. Physical health was inversely related to being charged and convicted of a new crime. This is likely due to these individuals being older and perhaps aging out of crime. The average age of individuals living in Waukesha County with a physical health issue was 38.9 compared to individuals without a physical health issue (average age was 30.3) or the Waukesha County sample (average age was 32.7).

Another interesting finding for the Waukesha County models was the effect alcohol had on individuals. Reporting an alcohol issue increased an individual's chances of recidivating regardless of the operationalization. In no model were there any significant effects for the race/ethnicity variables. However, this is likely due to the rather homogenous nature of ethnicity in the Waukesha County sample. In terms of sex, there were no significant differences for being charged or convicted of a new crime, but males were at increased odds for receiving a new jail or prison sentence. Indicating once again that males are more likely to receive more severe dispositions.

In terms of the desistance factors, the Waukesha County sample demonstrated that simply being employed may not be enough to avoid recidivism, but rather it is the stability of employment that helps individuals avoid recidivism.

Milwaukee City

This section will present and discuss the results for the individuals who were incarcerated at the Waukesha County Jail but resided in Milwaukee City prior to their incarceration. The discussion on census characteristics and crime information yielded a conclusion that these individuals would be the most likely to recidivate. However, the results for the overall model indicated that these individuals were significantly less likely to be charged and convicted of a new crime and significantly less likely to receive a jail sentence compared to individuals living in Waukesha City. Moreover, it is unlikely that the individuals in this sample are "typical" Milwaukee City residents as they had the ability and resources to travel to Waukesha County or City to commit their crimes. As such, this sample of offenders should not be considered representative of Milwaukee City or representative of Milwaukee City offenders, rather this

sample represents individuals who lived in Milwaukee City and were charged with crimes that occurred in Waukesha County or City. The sample size for this section is 1,953.

New Charge (Table 18)

Just over half of the Milwaukee City sample was charged with a new crime in the follow-up period. None of the barriers to reentry variables or desistance factors were significant for being charged with a new crime. Reporting full-time employment was marginally significant ($p=0.051$). Individuals who reported full-time employment were at reduced odds of being charged with a new crime compared to individuals who did not report full-time employment, by approximately 34 percent. However, both prior record variables were significantly related to the new charge dependent variable. Individuals who had a prior felony conviction had a 56 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction were more than twice the odds of being charged with a new crime, compared to individuals who did not have a prior misdemeanor conviction.

Younger individuals and males had significantly higher odds of being charged with a new crime. Similar to the overall models, Hispanic individuals had significantly lower odds of being charged with a new crime compared to white individuals, by approximately 60 percent. Individuals who were booked into jail on a property offense were twice the odds of being charged with a new crime compared to individuals who had been booked in on a violent offense. Individuals who were booked into jail for an OWI or traffic-related offenses also had significantly decreased odds of being charged with a new crime compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 18: New Charge DV Milwaukee City Sample (n=1,953)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.673	0.224	0.003	1.961	
Mental Health Issue	-0.028	0.121	0.818	0.973	
Physical Health Issue	0.061	0.111	0.583	1.063	
Alcohol Issue	-0.070	0.182	0.701	0.932	
Substance Issue	-0.185	0.111	0.095	0.831	
Veteran	-0.463	0.311	0.137	0.629	
HS Graduate	-0.126	0.099	0.202	0.881	
FT Employment	-0.292	0.150	0.051	0.747	1.339
2 Year Employment	-0.290	0.178	0.104	0.748	
Homeless	0.271	0.285	0.343	1.311	
Married	-0.245	0.192	0.203	0.783	
Has Kids	0.026	0.113	0.821	1.026	
Prior Felony	0.442	0.142	0.002	1.556	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.710	0.105	0.000	2.033	
Age	-0.022	0.005	0.000	0.978	1.023
Male	0.360	0.120	0.003	1.433	
Black	-0.064	0.112	0.565	0.938	
Hispanic	-0.488	0.209	0.020	0.614	1.628
Asian	0.631	1.261	0.617	1.879	
American Indian	1.013	1.260	0.422	2.754	
Violent	-0.698	0.177	0.000	0.498	2.010
OWI	-0.601	0.262	0.022	0.548	1.823
Drug	-0.329	0.170	0.054	0.720	
Disorderly Conduct	0.202	0.202	0.318	1.223	
Public Order	-0.440	0.241	0.068	0.644	
Bail Jumping	-0.170	0.187	0.365	0.844	
Traffic	-0.557	0.163	0.001	0.573	1.746
Other	-0.421	0.693	0.544	0.656	

Nagelkerke R² = 0.117

New Conviction (Table 19)

Roughly 44 percent of the Milwaukee City sample was convicted of a crime that occurred during the follow-up period. None of the desistance factors were significant for the new conviction model, but veteran status (originally, hypothesized as a barrier to reentry variable) appeared to reduce the odds of a new conviction. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces were approximately twice as likely to avoid a new conviction compared to non-veteran individuals. Both prior record variables were significantly related to being convicted of

a new crime. Individuals who had a prior felony conviction had an approximate 50 percent increase in the odds of being charged with a new crime. Individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction were at more than twice the odds of being charged with a new crime, compared to individuals who did not have a prior misdemeanor conviction.

Similar to the new charge models, younger individuals and males had increased odds of being convicted of a new crime. Also similar to the new charge model was the finding for Hispanic individuals – white individuals were twice the odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to Hispanic individuals. In terms of current offense, individuals booked into jail for violent offenses (ExpB = 0.535), OWI (ExpB = 0.499), and traffic-related offenses (ExpB = 0.538) had significantly lower odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 19: New Conviction DV Milwaukee City Sample (n=1,953)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.333	0.226	0.140	1.395	
Mental Health Issue	0.001	0.122	0.995	1.001	
Physical Health Issue	0.025	0.111	0.825	1.025	
Alcohol Issue	0.026	0.183	0.887	1.026	
Substance Issue	-0.116	0.110	0.293	0.890	
Veteran	-0.737	0.340	0.030	0.479	2.090
HS Graduate	-0.097	0.100	0.331	0.908	
FT Employment	-0.188	0.152	0.218	0.829	
2 Year Employment	-0.313	0.184	0.089	0.731	
Homeless	-0.008	0.284	0.977	0.992	
Married	-0.164	0.197	0.403	0.848	
Has Kids	0.028	0.114	0.805	1.029	
Prior Felony	0.402	0.139	0.004	1.495	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.708	0.104	0.000	2.031	
Age	-0.021	0.005	0.000	0.979	1.021
Male	0.447	0.122	0.000	1.563	
Black	-0.192	0.112	0.087	0.826	
Hispanic	-0.766	0.220	0.000	0.465	2.152
Asian	0.827	1.257	0.511	2.287	
American Indian	1.187	1.264	0.348	3.276	
Violent	-0.626	0.180	0.001	0.535	1.870
OWI	-0.695	0.273	0.011	0.499	2.003
Drug	-0.273	0.171	0.110	0.761	
Disorderly Conduct	0.173	0.198	0.381	1.189	
Public Order	-0.365	0.242	0.132	0.695	
Bail Jumping	-0.089	0.188	0.635	0.915	
Traffic	-0.619	0.169	0.000	0.538	1.858
Other	-0.134	0.687	0.845	0.875	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.119					

New Jail Sentence (Table 20)

Almost 40 percent of individuals in the Milwaukee City sample received a jail sentence for a crime committed during the follow-up period. Similar to the new conviction model, individuals who reported being a veteran were more than twice the odds to avoid a new jail sentence compared to individuals who were not veterans. Both prior record variables were significantly related to receiving a new jail sentence. Individuals with a prior felony conviction

had roughly 62 percent increased odds of receiving a new jail sentence; individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction had around 91 percent higher odds of receiving a new jail sentence.

Age was inversely related to receiving a new jail sentence, indicating that younger individuals were more likely to receive a jail sentence. Males had approximately 52 percent increased odds of receiving a new jail sentence when compared to females. Similar to the previously discussed Milwaukee City models, Hispanic individuals were significantly less likely to receive a new jail sentence, by a factor of 0.485, compared to white individuals. Finally, individuals booked into jail for violent offenses (ExpB = 0.536), OWI (ExpB = 0.355), and traffic-related offenses (ExpB = 0.499) had reduced odds of receiving a jail sentence when compared to individuals booked into jail for a property offense.

Table 20: New Jail Sentence DV Milwaukee City Sample (n=1,953)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.086	0.229	0.709	1.089	
Mental Health Issue	0.030	0.123	0.807	1.030	
Physical Health Issue	0.076	0.113	0.501	1.079	
Alcohol Issue	0.039	0.187	0.833	1.040	
Substance Issue	-0.124	0.112	0.265	0.883	
Veteran	-0.719	0.361	0.046	0.487	2.053
HS Graduate	-0.127	0.101	0.209	0.880	
FT Employment	-0.275	0.158	0.082	0.760	
2 Year Employment	-0.251	0.192	0.190	0.778	
Homeless	0.077	0.284	0.787	1.080	
Married	-0.373	0.209	0.074	0.688	
Has Kids	-0.009	0.116	0.940	0.991	
Prior Felony	0.483	0.139	0.000	1.621	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.647	0.104	0.000	1.910	
Age	-0.019	0.005	0.000	0.981	1.019
Male	0.416	0.124	0.001	1.516	
Black	-0.121	0.114	0.288	0.886	
Hispanic	-0.723	0.232	0.002	0.485	2.061
Asian	-0.358	1.253	0.775	0.699	
American Indian	1.677	1.259	0.183	5.352	
Violent	-0.624	0.185	0.001	0.536	1.866
OWI	-1.037	0.304	0.001	0.355	2.821
Drug	-0.316	0.173	0.067	0.729	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.064	0.198	0.748	0.938	
Public Order	-0.337	0.244	0.168	0.714	
Bail Jumping	-0.158	0.191	0.406	0.854	
Traffic	-0.696	0.175	0.000	0.499	2.006
Other	0.048	0.691	0.945	1.049	

Nagelkerke R² = 0.119

New Prison Sentence (Table 21)

Fifteen percent of the Milwaukee City sample received a prison sentence for an offense committed during the follow-up period. For new prison sentence, there were very few significant variables. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces were more than 4 times the odds to avoid a new prison sentence compared to non-veteran individuals (p=0.058). None of the other barriers to reentry or desistance factors were significantly related to receiving a new prison sentence. However, prior record variables were again significant.

Individuals with a prior felony conviction had roughly 54 percent increased odds of receiving a new prison sentence. Individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction had an approximate 60 percent increase in the odds of receiving a new prison sentence. This was a stark decrease from the new charge and conviction dependent variables where a prior misdemeanor conviction more than doubled the odds of recidivism.

No racial/ethnic variables were significantly different for receiving a new prison sentence, but age and sex followed a similar trend compared to previous models for Milwaukee City. Males had three times the odds of receiving a new prison sentence compared to female individuals in the sample. Finally, only individuals booked into jail for a traffic offense had significantly reduced odds of receiving a prison sentence when compared to alleged property offenders.

Table 21: New Prison Sentence DV Milwaukee City Sample (n=1,953)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	-1.958	0.326	0.000	0.141	7.084
Mental Health Issue	0.265	0.161	0.099	1.303	
Physical Health Issue	0.005	0.153	0.973	1.005	
Alcohol Issue	-0.052	0.250	0.835	0.949	
Substance Issue	-0.176	0.147	0.233	0.839	
Veteran	-1.394	0.735	0.058	0.248	
HS Graduate	-0.242	0.136	0.075	0.785	
FT Employment	-0.108	0.219	0.623	0.898	
2 Year Employment	-0.518	0.294	0.078	0.596	
Homeless	-0.012	0.384	0.976	0.988	
Married	0.155	0.266	0.560	1.168	
Has Kids	-0.025	0.160	0.875	0.975	
Prior Felony	0.429	0.168	0.011	1.536	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.469	0.138	0.001	1.599	
Age	-0.017	0.007	0.013	0.983	1.017
Male	1.128	0.196	0.000	3.089	
Black	-0.006	0.154	0.967	0.994	
Hispanic	-0.507	0.328	0.122	0.602	
Asian	0.712	1.258	0.571	2.039	
American Indian	-11.540	303.539	0.970	0.000	
Violent	-0.232	0.236	0.326	0.793	
OWI	-0.605	0.427	0.156	0.546	
Drug	0.135	0.211	0.523	1.144	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.306	0.269	0.255	0.736	
Public Order	-0.394	0.344	0.253	0.675	
Bail Jumping	-0.087	0.252	0.731	0.917	
Traffic	-0.894	0.278	0.001	0.409	2.444
Other	-0.568	1.076	0.598	0.567	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.106					

Summary

Overall, the models for Milwaukee City are largely based on the individual's prior record. In all four models having a prior felony or misdemeanor conviction was directly related to recidivism for which the effects were much stronger for prior misdemeanor convictions. Consistent effects were also found for age and sex, indicating the younger and male offenders were more likely to recidivate. With the variable for sex, again males were increasingly more likely to receive harsher sentences than females. For instance, the odds of males being charged

with a new crime was 43 percent higher than females being charged with a new crime but the odds of males receiving a prison sentence was 300 times higher than females receiving a prison sentence. Another somewhat consistent effect was that for Hispanic individuals being substantially less likely to recidivate compared to white individuals.

Milwaukee County

Milwaukee County consists of the smallest sample in this study (n=422). This is somewhat surprising because of its proximity to Waukesha County and the fact that the two counties (and several municipalities) share a border. There are very few significant variables in the models discussed below. As such there may be factors that were not used that better explain why individuals from Milwaukee County recidivate. That being said, there are a few variables that are significant predictors of recidivism for this sample and are still informative for how recidivism may operate for these individuals.

New Charge (Table 22)

Around 52 percent of individuals in the Milwaukee County sample were charged with a crime during the three-year follow-up period. The only barriers to reentry variable that was significant was whether the individual reported a physical health issue. Individuals who reported these issues were at approximately 84 percent increased odds to be charged with a new crime. The only desistance factor that was significant was whether the individual reported having minor children. However, having minor children actually increased the odds of being charged with a new crime by almost 75 percent – indicating that individuals with children were more likely to recidivate.

As has become a consistent finding across all models, having a prior misdemeanor conviction more than doubled the odds that an individual would be charged with a new crime.

Also, a consistent finding was that younger offenders were more likely to be charged with a new crime. Important to note that for the Milwaukee County sample there were no significant differences for sex or current charge.

There were a few variables that were marginally significant in this model ($0.10 < p < 0.05$). Individuals who reported having a high school education were actually at increased odds of being charged with a new crime (48 percent increase). Individuals reporting full-time employment, but not individuals reporting two years of continuous employment, were at reduced odds of being charged with a new crime. Finally, Black individuals were at significantly reduced odds at being charged with a new crime compared to white individuals.

Table 22: New Charge DV Milwaukee County Sample (n=422)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.706	0.493	0.152	2.025	
Mental Health Issue	0.156	0.253	0.538	1.169	
Physical Health Issue	0.611	0.274	0.026	1.841	
Alcohol Issue	-0.156	0.319	0.625	0.855	
Substance Issue	0.042	0.236	0.860	1.043	
Veteran	-0.210	0.435	0.629	0.811	
HS Graduate	0.392	0.235	0.095	1.480	
FT Employment	-0.574	0.304	0.059	0.563	1.776
2 Year Employment	-0.108	0.348	0.758	0.898	
Homeless	0.752	0.763	0.324	2.121	
Married	0.093	0.432	0.830	1.098	
Has Kids	0.559	0.273	0.041	1.749	
Prior Felony	0.283	0.321	0.379	1.327	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.870	0.235	0.000	2.386	
Age	-0.043	0.011	0.000	0.958	1.044
Male	0.224	0.272	0.410	1.251	
Black	-0.612	0.349	0.080	0.542	1.845
Hispanic	-0.139	0.574	0.809	0.870	
Asian	-13.747	535.411	0.980	0.000	
American Indian	0.283	1.079	0.793	1.327	
Violent	-0.487	0.391	0.212	0.614	
OWI	-0.401	0.413	0.332	0.670	
Drug	0.038	0.352	0.914	1.039	
Disorderly Conduct	0.606	0.499	0.225	1.834	
Public Order	-0.333	0.606	0.582	0.717	
Bail Jumping	-0.236	0.392	0.546	0.790	
Traffic	-0.166	0.393	0.672	0.847	
Other	0.003	0.992	0.998	1.003	

Nagelkerke R² = 0.181

New Conviction (Table 23)

Roughly 47 percent of the Milwaukee County sample was convicted of an offense that occurred during the three-year follow-up period. The results for new conviction are similar to those for new charge, apart from current charges – individuals charged with a violent crime were at significantly lower odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to individuals who were booked into jail for a property offense.

Individuals who reported a physical health issue had an 80 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime compared to individuals who did not report these issues.

Reporting having children was again directly related to recidivism, in that individuals who reported having children had an approximate 72 percent increase in the odds of being convicted of a new crime.

Having a prior misdemeanor conviction more than doubled an individual's odds of being convicted of a new crime. Whereas having a prior felony conviction had no significant effect. Age of the offender was also significant, indicating that older offenders were less likely to be convicted of a new crime by about four percent per year of age. Sex of the offender was marginally significant, indicating that males were at increased odds of being convicted of a new crime.

Table 23: New Conviction DV Milwaukee County Sample (n=422)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.604	0.496	0.223	1.830	
Mental Health Issue	0.155	0.253	0.538	1.168	
Physical Health Issue	0.599	0.274	0.029	1.819	
Alcohol Issue	-0.347	0.319	0.276	0.706	
Substance Issue	0.140	0.235	0.552	1.150	
Veteran	-0.155	0.440	0.725	0.856	
HS Graduate	0.111	0.233	0.635	1.117	
FT Employment	-0.345	0.305	0.257	0.708	
2 Year Employment	-0.164	0.352	0.642	0.849	
Homeless	0.986	0.769	0.200	2.680	
Married	0.269	0.430	0.532	1.308	
Has Kids	0.542	0.270	0.045	1.720	
Prior Felony	0.413	0.316	0.192	1.511	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.780	0.233	0.001	2.181	
Age	-0.043	0.011	0.000	0.958	1.044
Male	0.469	0.272	0.085	1.599	
Black	-0.391	0.347	0.260	0.676	
Hispanic	0.032	0.575	0.956	1.032	
Asian	-13.307	535.411	0.980	0.000	
American Indian	-0.090	1.077	0.934	0.914	
Violent	-0.965	0.399	0.016	0.381	2.624
OWI	-0.410	0.417	0.325	0.664	
Drug	-0.382	0.347	0.272	0.683	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.211	0.481	0.661	0.810	
Public Order	-0.667	0.624	0.285	0.513	
Bail Jumping	-0.265	0.395	0.502	0.767	
Traffic	-0.300	0.392	0.444	0.741	
Other	-0.061	1.005	0.952	0.941	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.178					

New Jail Sentence (Table 24)

Approximately 41 percent of individuals in the Milwaukee County sample received a jail sentence for a crime that occurred during the follow-up period. As with previous models for this sample, individuals reporting a physical health issue were at significantly higher odds to receive a jail sentence, by about 75 percent. Reporting an alcohol issue was marginally significant, indicating that these individuals were at increased odds of receiving a new jail sentence. Having a prior misdemeanor conviction was significantly related to receiving a new jail sentence.

Younger offenders were again more likely to recidivate, indicated by the fact that age was inversely related to receiving a new jail sentence. Sex was marginally significant, indicating once again that males were at increased odds of receiving a jail sentence. Finally, being charged with a property offense more than doubled the odds of being given a jail sentence compared to individuals charged with a violent offense.

Table 24: New Jail Sentence DV Milwaukee County Sample (n=422)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	0.337	0.502	0.502	1.401	
Mental Health Issue	0.078	0.257	0.762	1.081	
Physical Health Issue	0.559	0.276	0.043	1.750	
Alcohol Issue	-0.613	0.335	0.067	0.541	
Substance Issue	0.172	0.237	0.468	1.188	
Veteran	-0.636	0.481	0.187	0.530	
HS Graduate	-0.053	0.235	0.820	0.948	
FT Employment	-0.315	0.316	0.319	0.730	
2 Year Employment	-0.427	0.375	0.255	0.652	
Homeless	0.585	0.730	0.423	1.795	
Married	0.274	0.449	0.541	1.315	
Has Kids	0.297	0.273	0.276	1.346	
Prior Felony	0.104	0.311	0.739	1.109	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.834	0.235	0.000	2.303	
Age	-0.037	0.012	0.002	0.964	1.037
Male	0.539	0.278	0.053	1.714	
Black	-0.376	0.350	0.283	0.686	
Hispanic	-0.108	0.584	0.854	0.898	
Asian	-12.630	535.411	0.981	0.000	
American Indian	0.305	1.091	0.780	1.356	
Violent	-0.846	0.407	0.038	0.429	2.330
OWI	-0.607	0.450	0.177	0.545	
Drug	-0.413	0.349	0.237	0.662	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.167	0.483	0.730	0.846	
Public Order	-0.417	0.637	0.512	0.659	
Bail Jumping	-0.362	0.401	0.367	0.696	
Traffic	-0.124	0.396	0.755	0.884	
Other	-0.830	1.009	0.411	0.436	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.180					

New Prison Sentence (Table 25)

Roughly 15 percent of individuals in the Milwaukee County sample received a prison sentence for an offense that occurred during the follow-up period. For the new prison sentence dependent variable, only two variables were significant²⁷. Having a prior felony conviction nearly tripled the odds that an individual would receive a new prison sentence. This particular variable was only significant in this model for the Milwaukee County sample. Consistent with previously discussed models, having a prior misdemeanor conviction almost doubled the odds that an individual would receive a new prison sentence.

²⁷ Reporting a mental health issue was marginally significant, indicating that individuals who reported this issue were at increased odds of receiving a prison sentence.

Table 25: New Prison Sentence DV Milwaukee County Sample (n=422)

	Estimate	Std. Error	Pr(> z)	Exp(B)	Inverse Odds
Intercept	-2.147	0.700	0.002	0.117	8.556
Mental Health Issue	0.569	0.339	0.093	1.767	
Physical Health Issue	0.175	0.364	0.631	1.191	
Alcohol Issue	0.040	0.433	0.927	1.041	
Substance Issue	-0.085	0.315	0.788	0.919	
Veteran	-0.059	0.619	0.923	0.942	
HS Graduate	-0.241	0.312	0.439	0.786	
FT Employment	-0.423	0.446	0.343	0.655	
2 Year Employment	0.072	0.513	0.888	1.075	
Homeless	1.181	0.774	0.127	3.258	
Married	0.161	0.591	0.785	1.175	
Has Kids	0.387	0.353	0.273	1.472	
Prior Felony	1.068	0.352	0.002	2.910	
Prior Misdemeanor	0.641	0.305	0.035	1.899	
Age	-0.011	0.015	0.488	0.989	
Male	0.416	0.386	0.281	1.517	
Black	0.322	0.429	0.452	1.380	
Hispanic	-0.514	1.091	0.638	0.598	
Asian	-15.527	3956.180	0.997	0.000	
American Indian	-15.562	1740.104	0.993	0.000	
Violent	-0.499	0.558	0.371	0.607	
OWI	-0.820	0.705	0.245	0.440	
Drug	0.270	0.429	0.529	1.310	
Disorderly Conduct	-0.872	0.795	0.273	0.418	
Public Order	-15.839	1018.767	0.988	0.000	
Bail Jumping	-0.263	0.548	0.631	0.768	
Traffic	-0.231	0.556	0.678	0.794	
Other	-0.147	1.275	0.908	0.863	
Nagelkerke R ² = 0.172					

Summary

Overall, very few variables were significant for this sample. There was a consistent finding for having a prior misdemeanor conviction – which has been true for every model in this study. Age was also a relatively consistent predictor, with the exception of the new prison sentence dependent variable – which showed that younger individuals were more likely to recidivate.

There were some unique variables for this sample though, specifically, the findings for physical health and having children. Reporting a physical health issue was directly related to recidivism for all models except for the new prison sentence. This finding may speak to the “rabble” nature of the jail inmates but is counterintuitive in some sense. Referring to the discussion on physical health issues in Waukesha County, individuals with physical health issues were significantly older than those without these issues. The same is true for Milwaukee County residents with physical health issues, whose average age was 40.6. The average age of individuals without a physical health issue was 30.8 (average age of the sample = 33.3). As such, it appears that these individuals are not aging out of crime, which was the speculation for the Waukesha County sample. However, when you examine individuals from Milwaukee County and cross reference these figures with physical health and prior misdemeanors it becomes clear why physical health is impacting recidivism. Of individuals without a physical health issue approximately 34.6 percent had a prior misdemeanor conviction. However, of the individuals who reported a physical health issue, 42.4 percent of individuals had a prior misdemeanor conviction, which has been shown throughout this chapter to be a consistent predictor of recidivism, regardless of the operationalization.

Conclusion

This chapter answered the second primary question for the study – who comes back to jail? It is clear that a number of variables predict recidivism. First, having a prior misdemeanor conviction was significant in all models. Second, age and sex are fairly consistent predictors of recidivism, especially for new charge or new conviction. Interestingly, recidivism for male individuals changes as the severity of the punishment increases. Through most of the locations

and the overall model, males are at increased odds of recidivism, but they are at even higher odds of receiving new jail or prison sentences compared to female individuals in the sample.

Third, when an individual's current charge was a property offense, they were either more likely to recidivate or had the same chance of reoffending. No other type of crime was significantly and positively related to recidivism for any of the models. Fourth, alcohol and substance issues are strong predictors for Waukesha City and Waukesha County but show little effect for the Milwaukee City and Milwaukee County models. Fifth, veteran status, which was originally hypothesized as a barrier to reentry variable, may actually serve as a desistance factor – in no model was reporting being a veteran of the armed forces positively related to recidivism. Sixth, Hispanic individuals were never significantly more likely to recidivate compared to white individuals and in several models, they were significantly less likely to recidivate when compared to white individuals.

This chapter demonstrated why separating individuals by location was important. There were certainly some consistent factors across the four locations and the overall model but there were also differences which suggests that these individuals may be unique based on where they lived prior to their screen. The Waukesha City sample was the only location where black individuals were significantly more likely to recidivate than white individuals. This finding did not occur in the overall model or the other three locations. As previously mentioned, reporting an issue with alcohol or drugs was only a significant predictor of recidivism for individuals in Waukesha County and Waukesha City. Individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed forces in Milwaukee City or Waukesha City were less likely to recidivate, but this was not the case for veterans living in Milwaukee County or Waukesha County. Finally, having a physical health was only positively related to recidivism (new charge or conviction and receiving a new

jail sentence) for the Milwaukee County sample. Given the differences between individuals in the four locations discussed in chapter four, it should not be surprising that individuals recidivated for different reasons. Thus, it was important to separate these individuals to better understand why these individuals reoffended or managed to avoid further involvement in the criminal justice system.

The significant findings of these models lend themselves to important conclusions. However, sometimes the non-significant findings also allow for important conclusions. One important finding was that reporting a mental health issue was not a significant predictor for the overall model or in any of the four locations. The possible reasons for this are discussed in greater detail in chapter eight but the fact that reporting a mental health issue was not significant in this study is an interesting finding. Additionally, reporting homelessness was never a significant finding in this study. The quantitative results for mental health and homelessness diverge from the findings for the qualitative results which suggest that these two issues have a fair amount of influence on recidivism. However, the logistic regression models did not detect these effects. Reported full-time employment was not a significant predictor of recidivism in any of the models. This finding is interesting because it confirms the findings from Sampson and Laub (1993) that employment must be stable over time not just over the course of a week for it to impact reoffending. As such, individuals who are working a lot in the short term are not necessarily at reduced odds of recidivism. Finally, graduating high school did not seem to have an impact on recidivism. For Milwaukee City, Milwaukee County, and Waukesha City, having a high school diploma had no effect on recidivism. For most of the Waukesha County models, those with a high school diploma were at reduced odds of recidivism, but nearly three-quarters of

the Waukesha County sample had graduated high school, indicating that the social consequences of not having a high school diploma may be more severe in this location.

In the next chapter, the results for the cluster analysis will be discussed as well as the presentation of the typology of offenders in the Waukesha County Jail.

Chapter 6: Cluster Analysis Results

As discussed in chapter three, a typology of offenders was constructed using the variables from the logistic regression models, the four location variables, and the four dependent variables. These variables were used in an attempt to create an extensive profile of each member of the sample. The cluster analysis was conducted in R using hclust commands from the stats package (R Core Team, 2018). This command can employ various distance measures depending on the type of data being analyzed. The data for this study was dichotomous as such the Jaccard distance measure was used to calculate the distance between observations. After the distances were calculated, the results were plotted on a dendrogram.

In order to determine how many clusters are apparent in the data, the dendrogram is used to select the number of clusters (**Figure 2**). When examining the height of the clusters it became clear that there were a few ways to examine the clusters. First there are two clear clusters at the top of the dendrogram, which then become four different clusters. Beneath these four clusters, there is pretty clear evidence that there are seven clusters.

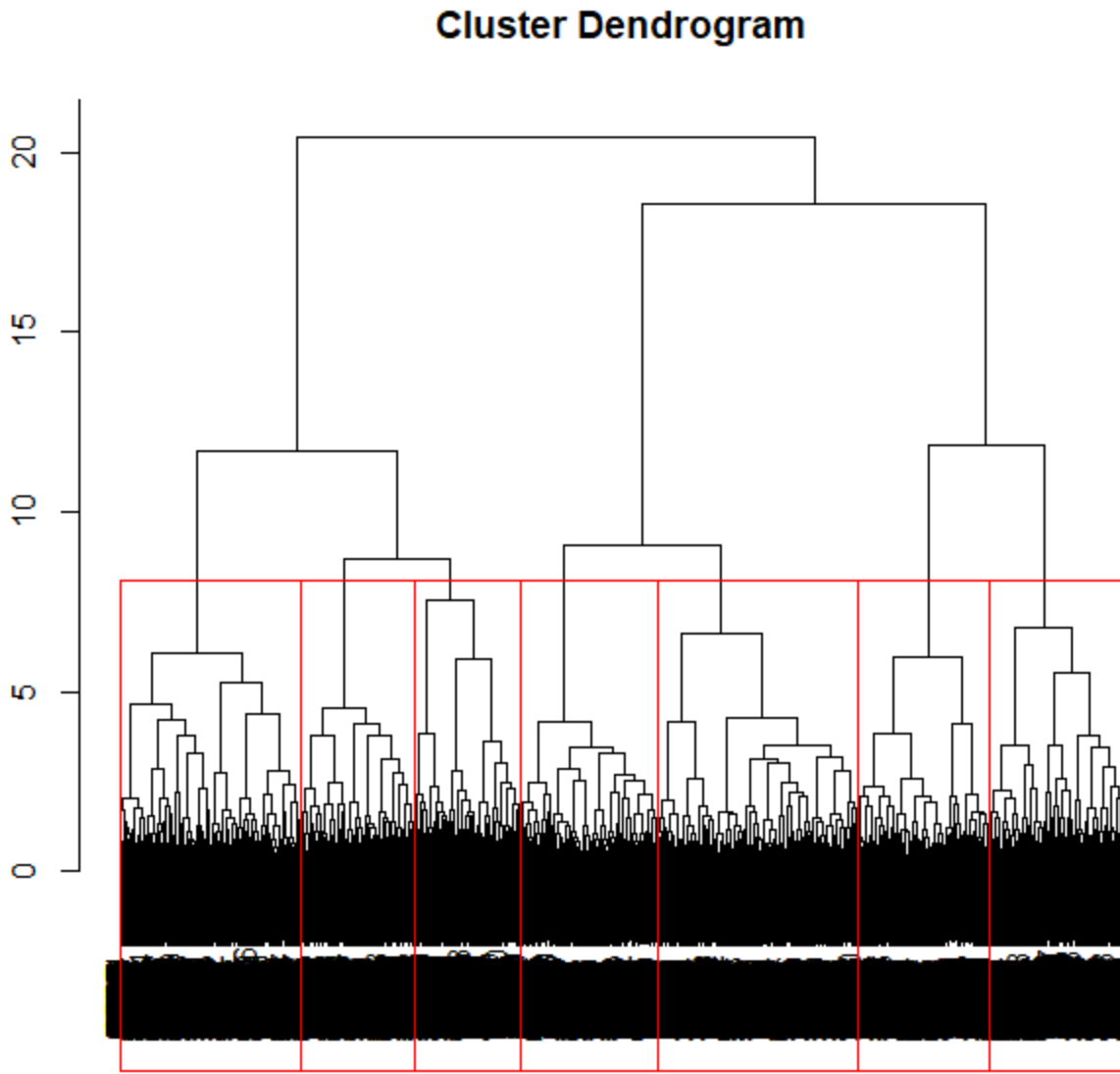


Figure 2. Cluster Analysis Dendrogram

Analyses were conducted using different numbers of clusters (additional or fewer clusters) to see if the results differed, and the cluster profiles did not differ in any meaningful way from the results that are presented in this chapter.

A cluster analysis was also conducted that did not include the location variables. This analysis is very much similar to the overall regression results (i.e. clusters where most of the individuals recidivated also had a higher proportion of individuals who were charged with a

property offense) and location variables do not discriminate between the four resulting clusters²⁸. Furthermore, a cluster analysis was conducted without the dependent variables. Because the location variables are mutually exclusive (individuals coded as living in Waukesha City are not also coded as living in Waukesha County) the resulting clusters are largely based on location and mirror that of the location specific regression models. As such, conducting the cluster analysis with all independent, dependent, and location variables provides a clearer picture for individuals in the seven clusters.

The rest of this chapter will present the typology of offenders in the WCJ. The typology will be presented in two sections. The first is the clusters of offenders that were more likely to recidivate (Recidivists), which made up almost half the sample (0.467). The second section will discuss the individuals that recidivated at a much lower rate or did not recidivate at all (Non-Recidivists). These clusters made up over half the sample (0.533). **Table 26** provides the proportions for the variables across the seven clusters (ex: 0.999 for new charge for the White Individuals with a Substance Abuse Problem (WISAP) cluster indicates that 99.9 percent of the cluster received a new charge).

²⁸ The cluster analysis without the four location variables was conducted and the cluster number was exported and included with the overall data as a new variable (i.e. ClusterNumber). When this data is introduced into the overall cluster analysis results, the location variables become proportions of the overall data. For instance, Waukesha County residents (n=2,255) make up around a third of the overall sample ($2,255/6,828 = 0.33$). When the location data is included in the overall results, Waukesha County residents make up close to a third of the cluster for each cluster.

Table 26: Cluster Results	White Individuals with a Substance Abuse Problem	Travelers	Waukesha City Rabble
N	1365	893	928
Proportion of Sample	0.2	0.131	0.136
New Charge	0.999	0.998	0.981
New Conviction	0.989	0.984	0.962
New Jail Sentence	0.835	0.911	0.813
New Prison Sentence	0.342	0.379	0.289
Milwaukee City	0.172	0.954	0.033
Milwaukee County	0.128	0.021	0.013
Waukesha City	0.009	0.003	0.943
Waukesha County	0.691	0.021	0.012
Physical Health Issue	0.284	0.228	0.312
Mental Health Issue	0.242	0.325	0.297
Alcohol Issue	0.24	0.064	0.23
Drug Issue	0.466	0.334	0.409
Veteran	0.041	0.011	0.033
High School Graduate	0.679	0.452	0.596
Full-Time Employment	0.198	0.103	0.173
Two Years of Employment	0.126	0.066	0.1
Homeless	0.03	0.026	0.092
Married	0.098	0.048	0.078
Has Kids	0.223	0.292	0.238
Prior Felony	0.147	0.179	0.156
Prior Misdemeanor	0.453	0.464	0.494
Age	30.897	30.585	32.171
Male	0.797	0.772	0.801
White	0.976	0.031	0.713
Black	0.01	0.954	0.18
Hispanic	0.004	0.008	0.09
Asian	0.004	0.002	0.001
American Indian	0.003	0	0.008
Current Charge – Violent	0.166	0.067	0.216
Current Charge – Property	0.297	0.505	0.177
Current Charge – OWI	0.136	0.095	0.098
Current Charge – Drug-related	0.104	0.008	0.055
Current Charge – Disorderly Conduct	0.131	0.092	0.227

Current Charge – Public Order	0.042	0.052	0.048
Current Charge – Bail Jumping	0.067	0.095	0.123
Current Charge – Traffic	0.052	0.079	0.053
Current Charge – Other	0.005	0.007	0.003

Table 26 (cont'd): Cluster Results	Rowdy Suburbanites of Color	Marginal Lives	Well-Adjusted Drinkers	Wake-Up Call
N	1226	913	727	776
Proportion of Sample	0.18	0.134	0.106	0.114
New Charge	0.214	0.137	0.097	0.063
New Conviction	0.143	0.025	0.035	0.007
New Jail Sentence	0.081	0.001	0.008	0
New Prison Sentence	0.013	0	0	0
Milwaukee City	0.194	0.989	0.003	0.22
Milwaukee County	0.026	0.008	0.011	0.133
Waukesha City	0.581	0.001	0.009	0.559
Waukesha County	0.199	0.001	0.978	0.088
Physical Health Issue	0.171	0.209	0.302	0.342
Mental Health Issue	0.239	0.358	0.323	0.333
Alcohol Issue	0.092	0.08	0.246	0.187
Drug Issue	0.214	0.321	0.267	0.367
Veteran	0.028	0.033	0.062	0.063
High School Graduate	0.568	0.514	0.778	0.676
Full-Time Employment	0.338	0.152	0.33	0.238
Two Years of Employment	0.239	0.106	0.297	0.186
Homeless	0.043	0.03	0.013	0.053
Married	0.16	0.059	0.227	0.129
Has Kids	0.316	0.326	0.283	0.233
Prior Felony	0.094	0.118	0.065	0.107
Prior Misdemeanor	0.224	0.298	0.216	0.276
Age	31.738	33.225	35.661	34.838
Male	0.827	0.693	0.772	0.737
White	0.002	0	0.96	0.959
Black	0.496	0.985	0.009	0.009
Hispanic	0.485	0.01	0.014	0.018
Asian	0.009	0.001	0.004	0.003
American Indian	0.004	0.001	0.002	0.004

Current Charge – Violent	0.323	0.115	0.308	0.207
Current Charge – Property	0.147	0.464	0.154	0.172
Current Charge – OWI	0.115	0.088	0.012	0.203
Current Charge – Drug-related	0.043	0.029	0.166	0.114
Current Charge – Disorderly Conduct	0.205	0.051	0.169	0.135
Current Charge – Public Order	0.038	0.051	0.079	0.039
Current Charge – Bail Jumping	0.058	0.064	0.067	0.075
Current Charge – Traffic	0.071	0.136	0.04	0.051
Current Charge – Other	0	0.003	0.003	0.004

Recidivists

White Individuals with a Substance Abuse Problem (WISAP)

The WISAP cluster made up a fifth of the total sample (0.200) and was the largest cluster. This cluster had the highest proportion of individuals being charged or convicted of a new crime and were the second highest proportion for individuals who received a new jail or prison sentence. Furthermore, this cluster had the highest proportion of individuals charged with a drug-related or OWI crime for the recidivists clusters. It is only speculation but with the anecdotal evidence that more individuals are being charged with OWI for substances other than alcohol (i.e. drugged drivers), it may be the case that these individuals are using illicit substances while they are driving as well as or instead of alcohol. This cluster also had the highest proportion for individuals reporting an alcohol issue or a drug issue.

All of this being the case, these individuals appear to be relatively well-situated in life. This cluster had the highest proportion of individuals who were employed full-time, had two years of continuous employment prior to incarceration, and graduated high school (among the recidivists clusters). Almost 10 percent of this cluster reported being married which was just slightly less than the overall sample. Additionally, this cluster had the highest proportion for individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed services – a factor that was somewhat

consistently inversely related to recidivism. Moreover, the demographics of this cluster are overwhelmingly white and predominantly located outside of either city (81.9 percent of cluster lived in Milwaukee County or Waukesha County), most of which live in Waukesha County – which had the lowest recidivism rate of the four locations.

Given the relatively high rates of drug-related crimes and drug-related (alcohol and other substances) issues this cluster was indicative of, and the various prosocial factors and location of the individuals in the cluster, the title of WISAP seemed appropriate. This cluster is mostly comprised of individuals who had they not been exposed to drugs or alcohol might otherwise be leading normal lives.

Travelers

The Travelers cluster made up approximately 13 percent of the total sample and has the smallest proportion of the sample among the recidivists clusters. Unlike the first cluster, this cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals who reported full-time employment, two years of continuous employment prior to incarceration, high school graduates, and married individuals. This cluster also had the lowest proportion of individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed services. Furthermore, this cluster had the highest proportion of individuals charged with a property crime, which was consistently related to recidivism, regardless of the operationalization. Finally, this cluster has the lowest average age of all the clusters, indicating that these individuals would be most likely to recidivate given the results of the regression models discussed in the previous chapter. To say the least, this cluster appears to be indicative of very few prosocial factors other than the fact that this cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals who reported an alcohol or substance abuse issue.

More than 95 percent of this cluster was living in Milwaukee City. Additionally, in terms of demographics, this cluster is overwhelmingly made up of African Americans. With this finding, it is somewhat unsurprising that this cluster had the highest proportion of individuals charged with a traffic-related offense (among the recidivists clusters). Especially considering the evidence of “driving while black” or “driving while different” for African American individuals traveling through predominantly white areas.

In conversations with individuals²⁹ living or working in Waukesha County and Waukesha City (outside of this study), a certain theme kept coming into the conversation. It seemed that individuals not associated with the criminal justice system in any formal way felt that a fair amount of crime in Waukesha was due to individuals in Milwaukee City travelling to Waukesha (City or County) on US Highway 94 and committing various thefts. Certainly, the individuals who had made these speculative comments about the nature of crime in Waukesha were unaware of the results of this study. However, it appears that there may be some truth to their claims about individuals living in Milwaukee traveling to Waukesha to commit their crimes.

Waukesha City Rabble

The third cluster is appropriately labeled the Waukesha City Rabble for a few reasons. First, the race/ethnicity characteristics of the cluster are quite similar to figures for Waukesha City demographics. Moreover, almost 95 percent of the cluster is from Waukesha City. Second, this cluster had the highest proportion of individuals charged with disorderly conduct and bail jumping. Indicating that these are individuals who are committing low-level offenses and being brought back to jail for previous offenses. This is further illustrated by the fact that almost half

²⁹ Throughout this study several people from my personal life have asked about the study. During these informal conversations, friends and family would suggest that a fair amount of crime in Waukesha County or Waukesha City was committed by individuals traveling from Milwaukee.

of the cluster has a prior misdemeanor conviction, which was found to be consistently associated with recidivism, regardless of operationalization. Certainly, with the evidence of prior misdemeanor conviction, it is clear that this is a group of individuals who cycles in and out jail with a fair amount of frequency.

Third, this cluster had the highest proportion of individuals reporting a mental health issue and reporting being homeless at the time of their screen. Additionally, the proportion of individuals who reported an alcohol issue was just slightly lower than the first cluster who had the highest proportion of individuals who reported an alcohol issue. While some of these factors were not significantly related to recidivism, the results for these variables do coincide with Irwin's (1985) typology – specifically street alcoholics and individuals with mental health issues. Meaning that, at least in some ways, Irwin's (1985) analysis is still accurate.

Important to note is that this cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals charged for a new crime, convicted of a new crime, and individuals given a new jail or prison sentence (among recidivists). Given the information on current charges and prior record for this cluster, it is not unreasonable to speculate that these individuals were familiar to local authorities – especially with the assumed frequency of their encounters with law enforcement officials. As such, it may be the case that these individuals are not arrested and processed at the same rate of individuals who are less well-known to the police (i.e. first-time offenders or individuals from Milwaukee City who are accused of theft). The working hypothesis for this group is that some of their criminality is handled informally as to avoid extra paperwork or additional strain on the jail itself. That is, until their criminality reaches a certain threshold. The Waukesha City Rabble cluster had the highest proportion of individuals charged with a violent offense – which for some of these individuals may have been their last chance at staying out of custody.

Despite shifts in public policy, there is still a group of individuals living on the margins of society, dealing and coping with various issues in arguably unhealthy ways. The Waukesha City Rabble is the cluster that lives in a relatively affluent area but because of their struggles, they do not get to reap the positive aspects of their location. As such, they cycle in and out of jail and police custody on relatively minor offenses all their life. Finally, with a proportion of approximately 14 percent of the total sample, almost one in seven individuals in the overall sample fit this typology.

Non-Recidivists

The remaining four clusters had much lower proportions of individuals who recidivated compared to the first three clusters discussed. Referring back to the descriptive statistics chapter, around half of sample was charged with a new crime – these clusters represent the individuals who avoided formal criminal justice intervention for the three years following their initial incarceration. Three of the four clusters had zero individuals who were given a new prison sentence. All clusters had proportions of individuals that were charged with a new crime below 25 percent, two clusters were beneath 10 percent of individuals being charged with a new crime. However, as will become clear in the next section, recidivism is far from the most difficult issue these individuals are faced with.

Rowdy Suburbanites of Color

The Rowdy Suburbanites of Color (RSC) cluster was the second largest cluster in the sample (0.180) but was rather unique in terms of the overall sample in that it was approximately 98 percent Hispanic or black and that 80 percent of the individuals in the cluster came from Waukesha City or Waukesha County. This cluster was relatively well employed. Around a third of the cluster reported being employed full-time; just under a quarter reported being employed

continuously for two years prior to incarceration. Individuals in the cluster also reported relatively low rates of substance abuse and alcohol abuse. Among the non-recidivists clusters, this cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals who reported a drug issue and second lowest proportion of individuals who reported an alcohol issue.

However, what makes this cluster “rowdy” is their current offense. More than 20 percent of this cluster was charged with disorderly conduct and almost a third of the cluster was charged with a violent offense. Upon examining the original data, these charges are mostly assault or battery charges where the punishment was a minor jail sentence. During the interviews for this project, it was uncovered that this type of assault or battery was generally a fight between two individuals that went too far.

This cluster also had the highest proportion of individuals that recidivated, regardless of operationalization. This is somewhat surprising given the figures for employment and substance or alcohol abuse. The first reason this could be the case is that it may very well be that some of these individuals continued getting into fights and drifted into the Waukesha City Rabble. The other explanation deals specifically with the race of this cluster. This cluster was primarily individuals of color with almost half the cluster being Black and the other being Hispanic. As such, it should come as no surprise that this cluster ranked second highest for being charged with a traffic-related offense and are likely subject to increased police surveillance, especially if these individuals are living in or traveling in Waukesha County. This is not to say that the extra surveillance is completely unnecessary, especially with the results for the Travelers, but it is likely that with the extra surveillance that law enforcement is discovering more crimes committed by these individuals.

Marginal Lives

The Marginal Lives cluster is made up predominantly of black individuals from Milwaukee City and represents approximately 13 percent of the sample. Almost 30 percent of this cluster has a prior misdemeanor conviction and over 10 percent had a prior felony conviction. Also, in terms of current offense, almost half of this cluster was initially charged with a property offense. Given these three factors, these individuals should be relatively likely to reoffend. However, only around 14 percent were charged with a new crime during the follow-up period.

This cluster's low recidivism rate continued to be a mystery when the desistance factors were examined. This cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals who reported full-time employment (0.152) or two years of continuous employment (0.106) prior to incarceration. This group also had the lowest proportions for individuals who reported being married (0.059) or that graduated high school (0.514). Additionally, this cluster had the most females in it with more than 30 percent of the cluster being female.

Within the desistance literature, success is typically defined in two ways. The first is whether individuals cease offending. The second is if they are living a better life than when they were offending. This cluster is clearly a success for the first definition. More than 85 percent of this sample has avoided new charges for three years after their initial jail stay. These individuals may have reoffended but most of them avoided being charged with a new crime during the follow-up period.

In terms of the second definition, it is difficult to tell if the life circumstances of these individuals improved. Given that very few of them reported full-time employment or two years of continuous employment, it is unlikely that many of these individuals achieved these factors

right after being released. Additionally, without a high school diploma it is unlikely that these individuals have that many employment opportunities to begin with. This cluster is unique in the fact that they have very few things going for them in life, but they have not reoffended (at least according to official records). As such, these individuals will likely live the rest of their lives on the margins – not committing crime but not exactly living a better life either.

Well-Adjusted Drinkers

The Well-Adjusted Drinkers cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals in the sample, at approximately 11 percent (0.106). This cluster was overwhelmingly from Waukesha County and around 96 percent of the individuals in this cluster were white. The individuals in this cluster appear to have a pretty good life that was momentarily interrupted by a short jail stint. While only speculation, it is somewhat likely that after this period in jail the individuals in this cluster went back to their relatively normal lives.

Less than 10 percent of this cluster was charged with a new crime and only approximately 3.5 percent were convicted of a new crime. Less than one percent received a new jail sentence and no one in this cluster received a prison sentence for any new crime. When examining the desistance variables for this cluster, it became obvious as to why so few individuals recidivated from this cluster. Of the non-recidivist clusters, this cluster had the highest proportion of individuals that were married, graduated high school, and reported being employed for a full two years prior to incarceration. This cluster also had around a third of its individuals report full-time employment. In terms of prior record, this cluster had the lowest proportion of individuals who had a prior felony or misdemeanor conviction. For current offense, only around 15 percent of individuals were charged with a property offense, which was consistently the type of crime that was most related to recidivism.

The issue for the well-adjusted drinkers is exactly what the name implies. This cluster had the highest proportion of individuals who reported an alcohol issue and the highest proportion of individuals who were charged with an OWI or public order offenses. For the public order offenses, these were typically resisting arrest or obstruction charges – indicating that these may have been drunken scraps with law enforcement³⁰.

The Well-Adjusted Drinkers lead productive lives – they go to work, most have families, and they typically have not been in serious trouble with the law in the past. However, because of an alcohol issue and the decision to drive, these individuals landed in jail. Unfortunately, this project could not track people on the non-recidivism variables. However, it is likely that these individuals “bounced back” from this episode and continued to lead crime-free lives.

Wake-Up Call

In many ways, the Wake-Up Call cluster is quite similar to the WISAP cluster. Both clusters had the highest proportion of individuals who reported a substance issue and the highest proportion of individuals who were charged with a drug-related offense. Both clusters are predominantly white and approximately 68 percent of each cluster reported graduating high school. Just over 20 percent of individuals in either cluster reported having minor children. Approximately, 10 to 11 percent of either cluster was charged with an OWI for their initial confinement – indicating again that these specific offenses may have been drugged driving. While it was not related to recidivism in any of the logistic regression models, both clusters have relatively high proportions of individuals reporting a mental health issue.

³⁰ This was a relatively consistent theme during the interviews. Several officers and staff mentioned that a fair number of individuals who come in from Waukesha County typically do not return and that these individuals are in for bar fights or drunk driving.

With all these similarities, it is difficult to see why one cluster of individuals almost completely avoided any future criminal behavior, while the other nearly every person in the cluster was charged for a new offense. One reason could be that the Wake-Up Call cluster did not have as severe a prior record as the WISAP cluster. The WISAP cluster had 45 percent of individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction and around 15 percent with a prior felony conviction; compared to the Wake-Up Call cluster where only 28 percent had a prior misdemeanor conviction and 11 percent had a prior felony conviction. It may be that because these individuals were not as “hardened” offenders as individuals in the WISAP cluster, and that this made it easier for them to leave a life of substance abuse and crime.

Another possible explanation for the divergent paths of these similar clusters may be access and success in treatment services. Both clusters had the highest proportion of individuals who reported being a veteran of the armed services and both clusters had a relatively high proportion of individuals reporting a substance issue or a mental health issue. Because these issues were detected by the PSSR, these individuals may have been diverted to court-mandated treatment. The difference appears to be that individuals from the Wake-Up Call cluster were simply more ready to change. Additional support of this can be found in the age difference between the two clusters. The average age of the Wake-Up Call cluster is almost 35 years old whereas the average age of the WISAP cluster is 31, while this is only four years, given the extent of their deficits, it is not unreasonable to think that four more years of life as a mentally ill, individual with a substance abuse issue may have triggered these individuals to change their ways, get sober, and get help.

If individuals in the Wake-Up Call cluster managed to get their life together and the individuals in the WISAP cluster did not, then the real concerning statistic for these two groups

is their proportion in the sample. The proportion of WISAP cluster (0.200) in the sample is almost double that of the Wake-Up Call cluster (0.114). Indicating that more individuals are stuck in a rough situation than are getting out.

Conclusion

Despite its subjective nature, cluster analysis allows the researcher to develop a statistical profile for offenders. The final analysis included seven clusters; three where nearly everyone recidivated and four where very few, if anyone, recidivated. Of the three that recidivated, there were clear profiles. The first was young, white individuals with a substance abuse problem who either could not or would not get sober over the follow-up period and had the highest recidivism rate. The second cluster provided empirical evidence to an age-old anecdote in Waukesha County – there is a group of individuals from Milwaukee City that drive to Waukesha County or Waukesha City and commit thefts and are unlikely to stop. The third cluster provided evidence of a rabble class in a more affluent community. Irwin’s (1985) analysis found a rabble class in a major metropolitan area, but the current analysis has found evidence that a similar class of individuals exists in Waukesha City.

For the four clusters that were much less likely to recidivate, somewhat less clear profiles emerged but an attempt was made to tell their stories as well. The first was a class of individuals who were mostly non-white and living in predominantly white areas. These individuals were deemed “rowdy” because of their offenses (disorderly conduct and battery/assault) but after these offenses it is possible that they decided to clean up their act. Part of the reason, again speculative, for why 20 percent of these individuals were charged with a new crime was because of additional surveillance due to their race/ethnicity (keeping in mind that the most serious charge for many of these individuals were for traffic-related offenses). The second cluster for

non-recidivists paints a sad portrait of a life on the margins. These individuals are “success cases” in terms of not recidivating, but they are likely not living better lives since their initial incarceration, given their employment and education profile. The third cluster was composed of individuals who lead relatively productive lives, with the exception of their reported alcohol abuse and intoxicated driving. While the data is not available, it is likely that these individuals treated jail as an uncomfortable, but quickly forgotten, bump in the road. The final cluster was markedly similar to the first cluster but somehow managed to overcome their deficiencies and avoid additional involvement with the criminal justice system.

Cluster analysis is not a predictive tool and can be highly subjective. Due diligence was done by conducting this analysis several different ways (additional or fewer clusters, removing dependent variables or location variables). The analysis presented in this chapter was the most informative cluster analysis conducted. In the next chapter the information from the qualitative interviews will be discussed and the theoretical framework developed from this data will be presented.

Chapter 7: Qualitative Results

This chapter will present the findings of the qualitative portion for this study. The first section will describe the process of data collection and analysis. The second section will discuss the demographic characteristics of the sample. The third section will present the findings for how and why correctional officers build rapport with inmates. This section is particularly important because of the nature of the project – the case will be made that these officers know the lives of the men and women incarcerated at the WCJ. The fourth section will present the theoretical framework for the dissertation – Shit Happens (SH). SH is a theoretical framework that aims to explain how non-urban jail recidivism operates. The underlying premise for the framework is that individuals enter jail because of an adverse life event and that continued criminal justice involvement is spurred on by an inability to properly cope with the initial event until the individual becomes what was referred to as a frequent flyer.

The interviews were recorded via a digital audio recorder. They were then transcribed verbatim by either the researcher or a transcription service. Once the transcriptions were finished, the transcripts were coded using RQDA (Huang, 2018). As discussed in the previous chapters, open coding was initially used on each transcript and then to ensure exhaustive coding, each transcript was recoded. The next step was focused coding, which was when the most significant codes were identified. These codes were then organized using axial coding. Once the codes were organized, the theoretical framework was constructed.

Sample

The findings from this project are the results from interviews with 21 members of the correctional staff at the WCJ, this included correctional officers and staff that work closely with inmates at the WCJ. The interviews took place during March of 2018. Interviews took around

an hour for most participants with a few individuals talking for a longer (two hours) or a shorter period (45 minutes) of time. All participants were offered the incentive pay for doing the interview, but not all accepted this incentive. In general, participants had quite a bit to say in terms of who is in jail and why individuals return to jail.

Table 27 presents the demographic characteristics of the individuals interviewed³¹. Just over half the sample was male (n=12) but nine of the participants were female. The majority of the sample was white (n=19). Two participants reported that they were Hispanic/Latino. The youngest individual was 20 years old and the oldest was 60 years old. The average age was 38.86 (standard deviation = 11.02) with a median age of 40. There was a fair amount of diversity in terms of how much education participants had. Nine participants had a bachelors degree, six had an associates degree, three individuals reported that they had “some college,” two individuals did not disclose their education, and one individual reported that they had never participated in post-secondary. Four participants reported that they had served in the armed forces; two in the Marine Corps and two in the Army.

The majority of participants had spent most of their career at the WCJ. Three participants had worked in a different correctional institution or a different branch of the criminal justice system, but the majority of participant’s employment in the criminal justice system had occurred at the WCJ. On average, participants had worked at the WCJ for approximately eight years (8.12). Similar figures were found for time worked in corrections (8.69 years) and time worked in the criminal justice system (9.26 years).

As far as where participants worked within the WCJ, there was a fair amount of diversity. Because individuals can work in a few different areas depending on their shift or schedule, these

³¹ The names provided are pseudonyms for the participants. After each quote their pseudonym is provided to assist the reader in knowing more about the individual the quote is attributed to.

figures do not add up to 21. Four participants worked in administration or command staff (administrator, lieutenants, etc.). Two individuals stated that they worked in a specific pod or housing unit. One of these individuals was assigned to the mental health pod and the other stated that they worked in either the direct supervision pod or the administrative segregation pod. Six participants worked in Huber³² for at least a few of their shifts. Six participants worked in the intake or booking area. Five individuals stated that they worked as mobile security, releasing inmate, or transported inmates around the jail and the courthouse. Finally, three individuals worked exclusively in jail screening. These participants collect information from every individual who had been booked into jail for a new offense. The participants that worked in booking, mobile security, and jail screening were especially helpful because they met with every inmate that came in during their shift – compared to participants who work exclusively in a pod, because those individuals would only work with a select group of inmates. However, all participants offered helpful insight into the demographics of inmates and the dynamics of recidivism.

³² Individuals housed in the Huber facility are allowed to leave for employment, education, providing care to family or their children. These individuals are typically allowed to leave during the day and must return at night, but these individuals are required to pay for this privilege (room and board).

Table 27: Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees									
Name	Sex	Race	Age	Education	Military	Time in WCJ	Time in Corrections	Time in CJS	Where in WCJ
Woody	Male	White	27	Bachelors	No	6 months	6 months	6 months	Huber
Diane	Female	White	49	Bachelors	No	8 years	8 years	8 years	Huber
Carla	Female	White	25	Bachelors	No	6 months	6 months	6 months	Huber
Sam	Male	White	38	Some College	No	1 year	18 months	13.5 years	Intake and Transport
Eddie	Male	White	38	Bachelors	No	2.5 years	6 years	6 years	Intake, Releases, Mobile Security
Rebecca	Female	White	30	Associates	No	7 years	7 years	7 years	Intake, and Mobile Security
Norman	Male	White	48	Associates	No	10.5 years	10.5 years	10.5 years	Mental Health Pod
Lilith	Female	White	42	Bachelors	No	12 years	12 years	12 years	Jail Screener
Jordan	Female	White	47	Bachelors	No	22 years	22 years	22 years	Intake
Jerry	Male	White	27	Associates	No	3 years	4 years	4 years	Transport
Martin	Male	Hispanic	32	Some College	No	12 years	12 years	12 years	Huber
Ginny	Female	White	20	Associates	No	13 months	13 months	13 months	Jail Screener
Catherine	Female	White	40	Associates	No	15 years	20 years	20 years	Intake, Huber
John	Male	Hispanic	28	Bachelors	Army	7 months	7 months	7 months	Jail Screener
Robert	Male	White	42	No college	Marine	18 years	18 years	18 years	Admin
Zach	Male	White	30	Bachelors	No	2 years	4 years	4 years	Huber or Intake
Perry	Male	White	45	Some College	Marine	16 years	16 years	16 years	Mobile Security
Lucy	Female	White	47	Did not disclose	No	2 years	2 years	2 years	Admin
Ethel	Female	White	60	Did not disclose	No	1 year	1 year	1 year	Admin
Mac	Male	White	60	Bachelors	Army	35 years	35 years	35 years	Admin
Duncan	Male	White	41	Associates	No	9 months	9 months	9 months	Direct Supervision & Administrative Segregation

Building rapport

“I say good morning to every single one of them because in my opinion, like if you want somebody to have positive behavior, you have to treat them with positive behavior.” (Duncan)

It is important to establish that the interview participants knew the individuals who were incarcerated. It was obvious early on during the interviews that the correctional staff knew quite a few details about the men and women that were incarcerated. One participant said “we talk a lot more here. We try to, you know, break it down a little bit...I constantly talk to inmates every day just because I like my time to pass by quickly” (Jerry).

For the correctional staff, communication was seen as more effective in the day-to-day operations than the use of physical force. The general sense from the interviews was that it was far easier to gain compliance from inmates by asking politely, rather than bullying them into submission. One officer noted (quote at the beginning of this section) that treating inmates with respect leads to more positive immediate and long-term outcomes.

Furthermore, several officers mentioned that they had taken time to “counsel” inmates. All interviewees were cognizant of the difficulties that go into jail reentry and made attempts to help the inmates before they were released – “I’m trying to set people up to not come back, you know, trying to give people that chance when they get out of here” (Martin).

It was during these brief counseling sessions that correctional officers learned about the issues that the inmates are dealing with.

I always tell people it's not all running in and going around and slamming [individuals] ... and wrestling like you see on COPS. There's a lot of listening to people's problems and the people's problems you listened to aren't like, oh, I had a shitty day at work. It's, I saw my brother get killed or I watched my best friend overdose and die in a car...it's some deep dark stuff (Martin).

It was clear early on during the interviews that correctional staff knew a great deal about the lives of the individuals they manage. All participants mentioned at some point throughout

their interview talking to inmates about their issues, and at times, learning much more about the state of an inmate's life than was initially expected. Referring back to the beekeeper philosophy mentioned in chapter 2, it was clear that correctional officers and staff were more apt to use honey rather than vinegar.

Waukesha has Issues

Because Waukesha is not a major metropolitan area, there were some initial concerns that crime and disorder were not a real issue in Waukesha. Certainly, with the census and crime information presented in the first chapter, Waukesha City and Waukesha County seem to have fewer issues than Milwaukee. The consensus amongst participants was that Waukesha was not as dangerous or impoverished as Milwaukee but that there were significant issues in the county.

Waukesha is not all great neighborhoods and great areas. I mean there are some really poor parts of Waukesha [and] kids live in those areas and there might not be the gunfire like there is in Milwaukee, but there's still high crime that goes on in those areas. Drug dealing, overdoses, domestic disputes (Martin).

Public perception paints Waukesha as a much more affluent community with fewer issues than Milwaukee. However, during the data collection phase, driving around Waukesha City and Waukesha County, there were clearly some rougher parts that do not look all that dissimilar from Milwaukee. One participant discussed how the access to illicit substances differs in Waukesha compared to Milwaukee.

There's a market for anything [in Waukesha] because there's money out here. So I mean that doesn't mean it's non-existent, it's in Milwaukee but there's a lot of money out here. Not every kid has to work in high school so they got a lot of time on their hands. They got money, transportation, so it's easy to access [drugs] (Woody).

The mixture of impoverished neighborhoods and affluent communities makes Waukesha an important area to examine for jail recidivism. Moreover, the proximity to a major

metropolitan area adds another level to the recidivism dynamics for the individuals incarcerated at the WCJ.

Urban vs. Non-Urban Differences

One of the overarching themes of this study was to better understand the differences between incarcerated individuals in urban and non-urban areas. Much to the disappointment of the researcher, most participants were either ambivalent to these differences or felt they were similar. One participant stated, “I think their needs are all pretty much the same...not a big difference between urban and non-urban inmates” (Carla). The topic of race was typically avoided with this question, despite the well-known racial demographics of the two counties. This was not too surprising given their occupation and Wisconsin’s history of incarcerating African American individuals (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013).

The major theme for differences between urban and non-urban locations was typically the jails in these locations. Part of the culture at the WCJ was interpersonal communication and talking with incarcerated individuals. One participant argued that individuals from urban areas are:

more hostile, but I’m guessing Milwaukee County style of corrections is little bit more force...when I was at MSDF (Milwaukee Secure Detention Facility) I would go into my shift knowing there was probably going to be a use of force [incident] that day...inmates that come in [from Milwaukee] are a lot harder or they think they’re tougher...have to save face (Catherine).

It is difficult to ascertain if other participants had similar perceptions, because so few mentioned any differences between individuals from urban and non-urban areas. It is certainly possible that participants do not notice a difference. When the question was posed to a participant (Rebecca) she flatly said she “never really paid attention” to where individuals were from because by the time they get to the jail there are more pressing matters. For participants, the general theme for

working with incarcerated individuals was just as Sykes (1958) had argued – in order to form a working relationship with incarcerated individuals, their past deeds and background are in some ways forgotten and the treatment received as a prisoner is based on the behavior after they have arrived.

Theory Overview

By using the grounded theory methodology and the prescribed coding protocol, a theoretical framework was constructed through the use of the data collected from the in-depth interviews. **Figure 3** provides the causal map of the theoretical framework. Beginning at the top of the figure, interviewees indicated that the road to jail incarceration begins with an adverse life event.

S#!T HAPPENS

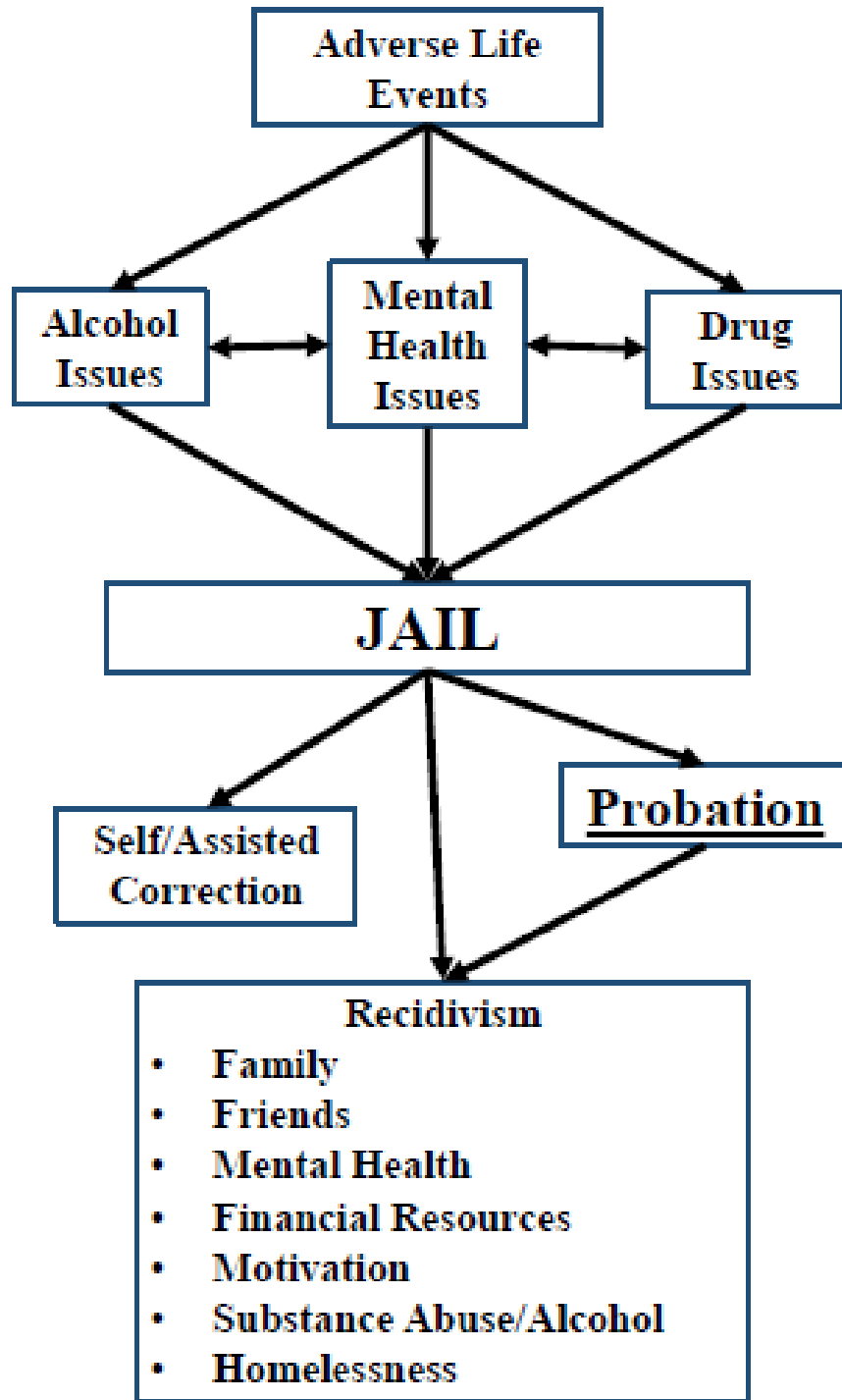


Figure 3. Causal Map for Theoretical Framework

Adverse Life Event

The initial question for this project was “who goes to jail?” and when this question was posed, most respondents gave typical criminological answers – mental health issues, drugs and alcohol, lack of social support, poverty and so on. While these answers were genuine and insightful, there had to be something prior to criminality and the typical reasons why individuals end up in jail. When participants were probed to think about issues before substance abuse, mental health, and a lack of social support, there was a clear consensus that something in the individual’s life had gone wrong. Most of the examples were of young individuals.

bad instances happened when they're young...parents were in jail...[or] they were bullied a lot when they were younger kids or you know, and parents worked a lot and there weren't people there to discuss, you know, help you through those kinds of things. So you helped yourself in destructive ways (Martin).

It's like the devil is that there is still a gap there. There's something that, you know, when you're taking blocks and putting them in line, there still something, that there's a block missing. So what fills that block? What fills that void? Some people, it's other positive influences, um, other family members, school sports, art, um, you know, something positive in their life. And then for other people there's negative things [drugs, alcohol, negative peer associations] (Martin).

The “missing block” theme resurfaced in different ways across the interviews. This theme helped identify why some older individuals ended up in jail. Whether it be the loss of a loved one or the end to a romantic relationship, these events seem to act as a catalyst for an individual’s downward spiral.

There's been a few individuals that I've talked to who have, you know, one guy got into a car accident and the downward spiral started...[another man] his mother had passed away, he hadn't been in trouble for years and all of a sudden back in jail with felony charges...there's one woman who hadn't gotten an OWI in 20 years and her daughter overdosed on heroin and the next thing you know she's back in here with her seventh OWI...There was a guy who came in for disorderly conduct and other minor charges, but he had found out that his ex-girlfriend had just cheated on him while his girlfriend at the time cheated on him too (John).

Existing literature on maturation indicates that most crime is committed by younger individuals. However, there is evidence that from these interviews that older individuals end up serving time in jail. Interview data suggests that young and older adults take a similar path to jail because of this adverse life event. Younger adults may have had a missing block throughout most of their adolescence; whereas older adults may have lived relatively prosocial lives up until an adverse life event. This finding illuminates why certain individuals turn to negative coping mechanisms regardless of their stage in life and ultimately end up in jail.

Alcohol

Alcohol abuse or alcoholism is not given as much attention as illicit substance abuse in criminology, but alcohol was a very real issue for the individuals incarcerated in the WCJ.

[A]lcohol withdrawals...a lot of people get through it okay, but the ones that don't, it's the strangest thing you'll ever see in your life. You would have never thought they'd turn into a completely different person. They think they're somewhere else. They think they have a chest of tools in their cell. That's a common thing. They think they have tools and they're trying to work on the window to open the door so they can go home and they don't even know they're in jail half the time ... there's a lot of alcohol withdrawals. They think there's a pet, like a pet that they haven't had, that's been dead from their childhood in their cell ... They're in that state of mind where they don't even, they can't even take care of themselves (Robert).

The frequency at which alcohol withdrawals were discussed in the interviews made alcohol abuse seem like a pervasive issue. Nearly every participant discussed either having to help individuals while they go through the withdrawal or discussed the frequency of admission of individuals who were intoxicated. A few participants noted that alcohol abuse tends to affect older individuals at a higher rate than younger individuals.

like the older population, there's like people in their seventies here that have, they're on their fourth or fifth [OWI] but I think the older, I would say the 30 and up is more DUI (Driving Under the Influence) or alcohol (Duncan).

Not all the blame for alcoholism was put on the individuals. One participant who was from another state argued that alcohol abuse and drunk driving was largely a product of the Wisconsin drinking culture. As discussed in previous chapters, drunk driving laws in Wisconsin are the most lenient in the country and this has done little to discourage the behavior.

I see more of the alcohol withdrawal than I do the heroin...It's a great problem in Wisconsin because it's a slap on the wrist. I come from a state where you get caught driving drunk on your first offense. Your license is automatically gone and I think you have to go into treatment right away (Eddie).

In the next section, substance abuse will be discussed, but for the individuals affected by alcohol issues it seemed that the adverse life event had come prior to their issues. There was the case of the woman who caught a string of OWI charges after her daughter overdosed on heroin and subsequently passed away. It seems that for older individuals, alcohol is the negative coping mechanism. Of course, it does not help that the penalties for drunk driving in Wisconsin are relatively relaxed.

Drugs

The finding that drugs were a common route to jail was not surprising. Unlike alcohol, substances like marijuana, heroin, and cocaine are illegal in Wisconsin. Participants generally felt that individuals with a substance abuse problem were younger and had been using drugs for a few years before they entered the jail.

Drugs, crack, THC, meth, heroin, you name it, its here. I talk to the younger offenders [19-20] and they say they started using as freshmen in high school 14-15...They're dealing or friends were dealing so it starts young and it's in all the schools (Woody).

A few participants noted that most of the inmates are using more than one type of substance and that with the current opioid epidemic, substance abuse is more prevalent in younger people's lives.

Lots of drugs, THC, heroin, crack. If you're using heroin, you're typically using the other two as well... there's a lot of poly substance abuse out there to where it's whatever [they] can get [their] hands on...if you're 17 to 30, there's a good chance you know, somebody who's got issues with opiates (Zach).

Unlike the results for alcohol, illicit substance abuse appears to be more indicative of the younger crowd. Moreover, it is arguably worse because these substances are unregulated and individuals do not always know what they are ingesting when they take these substances. Also concerning is the fact that a fair amount of these drug-related crimes are detected while the intoxicated individual is driving. One participant noted that “the kids that are coming in are getting the OWI's too, but they're on drugs. Drugged driving. So they still get the same charge, it's just a different substance” (Duncan).

Clearly, substance abuse is an issue for inmates in the WCJ and it became clear that the reason for the initial substance use was a “missing block” of some sort. For some it may have been being bullied or not fitting in. One participant explained that “You don't need to be popular, you don't need to be cool. You don't need anything. You just get 10 bucks or 20 bucks and then you've got friends” (Martin). The sort of “equal opportunity” of drug dealing was voiced by several participants; indicating that many of the inmates probably did not fit in during their adolescence and reached out to someone who was willing to sell them drugs. But what they were buying was also a companion or a friendly face that sold them something to feel better – at least for a little while. The issues started when the need for the substance took over:

They're not worried about relationships or housing or ... you've got a job for a while, but as you start doing drugs more and more, job becomes less important... drugs have sort of taken over – whatever I need to do to get the drug, I'll do it... [They] start stealing from work or home and then they're in here with us (Martin).

This was a common theme during the interviews; participants discussed many times that an inmate was telling them their story and it was this gradual spiral out of control because of

drugs. Interview data suggests that inmates knew their lives were out of control but that they could not get a handle on their addiction. As such, jail was a sobering experience for many of these individuals.

Mental Health

Many participants felt that mental health issues were pervasive in the jail and that many individuals were either undiagnosed or untreated for their issues. The interview data for alcohol and substance abuse was based on participant accounts of inmates telling them about their issues. For mental health, participants acknowledged that they were not mental health professionals and were not able to diagnose individuals with a mental illness. However, a few participants were responsible for distributing medication within the jail and had opportunities to discuss mental health issues with inmates who were being treated for such.

There's a lot of mental health issues, tons of mental health issues and I'm just a lay person. I'm not an expert in mental health. But based on my little bit of knowledge, uh, I would be convinced that there's maybe a lot of these kids that are on drugs maybe using their substance to compensate for it, or depression or coping with that (Duncan).

The participants who distributed medication were cognizant of this trend. Individuals would come into jail, having run out of or not taking their medication, with an illicit substance in their possession or having recently taken one. Interviews with these participants indicated that many inmates who were not taking medication (either because they did not have it or did not want to take it) were using marijuana or heroin to cope with the symptoms.

One finding for mental health was the idea of trauma-induced mental health issues. The reality for many of the inmates was that they had had chaotic lives prior to being incarcerated.

Trauma induced mental health problems, while probably not great are, are not any less severe or important than somebody that has grown up seeing somebody getting shot or multiple people [shot]... at seven and at 27 will alter your life forever. I mean there's no doubt about it, but you know, your parents being divorced and not being home when something bad happens to you is not any less traumatic (Martin).

This participant went on to talk about how not all divorces are pleasant for the children involved and that when they get left out, children find something to fill that void. The idea that witnessing someone get killed being as traumatic as a divorce in the family may seem a tad extreme, but what this participant was illustrating was that big shifts in life can be traumatic. This type of trauma-induced mental health was seen as difficult to manage for the inmates and as a result, most of them turned to drugs or alcohol – which eventually landed them in jail.

Substance Abuse, Alcohol Dependence, and Mental Health Issues

Mental health or the trauma that preceded the mental health concerns were largely seen as the first step towards alcohol or substance abuse. From there it seemed that inmates' lives simply spiraled out of control. For the individuals who were afflicted with mental health issues as well as a substance or alcohol abuse issues, jail was a very intense environment.

poly substance abuse, alcohol, or it's a combo of the two and then paired with [someone with a] mental illness that's off their medication... we have the perfect storm, with someone who's very staff intensive (Eddie).

It is not hard to understand that someone with an alcohol and substance abuse issue, with an overarching mental health problem would have a hard time in jail. Additionally, it is easy to see how someone with all three issues would eventually end up in jail.

The Jail – Between a Rock and a Hard Place

Many participants stated that it was from substance abuse, alcohol dependency, mental health, or a combination of the three that landed individuals in jail. Participants suggested that most individuals spend a short amount of time in the jail. From there it seemed like there were three paths these individuals took. The first was self-correction or a correction with assistance. The second was that individuals were placed on probation, which seemed to lead to recidivism for most individuals. The third option was simply recidivism but for a variety of reasons. For

most of these individuals, the reality was just as the heading suggests – the jail is the space between a rock and a hard place, a temporary reprieve from a difficult life.

Self/Assisted Correction

The descriptive results of this study showed that just under half of all individuals in the study were not charged with a new crime during the three-year follow-up period and more than half of the sample avoided a new criminal conviction during the follow-up period. Interview participants were not made aware of these results prior to the interview. Most of the interviews focused on why and how frequently individuals return to jail, but when probed about why they thought individuals do not return, two primary reasons were discussed. The first was individuals simply changed their behavior. One participant argued that:

a lot of the individuals who come through the door will do a self-correction and will get in trouble once [and say to themselves] OK, this isn't for me, I got to fix my behavior and not go down that path (John).

The second reason individuals do not return to jail was because of court-mandated or jail-based programming that inmates took advantage. One of the more senior officials interviewed for the study discussed these programs at length:

We have a good Alcohol Treatment Court and Drug Treatment Court now. Wisconsin Community Services³³ has their day report program, it's really helping those people and it's at both places [Huber facility and the main jail]... We have a WCS station for those people that kind of say, hey I really don't know where I'm going to go when I get released. Can you maybe send me some places that could help me...they have HSED courses, GED courses, family courses, substance abuse courses. WCTC³⁴ is becoming more involved. They've been doing different certification classes (welding, forklift, CDL) (Martin).

³³ Wisconsin Community Services (WCS) is a local non-profit agency responsible for most of the pretrial and post-conviction programming in Waukesha County. They are responsible for operating the day report center, both treatment courts, pretrial supervision, and a host of other programs that inmates regularly interface with.

³⁴ Waukesha County Technical College (WCTC) is a local technical college that offers several programs in the skilled trades and manufacturing fields.

The hope for correctional and court-based programming is to reduce their clients' future offending; and according to the participants it is working – as long as individuals take advantage of the programs. These types of programs were seen as helpful by some of the participants, but only if the inmate was going to take advantage of the programming. For some participants, they didn't feel enough inmates would attempt or complete the programming offered. This skepticism is discussed at greater length in the motivation section below.

Probation

“Once you're on probation, you're pretty much screwed” (Sam)

Irwin's (1985) initial findings pointed to the police as the primary method for controlling the rabble. However, the consensus amongst participants was that probation was the primary reason individuals were returned to jail, either for a hold or a new offense.

The bottom line is you and I probably couldn't manage probation. We have lives. We have to go to work every day. We have jobs, we have responsibility and we like to go out and have a drink or whatever and when you're on probation they tell you what you're going to do. You can't leave the state, you can't drink, you can't be in an establishment that serves. I mean there's so many restrictions. You have to check in X amount of times. You have to do this, you have to do that (Catherine).

When asked why individuals return to jail, every participant stated that if the individual was on probation, they were coming back. Participants were probed as to whether they felt it could have also been the police keeping tabs on former inmates. These questions were met with tragic examples of how the individual had a police contact, probation had to be notified, and then probation ordered a hold. One participant told the story of when one former inmate:

Took his children out to like McDonald's for an ice cream cone. Saw a guy that looked like he was drunk driving. Reported it, they came and he stayed to give a statement and they hooked him up [arrested him] because he was on paper and you can't have contact with police (Duncan).

To make things worse, it was well understood that probation holds that result from a Friday incident, require the individual to spend the weekend in jail as well as the following Monday. One participant stated that “[probation agents] work eight to five, Monday through Friday, so if someone comes down Friday night ... they won't get out until at least Tuesday. So there's like an extended weekend and almost guarantee of it” (Zach). Given the strict conditions of probation, it was not a surprise when most of the participants stated that inmates often spend their sentence in jail rather than on probation.

Contrary to Irwin’s (1985) findings, it appeared that for the current sample, probation officers are the primary controllers of the rabble, not law enforcement.

Recidivism

The remainder of this chapter discusses why individuals returned to jail. There are a variety of reasons and mechanisms at play in this discussion but these all center around the ideas of coping with an adverse life event and managing life after incarceration.

Family

Many participants discussed how the families could have served as a means of support for the individuals leaving the jail. However, for those who had been in and out of jail, families had often reached a breaking point with their son or daughter.

Families are sick of them, their use, especially with the drug users – families reach a breaking point. Got them into treatment, spent thousands of dollars helping them out and there’s no level of trust, at a certain point that breaks...these people burned a lot of bridges. When you talk about them leaving and you hear like, hey, do you have someone that can come pick you up--When I release them from jail, "I don't have any friends or family, no one that can pick me up. I have no place to go, you know?" So you hear that a lot too (Woody).

For many individuals leaving jail, they have to rebuild relationships with their family while managing life after incarceration. This would certainly increase the strain individuals are facing upon release, especially if they are trying to turn their life around.

For some individuals, the situation was much worse. Participants discussed the existence of intergenerational incarceration, one even went as far to state that “they have all the same issues,” (Lilith) meaning that for a fair number of individuals, criminal behavior is the norm for their home life.

I'm seeing children of people that I remember meeting as a brand new officer... maybe even seeing grandchildren...I remember the eldest son back when I was a newer officer. Well he has two sisters and like another two half-sisters and I think we have three or four of the sisters in right now (Robert).

If cycling in and out of jail is the norm for the families of these individuals, it is not difficult to see why they continue to repeat this cycle. This lack of social support from family was seen as a major contributor as to why individuals are returned to jail. This finding is also important because it was not captured by quantitative results³⁵.

Friends

“Families have had enough, not the first time they’ve stolen stuff. At that point all you have is friends! They’ll never leave you... They see themselves in their friends and they feed off each other. They all enablers” (Woody).

Deviant peers is one of the most established criminogenic issues in criminology (Kubrin et al., 2009). The findings for this study coincide with prior literature in the sense that friends of inmates (oftentimes inmates themselves) were a major source for recidivism. The quote above illustrates where individuals turn to for support when their families have left them. The

³⁵ There was no measure for whether an inmate’s immediate family had been incarcerated prior to the individual’s screen. Future research should examine this kind of intergenerational incarceration to better understand its prevalence in non-urban areas.

participant who made this comment was speaking directly to individuals with a substance abuse problem, implying that friends are agreeable to the use of illicit substances because they too are abusing them.

The tragic irony of having friends that encourage poor choices was not lost on individuals (at least according to interview participants), inmates knew that their friends encouraging this behavior would eventually get them locked up again. One participant recalled a story of an inmate adamantly stating “I'm not talking or hanging out with those people anymore because when I did, this is where it got me” (Martin). When this individual returned to jail, the officer asked him what happened, to which the inmate replied “Oh, you know, I went and hung out [with old friends]” (Martin).

Participants were generally in agreement that inmates should get new friends or at least separate themselves from the old friends. However, participants were clear on the notion that it is not easy to simply pack up and start over.

you hear people say, oh, I'm going to move to this state or this state. When they get out of here, getting their money for a plane ticket and they're not. People don't just hop in a plane and pack up their stuff and leave (Norman).

Knifing off the past may be an effective way to desist from crime, but it is certainly not a simple task. As such, most of the individuals who have problematic peers are likely stuck in the jail's revolving door.

Mental Health

Unlike family and friends, mental health was recorded in the quantitative results. However, due to the self-report nature of the data, findings should be understood with a healthy amount of skepticism. In terms of the interviews and mental health, the real issue boiled down to financial issues. One participants stated that “especially the repeaters that have the severe

unmedicated mental illness. They don't have the resources, either financially or through the community to get that help” (Eddie). The capacity of the local Department of Health and Human Services was discussed by several participants, indicating that the number of individuals who need serious and continued mental health services is far greater than what is available.

Participants also discussed the lack of aftercare planning for individuals with serious mental health issues. They recognized that jail could serve as a time-out to get the individual back on track with their medication

but once they're out of here, again, they're just on their own...individuals with mental health issues cannot be released on their own... we have planners for that but I don't feel like they really prepare them because it's kind of like once they're out the door it's like OK, next one up [next inmate] (Jerry).

Upon release, inmates are given a variety of referrals to the few mental health service providers but the frustrating part for correctional staff was the lack of support once these individuals were released. Consensus from the interviews was that if individuals could have more support once they were released, they would be less likely to return to jail. As such, it may not be the actual mental health condition that is responsible for recidivism, rather it is the lack of support for these issues that causes individuals to be returned to the jail.

Financial Resources and Employment

In terms of employment and financial resources, the situation is dire for individuals in jail. One participant stated that “financially, most of them, they're either irresponsible with money or they don't have employment, it's in and out of jobs like crazy, no stable employment” (Woody). The lack of stable employment may not have been simply a result of irresponsible life choices – “you sit here for a couple of days [booked in on] Thursday, you might not see your agent on Monday and there goes your job. Your employer is not going to wait around for you” (Sam).

Referring back to the discussion on probation, it was clear that those extended weekend holds have an impact on employment and that employers are oftentimes not willing to sacrifice a few days of work while the individual is incarcerated. Additionally, the conditions of probation also pose a financial strain on individuals. One participant told the story of an inmate he had heard variations of over the years:

I have no car to get to where these appointments are... I got to go to Milwaukee to go to whatever or I have to go to Oconomowoc to this meeting and I can't make it because I have no one to drive me and I don't have a license and I don't have a car and I can't afford to pay an Uber, you know, whatever, 20 bucks each way or whatever it is but you can hop on the bus, you can take, you know, whatever, they have as an intricate bus system (the bus comment was made sarcastically) (Eddie).

This quote highlights the difficulties surrounding transportation in non-urban areas that has been discussed previously (Wodahl, 2006). A few participants echoed these concerns about transportation in Waukesha County, indicating that the County does not have the infrastructure for individuals to travel on a limited budget to meet all of the requirements of probation. As such, eventually individuals get sent back to jail and potentially revoked, which inevitably leads to more recidivism for these individuals.

Lack of Motivation

“I mean it's just hard when you're in jail and if you don't want to change, you're pretty much screwed” (Sam)

Motivation to change was an anticipated finding for this study. Prior literature on correctional staff perception shows that these individuals are not overly impressed with rehabilitative efforts (Cullen et al., 1988, Jurik, 1985). Concordantly, all participants echoed statements to the quote above; indicating that if an individual is going to avoid future jail time, they have to be willing to change their lives.

This sentiment was very present during conversations surrounding court-mandated programming. As discussed earlier, there was a fair amount of skepticism surrounding treatment courts and day report center programming. This skepticism was typically not aimed at whether the program works, but rather if the individuals in the program were ready for it to work. One participant argued that

it depends on the individual and when they're ready to move forward and make that change ... for Drug Treatment Court or Alcohol Treatment Court, it's a huge thing. I mean it works when those people are ready for it to work, but that's the unfortunate part, it's when *they're* ready for it to work (Carla).

The lack of motivation theme was not overly present during the interviews, but it was clearly an obstacle in the minds of the participants. In helping the researcher understand the lives of inmates, participants were reluctant to blame their addiction on a lack of willpower. The point was made several times that inmates simply do not have the tools to overcome their addiction and that is why they continue to come back to jail.

The finding for motivation is important because it was not included in the quantitative analysis. However, measuring motivation as it is described here might have been problematic. In the "friends" section, part of the discussion revolved around how inmates have big plans for avoiding friends in the future, but inevitably they go back to their problematic peers. The same could have been true if individuals were asked during the screen to rate the willingness to change. That is to say that for many individuals jail may act as a wake-up call, but that this wake-up call may not ring as true once they are released.

Substance Abuse/Alcohol

With the current opioid crisis happening in Wisconsin and the United States, most participants focused on these specific drugs. Many participants told stories of individuals who had been injured and had been prescribed narcotic pain killers. One participant explained how

easy it was to get these substances. “You can go into the doctor and say you have pain for something and you can almost instantly get a script” (Jerry). The danger came when the prescription ran out. Every participant who discussed pills told the story of how after the prescription ran out, individuals turned to heroin to cope with their pain. Ultimately, this switch is what led these individuals to jail. One participant told the story of how a local drug dealer encouraged the relapse, and subsequent incarceration of one inmate:

those people want your money, it's all about money for everybody, you know. So they're like, hey, come on, bring her to this party. I'm not gonna to publish it on nothing I swear I won't do that...Now they're at this party and they end up – something happens and they started doing drugs again...everybody's story's a little bit different [on] how they got back here (Martin).

The individual who was invited to the party overdosed shortly after and was brought into jail for possession of heroin. While this is only one story, several stories from the participants follow a similar trend – individuals with the best of intentions that ultimately succumb to drug use and are returned to jail.

Individuals struggling with alcoholism were similar in their trajectory. One participant told the story of an individual on probation who was in a bar – “I didn't do drugs but I was out at a bar or whatever and somebody called on me or whatever, you know what I mean? But a lot of them fall back into the, into the habit [referencing alcohol]” (Martin). Because of its legal status, alcohol is not considered as serious as heroin, but it is clear for at least the individual in the story that it had become an unmanageable problem. Reporting a problem with alcohol was significantly related to recidivism for individuals in both Waukesha City and Waukesha County. As such it is worth further examining alcohol and its effect on recidivism. It is clear that for at least part of this sample, alcohol is a serious issue.

Homelessness

Homelessness was not a significant factor for recidivism in any of the regression models. However, a fair number of participants identified homelessness as a reason for why certain individuals return to jail. Given the census and crime information for Waukesha County and Waukesha City, as well as conversations with individuals living in either location, the notion that there were individuals experiencing homelessness in these areas was somewhat surprising.

We have a fair amount of people who report being homeless or whether or not that's on the street in a shelter, like the jumping from place to place, like various family and friends. It seems kind of like the less stable their living situation is, the more often we see them (Ginny).

It seemed that for the individuals experiencing homelessness, incarceration was more about survival than criminality. One of the more senior participants illustrated this point:

That's homelessness, you know, there's no place else to go. So I'm just gonna do whatever so I can end up there [the jail] in the fall... I would tell them when I was training that you'll see it [homeless individuals being admitted to the jail] start ramping up as it gets cold. They'll do a disorderly conduct or they'll do something so they get in here... three hots and a cot, warm place to sleep, clean clothes, get a shower, whatever. And then they're gone [in the spring] (Ethel).

Participants explained that individuals experiencing homelessness rarely commit a serious offense, rather

they go around and they get loitering tickets and all that and then they don't pay them and they come and sit here [for a] number of days and then they go get drunk and then the police come again and they come back (Norman).

The practice of locking up individuals for unpaid loitering tickets is not specific to Waukesha City or Waukesha County, but it is reminiscent of Goldfarb's (1975) argument that the jail is really just a poorhouse. Individuals experiencing homelessness are a vulnerable population during the Wisconsin winters, so it is not surprising that admissions of these individuals increases as the temperature decreases.

Irwin (1985) discusses the street alcoholics that are similar to the individuals discussed in this section. They are not violent individuals but they are a nuisance, especially for people who wish to spend their time in the downtown area of Waukesha City. As such, these individuals are incarcerated because of their detachment from mainstream society.

Summary of Theoretical Framework

Naming the theoretical framework was a simple task after the first few interviews. Nearly every participant blamed alcohol, drugs, or mental health as the reason for why individuals are sent to jail in the first place. But when probed to think about prior to these issues, a host of tragic stories were told. It was as if every inmate had experienced some element of trauma in their life prior to being incarcerated. Regardless of age, an adverse life event would eventually lead the individual to jail. But on the way, alcohol, drugs, mental health issues, or a combination of the three, quicken the process of getting arrested and put in jail. Important to note was that alcohol seemed to negatively impact older individuals whereas younger individuals were more likely to abuse illicit substances such as heroin or marijuana.

From jail, individuals either reoffend or change their behavior. For behavior change, it seemed that individuals either corrected their behavior by themselves or with the help of programming offered by local agencies (jail programming or programs offered by non-profit agencies). Upon entering jail, these individuals made the conscious effort to change their behavior and never be involved in the criminal justice system again.

For those who reoffend, two paths emerged. The first path was via probation. In one of the most prevalent themes of the study, probation was seen as the largest controller of the rabble in the suburbs. The conditions of probation were discussed widely as too strict and too much of a burden for even “normal” people to comply with (Diane). Contrary to Irwin’s (1985) finding

that police were the major force behind this control, in this study, probation was the form of social control that kept the offensive individuals of society incarcerated.

Either during your probation or just simply after being released, the mechanisms for sending individuals back to jail painted a very dim picture. Starting with either a lack of familial support, either because their family is tired of their antics or their family also followed a similar criminal lifestyle. When families turned their backs on the individuals, they went to their friends who were involved in all the same poor choices they were; and despite the best of intentions to leave everything behind, these plans were not realistic for their lives.

Mental health was also a reason individuals were returned to jail. This is mostly due to the fact that there is little aftercare planning for individuals with these issues. Additionally, the capacity to care for these individuals once they are released is simply not enough. Financial resources also played a large part in recidivism – individuals were either reckless with money or simply could not obtain and maintain steady employment. This was especially true if an individual was on probation and had to spend a few days in jail on a hold. It was clear that employers were typically not willing to hold a position for an individual while they were in jail.

Motivation, or lack thereof, was seen as an obstacle for individuals in the jail. The hard truth for some of the individuals in jail was that they simply were not ready to change their behavior. This sentiment was couched within conversations about the variety of issues already present in the lives of inmates. However, some individuals were simply not ready to adjust their thinking and behavior.

For individuals struggling with alcohol or substance abuse, jail provided sober time and a chance to reevaluate their lives. Participants discussed how inmates would tell them about their plans to stay clean, but inevitably these plans did not work in practice and individuals were back

to old habits when they were returned to jail the next time. Homelessness was also a way in which recidivism operated. Several participants discussed how individuals experiencing homelessness used jail as a survival tactic. Typically, these individuals are arrested for petty or nuisance crimes which landed them in jail for a period of time because they cannot or will not pay the fine.

Homelessness, arguably more than others, is a clear example of where an adverse life event had a negative and long-lasting effect on an individual, but several examples were given throughout the interviews for all the reasons individuals are returned to jail. But even something like family, where there was a divorce or a toxic home life, there is certainly the possibility that an adverse life event could push an individual into alcohol or substance abuse, which if unchecked could eventually result in jail time.

This framework is not infallible – there are certainly exceptions. For instance, individuals who commit a self-defense homicide where no alcohol or drugs were involved. Certainly, in that scenario the theory does not explain why that individual is incarcerated in the jail. However, the interview data suggests that this is the typical path individuals take to jail for their first and subsequent visits.

In the next chapter, the results of the study will be discussed, both qualitative and quantitative. There will also be a special attention paid how the two methods inform the results of the study.

Chapter 8: Discussion

This chapter will provide answers to the research questions posed in the second chapter. The research questions for this study were typically asked in pairs; that is the first question asked about a factor and the second question asked if that factor differed by location. For organizational purposes (and to make it easier for the reader to follow), this chapter answers the questions in pairs (i.e. questions relating to alcohol issues (overall and by location) are answered together). Because this is a mixed methods study, the results of the descriptive analyses, logistic regression models, cluster analysis, and in-depth interviews were all used in answering the research questions. The last part of this chapter will discuss the limitations for this study.

Research Question 1: What is the recidivism rate for the current sample?

Research Question 2: Does recidivism differ by location?

BJS estimates suggest that approximately two-thirds of prisoners are arrested in three years after release from prison (Durose et al., 2014). Half of their sample was charged with a new crime, approximately 45 percent were convicted of a new crime, and 36 percent were incarcerated in the three years since their release. These figures are similar to the findings from this study. More than half the sample was charged with a new crime, almost half the sample was convicted of a new crime, almost 40 percent received a new jail sentence. It is important to note that the BJS report was on individuals released from prison in 30 states, so it is somewhat surprising that the figures are so similar. However, because BJS does not report on jail recidivism it is difficult to compare the two sets of findings. But at this point it appears that jail recidivism and prison recidivism occur at similar rates.

Also, worth mentioning is the finding for current offense. Consistent with national trends (Durose et al., 2014), individuals who were booked in on a property offense (reference category)

were in several models more likely to recidivate when compared to other types of crime. In fact, no other type of current offense was significantly and positively related to any of the dependent variables. Again, pointing to the notion that prison and jail recidivism rates are similar.

The expectation for this study was that residents from Milwaukee City would have the highest recidivism rates because of their census and UCR information. However, Waukesha City had the highest proportion of individuals who recidivated (new charge, new conviction, and new jail sentence). Furthermore, Waukesha City residents were significantly more likely to be charged with a new crime compared to Milwaukee City residents. The reasons for this are perhaps more obvious than initially hypothesized. Jails are a local institution that deal with the various problems within the county. As such, it should not be surprising that residents of Waukesha County are returning to jail in greater numbers than individuals who do not reside in Waukesha City or Waukesha County. The issue may very well be that the individuals from Milwaukee City and Milwaukee County are not the “typical” residents of those areas. They had the resources to travel to Waukesha to commit their crimes. As such, these individuals may be anomalous to the UCR and census information presented in the first chapter.

As will be discussed throughout the rest of this chapter, there are quite a few differences between locations that were not expected. However, several findings were consistent with prior literature that indicate that perhaps jail and prison recidivism are more similar than originally hypothesized.

Research Question 3: Does reporting a mental health problem impact recidivism?

Research Question 4: Does this effect (mental health) differ by location?

Blandford and Osher (2013) found that 17 percent of jail inmates have a serious mental disorder. More than 28 percent of the study sample reported a mental health issue. Despite the

prevalence of reported mental health issues, this variable was not significant in any of the models for any of the dependent variables. This was likely the case for two reasons. The first is the unspecific nature of the mental health variable. Collapsing this variable into “any mental health issue” was done because of the few individuals who reported a specific mental health issue. Future research should examine specific mental health conditions to better understand how mental health impacts recidivism. The second reason is the self-report nature of this variable. During the screen, individuals are asked about their mental health and if they had taken medication for a mental health issue. While this information is important, a diagnostic screen for mental health issues or a validated instrument would have been more reliable than the self-report variable.

The qualitative results diverged from the logistic regression results on mental health issues. Nearly every participant noted that mental health issues were having an impact on recidivism.

It's sad there are so many [people] here that they really shouldn't be [in jail]. They shouldn't be here. They are so, so mentally ill... There are people here that are very, very ill that I don't think there's a place for them. Yes, they've committed a crime, but I don't think they're able to recognize that they've committed a crime. Some of them don't realize that they are ill... We've had inmates that are here that are so unstable that literally two officers have to sit with them through the entire visits. We've had some that are so bad that they can't even have the cord or the phone thing near them because they will harm themselves with it (Lucy).

This sentiment was echoed by several participants and because of the lack of aftercare or release planning offered by the jail, these individuals frequently returned.

Important to note is that a great deal of research on mental health issues in the jail focuses on the prevalence of these issues (Compton et al., 2017; Davis et al., 2008; Draine et al., 2005; Drapalski et al., 2009; Kubiak et al., 2011; Shafer et al., 2004) not the recidivism rates of individuals dealing with these issues. Both quantitative and qualitative findings provide

evidence of the prevalence of mental health issues, but without a better measure for this factor it was not statistically related to recidivism.

Research Question 5: Does reporting a physical health problem impact recidivism?

Research Question 6: Does this effect (physical health) differ by location?

Approximately 30 percent of the sample report a physical health issue, with these issues being more prevalent in Waukesha City and Milwaukee City. Despite the prevalence of these issues in those two locations, reporting a physical health issue was not significantly related to recidivism in those locations. However, reporting a physical health issue was a significant predictor for Waukesha County residents and Milwaukee County residents. Originally, hypothesized to be a barrier to reentry, for Waukesha County residents reporting a physical health issue was negatively related to being charged or convicted of a new crime. As was discussed earlier, when examining the age of individuals with a physical health issue, they appeared to be much older than the average of other residents in the Waukesha County sample, indicating that they may have “aged out” of their criminal ways.

In contrast, Milwaukee County residents who reported a physical health issue were more likely to be charged or convicted of a new crime and receive a new jail sentence. Upon examining the data more closely, it turned out that half of the individuals who reported a physical health issue also had a prior misdemeanor conviction – which was shown to be a consistent predictor of recidivism. While this is only one factor, having poor health is consistent with Goldfarb’s (1975) analysis in that the sick often have nowhere to go and end up in jail. Furthermore, prior literature suggests that individuals that are incarcerated in the jail have higher rates of hospitalization when compared to the general public (Ramaswamy et al., 2015).

Reporting a physical health issue may not have been an issue for the entire sample but for individuals living in Milwaukee County it was a clear predictor of being returned to jail.

Research Question 7: Does reporting a substance abuse issue impact recidivism?

Research Question 8: Does this effect (substance abuse) differ by location?

Substance abuse was mentioned by every interview participant; frequently cited as a reason an individual returned to jail. Blandford and Osher (2013) state approximately two-thirds of jail inmates have a substance abuse disorder (alcohol or drugs) compared to only 16 percent of the general population. Roughly 30 percent of the sample reported a substance abuse issue or had a history of substance abuse. Reporting this issue was directly related to being charged or convicted of a new crime for the overall sample. In terms of location, reporting a substance abuse issue was not a significant predictor for residents in either Milwaukee City or Milwaukee County.

However, the substance abuse variable was positively related to being charged or convicted of a new crime as well as receiving a new jail sentence for residents of Waukesha City. The findings for substance abuse and Waukesha City speak to the Waukesha City Rabble cluster. These individuals were almost exclusively from Waukesha City and more than 40 percent of the cluster reported a substance abuse issue or had a history of substance abuse. Continuing with the rabble theme, Waukesha City residents with a substance abuse issue typically did not graduate to prison sentences – they likely just cycled in and out of the jail during the study period.

In contrast, having a substance abuse history or reporting a substance abuse issue for Waukesha County residents was only positively related to receiving a new prison sentence. Because of the more severe penalty, there seemed to be something different about the

relationship between substance abuse and the two Waukesha locations. The answer may be what one participant mentioned in their interview:

There's a market for anything [in Waukesha] because there's money out here. So I mean that doesn't mean its non-existent, it's in Milwaukee but there's a lot of money out here. Not every kid has to work in high school so they got a lot of time on their hands. They got money, transportation, so it's easy to access [drugs] (Woody).

If drug dealing is as prevalent as this individual suggests, the relationship between a substance abuse issue or history and Waukesha County residents may be due to the notion that there are more high-end dealers in Waukesha County who law enforcement are targeting in an attempt to decrease the amount of illicit substances in circulation in the county.

Research Question 9: Does reporting an issue with alcohol impact recidivism?

Research Question 10: Does this effect (alcohol issues) differ by location?

Alcohol was frequently discussed during the interviews as a negative coping mechanism and seen more in older individuals. Almost a fifth of the sample reported an issue with alcohol and in the overall models reporting this type of issue was positively associated with every measure of recidivism. Residents of Waukesha City and Waukesha County had the highest proportions of individuals reporting this issue. Reporting an alcohol issue was positively associated with receiving a new jail or prison sentence for the Waukesha City sample. For the Waukesha County sample, reporting an alcohol issue was a significant predictor of recidivism, regardless of the operationalization. Alcohol is clearly an issue for the residents of Waukesha City and Waukesha County. As discussed earlier, excessive alcohol consumption is a problem in Wisconsin (CBS, 2015) but this issue appears to be worse in the non-urban areas of Waukesha County and Waukesha City³⁶.

³⁶ The Milwaukee City and Milwaukee County samples had a lower proportion of individuals reporting an issue with alcohol and this factor was not a significant predictor in location specific models.

Perhaps the problem with alcohol is that it is part of the Wisconsin drinking culture (see Chapter 7) and that it is readily available anywhere in the state. However, the problem with alcohol appears to be more complex when taking into consideration the results of the cluster analysis. The Well-Adjusted Drinkers cluster had the highest proportion of individuals who reported an alcohol issue or had a history of alcohol abuse (0.246), but less than 10 percent of this cluster was charged with a new crime and roughly 4 percent of the cluster were convicted of a new crime. It certainly seems plausible that these individuals rebounded from their incarceration stint and managed to avoid involvement with the criminal justice system during the follow-up period.

Taking all of the results together, it appears that there are a fair amount of “problem drinkers” but that not all of these individuals continue to have problems because of their drinking.

Research Question 11: Does reporting being homeless impact recidivism?

Research Question 12: Does this effect (homelessness) differ by location?

Approximately 4 percent of the sample reported experiencing homelessness at the time of the screen, with more than 8 percent of the Waukesha City sample reporting experiencing homelessness. These figures are lower than Greenberg and Rosenheck’s (2008) estimates for prison inmates reporting homelessness prior to incarceration (approximately 9 percent of adult state and federal inmates reported experiencing homelessness). Reporting experiencing homelessness was not associated with any measure of recidivism. The reason for this was discussed during the qualitative interviews when one participant revealed that homeless individuals are often brought into jail on warrants for municipal tickets but are not charged for a new crime. Because of how recidivism information was collected, this information was not

available on CCAP and thus was not included in the analysis. As such, it is possible that individuals experiencing homelessness were returned to jail but the study's protocol for collecting this information did not detect these instances.

Research Question 13: Does reporting being a veteran of the armed forces impact recidivism?

Research Question 14: Does this effect (veteran) differ by location?

Timko and colleagues (2014) estimate that seven percent of the country's population is a veteran of the armed forces. The current sample was under the national figures with approximately four percent of the sample reporting being a veteran of the armed forces. For the overall sample, reporting veteran status was negatively associated with being convicted of a new crime as well as receiving a new jail or prison sentence. Veteran status also served as a protective factor for the Milwaukee City sample (new conviction and receiving a new jail sentence), Waukesha City sample (new charge or conviction and receiving a new jail sentence), and the Waukesha County sample (receiving a new prison sentence).

Initial expectations for veteran status were that this would act as a barrier to reentry because of the issues veterans face upon returning home. However, no regression model pointed to this reality. This finding may be indicative of the zigzag of desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2003); meaning that veterans may face a host of issues but because of resources and relationships available to these individuals, they in fact do better after their initial involvement with the criminal justice system.

Veteran status differs by location for which dependent variable it significantly predicts but the interesting finding is that reporting being a veteran is either negatively related to recidivism or is a non-significant finding. It is also important to note that the clusters with the highest proportion of veterans were in the non-recidivists cluster (Wake-Up Call and Well-

Adjusted Drinkers). Indicating again, that veterans may be facing a lot of issues but are overcoming these obstacles.

It is well established that veterans have a variety of issues when they return to civilian life (Albertson et al., 2015; Schaffer, 2009; Timko et al., 2014). However, the results of this study show that veterans of the armed services may actually fare better than non-veterans in terms of recidivism.

Research Question 15: Does graduating high school impact recidivism?

Research Question 16: Does this effect (high school graduate) differ by location?

Reporting graduating high school was negatively related to all recidivism variables in the overall models. Clearly, not having a high school diploma has negative implications for recidivism. However, aside from the overall models, this effect was only significant for the Waukesha County sample. Individuals that did not graduate high school from Waukesha County were more likely to be charged or convicted of a new crime and receive a new jail sentence. Indicating that in the more affluent area where there is a higher proportion of individuals with a high school diploma, not having this credential may allow for fewer legitimate options.

It should be noted that having a high school education was not an overwhelming benefit to the individuals in this study. The WISAP cluster had a high proportion of individuals that recidivated, but more than two-thirds of these individuals reported graduating high school. Moreover, nearly 60 percent of the Waukesha City Rabble cluster reported graduating high school and more than 80 percent of the cluster received a new jail sentence. Essentially, having a high school education is good but does not necessarily preclude you from being involved in criminal behavior. The issue is that without one, your options are restricted which makes criminal behavior more likely.

Research Question 17: Does reporting full-time employment impact recidivism?

Research Question 18: Does this effect (full-time employment) differ by location?

Research Question 19: Does reporting two years of continuous employment impact recidivism?

Research Question 20: Does this effect (two years of continuous employment) differ by location?

Job stability or employment are beneficial for desistance from crime (Sampson and Laub, 1993). This study examined stable employment and full-time employment to test which was related to recidivism. More than a fifth of the overall sample reported full-time employment and approximately 16 percent of the overall sample reported being employed for two continuous years prior to incarceration. Reporting full-time employment was not significant in any of the models (overall or locations). However, reporting two years of continuous employment prior to incarceration was negatively related to recidivism for the overall sample and the Waukesha County sample³⁷, regardless of the operationalization.

When comparing the results of full-time employment and two years of continuous employment, these results confirm the results of Sampson and Laub's (1993) findings that stable employment is more effective in allowing individuals to avoid recidivism when compared to simply being employed. Individuals who were employed continuously for two years were significantly less likely to recidivate but individuals who had full-time employment (but were not necessarily employed for two years prior to incarceration) were not any less likely to recidivate. This trend was also found in the cluster analysis for the Well-Adjusted Drinkers cluster. Part of the reason for this cluster's name was their ability to balance their alcohol issues and maintain stable employment.

³⁷ Two years of continuous employment was negatively related to being charged with a new crime for the Waukesha City sample, but this was the only model where two years of continuous employment was significant for the Waukesha City sample.

Employment is an important factor for desistance and recidivism, but it is important to recognize the disruptive nature of the short-term jail stint (Maruna, 2016; Pogrebin et al., 2001). Individuals who are employed full-time may be valuable resources to that company but without a significant amount of time at the company, employers are less likely to welcome these individuals back. It is also important to note that two years of continuous employment was only consistently significant for Waukesha County residents where the average hourly income was much higher than the other three locations. The interview data suggests that the jobs in Waukesha County are unique compared to the other three locations and consist of more skilled trades occupations.

More opportunity out here and fewer people here... There's a lot of skilled trades out here Machinists, welders, another big one is carpentry, tree cutters a ton of them come here and that seems to be a trade where they use [drugs and alcohol] a lot. There's a major need for them, despite their use patterns (Woody).

LeBel and Maruna (2012) argue that employment for formerly incarcerated persons consists mostly of "McJobs" which are often low-paying, dead end jobs (p. 663). While there are certainly offenders who end up in these jobs in Waukesha County, there appears to be a subsample of this sample where their use patterns and criminality is tolerated because of their knowledge and training in various skilled trades positions.

In some ways, this finding is the reverse of Sampson and Laub's (1993) findings and are more indicative of the findings of Visser and colleagues (2011); who found that a prior history of employment was negatively related to recidivism. Ramakers and colleagues (2011) examined this issue and found that a third of their sample found employment upon release with a former employer. Because of the specialized nature of employees in Waukesha County, these individuals are able to rejoin the workforce and avoid future criminal activity.

Research Question 21: Does reporting being married impact recidivism?

Research Question 22: Does this effect (marriage) differ by location?

Reporting being married was negatively related to being charged with a new crime and receiving a new jail sentence for the overall sample. However, marriage was not significantly related to any other recidivism measures for the overall sample or any of the location samples. This is likely due to the fact that this measure only indicated whether the individual was married at the time of their screen. There was no measure for the quality of their marriage and data were not collected or available to indicate if members of the sample got married or divorced after their initial screen. Prior literature has shown that quality of the relationship (married or cohabitating) is a better measure and more predictive of recidivism (Sampson & Laub, 1993; Skardhama et al., 2015) than the measure used in this study (married; yes or no) (Bersani & DiPietro, 2016; Doherty & Ensminger, 2013; King et al., 2007).

Marriage or significant others rarely came up in the interviews and when these issues did arise it was typically not favorable to either party. One participant noted:

It's a jealous ex-girlfriend I mean it sucks, but that's all it takes. Making an allegation because they see you're doing good and you're on probation and it's like now you're probation officer has to lock you up on allegations (Sam).

Later this participant discussed the same individual and issue with his current girlfriend:

He's been sober for like seven months from cocaine and drinking and the girlfriend pissed him off. He left and went and got high and got drunk, came home and the fight was on with him and the girlfriend. And now he's sitting facing two years revocation (Sam).

The Well-Adjusted Drinkers cluster had the highest proportion of individuals who reported being married which is consistent with the low recidivism that characterizes this cluster. However, the hard truth about the other individuals in this sample is that most of these individuals are not married and may not be exposed to the theorized positive influence of a significant other.

Certainly, if we are to believe the findings of Irwin's (1985) rabble class, these individuals know each other and rather than building each other up, they tear each other down.

Research Question 23: Does reporting having minor children impact recidivism?

Research Question 24: Does this effect (having minor children) differ by location?

Reporting having minor children produced mixed findings in terms of recidivism. This factor was largely non-significant across most of the models. For the Milwaukee County sample, reporting having minor children was positively related to being charged or convicted of a new crime. In contrast, reporting having minor children was negatively related to receiving a new jail sentence for the Waukesha City sample. As discussed previously, existing research on having children acting as a desistance factor is mixed. For the Waukesha City sample, having children may be operating as a desistance factor but for the Milwaukee County sample, it appears that the strain of having children is driving these individuals back into criminality.

There are also a number of limitations with this measure. Similar to the marriage variable, there is no measure for the attachment to their child. The primary caregiver variable was available in the data but pointed to similar results, which is why it was not used. This variable also does not incorporate information as to how many children the individual had or how much time they spend with each child. Future research should unpack parenting and recidivism to better understand which mechanisms are at work and how having children could positively impact desistance from crime.

Research Question 25: How does having a prior felony conviction impact recidivism?

Research Question 26: Does this effect (prior felony conviction) differ by location?

Having a prior criminal record is a well-established correlate of recidivism (Benda et al., 2001; Berman, 2005; Bonta et al., 1997; Degiorgio, 2013; Fu et al., 2013; Gendreau et al., 1996;

Gutierrez et al., 2013; Hoeve et al., 2013; Kruttschnitt et al., 2000; Levenson et al., 2010; Lovell et al., 2007; Phillips & Spencer, 2013; Reich et al., 2015; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2011; Sadeh & McNeil, 2015; Vigessa, 2013; Yang et al., 2013). The results of this study are consistent with this prior literature. Having a prior felony conviction was positively related to all recidivism variables for the overall sample and the Milwaukee City sample³⁸. In terms of current offense, the Milwaukee City sample was predominantly property offenders which would indicate that they would be more likely to reoffend (Durose et al., 2014) and that this was not likely their first exposure to the jail. However, it is also important to note that more than 11 percent of the Milwaukee City sample had a traffic offense for their current offense, which was significantly higher than either Waukesha City or Waukesha County. With the extra surveillance on Black individuals in Waukesha County and Waukesha City it should not be surprising that a felony conviction would warrant even more attention from law enforcement.

Research Question 27: How does having a prior misdemeanor conviction impact recidivism?

Research Question 28: Does this effect (prior misdemeanor conviction) differ by location?

Having a prior misdemeanor conviction was consistently and positively related to each measure for recidivism for the overall sample and each location subsample. Additionally, the recidivists clusters all had a higher proportion of individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction. Indicating that being convicted of a lower-level offense is more predictive of recidivism than being convicted of a more serious offense. In effect, this finding reflects the harsh reality of jail recidivism – the individuals who cycle in and out of jail are not the serious or sophisticated criminals; these individuals commit low-level offenses and are in many ways just a nuisance to the rest of the residents. The annoying nature of jail recidivists and their low-level

³⁸ Having a prior felony conviction for the Milwaukee County sample was directly related to receiving a new prison sentence after their initial confinement.

offenses lends credence to Irwin's (1985) Rabble Hypothesis. This sample might not lend itself to colorful nicknames Irwin used but what remains true is that there is a group of individuals who commit low-level offenses and cycle in and out of the jail. One participant took a guess at how many frequent flyers there are:

I'd probably [say] like 60, 70 percent of people that come in are repeaters...repeat offenders normally have very similar charges that they were originally brought in for like if somebody came in for a DC ticket or if they were in on an OWI...a lot of them are substance abuse (Jerry).

Another participant discussed the frequency at which these frequent flyers come back to jail:

There's definitely people who come in and I talk to them like two or three times, four times in the span of six weeks. And then finally, I know some of them...One of the main things is the people who tend to repeat either have alcohol dependence or they're young and/or alcohol or drug issues (John).

The interview participants confirmed findings of the prior misdemeanor convictions but provided context for why these individuals cycle in and out. These individuals typically commit lower level offenses but also have substance abuse or alcohol issues; which makes them eligible for certain diversion programs and treatment courts. When Irwin (1985) and Goldfarb (1975) did their work, this was not an option for individuals, but it is clear that these programs are now part of the way we are dealing with the rabble.

A lot of our repeat customers [inmates] right now are people that are in the drug treatment court. These are kids that have pills or heroin problems. They got in trouble like probably a felony crime or at least a felony possession. They get into the drug treatment court and they try to work with them. They try to keep them out of jail...help them keep clean and they check in [with the court]. They have to write essays, they have to like do all these things, trying to find a job, make sure you're going to your counseling, pass your drug tests. And I don't want to call it failing program, but I haven't seen very many successes³⁹ (Robert).

³⁹ This participant was aware that graduates of the program would not be back to jail if they were successful in their recovery. Their point is that whether individuals graduated from drug treatment court or were terminated from the program, most came back to the jail either during or after the program.

Similar concerns about treatment courts and diversion programs were echoed by several participants. For correctional staff, there was not much hope for these types of programs but there was a clear connection between frequent flyers and treatment courts and diversion programs.

Individuals with a prior misdemeanor conviction were at an increased likelihood of recidivating, regardless of their location or operationalization of the dependent variable. There is certainly the possibility that other factors would have been more predictive of recidivism if this variable had been removed (given the various barriers apparent in the sample) but it is clear that past criminal behavior leads to future criminal behavior.

Research Question 29: What effect does age have on recidivism?

Research Question 30: Does this effect (age) differ by location?

With the exception of the new prison sentence dependent variable for Milwaukee County and Waukesha County residents, the age of the offender was significantly and negatively related to all other dependent variables for the entire sample and the other locations. Indicating that younger individuals were more likely to recidivate when compared to older offenders. This is certainly not a new finding in criminal justice or criminology; several scholars have demonstrated that individuals eventually “age out of crime” (Benda et al., 2003; Berman, 2005; Bonta et al., 1997; Costopoulos et al., 2017; Gendreau et al., 1996; Gutierrez et al., 2013; Hall, 2015; Hallstone, 2014; Katsiyannis et al., 2018; Levenson et al., 2010; Lovell et al., 2007; Nally et al., 2012; Putnins, 2005; Rakes et al., 2018; Reich et al., 2015; Rosenfeld, 2003; Rothbard et al., 2009; Sadeh & McNeil, 2015; Vigessa, 2013; Walters & Crawford, 2013; Webster et al., 2015; Zgoba & Levenson, 2011).

Research Question 31: What effect does gender have on recidivism?

Research Question 32: Does this effect (gender) differ by location?

Similar to the age findings, males were consistently more likely to recidivate when compared to females. The sex of the offender was not significant for the Milwaukee County sample for any dependent variable or for the Waukesha County residents for being charged or convicted of a new crime. One interesting finding related to the sex of the offender was that the odds of recidivism increased for males as the type of recidivism became more severe. For most of the location models, males had slightly higher odds of being charged with a new crime, but the odds of males receiving a new prison or jail sentence were typically much higher than the less serious recidivism variables. Additionally, in no model were female individuals more likely to recidivate compared to males. Thus, regardless of the climbing incarceration rates for female inmates, males are still more likely to reoffend than females (Benda et al., 2005; Fitzgerald et al., 2016; Gendreau et al., 1996; Gutierrez et al., 2013; Hall, 2015; Hallstone, 2014; Hovee et al., 2013; Katsiyannis et al., 2018; Levenson et al., 2010; Nally et al., 2012; Putnins. 2005; Rothbard et al., 2009).

Research Question 33: What effect does race/ethnicity have on recidivism?

Research Question 34: Does this effect (race/ethnicity) differ by location?

“When I started here I kind of joked and said ‘where's all the black people?’ Because it was so many white people [in the jail]” (Norman).

The sample for this study was primarily white; approximately two-thirds reported Caucasian as their race. Just slightly more than a quarter reported being Black or African American and roughly six percent reported being Hispanic. Race differed quite a bit by location. Milwaukee City had a much higher proportion of Black individuals whereas Waukesha City had

a much lower proportion of Black individuals. The quote above illustrates this reality – with the demographics of Waukesha City and Waukesha County, the vast majority of individuals incarcerated in the jail are white.

The most notable finding is that Hispanic individuals were less likely to recidivate than whites for the overall sample and in the Milwaukee City sample (sans new prison sentence) and the Waukesha City sample. Because there were so few Hispanic individuals in the sample, the specific reasons for why these individuals avoided future criminal behavior is not clear.

However, prior literature suggests that familial support allows Hispanic individuals to avoid reoffending. For these individuals, going back to their families affords them the support they need to start their lives over but also provides accountability so that they do not reoffend (Lee et al., 2015). While this is only speculation, it is certainly possible that an ethnic enclave of sorts exists in Milwaukee City and Waukesha City⁴⁰ and supports these individuals in their reentry efforts.

Somewhat surprising were the effects for African Americans and recidivism. Milwaukee City had the highest proportion of Black individuals and property offenders, but Black individuals had the same statistical chance of reoffending as white individuals from the same location. In fact, Black and white individuals were only significantly different in their odds of recidivating in Waukesha City. Black individuals constitute less than 4 percent of Waukesha City's population, but they make up 16 percent of jail inmates from Waukesha City. Existing evidence suggests that when individuals appear “out of place” they are more likely to be pulled over and searched during traffic stops (Withrow, 2004). With the low percentage of Black

⁴⁰ Because of the lower proportion of Hispanic individuals in Waukesha County and Milwaukee County, significant effects were not detected. Also, because of the low percentage of Hispanic individuals in both of these locations and the less compact nature of their geography (compared to Milwaukee City or Waukesha City), the possibility of an ethnic enclave in these areas seems to be less likely, at least in terms of recidivism.

individuals living in Waukesha City, they may appear to be “out of place” to law enforcement. Of course, the issue is that these individuals are not “out of place” rather, they live in a city where they appear to be targeted more often simply because of their race.

This is not new information in Wisconsin; the racial disparities for incarceration have been historically troubling for Black individuals and American Indian individuals (Nellis, 2016; Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013). With this, American Indian incarceration rates and recidivism are often overlooked in the literature. This study examined how recidivism works for American Indian individuals and found that these individuals were more likely to receive a new jail sentence or a new prison sentence for the overall sample and the Waukesha City sample. There were very few American Indian individuals in the current sample but enough of them reoffended that it triggered a significant finding. Perhaps the harsh truth for American Indians is that their problems are largely hidden or invisible. At no time did a participant mention American Indians and their patterns for incarceration and recidivism during the qualitative interviews. An argument could be made that a pattern emerged for American Indians in the cluster analysis – the cluster with the largest proportion of American Indians was the Waukesha City Rabble, which would lend credence to the idea that these individuals are part of the offensive bunch. However, when you examine the clusters for proportions of American Indian and compare it to the proportion of Waukesha City residents in the cluster, they appear to be correlated⁴¹.

Race and ethnicity certainly matter in terms of recidivism from this jail and it seems to differ based on location. Race was not a significant predictor for recidivism in Milwaukee County or Waukesha County. Hispanic individuals tended to recidivate at a lower rate compared

⁴¹ The Waukesha City Rabble has the highest proportion of individuals from Waukesha City as well as the highest proportion of individuals that reported being American Indian. The clusters with the next highest proportion of American Indians individuals are the Rowdy Suburbanites of Color and Wake-Up Call, both of which have the next highest proportion of individuals from Waukesha City.

to white individuals in the overall analysis and in the analyses for Milwaukee City and Waukesha City. Black individuals were only more likely to recidivate, compared to whites, in Waukesha City.

Adverse Life Events

The primary objectives of this study were to examine who was in jail and what factors are associated with future involvement with the criminal justice system. The PSSR offers a great deal of information on individual deficits and strengths but it does not provide the context of why these individuals have these deficits or strengths. The decision to do a mixed methods study was made to answer this question. By interviewing correctional officers and staff, the researcher was able to go back further into why these individuals started engaging in the behaviors that landed them in jail the first and subsequent times. When participants were asked why these individuals started using alcohol or illicit substances, the answer was that these individuals had experienced some sort of personal tragedy or adverse life event. The literature on childhood trauma or adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) points to this reality (Craig, Baglivio, Wolff, Piquero, & Epps, 2015; Craig, Piquero, Farrington, & Tofi, 2017; DeLisi & Beauregard, 2018; Fagan & Novak, 2018; Fox, Perez, Cass, Baglivio, & Epps, 2015; Halsey, 2018; Hammersley, 2011; Moore & Tatman, 2016; Perez, Jennings, & Baglivio, 2018; Wolff, Baglivio, & Piquero, 2015). However, the results of this study point to the notion that adverse life events can happen at any age and may have a negative effect on individuals as well as increase the likelihood of being involved with the criminal justice system.

Halsey (2007) discusses the effect of personal tragedy and its effect on criminal behavior. He argues that when researchers are presented with a life history it is rather easy to locate an event that changed the trajectory of an individual, but that these trajectories are heavily

influenced by those around the individual. Thus, the loss of a positive influence in one's life may trigger negative coping mechanisms because the informal control that was present before is no longer there – not simply because that person is no longer a part of their life. Halsey (2007) goes on to argue that there are a limited number of social configurations that encourage “respect for authority, natural justice, a deferred sense of gratification, the application of oneself to school or paid work [which can lead to] meaningful and desired changes in personal well-being and security” (p. 1245). He then argues that when

these things fail to find enough room to take hold, the result can only be the creation of pathways and contexts whose main currencies are those of fear, distrust, resentment, minor rebellion, or sustained innovation (in the form of repeat offending).

Thus, when the motivation to conform to social standards shifts (due to a change in one's social environment and relationships) deviant and criminal behavior is often the result. Alcoholism, substance abuse, and mental health issues are not randomly distributed across society; they are in effect the result of an event that changed their social group which then charted a new trajectory in their life.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the current study. The first is the self-report nature of the PSSR⁴². This information is collected at booking and while usually individuals have had the night to orient themselves to the jail one of the jail screeners admitted that there have been times in the past when the individual being screened was still intoxicated (drugs or alcohol). No doubt, this calls into question the truthfulness of their answers. Another issue with the self-report nature of the PSSR is the lack of verification for employment. Individuals are asked if they are

⁴² The only part of the PSSR that is not self-report is the information on current offense and information on convictions in the last five years prior to the screen. That being said, this information only consists of official recording mechanisms. Indicating that individuals may have committed other offenses for which they were not charged or convicted.

currently employed, for how long, and how much they earn. One of the jail screeners mentioned that an attempt is made to verify this information with their employer but with the volume of individuals being screened each day, this is difficult to do for each individual. A final issue with the PSSR is the lack of more advanced mental health or substance abuse screens. As stated in chapter 3, individuals are simply asked if they have any emotional or mental problems. This question may be useful for classification purposes but a diagnostic screen for mental health issues may assist correctional staff in providing services that would be more appropriate for the inmates' conditions. The same is true for individuals with a drug or alcohol problem. Individuals who reported an alcohol or drug issue may be referred to programs for these issues; but a more advanced screen to detect these issues would provide more information for correctional staff and the judiciary in making future decisions. There are several issues with the PSSR and there is no way to verify most of the information from this screen.

Another limitation is the use of CCAP and the use of official records to measure recidivism. The researcher spent several hours ensuring that the information collected from CCAP on the individuals in this sample was accurate. However, because of various diversion programs and the potential for expungement, individuals in this sample may have committed offenses that were removed from CCAP prior to the data collection process for the current study. Additionally, individuals in this sample may have committed offenses and not been charged with their crimes. It is certainly plausible with the number of individuals with prior misdemeanor convictions that these individuals engaged in criminal behavior and were not apprehended for their actions. In effect, recidivism in this study is only crimes that the police believed could result in a criminal conviction. Meaning that individuals may have been arrested during the

three-year follow-up period and released without being charged with a crime because the district attorney did not believe they had enough evidence to convict the individual.

Generalizability of this study is also a limitation. This study represents a recidivism study of individuals who were screened in the Waukesha County Jail between August 2009 through December 2013. It only includes individuals who reported living in Milwaukee County, Milwaukee City, Waukesha City, and Waukesha County at the time of their screen. While this is the vast majority of individuals who were in the jail during this time period it is not everyone. It should also be noted that the time period for when individuals were in the jail is somewhat unique. During that time the heroin and opioid epidemic started to ramp up. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (2018) reports that in 2009 there were 6.9 opioid related overdose deaths per 100,000 people in Wisconsin; by 2013, this rate would increase to 10.6 overdose deaths per 100,000 people – by 2016 the rate was 15.8 opioid related overdose deaths per 100,000 people. As such it is difficult to say that these findings would still be accurate given this shift in criminal behavior. Moreover, in conversations with individuals living in Waukesha after data collection had ended, the new problem drug for Waukesha County and Waukesha City appears to be crystal meth, which was rarely mentioned throughout the study. Thus, it is difficult to claim that this study would be accurate now or in a different part of the country.

The decision to interview correctional staff was made because of their exposure to individuals incarcerated in the jail. At times, these interviews felt like gossip – talking about other people’s lives and why they weren’t doing the right thing. While there are certain strengths to interviewing correctional staff, the current study would have been strengthened by interviewing inmates to triangulate the results. Because of security and safety reasons, inmates were not interviewed for this project, but their stories are important. Throughout the interviews,

correctional officers and staff told stories about various inmates; individuals who had suffered personal tragedy, drug addiction, mental health issues, homelessness, and joblessness to name a few. In these interviews, the participant had the chance to play the researcher and discuss how certain individuals ended up in jail and why they returned. This information yielded certain conclusions about jail incarceration and recidivism, but had actual inmates been asked the same questions the conclusions may have been different. By telling their own stories, there might have been more context as to why they were in jail and why they came back. Additionally, the correctional officers and staff interviewed prided themselves on their willingness to chat with inmates about their problems and lives. These perceptions may not have been shared by the inmates.

Given these limitations, and the fact that no study is perfect, the findings and conclusions of this study were uncovered with careful consideration. By triangulating the results of the analyses in this study, the researcher has attempted to minimize the threats of the limitations discussed above. Typically, the results were consistent across analyses but at times the findings diverged. For instance, the logistic regression findings for mental health showed no effect. However, qualitative data suggests that mental health is a serious concern for recidivism and that the mental health measure in the PSSR is insufficient and does not capture how serious this issue is. The mixed methods design allows for an elevated level of synthesis and ultimately yields better answers for important questions.

In the final chapter, I will summarize the main findings of this study and provide policy implications based on what this study found.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The primary objective for this study was to figure out who's in jail and why they come back to jail in a non-urban county. Through analyzing the PSSR screening tool with descriptive statistics, logistic regression, and cluster analysis, some answers to these questions were found. The grounded theory methodology was also used in answering these questions. The initial expectation was that the results of this study would differ from the foundational work of Irwin (1985) and Goldfarb (1975) whose research pointed to the jail being a warehouse for the individuals that society had forgotten or no longer wished to deal with. In the decades since their work was completed, it appears that the same problems still exist. Goldfarb (1975) argues that jails are filled with the sick, poor, drug-addicted, and alcohol-dependent individuals. The results of this study suggest that the state of jail inmates is as bad as it ever was. More than a quarter of the sample reported having a mental health issue; approximately 30 percent reported a physical health issue. More than 60 percent of the sample was unemployed at the time of their screen. More than a third of the sample reported a substance abuse issue and almost a fifth of the sample reported a problem with alcohol.

While these figures vary by location, no location was indicative of a dramatic shift in these issues. In each location, at least 20 percent reported a mental health issue; more than a third of each sample location reported a substance abuse issue. Perhaps the most surprising figures were for problems with alcohol and employment. The Milwaukee City sample only had roughly eight percent reporting an issue with alcohol but almost 70 percent of this sample was unemployed at the time of the screen. In the opposite direction, the Waukesha County sample indicated that around 45 percent of the sample was employed but that a quarter had a problem with alcohol. When looking at the descriptive statistics, it is important to remember what these

figures would look like outside of the jail. The percent of employed individuals for the Waukesha County sample is much higher than the percentage of employed individuals from Waukesha City or Milwaukee City. However, it still suggests that more than half of that sample is unemployed. For illustration purposes, at the height of the great depression, 1933, the United States unemployment rate was around 25 percent (Amadeo, 2019).

Irwin (1985) argued that most jail inmates commit less serious offenses. Around a quarter of the sample was initially charged with a property offense; 15 percent of the sample's most serious charge was disorderly conduct. Approximately 11 percent of the sample was charged with a drug offense when they entered the jail, of which a fair amount were simple possession charges. Further, more than a third of the sample had a prior misdemeanor conviction, indicating that at the time of their screen they had been incarcerated previously.

Again, these figures differ by location, but still point to these individuals, regardless of where they live, being seen as disreputable or detached. Individuals from Milwaukee City and Milwaukee County were avid property offenders, which is arguably why these same individuals are subject to more surveillance on the road. Waukesha City residents were more likely to have an initial charge of disorderly conduct, which is arguably the most distinctive rabble charge – it's not a serious offense but it is a nuisance for otherwise law-abiding citizens. Similarly, Waukesha City and Waukesha County residents were more likely to have a violent offense as their initial charge. Most of these were simple assaults or robberies without a weapon, which are more serious offenses, but still indicative of the offensive nature of these individuals.

Coupled with their health and addiction deficits, it is clear that the current sample is similar to the populations Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) examined all those years ago. That is to say that even in the suburbs, a rabble class of individuals exists.

In terms of why individuals come back to jail, four factors are consistent across the four locations – young, male, initially charged with a property offense, and convicted of a misdemeanor in the five years prior to their screen. This profile certainly fits the frequent flyer template, but the differences by location suggest important distinctions.

Waukesha City

Individuals in the Waukesha City sample were more likely to be charged with a new crime compared to individuals from Milwaukee City. These individuals were also more likely to be convicted of a new crime and receive a new jail sentence compared to individuals from Milwaukee City and Waukesha County. The primary issues for Waukesha City residents appeared to be drugs and alcohol. Individuals who reported an alcohol issue or a substance abuse issue were more likely to recidivate. However, Waukesha City is where evidence of racial disparities is most pronounced. Black individuals were more likely to recidivate, regardless of operationalization. This may be due to additional surveillance by law enforcement in Waukesha City where they make up a small fraction of the city's population. Furthermore, because of the thefts committed by individuals from Milwaukee City, who no doubt look like these individuals in Waukesha City, law enforcement may feel justified in their extra surveillance of these individuals. American Indian individuals living in Waukesha City were more likely to receive a new jail or prison sentence, compared to white individuals. This finding may be indicative of Wisconsin's larger issue of incarcerating American Indian individuals (Pawasarat & Quinn, 2013). This is especially concerning, given their proportion in the sample and the fact that American Indian individuals were never mentioned during the interviews. These individuals might also be affected by additional surveillance from law enforcement. More evidence of a racial disparity was that Hispanic individuals were significantly less likely to recidivate

compared to white individuals, regardless of operationalization. Again, this may be due to the support and accountability these individuals are subject to by their families upon release (Lee et al., 2015).

Waukesha County

The Waukesha County sample was the largest sample and was arguably the most prosocial. This sample had the highest proportion of individuals with a high school education and with employment (full-time and two continuous years). However, this sample also had the highest proportion of individuals with an alcohol issue. According to the cluster analysis results, these issues cancelled each other out in a way. The Well-Adjusted Drinkers could maintain employment with a drinking problem and avoid offending in the follow-up period. For the Waukesha County sample, alcohol was clearly a problem, and some could manage this; however, the WISAP cluster is primarily made up of individuals from Waukesha County and these individuals could not manage their alcohol issue or their substance abuse issue.

Milwaukee City

Individuals from Milwaukee City who were more likely to recidivate typically had a prior felony conviction and were unlikely to be Hispanic⁴³. It is important to reiterate the notion that the individuals from the Milwaukee City sample are not likely “typical” offenders from Milwaukee City. They traveled to commit their crimes which indicates some level of planning. The Travelers cluster suggests that these individuals do not suffer from the same deficits as other members of the sample and that these individuals may very well be professional criminals that spend their days perfecting their techniques and finding new locations to steal from. Given their lacking education and employment prospects, this may be the only way to make a living.

⁴³ While it is only speculation, it is possible that Hispanic individuals are leaving jail and being supported by family so that they can avoid future episodes of incarceration (Lee et al., 2015).

Additional evidence of this is found in the Marginal Lives cluster which is quite similar to the Travelers cluster, with the exception of the recidivism. The Marginal Lives cluster consists of individuals who may be leaving their life of crime behind, but they are by no means success cases. Individuals from the Travelers cluster potentially realize what their life would be like without crime (Marginal Lives cluster) and make the decision to continue in their life of crime.

Milwaukee County

The Milwaukee County sample did not appear to be unique from the other locations in the logistic regression models, qualitative interviews, or the cluster analysis⁴⁴. Logistic regression models suggest that sex and current offense had a negligible or small effect on who recidivated. Those with physical health issues were more likely to be charged or convicted of a new crime as well as receive a new jail sentence; those with children were more likely to be charged or convicted of a new crime. The most consistent predictor of recidivism for the Milwaukee County sample was having a prior misdemeanor conviction. Again, it appeared that individuals in the Milwaukee County sample were not unique from other locations.

However, the cluster analysis provides some answers as to why individuals from Milwaukee County recidivated. The two clusters with the highest proportion of individuals from Milwaukee County were WISAP and Wake-Up Call. These clusters were similar across most variables, except for recidivism. The difference between these two clusters appeared to be that the individuals in the Wake-Up Call cluster managed to get their addiction under control, whereas individuals in the WISAP cluster did not. It is important to note that the Milwaukee County sample had the highest proportion of individuals reporting a substance abuse issue. As

⁴⁴ Each location had at least one cluster that was primarily made up of members of that location (i.e. Travelers were primarily from Milwaukee City, Well-Adjusted Drinkers were primarily from Waukesha County, Waukesha City Rabble was primarily from Waukesha City).

such, it appears that for the Milwaukee County sample, those who could manage their addiction tended to not recidivate, but those who could not, continued to offend.

Summary

There are some similarities between the four locations – younger, male, prior misdemeanor convictions, and property offenders. However, there are important distinctions between the four locations. The initial expectation was that individuals from Milwaukee City would be the most likely to recidivate and Waukesha County residents would be the least likely to recidivate. Waukesha County residents were less likely to recidivate compared to Waukesha City residents. Given the issues in Waukesha City compared to Waukesha County, the results are not surprising. However, Waukesha City residents were more likely to recidivate compared to Milwaukee City residents. This is likely due to the fact that the Milwaukee City individuals in the Waukesha County Jail are not the “typical” Milwaukee City offenders – they travel to commit their crimes and they report lower rates of mental health issues, substance abuse, and issues with alcohol. It should also not be discounted the fact that Waukesha City is not a very large city and that if correctional officers know the Waukesha City frequent flyers then the police and probation officers do as well. The jail is a local custodial facility that serves the county in incarcerating those who either choose to not comply with society’s norms or simply cannot function in mainstream society.

Research and Policy Implications

With this study, there are a few policy and research implications that need to be discussed. It is important to reiterate that the issues in this jail have not drastically improved since the work of Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985). As with much of life, answering questions often raises additional questions. There are a few research implications from this study. First,

more research needs to be conducted to better understand how jail recidivism operates. This study only examined one jail; researchers need to examine jails of various populations. There are very few jails like Rikers Island or the Cook County jail; as such researchers need to examine smaller jails to better understand how to assist these individuals upon release. Second, more research needs to be devoted to non-urban areas. Much of the literature in criminal justice has focused on major urban centers but with non-urban incarceration rates increasing (Keller & Pearce, 2016), this area of criminal justice and criminology literature requires more attention. Third, more research should focus on recidivism for Hispanic individuals. As this population grows, it is important to understand how these individuals fare in terms of recidivism. That is to say that the old operationalization of “white and non-white” is no longer acceptable because clearly differences exist. Fourth, the effect of alcohol dependence needs to play a larger role in understanding how crime and recidivism operates. Alcohol is certainly a problem in Wisconsin (CBS, 2015) but this problem has largely been overshadowed by the opioid epidemic (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2018). Essentially, given the ease of access to alcohol, there needs to be a better understanding as to why some individuals continue to engage in criminal behavior while having an alcohol issue and some do not.

A New Jail

In terms of criminal justice policy, there are a few changes that may shift the state of jails. Maruna (2016) is critical of the “wake up call” notion that the short jail stay is in some ways intended to accomplish. The idea that someone spending the night in jail would encourage them to change their life drastically is a bit lofty. Individuals cannot change their environments or realistically commit to a life of health and wellness, free of addiction on their own. However, the jail can operate as a detection mechanism. By administering screens for mental health,

substance or alcohol abuse, homelessness, employment, education, or other family services, the jail could act as a referral service and a first step in habilitating the deficits that so many of these inmates possess. If correctional staff can begin the process of identifying issues in these individuals, then the appropriate services could follow. Of course, this is the difficult part; the needs of these individuals must be matched by the level of services. If each individual that entered the jail was screened thoroughly by the staff and was then referred to a case manager that could make additional referrals, individuals could actually improve their life circumstances. Admittedly, this is an unrealistic policy implication. With health and human services' budgets focused more on fighting the opioid epidemic, there simply is not enough money to transform the jail into a treatment and referral service. However, there are a few lower-impact policies that would be beneficial.

Along with the referral service idea, providing more aftercare for individuals with mental health issues would allow individuals to get the help they need. Identifying individuals with mental health issues would allow local criminal justice systems to provide treatment for these issues. One option would be to implement a mental health court. While the research surrounding mental health courts is still in its infancy, existing evidence suggests that this type of program shows great promise (Fisler, 2015; Honegger, 2015). Waukesha County currently operates a drug treatment court and an alcohol treatment court where individuals who have issues with either can participate and receive treatment for these issues.

Just over a third of the overall sample had a prior misdemeanor conviction, indicating that for the majority of the sample, this may have been their first time involved with the criminal

justice system⁴⁵. This information coupled with the logistic regression results for prior misdemeanor conviction, indicate that the time to intervene with individuals the first time they enter the system. Additional support for this proposition can be found from the work of Rajan and D'Souza (2018) who examined risk scores for repeat offenders and first-time offenders and found that repeat offenders had higher levels of substance abuse and criminal attitudes. As such, first-time offenders present an opportunity to correct behavioral patterns before they become too entrenched. Support for this type of programming can be found in the driving while intoxicated literature; Ullman (2016) found that requiring first-time DUI offenders to participate in an interlock ignition program could reduce alcohol-related vehicle fatalities. This is especially important given the large proportion of individuals with current and prior OWI charges and convictions in the Waukesha City and Waukesha County samples.

With the treatment court and first-time offender program recommendations, it is important that if these individuals complete these programs, their current offenses are expunged from their criminal record. As previously discussed, having a criminal record makes obtaining employment and housing much more difficult. By destigmatizing these individuals, they are less likely to embrace negative labels and avoid the doomed to deviance mentality (Maruna, 2001). Prescott and Starr (2019) found that only 1 percent of individuals who had their records set-aside were convicted of a felony offense during their five-year follow-up period. Additionally, for those who received expungement, on average, saw and 25 percent increase in their wages. Their study demonstrates that there is a negligible risk to public safety and significant benefit to the individuals whose records are expunged.

⁴⁵ It is certainly possible that individuals with a prior felony conviction did not have a prior misdemeanor conviction but even if that was the case for everyone, it would still mean that a large proportion of the sample had no prior convictions.

Given the relatively high rates of mental health issues and substance and alcohol issues, as well as the concern of first-time offenders becoming repeat offenders with the results for prior misdemeanor conviction being a strong predictor. If policymakers wish to reduce the size of the rabble class, the solution is relatively straightforward. Individuals get booked into jail with a host of issues; the answer is to identify these issues and implement the aforementioned interventions to treat these individuals. The major issue is providing resources to the detached and disreputable individuals in society. The reason the rabble class are still apparent is because they are a relatively small portion of the population and have very little, if any, political clout. They are seen as a drain on society so to increase the funding to help them enter mainstream society is a dangerous political decision. As such, the rabble class will continue lurk and reside in county jails.

Conclusion

Goldfarb (1975) and Irwin (1985) painted a rather bleak portrait of jails in America and despite all the progress made in the criminal justice system since their work, the individuals in jails are still dealing with the same or similar issues. This project started as a hopeful exercise in falsification – surely with all the innovations in the criminal justice system since the 1980s this class of people no longer exists. However, as work on the project progressed and concluded, it became clear that not only is the underclass Irwin (1985) wrote about still alive and well; the rabble are also in the suburbs.

References

- Abadie, R., Gelpi-Acosta, C., Davila, C, Rivera, M., Welch-Larowitz, M., & Dombrowski, K. (in press). "It ruined my life": The effects of the war on drugs on people who inject drugs (PWID) in rural Puerto Rico. *International Journal of Drug Policy*.
- Abreu, D., Parker, T. W., Noether, C. D., Steadman, H. J., & Case, B. (2017). Revising the paradigm of jail diversion for people with mental and substance use disorders: Intercept 0. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 35, 380-395.
- Albertson, K., Irving, J. & Best, D. (2015). A social capital approach to assisting veterans through recovery and desistance transitions in civilian life. *The Howard Journal*, 54(4), 384-396.
- Alper, M. & Durose, M. R. (2018). *2018 update on prisoner recidivism: A 9-year follow-up period* (NCJ 250975). Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Amadeo, K. (2019). *Unemployment rate by year since 1929 compared to inflation and GDP: U.S. unemployment rate history*. The Balance. Retrieved from <https://www.thebalance.com/unemployment-rate-by-year-3305506>
- Andress, D., Wildes, T., Rehtine, D., & Moritsugu, K. P. (2004). Jails, prisons, and your community's health. *The Journal of Law, Medicine, and Ethics*, 32(4), 50-51.
- Andrews, D. A. & Bonta, J. (1995). *The Level of Service Inventory-Revised*. Toronto, Ontario: Multi-Health System.
- Applegate, B.K., Surette, R., & McCarthy, B. J. (1999). Detention and desistance from crime: Evaluating the influence of a new generation jail on recidivism. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27(6), 539-548.

- Bachman, R., Kerrison, E., Paternoster, R., O'Connell, D., & Smith, L. (2016). Desistance for a long-term drug-involved sample of adult offenders: The importance of identity transformation. *Criminal Justice & Behavior*, 43(2), 164-186.
- Backstrand, J. A., Gibbons, D. C., & Jones, J. F. (1992). Who is in jail? An examination of the rabble hypothesis. *Crime & Delinquency*, 38(2), 219-229.
- Bahr, S. J., Harris, L., Fisher, J. K., & Armstrong, A. H. (2010). Successful Reentry: What differentiates successful and unsuccessful parolees? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 54(2), 667-692.
- Baillargeon, J., Binswanger, I. A., Penn, J. V., William, B. A., & Murray, O. J. (2009). Psychiatric disorders and repeat incarcerations: The revolving prison door. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 166(1), 103-109.
- Barrenger, S. L. & Canada, K. E. (2014). Mental illness along the criminal justice continuum. *Journal of Forensic Social Work*, 4(1), 123-149.
- Becker, M. A., Andel, R., Boaz, T., & Constantine, R. (2011). Gender differences and risk of arrest among offenders with serious mental illness. *Journal of Behavioral Health Services & Research*, 38(1), 16-27.
- Begun, A. L., Early, T. J., & Hodge, A. (2016). Mental health and substance abuse service engagement by men and women during community reentry following incarceration. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, 43, 207-218.
- Benda, B. B., Corwyn, R. F., & Toombs, N. J. (2001). From adolescent "serious offender" to adult felon: A predictive study of offense progression. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 32(3), 79-108.

- Benda, B. B., Harm, N. J., & Toombs, N. J. (2005). Survival analysis of recidivism of male and female boot camp graduates using life-course theory. *Rehabilitation Issues, Problems, and Prospects in Boot Camp*, 87-113.
- Benda, B. B., Toombs, N. J., & Peacock, M. (2003). An empirical examination of competing theories in predicting recidivism of adult offenders five years after graduation from boot camp. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 37(2), 43-75.
- Benedict, W. R. & Huff-Corzine, L. (1997). Return to the scene of the punishment: Recidivism of adult male property offenders on felony probation, 1986-1989. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 34(2), 237-252.
- Berdejo, C. (2018). Criminalizing race: Racial disparities in plea-bargaining. *Boston College Law Review*, 59, 1187-1249.
- Berg, M. T. & Huebner, B. M. (2011). Reentry and the ties that bind: An examination of social ties, employment, and recidivism. *Justice Quarterly*, 28(2), 382-410.
- Berman, A. H. (2005). Throw out the bathwater but keep the baby! The role of the supervisory relationship in 'what works' initiatives among Swedish male probationers. *British Journal of Community Justice*, 3(3), 15-30.
- Bersani, B. E. & DiPietro, S. M. (2016). Examining the salience of marriage to offending for black and Hispanic men. *Justice Quarterly*, 33(3), 510-537.
- Bersani, B. E., Laub, J. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2009). Marriage and desistance from crime in the Netherlands: Do gender and socio-historical context matter? *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 25, 3-24.

- Blandford, A. M. & Osher, F. (2013). *Guidelines for the successful transition of people with behavioral health disorders from jail and prison*. Washington, DC: Council of State Governments Justice Center.
- Blonigen, D. M., Bui, L., Elbogen, E. B., Blodgett, J. C., Maisel, N. C., Midboe, A. M., Asch, S. M., McGuire, J. F., & Timko, C. (2016). Risk of recidivism among justice-involved veterans: A systematic review of the literature. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 27(8), 812-837.
- Blumstein, A. & Nakamura, K. (2009). Redemption in the presence of widespread criminal background checks. *Criminology*, 42(2), 327-359.
- Boduszek, D., Belsher, R., Dhingra, K., & Ioannou, M. (2014). Psychosocial correlates of recidivism in a sample of ex-prisoners: The role of oppositional defiant disorder and conduct disorder. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*, 25(1), 61-76.
- Bonta, J., LaPrairie, C., & Wallace-Capretta, S. (1997). Risk prediction and re-offending: Aboriginal and non-aboriginal offenders. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 39(2), 127-144.
- Braga, A. A., Piehl, A. M., & Hureau, D. (2009). Controlling violent offenders released to the community: An evaluation of the Boston reentry initiative. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 46(4), 411-436.
- Broner, N., Lattimore, P. K., Cowell, A. J., Schlenger, W. E. (2004). Effects of diversion on adults with co-occurring mental illness and substance use: Outcomes from a national multi-site study. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 22, 519-541.
- Brooker, C., Sirdifield, C., Blizard, R., Denney, D., & Pluck, G. (2012). Probation and mental illness. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 23(4), 522-537.

- Campbell, H. & Hansen, T. (2012). Getting out of the game: Desisting from drug trafficking. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 23, 481-487.
- Caudill, J. W., Trulson, C. R., Marquart, J. W., Patten, R., Thomas, M. O., & Anderson, S. (2014). Correctional destabilization and jail violence: The consequences of prison depopulation legislation. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42, 500-506.
- CBS. (2015). *Lawmaker: "Dirty secret" put brakes on Wisconsin DUI legislation*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/costs-of-wisconsin-dui-drunk-driving-families-forced-into-advocacy/>.
- Chamberlain, A. W., & Wallace, D. (2016). Mass Reentry, Neighborhood Context and Recidivism: Examining How the Distribution of Parolees Within and Across Neighborhoods Impacts Recidivism. *JQ: Justice Quarterly*, 33(5), 912-941.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Chen, Y. Y., Chen, C., & Hung, D. L. (2016). Assessment of psychiatric disorders among sex offenders: Prevalence and associations with criminal history. *Criminal Behavior & Mental Health*, 26, 30-37.
- Cid, J. & Marti, J. (2012). Turning points and returning points: Understanding the role of family ties in the process of desistance. *European Journal of Criminology*, 9(6), 603-620.
- Clausen, J. A. (1990). Turning point as a life course concept. In *annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Washington, DC*.
- Clear, T. R., Reisig, M. D., & Cole, G. F. (2016). *American Corrections (11th Edition)*. Stamford, CT: Cengage.

- Cobbina, J. E. & Bender, K. A. (2012). Predicting the future: Incarcerated women's views of reentry success. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 51*, 275-294.
- Cobbina, J. E. (2010). Reintegration success and failure: Factors impacting reintegration among incarcerated women. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 49*, 210-232.
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2003). *Applied multiple regression/ correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences (3rd edition)*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Compton, M. T., Halpern, B., Broussard, B., Anderson, S., Smith, K., Ellis, S., Griffin, K., Pauselli, L., & Myers, N. (2017). A potential new form of jail diversion and reconnection to mental health services: Stakeholders' views on acceptability. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 35*, 480-491.
- Costopoulos, J. S., Plewinski, A. M., Monaghan, P. L., & Edkins, V. A. (2017). The impact of US government assistance on recidivism. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health, 27*, 303-311.
- Cotter, L. (2015). Are the needs of adult offenders with mental health difficulties being met in prisons and on probation? *Irish Probation Journal, 12*, 57-78.
- Craig, J. M., Baglivio, M. T., Wolff, K. T., Piquero, A. R., & Epps, N. (2017). Do social bonds buffer the impact of adverse childhood experiences on reoffending? *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 15*(1), 3-20.
- Craig, J. M., Piquero, A. R., Farrington, D. P., & Tofi, M. M. (2017). A little early risk goes a long way? Adverse childhood experiences and life-course offending in the Cambridge study. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 53*, 34-45.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Cullen, F. T., Lutze, F. E., Link, B. G., & Wolfe, N. T. (1989). The correctional orientation of prison guards: Do officers support rehabilitation? *Federal Probation*, 53(1), 33-42
- Cusson, M. & Pinsonneault, P. (1986). "The decision to give up crime", in Cornish, D. B. & Clarke, R. V. (eds.) *The Reasoning Criminal*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Data Planet. (2017a). *Drunk driving in Wisconsin*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.6068/DP15EBEDA929112>.
- Data Planet. (2017b). *Drunk driving in Milwaukee and Waukesha County*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.6068/DP15EBED79E1610>
- Davis, K., Fallon, J., Vogel, S., & Teachout, A. (2008). Integrating into the Mental Health System from the Criminal Justice System: Jail Aftercare Services for Persons with a Severe Mental Illness. *Journal Of Offender Rehabilitation*, 46(3/4), 217-231.
- Davis, K., Fallon, J., Vogel, S., & Teachout, A. (2008). Integrating into the mental health system from criminal justice system: Jail aftercare services for persons with a severe mental illness. *Probation and Parole: Current Issues*, 217-231.
- Day, A., Howells, K., Heseltine, K., & Casey, S. (2003). Alcohol use and negative affect in the offending cycle. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 13(1), 45-58.
- Decker, S. H., Ortiz, N., Spohn, C., & Hedberg, E. (2015). Criminal stigma, race, and ethnicity: The consequences of imprisonment for employment. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43, 108-121.
- Degiorgio, L. (2013). Managing inmate risk in the United States: Construct and predictive validity of the prison inmate inventory. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 8(2), 120-132.

- DeLisi, M. & Beauregard, E. (2018). Adverse childhood experiences and criminal extremity: New evidence for sexual homicide. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 63(2), 484-489.
- Denver, M., Pickett, J. T., & Bushway, S. D. (2017). The language of stigmatization and the mark of violence: Experimental evidence of the social construction and use of criminal record stigma. *Criminology*, 55(3), 664-690.
- Denver, M., Siwach, G., & Bushway, S. D. (2017). A new look at the employment and recidivism relationship through the lens of a criminal background check. *Criminology*, 55(1), 174-204.
- Doherty, E. E. & Ensminger, M. E. (2013). Marriage and offending among a cohort of disadvantaged African Americans. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 50(1), 104-131.
- Dowden, C. & Brown, S. L. (2002). The role of substance abuse factors in predicting recidivism: A meta-analysis. *Psychology, Crime, & Law*, 8(3), 243-264.
- Draine, J., Blank, A., Kottsieper, & Solomon, P. (2005). Contrasting jail diversion and in-jail services for mental illness and substance abuse: Do they serve the same clients? *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 23, 171-181.
- Drapalski, A. L., Youman, K. Stuewig, J, & Tangney, J. (2009). Gender differences in jail inmates' symptoms of mental illness, treatment history and treatment seeking. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 19, 193-206.
- Dugosh, K. L., Festinger, D. S., & Marlowe, D. B. (2013). Overview of: "Moving beyond BAC in DUI: Identifying who is at risk of recidivating." *Criminology and Public Policy*, 12(2), 179.

- Durose, M. R., Cooper, A. D., & Snyder, H. N. (2014). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 30 states in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010* (NCJ 244205). Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Edmond, M. B., Aletraris, L., & Roman, P. M. (2015). Rural substance use treatment centers in the United States: An assessment of treatment quality by location. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse, 41*(5), 449-457.
- Epperson, M. W., Thompson, J. G., Lurigio, A. J., & Kim, S. (2017). Unpacking the relationship between probationers with serious mental illnesses and probation officers: A mixed-methods examination. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 56*(3), 188-216.
- Estle-Cronau, J. (2014, May/June). Incarcerated veterans work together for successful reentry. *Corrections Today, 28-31*.
- Fagan, A. A. & Novak, A. (2018). Adverse childhood experiences and adolescent delinquency in a high-risk sample: A comparison of white and black youth. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 16*(4), 395-417.
- Farrall, S., Hunter, B., Sharpe, G., & Calverley, A. (2014). *Criminal careers in transition: The social context of desistance from crime*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- FBI (2015). Crime in the United States: Offenses Known to Law Enforcement. Retrieved from <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement>.
- Fedock, G., Fries, L., & Kubiak, S. P. (2013). Service needs for incarcerated adults: Exploring gender differences. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 52*, 493-508.
- Finch, H. (2005). Comparison of distance measures in cluster analysis with dichotomous data. *Journal of Data Science, 3*, 85-100.

- Fisler, C. (2015). Toward a new understanding of mental health courts. *Judges' Journal*, 54(2), 8-13.
- Fitzgerald, R., Cherney, A., Heybroek, L. (2016). Recidivism among prisoners: Who comes back? *Trends & Issues in crime and criminal justice*, 530, 1-10.
- Fontaine, J. & Biess, J. (2012). *Housing as a platform for formerly incarcerated persons*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Fox, B. H., Perez, N. M., Cass, E., Baglivio, M. T., & Epps, N. (2015). Trauma changes everything: Examining the relationship between adverse childhood experiences and serious, violent and chronic juvenile offenders. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 46, 163-173.
- Fox, J. & Monette, G. (1992). Generalized collinearity diagnostics. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 87(417), 178-183.
- Frederick, A. (2014). Veterans treatment courts: Analysis and recommendations. *Law & Psychology Review*, 38, 211-230.
- Fresquez-Chavez, K. R. & Fogger, S. (2015). Reduction of opiate withdrawal symptoms with use of clonidine in a county jail. *Journal of Correctional Health Care*, 21(1), 27-34.
- Freudenberg, N. & Heller, D. (2016). A review of opportunities to improve the health of people involved in the criminal justice system in the United States. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 37, 313-333.
- Fries, L., Fedock, G., Kubiak, S. P. (2014). Role of gender, substance use, and serious mental illness in anticipated postjail homelessness. *Social Work Research*, 38(2), 107-116.
- Fu, J. J., Herme, M., Wickersham, J. A., Zelenev, A., Althoff, A., Zaller, N. D., ... Altice, F. J. (2013). Understanding the revolving door: Individuals and structural-level predictors of recidivism among individuals with HIV leaving jail. *AIDS and Behavior*, 17, S145-S155.

- Fulkerson, A. (2012). Drug treatment court versus probation: An examination of comparative recidivism rates. *The Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, 8(2), 46-61.
- Ganem, N. M. & Agnew, R. (2007). Parenthood and adult criminal offending: The importance of relationship quality. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 35, 630-643.
- Garland, B., Wodahl, E. J., & Mayfield, J. (2011). Prisoner reentry in a small metropolitan community: Obstacles and policy recommendations. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 22(1), 90-110.
- Garretson, H. J. (2016). Legislating forgiveness: A study of post-conviction certificates as policy to address the employment consequences of a conviction. *Public Interest Law Journal*, 25(1), 1-42.
- Geller, A. & Curtis, M. A. (2011) A sort of homecoming: Incarceration and the housing security of urban men. *Social Science Research*, 40(1), 1196-1213.
- Gendreau, P., Little, T., & Goggin, C. (1996). A meta-analysis of the predictors of adult offender recidivism: What works! *Criminology*, 34(4), 575-607.
- Giles, M. & Mullineux, J. (2000). Assessment and decision-making: Probation officers' construing of factors relevant to risk. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 5, 165-185.
- Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., & Rudolph, J. L. (2002). Gender, crime, and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(4), 990-1064.
- Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., Holland, D. D. (2003). Changes in friendship relations over the life course: Implications for desistance from crime. *Criminology*, 41(2), 293-328.
- Giordano, P. C., Longmore, M. A., Schroeder, R. D., & Seffrin, P. M. (2008). A life-course perspective on spirituality and desistance from crime. *Criminology*, 46(1), 99-132.

- Giordano, P. C., Seffrin, P. M., Manning, W. D., & Longmore, M. A. (2011). Parenthood and crime: The role of wantedness, relationships with and sex. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 39*, 405-416.
- Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing.
- Glueck, S. & Glueck, E. (1937). *Later criminal careers*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Glynn, M. (2014). *Black men, invisibility and desistance from crime: Towards a critical race theory of desistance*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Goldfarb, R. (1975). *Jails: The ultimate ghetto of the criminal justice system*. South Shore, MA: Anchor Press.
- Gordon, H. R. D. & Weldon, B. (2003). The impact of career and technical education programs on adult offenders: Learning behind bars. *The Journal of Correctional Education, 54*(4), 200-209.
- Gottfredson, M. R. (2017). Policy implications about properties of arrest risk across populations of provisional employees with and without a criminal record. *Criminology and Public Policy, 16*(3), 999-1007.
- Gottfredson, M. R., & Hirschi, T. (1990). *A general theory of crime*. Stanford University Press.
- Gowensmith, W. N., Peters, A. J., Lex, I. A., Heng, A. K. S., Robinson, K. P., & Huston, B. A. (2016). New frontiers for conditional release: Applying lessons learned from other offenders with mental illness. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 34*, 407-422.
- Greenberg, G. A. & Rosenheck, R. A. (2008). Homeless in the state and federal prison population. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health, 18*, 88-103.

- Greenfield, L. A. & Henneberg, M. A. (2001). Victim and offender self-reports of alcohol involvement in crime. *Alcohol Research & Health*, 25(1), 20-31.
- Gutierrez, L., Wilson, H. A., Rugge, T., & Bonta, J. (2013). The prediction of recidivism with aboriginal offenders: A theoretically informed meta-analysis. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 55(1), 55-99.
- Hall, L. L. (2015). Correctional education and recidivism: Toward a tool for reduction. *The Journal of Correctional Education*, 66(2), 4-31.
- Hallstone, M. (2014). Types of crimes committed by repeat DUI offenders. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 27(2), 159-171.
- Halsey, M. (2007). Assembling recidivism: the promise and contingencies of post-release life. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 97(4), 1209-1260.
- Halsey, M. (2018). Child victims as adult offenders: Foregrounding the criminogenic effects of (unresolved) trauma and loss. *British Journal of Criminology*, 58, 17-36.
- Hammersely, R. (2011). Pathways through drugs and crime: Desistance, trauma, and resilience. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39, 268-272.
- Hammett, T. M., Roberts, C., & Kennedy, S. (2001). Health-related issues in prisoner reentry. *Crime & Delinquency*, 47(3), 390-409.
- Harris, G. T., Lowenkamp, C. T., & Hilton, N. Z. (2015). Evidence for risk estimate precision: Implications for individuals risk communication. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 33, 111-127.
- Healy, D. (2010). Betwixt and between: The role of psychosocial factors in the early stages of desistance. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 47(4), 419-438.

- Held, M. L., Brown, C. A., Frost, L. E., Hickey, J. S., & Buck, D. S. (2012). Integrated primary and behavioral health care in patient-centered medical homes for jail releases with mental illness. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 39*(4), 533-551.
- Heretick, D. M. L. & Russel, J. A. (2013). The impact of juvenile mental health court on recidivism among youth. *OJJDP Journal of Juvenile Justice, 3*(1), 1-14.
- Heroin Workgroup. (2014). *Analysis and recommendations for reducing heroin abuse in Wisconsin*. Madison, WI.
- Hester, R., Frase, R. S., Roberts, J. V., & Mitchell, K. L. (2018). Prior record enhancements at sentencing: Unsettled justifications and unsettling consequences. *Crime & Justice, 47*(1), 209-254.
- Hoeve, M., McReynolds, L. S., & Wasserman, G. A. (2013). The influence of adolescent psychiatric disorder on young adult recidivism. *Criminal Justice & Behavior, 40*(12), 1368-1382.
- Holzer, H. J., Raphael, S., & Stoll, M. A. (2006). Perceived criminality, criminal background checks, and the racial hiring practices of employers. *Journal of Law and Economics, 49*, 451-480.
- Honegger, L. N. (2015). Does the evidence support the case for mental health courts? A review of the literature. *Law and Human Behavior, 39*(5), 478-488.
- Huang, R. (2018). RQDA: R-based Qualitative Data Analysis. R package version 0.3-1. URL <http://rqda.r-forge.r-project.org>.
- Huebner, B. M. & Berg, M. T. (2011) Examining the sources of variation in risk for recidivism, *Justice Quarterly, 28*(1), 146-173.

- Inciardi, J. A. (2008). *The War on Drugs IV: The continuing saga of the mysteries and miseries of intoxication, addiction, crime, and public policy*. Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Irwin, J. (1985). *The jail: Managing the underclass in American society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Johnson, B. D. & King, R. D. (2017). Facial profiling: Race, physical appearance, and punishment. *Criminology*, 55(3), 520-547.
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuebuze, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1, 112-133.
- Jurik, N. C. (1985). An officer and a lady: Organizational barriers to women working as correctional officers in men's prisons. *Social Problems*, 32(4), 375-388.
- Jung, H., Spjeldnes, S., & Yamatani, H. (2010). Recidivism and survival time: Racial disparity among jail ex-inmates. *Social Work Research*, 14(3), 181-189.
- Kaeble, D. & Glaze, L. (2016). *Correctional populations in the United States, 2015* (NCJ 250374). Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Kang-Brown, J. & Subramanian, R. (2017). *Out of sight: The growth of jails in rural America*. Washington, DC: Vera Institute of Justice.
- 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.
- Keller, J. & Pearce, A. (2016). A small Indiana county sends more people to prison than San Francisco and Durham, N. C., combined. Why? *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/upshot/new-geography-of-prisons.html>

- Kelly, J. & Egan, V. (2012). A case-control study of alcohol-related violent offending among Irish probation clients. *Irish Probation Journal*, 9, 94-110.
- Kennedy, R. (1997). *Race, crime, and the law*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- King, R. D., Massoglia, M., & MacMillan, R. (2007). The context of marriage and crime: Gender, the propensity to marry, and offending in early adulthood. *Criminology*, 45(1), 33-65.
- King, S. (2013). Perceptions of work as a route away from crime. *Safer Communities*, 12(3), 122-132.
- Kirk, D. (2012). Residential change as a turning point in the life course of crime: Desistance or temporary cessation? *Criminology*, 50(2), 329-358.
- Kleefisch, R. & Nyrgren, J. (2016). *Combating opioid abuse*. Madison, WI.
- Knight, B. J. & West, D. J. (1975). Temporary and continuing delinquency. *British Journal of Criminology*, 15(1), 43-50.
- Knight, B. J., Osborn, S. G., & West, D. J. (1977). Early marriage and criminal tendency in males. *British Journal of Criminology*, 17(4), 348-360.
- Kruttschnitt, C., Uggen, C., & Shelton, K. (2000). Predictors of desistance among sex offenders: The interaction of formal and informal social controls, *Justice Quarterly*, 17(1), 61-87.
- Kubiak, S. P., Essenmach, L., Hanna, J., & Zeoli, A. (2011). Co-occurring serious mental illness and substance use disorders within a countywide system: Who interfaces with the jail and who does not? *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50, 1-17.
- Kubrin, C. E. & Stewart, E. A. (2006). Predicting who reoffends: The neglected role of neighborhood context in recidivism studies. *Criminology*, 44(1), 165-197.

- Kurlychek, M. C., Brame, R., & Bushway, S. D. (2006). Scarlet letters and recidivism: Does an old criminal record predict future offending? *Criminology and Public Policy*, 5(3), 483-504.
- Lambert, E & Hogan, N. (2009). The Importance of Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment in Shaping Turnover Intent: A Test of a Causal Model. *Criminal Justice Review*, 34(1), 96-118.
- LaMoure, J., Meadows, R., Mondschein, H., & Llewellyn, S. (2010). Interviewing male and female jail inmates sentenced for drug offenses: Findings and implications. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 23(1), 85-95.
- Lapham, S. C., Baca, J. C., Lapidus, J., & McMillan, G. P. (2007). Randomized sanctions to reduce re-offense among repeat impaired-driving offenders. *Addiction*, 102, 1618-1625.
- Lattimore, P. K. & Visher, C. A. (2010). *The multi-site evaluation of SVORI: Summary and synthesis* (award number 2004-RE-CX-0002). Washington, DC: U.S. Printing Office.
- Lattimore, P. K., Barrick, K. Cowell, A., Dawes, D., Steffey, D., Tueller, S., & Visher, C. A. (2012). Prisoner reentry services: What worked for SVORI evaluation participants? (award number 2009-IJ-CX-0010). Washington, DC: U.S. Printing Office.
- Laub, J. H. & Sampson, R. J. (2003). *Shared beginnings, divergent lives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- LaVigne, N. G., Kachnowski, V., Travis, J., Naser, B., & Visher, C. (2003). *A portrait of prisoner reentry in Maryland*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- LaVigne, N. G., Mamalian, C. A., Travis, J., & Visher, C. (2003). *A portrait of prisoner reentry in Illinois*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

- LaVigne, N. G., Thomson, G. L., Visher, C., Kachnowski, V., & Travis, J. (2003). *A portrait of prisoner reentry in Ohio*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- LeBel, T. P. & Maruna, S. (2012). Life on the outside: Transitioning from prison to the community. In J. Petersilia & K. R. Reitz (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of sentencing and corrections* (657-683). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- LeBel, T. P. (2008). Perceptions of and responses to stigma. *Sociology Compass*, 2(2), 409-432.
- LeBel, T. P. (2017), Housing as the Tip of the Iceberg in Successfully Navigating Prisoner Reentry. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 16(3), 891–908.
- LeBel, T. P., Burnett, R., Maruna, S., & Bushway, S. (2008). The ‘chicken and egg’ of subjective social factors in desistance from crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(2), 131-159.
- Lee, J. J., Guilamo-Ramos, V., Munoz-Laboy, M., Lotz, K., & Bornheimer, L. (2016). Mechanisms of familial influence on reentry among formerly incarcerated Latino men. *Social Work*, 61(3), 199-207.
- Levenson, J., Letourneau, E., Armstrong, K., Zgoba, K. M. (2010). Failure to register as a sex offender: Is it associated with recidivism? *Justice Quarterly*, 27(3), 305-331.
- Leverentz, A. M. (2014). *The Ex-prisoner's Dilemma: How Women Negotiate Competing Narratives of Reentry and Desistance*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lin, S., Su, C., Chou, F. H., Chen, S., Huang, J., Wu, G. T., Chen, W., ...Chen, C. (2009). Domestic violence recidivism in high risk Taiwanese offenders after the completion of violence treatment programs. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 20(3), 458-472.

- Linhorst, D. M., Dirks-Linhorst, P. A., & Groom, R. (2012). Rearrest and probation violations outcomes among probationers participating in a jail-based substance-abuse treatment used as an intermediate sanction. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 51*, 519-540.
- Lipsky, S., Kernic, M. A., Qiu, Q. Wright, C., & Hasin, D. S. (2014). A two-way street for alcohol use and partner violence: Who's driving it? *Journal of Family Violence, 29*, 815-828.
- Lovell, D., Johnson, L. C., & Cain, K. C. (2007). Recidivism of supermax prisoners in Washington State. *Crime & Delinquency, 53*(4), 633-656.
- Lurigio, A. J., Rollins, A., & Fallon, J. (2004). The effects of serious mental illness on offender reentry. *Federal Probation, 68*(2), 45-52.
- Lutze, F. E., Rosky, J. W., & Hamilton, Z. K. (2014). A multisite outcome evaluation of Washington State's Reentry Housing Program for high risk offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 41*(4), 471-491.
- MacDonald, R., Kaba, F., Rosner, Z., Vise, A., Weiss, D., Brittner, M., Skerker, M., Dickey, N., & Venters, H. (2015). The Rikers island hot spotters: Defining the needs of the most frequently incarcerated. *American Journal of Public Health, 105*(11), 2262-2268.
- Maenhout, T. M., Poll, A., Vermassen, T., DeBuyzere, M. L., Delanghe, J. R., & the ROAD Study Group. (2014). Usefulness of indirect alcohol biomarkers for predicting recidivism of drunk-driving among previously convicted drunk-driving offenders: Results from the Recidivism Of Alcohol-impaired Driving (ROAD) study. *Addiction, 109*, 71-78.
- Maeve, M. K. (2001). Waiting to be caught: The devolution of health for women newly released from jail. *Criminal Justice Review, 26*(2), 143-169.

- Mallik-Kane, K. & Visher, C. A. (2008). *Health and prisoner reentry: How physical, mental, and substance abuse conditions shape the process of reintegration*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Malone, D. K. (2009). Assessing criminal history as a predictor of future housing success for homeless adults with behavioral health disorders. *Psychiatric Services, 60*(2), 224-230.
- Mann, A., Spjeldnes, S., Yamatani, H. (2013). Male county jail inmates: A profile and self-reported human service needs by race. *Journal of Evidence-Based Social Work, 10*, 265-275.
- Marques, P. R., Tippetts, A. S., & Yegles, M. (2014). Ethylglucuronide in hair is a top predictor of impaired driving recidivism, alcohol dependence, and a key marker of the highest BAC interlock tests. *Traffic Injury Prevention, 15*, 361-369.
- Martinez, L. E. (2010). Police departments' response in dealing with person with mental illness. *Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations, 10*, 166-174.
- Martyn, M. (2012). Drug and alcohol misuse among adult offenders on probation supervision: Findings from the drugs and alcohol survey 2011. *Irish Probation Journal, 9*, 75-93.
- Maruna, S. (2001). *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives*. Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association.
- Maruna, S. (2016). Time to get rid of the skid bid? What good are short stays of incarceration? *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 665*, 98-102.
- Maruschak, L. M. & Berzofsky, M. (2015). *Medical problems of state and federal prisoners and jail inmates, 2011-12* (NCJ 248491). Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- Mason, M. (2010). Sample Size and Saturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 11*(3), 1-19.

- Massoglia, M. & Uggen, C. (2010). Settling down and aging out: Toward an interactionist theory of desistance and the transition to adulthood. *American Journal of Sociology*, 116(2), 543-582.
- Matejkowski, J., Draine, J., Solomon, P., & Salzer, M. S. (2011). Mental illness, criminal risk factors and parole release decisions. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 29, 528-553.
- May, D. C., Applegate, B. K., Ruddell, R., & Wood, P. B. (2014). Going to Jail Sucks (And It Really Doesn't Matter Who You Ask). *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(2), 250-266.
- McCartt, A. T., Leaf, W. A., Farmer, C. M., & Eichelberger, A. H. (2013). Washington State's alcohol ignition interlock law: Effects on recidivism among first-time DUI offenders. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 14, 215-229.
- McMillan, G. P., Lapham, S., & Lackey, M. (2008). The effect of a jail methadone maintenance therapy (MMT) program on inmate recidivism. *Addiction*, 103, 2017-2023.
- McMurrin, M. (2006). Controlled drinking goals for offenders. *Addiction Research and Theory*, 14(1), 59-65.
- McNeeley, S. (2018). Do Ecological Effects on Recidivism Vary by Gender, Race, or Housing Type? *Crime and Delinquency*, 64(6), 782-806.
- Mears, D. P. & Cochran, J. C. (2012). U.S. prisoner reentry health care policy in international perspective: Service gaps and the moral and public health implications. *The Prison Journal*, 92(2), 175-202.
- Miller, H. V. & Miller, J. M. (2010). Community in-reach through jail reentry: Findings from a quasi-experimental design. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(6), 893-910.

- Miller, H. V. & Miller, J. M. (2015). A promising jail reentry program revisited: results from a quasi-experimental design. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 28(2), 211-225.
- Miller, J. M., Miller, H. V., & Barnes, J. C. (2016). Outcome evaluation of a family-based jail reentry program for substance abusing offenders. *The Prison Journal*, 96(1), 53-78.
- Minton, T. D. & Golinelli, D. (2014). *Jail inmates at midyear, 2013 – statistical tables* (NCJ 245350). Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Mire, S., Forsyth, C. J., & Hanser, R. (2007). Jail diversion: Addressing the needs of offenders with mental illness and co-occurring disorders. *Mental Health Issues in the Criminal Justice System*, 45(1-2), 19-31.
- Monico, L. B., Mitchell, S. G., Welsh, W., Link, N., Hamilton, L., Redden, S. M.,...Friedmann, P. D. (2016). Developing effective interorganizational relationships between community corrections and community treatment providers. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 55(7), 484-501.
- Moore, M. D. & Tatman, A. W. (2016). Adverse childhood experiences and offender risk to re-offend in the United States: A quantitative examination. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 11(2), 148-158.
- Morenoff, Jeffrey D. (2014). Incarceration, Prisoner Reentry, and Communities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40, 411-433.
- Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD). (2018). *Saving Lives, Serving People*. Retrieved from: <https://www.madd.org/history/>.

- Murphy, D. S., Fuleihan, B., Richards, S. C., & Jones, R. S. (2011). The electronic “scarlet letter”: Criminal backgrounding and a perpetual spoiled identity. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 50*, 101-118.
- Nally, J. M., Lockwood, S., Ho, T., & Knutson, K. (2012). The post-release employment and recidivism among different types of offenders with a different level of education: A 5-year follow-up study in Indiana. *Justice Policy Journal, 9*(1), 1-30.
- National Institute on Drug Abuse. (2018). *Wisconsin Opioid Summary*. Retrieved from <https://www.drugabuse.gov/drugs-abuse/opioids/opioid-summaries-by-state/wisconsin-opioid-summary>.
- Nellis, A. (2016). *The color of justice: Racial and ethnic disparity in state prisons*. Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project.
- Nyamathi, A. M., Zhang, S., Salem, B. E., Farabee, D., Hall, B., Marlow, E., Faucette, M., ... Yadav, K. (2016). A randomized clinical trial of tailored interventions for health promotion and recidivism reduction among homeless parolees: Outcomes and cost analysis. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 12*(1), 49-74.
- Ostermann, M. & Matejkowski, J. (2014). Exploring the intersection of mental health and release status with recidivism. *Justice Quarterly, 31*(4), 746-766.
- Paternoster, R., Bachman, R., Kerrison, E., O’Connell, D., & Smith, L. (2016). Desistance from crime and identity: An empirical test with survival time. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 43*(9), 1204-1224.
- Pawasarat, J. & Quinn, L. M. (2013), *Wisconsin's Mass Incarceration of African American Males: Workforce Challenges for 2013*. ETI Publications. Paper 9.

- Perez, N. M., Jennings, W. G., & Baglivio, M. T. (2018). A path to serious, violent, chronic delinquency: The harmful aftermath of adverse childhood experiences. *Crime & Delinquency*, 64(1), 3-25.
- Petersilia, J. (2001). Prisoner reentry: Public safety and reintegration challenges. *The Prison Journal*, 81(3), 360-375.
- Philliber, S. (1987) Thy brother's keeper: A review of the literature on correctional officers, *Justice Quarterly*, 4(1), 9-37.
- Phillips, L. A. & Spencer, W. M. (2013). The challenges of reentry from prison to society. *Journal of current issues in crime, law, and law enforcement*, 6(2), 123-133.
- Phillips, L. A. (2010). Substance abuse and prison recidivism: Themes from qualitative interviews. *Journal of Addictions and Offender Counseling*, 31, 10-24.
- Pleggenkuhle, B., Huebner, B. M., & Kras, K. R. (2016). Solid Start: Supportive housing, social support, and reentry transitions. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39(3), 380-397.
- Pogarsky, G. (2006). Criminal records, employment, and recidivism. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 5(3), 479-482.
- Pogrebin, M., Dodge, M., & Katsampes, P. (2001). The collateral costs of short-term jail incarceration: The long-term social and economic disruptions. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, 5(4), 64-69.
- Prescott, J. J. & Starr, S. B. (2019). Expungement of criminal convictions: An empirical study. *Law and Economics Research Paper Series*, 19, 1-55. Retrieved from <https://gould.usc.edu/assets/docs/workshops-and-conferences/downloads/1000137.pdf>.

- Proctor, S. L. & Hoffmann, N. G. (2012). Identifying patterns of co-occurring substance use disorders and mental illness in a jail population. *Addiction Research and Theory*, 20(6), 492-503.
- Putnins, A. L. (2005). Assessing recidivism risk among young offenders. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 38(3), 324-339.
- Pyrooz, D. C. & Decker, S. H. (2011). Motives and methods for leaving the gang: Understanding the process of gang desistance. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 39, 417-425.
- R Core Team (2018). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. URL <https://www.R-project.org/>.
- Rajan, R. K. & D'Souza, L. (2018). Substance abuse, criminal attitudes, and behavioral patterns among first time and repeat male offenders. *The International Journal of Indian Psychology*, 6(1), 29-34.
- Rakes, S., Prost, S. G., & Tripodi, S. J. (2018). Recidivism among older adults: Correlates of prison re-entry. *Justice Policy Journal*, 15(1), 1-16.
- Ramakers, A. A. T., Van Wilsem, J., Nieuwbeerta, P., & Dirkzwager, A. J. E. (2016). Returning to a former employer: A potentially successful pathway to ex-prisoner re-employment. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56, 668-688.
- Raphael, S. (2006). Should criminal history records be universally available? *Criminology and Public Policy*, 5(3), 515-522.
- Raub, R. A., Lucke, R. E., & Wark, R. I. (2003). Breath alcohol ignition interlock devices: Controlling the recidivist. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 4, 199-205.

- Rauch, W. J., Ahlin, E. M., Zador, P. L., Howard, J. M., & Duncan, G. D. (2011). Effects of administrative ignition interlock license restrictions on drivers with multiple alcohol offenses. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7, 127-148.
- Reich, W. A., Picard-Fritsche, S., Lebron, L., & Hahn, J. W. (2015). Predictors of mental health court program compliance and rearrest in Brooklyn, New York. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 54, 391-405.
- Reisig, M. D., Bales, W. D., Hay, C., & Wang, X. (2007). The effect of racial inequality on black male recidivism. *Justice Quarterly*, 24(3), 408-434.
- Ricciardelli, R. (2016) Canadian prisoners' perceptions of correctional officer orientations to their occupational responsibilities. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 39(2), 324-343.
- Rider, R., Voas, R. B., Kelley-Baker, T., Grosz, M., & Murphy, B. (2007). Preventing alcohol-related convictions: The effect of a novel curriculum for the first-time offenders on DUI recidivism. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 8, 147-152.
- Robinson, D. (2000). Project Horizon: How Utah is reducing recidivism. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51(2), 227-231.
- Rocque, M., Posick, C., & White, H. R. (2015). Growing Up Is Hard to Do: An Empirical Evaluation of Maturation and Desistance. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, 1(4), 350-384.
- Roe-Sepowitz, D. E., Hickle, K. E., Loubert, M. P., & Egan, T. (2011). Adult prostitution recidivism: Risk factors and impact of a diversion program. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 50, 272-285.

- Ronan, G., Gerhart, J. I., Dollard, K., & Maurelli, K. A. (2010). An analysis of survival time to re-arrest in treated and non-treated jailers. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology, 21*(1), 102-112.
- Rose, S. J. & LeBel, T. P. (2017). Incarcerated mothers of minor children: Physical health, substance abuse, and mental health. *Women and Crime, 27*(3), 170-190.
- Rosenfeld, B. (2003). Recidivism in stalking and obsessional harassment. *Law and Human Behavior, 27*(3), 251-265.
- Rossheim, M. E., Livingston, M. D., Lerch, J. A., Taxman, F. S., & Walters, S. T. (2018). Serious mental illness and negative use consequences among adults on probation. *Health and Justice, 6*(6), 1-9.
- Rothbard, A. B., Wald, H., Zubritsky, C., Jaquette, N., & Chhatre, S. (2009). Effectiveness of a jail-based treatment program for individuals with co-occurring disorders. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 27*, 643-654.
- Ruddell, R. & Mays, G. (2011). Trouble in the Heartland: Challenges Confronting Rural Jails – Ruddell and May Trouble in the Heartland: Challenges Confronting Rural Jails. *International Journal of Rural Criminology, 1*(1), 105-131.
- Runell, L. L. (2015). Identifying desistance pathways in a higher education program for formerly incarcerated individuals. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 1*-15.
- Sadeh, N. & McNiel, D. E. (2015). Posttraumatic stress disorder increases risk of criminal recidivism among just-involved persons with mental disorders. *Criminal Justice & Behavior, 42*(6), 573-586.

- Sampson, R. J. & Laub, J. H. (1993). *Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sampson, R. J., Laub, J. H., & Wimer, C. (2006). Does marriage reduce crime? A counterfactual approach to within-individual causal effects. *Criminology*, 44(3), 465-506.
- Schaffer, B. J. (2009, September/October). The jailed veteran and a challenging economy. *American Jails*, 41-48.
- Schaffer, B. J. (2014). Female military veterans: Crime and psychosocial problems. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 24, 996-1003.
- Schaffer, B. J. (2016). Male veteran intimate partner violence (IPV) program outcomes. *Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work*, 13(1), 133-141.
- Schroeder, R. D., Giordano, P. C., & Cernkovich, S. A. (2010). Adult child-parent bonds and life course criminality. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38, 562-571.
- Seelye, K. Q. (2016, March 6). Heroin epidemic increasingly seeps into public view. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/07/us/heroin-epidemic-increasingly-seeps-into-public-view.html?_r=0.
- Seruca, T. & Silva, C. F. (2015). Recidivist criminal behavior and executive functions: A comparative study. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology*, 26(5), 699-717.
- Shafer, M .S., Arthur, B., & Franczak, M. J. (2004). An analysis of post-booking jail diversion programming for persons with co-occurring disorders. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 22, 771-785.
- Shulman-Laniel, J., Vernick, J. S., McGinty, B., Frattaroli, S., & Rutkow, L. (2017). US State ignition interlock laws for alcohol impaired driving prevention: A 50 state survey and analysis. *The Journal of Law, Medicine, & Ethics*, 45, 221-230.

- Simons, R. L. & Barr, A. B. (2014). Shifting perspectives: Cognitive changes mediate the impact of romantic relationships on desistance from crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 31(5), 793-821.
- Singh, A. & Sprott, J. B. (2017). Race matters: Public views on sentencing. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 59(3), 285-312.
- Skall, C. (2016). Journey out of neverland: CORI reform, Commonwealth v. Peter Pon, and Massachusetts's emergence as a national exemplar for criminal record sealing. *Boston College Law Review*, 57(1), 337-378.
- Skardhamar, T. & Savolainen, J. (2014). Changes in criminal offending around the time of job entry: A study of employment and desistance. *Criminology*, 52(2), 263-291
- Skardhamar, T., Savolainen, J., Aase, K. N., & Lyngstad, T. H. (2015). Does marriage reduce crime? A systematic review of research. *Crime and Justice*, 44(1), 385-446.
- Skeem, J. L., Encandela, J., & Loudon, J. E. (2003). Perspectives on probation and mandated mental health treatment in specialized and traditional probation departments. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 21, 429-458.
- Solomon, A. L., Johnson, K. D., Travis, J., & McBride, E. C. (2004). *From prison to work: The employment dimensions of prisoner reentry*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Solomon, A. L., Osborne, J. W. L., LoBuglio, S. F., Mellow, J., & Mukamal, D. A. (2008). *Life after lockup: Improving reentry from jail to the community*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Spjeldnes, S., Yamatani, H., & Davis, M. M. (2015). Child support conviction and recidivism: A statistical interaction pattern by race. *Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work*, 12, 628-636.

- Spohn, C. (2015). Race, crime, and punishment in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. *Crime & Justice*, 44(1), 49-97.
- Stahler, Gerald J. (2013). Predicting Recidivism for Released State Prison Offenders: Examining the Influence of Individual and Neighborhood Characteristics and Spatial Contagion on the Likelihood of Reincarceration. *Criminal Justice and Behavior.*, 40(6), 690-711.
- Staton-Tindall, M., McNeese, E., Leukfeld, C. G., Walker, R., Thompson, L., Pangburn, K., & Oser, C. B., (2009). Systematic outcomes research for corrections-based treatment: Implications from the criminal justice Kentucky treatment outcome study. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 48, 710-724.
- Steadman, H. J., Osher, F. C., Robbins, P. C., Case, B., & Samuels, S. (2009). Prevalence of serious mental illness among jail inmates. *Psychiatric Services*, 60(6), 761-765.
- Steffensmeier, D., Ulmer, J., and Kramer, J. (1998). The interaction of race, gender, and age in criminal sentencing: The punishment cost of being young, black, and male. *Criminology*, 36, 763-797.
- Stevens, D. J. & Ward, C. S. (1997). College education and recidivism: Educating criminals is meritorious. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 48(3), 106-111.
- Stohr, M. K. & Walsh, A. (2016). *Corrections: The Essentials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stohr, M. K. & Zupan, L. L. (1992). Street-level bureaucrats and service provision in jails: The failure of officers to identify the needs of inmates. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 16(2), 75-94.
- Stone, R. J. & Morash, M. (2014). Influences on substance use cessation during pregnancy: an exploratory study of women on probation and parole. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 27(1), 96-113.

- Sweeten, G., Pyrooz, D. C., Piquero, A. R. (2013). Disengaging from gangs and desistance from crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(3), 469-500.
- Swogger, M. T., Walsh, Z., Christie, M., Priddy, B. M., & Conner, K. R. (2015). Impulsive versus premeditated aggression in the prediction of violent criminal recidivism. *Aggressive Behavior*, 41, 346-352.
- Sykes, G. M. (1958). *The society of captives: A study of a maximum security prison*. Princeton, NJ, US: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, M. & Spang, T. (2017). "I'd prefer an applicant who doesn't have a delinquency history": Delinquents in the labor market. *OJJDP Journal of Juvenile Justice*, 6(1), 67-78.
- Theobald, D., Farrington, D. P., & Piquero, A. R. (2015). Does the birth of a first child reduce the father's offending? *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 48(1), 3-23.
- Thompson, M., Newell, S., & Carlson, M. J. (2016). Race and access to mental health and substance abuse treatment in the criminal justice system. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 55(2), 69-94.
- Timko, C., Midboe, A. M., Maisel, N. C., Blodgett, J. C., Asch, S. M., Rosenthal, J., & Blonigen, D. M. (2014). Treatments for recidivism risk among justice-involved veterans. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 53, 620-640.
- Toch, G. M. (1977). *Living in prison: The ecology of survival*. New York: The Free Press.
- Tomar, N., Ghezzi, M. A., Brinkley-Rubinstein, L., Wilson, A. B., VanDeinse, T. B., Burgin, S., & Cuddeback, G. S. (2017). Statewide mental health training for probation officers: Improving knowledge and decreasing stigma. *Health and Justice*, 5(11), 1-5.
- Tonkin, P., Dickie, J., Alemagno, S., & Grove, W. (2004). Women in jail: "Soft skills" and barriers to employment. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 38(4), 51-71.

- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tripodi, S. J. (2010). The influence of social bonds on recidivism. A study of Texas male prisoners. *Victims & Offenders, 5*(4), 354-370.
- Tripodi, S. J., Kim, J. S., & Bender, K. (2010). Is employment associated with reduced recidivism? The complex relationship between employment and crime. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 54*(5), 706-720.
- Tsai, J. & Rosenheck, R. A. (2012). Incarceration among chronically homeless adults: Clinical correlates and outcomes. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice, 12*, 307-324.
- Tsemberis, S. (2010). Housing first: Ending homelessness, promoting recovery, and reducing costs. In I. G. Ellen & B. O'Flaherty (Eds.), *How to House the Homeless* (37-56). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Turner, S. & Petersilia, J. (1996). Work release in Washington: Effects on recidivism and corrections costs. *The Prison Journal, 76*(2), 138-164.
- US Census Bureau (2010). *Defining Rural*. Retrieved from http://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/reference/ua/Defining_Rural.pdf
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2018). *Quick facts table*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/>
- Uggen, C. & Kruttschnitt, C. (1998). Crime in the breaking: Gender differences in desistance. *Law & Society Review, 32*(2), 339-366.
- Uggen, C. (2000). Work as a turning point in the life course of criminals: A duration model of age, employment and recidivism. *American Sociological Review, 65*(4), 529-546.

- Ullman, D. F. (2016). Locked and not loaded: First time offenders and state ignition interlock programs. *International Review of Law and Economics*, 45, 1-13.
- Veeh, C. A., Severson, M. E., & Lee, J. (2017). Evaluation of a Serious and Violent Offender Reentry Initiative (SVORI) program in a Midwest state. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 28(3), 238-254.
- Vera Institute of Justice. (2015). *Incarceration's front door: The misuse of jails in America*. Washington DC: Subramanian, R., Delaney, R., Roberts, S., Fishman, N., & McGarry, P.
- Vigesaa, L. E. (2013). Abuse as a form of strain among Native American and white female prisoners: Predictors of substance-related offenses and recidivism. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 11,1-21.
- Visher, C. A., Debus-Sherrill, S. A., & Yahner, J. (2011). Employment after prison: A longitudinal study of former prisoners. *Justice Quarterly*, 28(5), 698-718.
- Voas, R. B., Taylor, E., & Kelley-Baker, T. (2014). How necessary is monitoring to interlock program success? *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 15, 666-672.
- Walters, G. (2016). Recidivism and the "worst of both worlds" hypothesis: Do substance misuse and crime interact or accumulate? *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(4), 435-451.
- Walters, G. D. & Crawford, G. (2013). In and out of prison: Do important factors predict all forms of misconduct or just the more serious ones? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 41, 407-413.
- Wang, X., Mears, D. P., & Bales, W. D. (2010). Race-specific employment contexts and recidivism. *Criminology*, 48(4), 1171-1211.
- Warren, P., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., Smith, W., Zingraff, M., & Mason, M. (2006). Driving while black: Bias processes and racial disparity in police stops. *Criminology*, 44(3), 709-738.

- Watson, J., Solomon, A. L., LaVigne, N. G., Travis, J., Funches, M., & Parthasarathy, B. (2004). *A portrait of prisoner reentry in Texas*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Webster, J. M., Dickson, M. F., Staton-Tindall, M., & Leukefeld, C. G. (2015). Predictors of recidivism among rural and urban drug-involved prisoners. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 54*, 539-555.
- Westrope, E. (2018). Employment discrimination on the basis of criminal history: Why an anti-discrimination statute is a necessary remedy. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 108*(2), 367-397.
- White, H. R., Lee, C., Mun, E., & Loeber, R. (2012). Developmental patterns of alcohol use in relation to the persistence and desistance of serious violent offending among African American and Caucasian young men. *Criminology, 50*(2), 391-426.
- White, M. D., Saunders, J., Fisher, C., & Mellow, J. (2012). Exploring inmate reentry in a local jail setting: Implications for outreach, service use, and recidivism. *Crime and Delinquency, 58*(1), 124-146.
- Wieczorek, W. F. (2013). Criminal justice and public health policies to reduce the negative impacts of DUI. *Criminology and Public Policy, 12*(2), 195-201.
- Wikoff, N., Linhorst, D. M., & Morani, N. (2012). Recidivism among participants of a reentry program for prisoners released without supervision. *Social Work Research, 36*(4), 289-299.
- Williams, A. E. & Ariel, B. (2013). The Bristol integrated offender management scheme: A pseudo-experimental test of desistance theory. *Policing, 7*(2), 123-134.

- Williams, A. F., McCartt, A. T., & Ferguson, S. A. (2007). Hardcore drinking drivers and other contributors to the alcohol-impaired driving problem: Need for a comprehensive approach. *Traffic Injury Prevention, 8*, 1-10.
- Wilson, A.B., Draine, J., Hadley, T., Metraux, S., & Evans, A. (2011). Examining the impact of mental illness and substance use on recidivism in a county jail. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 34*: 264-268.
- Withrow, B. L. (2004). Driving while different: A potential theoretical explanation for race-based policing. *Criminal Justice Policy Review, 15*(3), 344-364.
- Wodahl, E. J. (2006). The challenges of prisoner reentry from a rural perspective. *Western Criminology Review, 7*(2), 32-47.
- Wolff, K. T., Baglivio, M. T., & Piquero, A. R. (2017). The relationship between adverse childhood experiences and recidivism in a sample of juvenile offenders in community-based treatment. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 6*(11), 1210-1242.
- Wutke, S. (2016). *Fighting Back: The History of Drunk Driving Since the 1970s*. Retrieved from <https://guardianinterlock.com/blog/history-of-drunk-driving-1970/>.
- Yang, Y., Knight, K., Joe, G. W., Rowan-Szal, G. A., Lehman, W. E. K., & Flynn, P. M. (2013). The influence of client risk and treatment engagement on recidivism. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 52*, 544-564.
- Zajac, G., Hutchinson, R., Meyer, C. (2014). *An examination of rural prisoner reentry challenges*. University Park: The Justice Center for Research at the Pennsylvania State University. Retrieved from <http://justicecenter.psu.edu/research/projects/rural-reentry> .

- Zelenev, A., Marcus, R., Kopelev, A., Cruzado-Quinones, J., Spaulding, A., Desabrais, M., ...Altice, F. L. (2013). Patterns of homelessness and implications for HIV health after release from jail. *AIDS and Behavior*, 17, S181-S194.
- Zgoba, K. M. & Levenson, J. (2012). Failure to register as a predictor of sex offense recidivism: The big bad wolf or a red herring? *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 24(4), 328-349.
- Zupan, L. L. & Menke, B. A. (1988). Implementing organizational change: From traditional to new generation jail operations. *Review of Policy Research*, 7(3), 615-625.
- Zweig, J., Yahner, J., & Redcross, C. (2011). For whom does a transitional jobs program work? Examining the recidivism effects of the Center for Employment Opportunities program on former prisoners at high, medium, and low risk of reoffending. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 10(4), 945-972.

Appendix WCS PSSR Screen

- Wisconsin Community Services Pretrial Services Screening Report (PSSR)



Pretrial Screening Inmate Interview

KEY FIELDS:

Interview Date 2/16/2012
 Interviewer _____
 Need Interpreter Yes No
 Language (please specify) _____
 Private Attorney Yes No
 Attorney _____

Client's Name JOHN . DOE Arrest Date 1/28/2008
 Alias/AKA _____ Location CJ -FL1 -INTK-HC -03A
 Home Address 0
 Mailing Address _____
 How long at this address? _____ In Metro Area _____ No. of moves in past year _____
 Living with: Name _____ Relationship _____
 Telephone No. _____ Alternate No. _____
 Age 22 Date of Birth 1/1/1990 Place of Birth MM Is A Veteran? Yes No
 Sex M F Heritage: Caucasian African American Hispanic Native American
 Asian Hawiian Pacific Islander Other _____
 Mode of transportation _____

PRESENT SITUATION:

Complainant/Relationship _____ Alternate Address _____

Charge(s)	Case Number	Category	Attorney
RESIST OR OBSTRUCT OFFICER		New Offense	

Current Bail: \$ _____ How much are you able to pay? \$ _____
 Other Warrants/Capias Yes No Related to Current Charges Yes No
 Outside of Metro Area Yes No Holds Pending Yes No Explain: _____

Other Pending Cases	Case Number	Court Date/Time/Location	Attorney
Operating while Intoxicated	2003CT8015	/ /	

Current FTA's: _____ Reason: _____
 On Probation/parole since: _____ Parole Length _____ Parole Agent: _____
 Charge(s): _____
 P&P Hold: Yes No VOP Offense: _____
 Other Hold: Yes No Other Offense: _____

VOCATIONAL/EDUCATIONAL HISTORY:

Highest grade completed? _____ Current School Attending? _____ GED? Yes No
 Literate(reading/writing ability, any other language)? Yes No HSED? Yes No

WORK HISTORY:(past 2 years)

Dates Start/Finish	Employer & Name of Supervisor	# Hours/Week	Position	Address/Phone	Reason for Leaving

Months worked in the last 2 _____

FINANCIAL INFORMATION:

Current Monthly Income: \$ _____
 Source: Employment Welfare SSI SSD V.A. Benefits Unemployment Compensation Other
 Do you have: Title XIX Medicaid Medicare Private Insurance _____

FAMILY SITUATION:

Marital Status: Single Married Separated Divorced Widowed
 Spouse/Fiance: Name _____ Address _____ Phone _____
 Children: _____ (number) Age Range: _____
 Are you the primary child care giver? Yes No
 Alimony/Child Support: No Paid Received Up-to-date? Yes No

ALCOHOL/SUBSTANCE ABUSE HISTORY

SUBSTANCE	FREQUENCY	AMOUNT

Current substance abuse treatment(within the past six months)

Date	Place/Counselor	Type of treatment(in/outpatient)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

MENTAL HEALTH HISTORY:

Do you have any mental/emotional problem(s)? Yes No

Current Mental Health Treatment (within the past six months):

Dates: _____

Place(s): _____

Inpatient: _____

Outpatient: _____

Medications/dose: _____

Doctor/therapist: _____

Do you have any serious medical problems(s): Yes No _____

Disabled Yes No

Are you pregnant? Yes No N/A

References: Name _____ Phone: _____
Name _____ Phone: _____

CURRICULUM VITAE

MATT RICHIE
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, Social Welfare/Criminal Justice
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI

Dissertation Title:

The Rabble in the Suburbs: An Examination of Jail Recidivism in a Non-Metropolitan County

Major Professor: Thomas P. LeBel

Masters of Science, Criminal Justice
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI
Degree Awarded: May 2014

Bachelor of Science, Criminal Justice
University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh, Oshkosh, WI
Degree Awarded: May 2012

PROJECT EXPERIENCE

Milwaukee County Veteran's Treatment Initiative

August 2017 – August 2018

Research Assistant

Milwaukee county has several treatment courts and initiatives designed to divert individuals from the traditional court processing system. The Milwaukee County Veteran's Treatment Initiative is a court-based program that offers veterans with a deferred prosecution agreement, deferred sentencing agreement, or enhanced probation a chance to engage in treatment and potentially dismiss or reduce charges. As part of this assistantship, I was responsible for analyzing quantitative data for the court to better understand client profiles and needs. I was also responsible for interviewing clients about their experiences with the treatment initiative, the Veterans Administration Hospital and associated services, and with their recovery. All of this information is analyzed and presented in the final report.

Wisconsin Community Services Repeat Drunk Driving Risk Tool/Supervision Evaluation

May 2016 – August 2018

Researcher

Wisconsin Community Services (WCS) developed a risk assessment tool to better supervise repeat drunk drivers. Initially, I conducted a pilot study of the tool to examine its efficacy in accurately assessing the risk to recidivism for individuals with two or more operating while intoxicated charges. After the pilot study produced promising results, the tool was implemented agency-wide along with the corresponding supervision matrix. As per our agreement, I continued to evaluate the risk tool for its accuracy in predicting recidivism for drunk drivers as well as evaluating the effectiveness of the new model of supervision on recidivism. The evaluation utilized a quasi-experimental design with a comparison group of clients on the previous model of supervision.

Eviction Defense Project Evaluation

April 2017 – present

Research Assistant & Supervisor

The Eviction Defense Project assisted individuals who had eviction cases filed against them through funding provided by the Pro Bono Innovative Grant mechanism. The program provided free legal counsel to indigent individuals in the forms of representation or provided advice for individuals who were in the process of being evicted. For this project, I was required to supervise data collection. Initially, the survey used in the study was conducted in a paper and pencil format but I developed an electronic version of the survey that allowed clients to use a tablet to complete the survey. I also managed and supervised the six-week and six-month follow-up surveys that were conducted telephonically and via text message.

Officer-Involved Shooting Evaluation

December 2015 – November 2016

Researcher

In collaboration with Dr. Jon Caudill, I examined 20 years of officer-involved shooting reports in a non-urban county in the Western United States. The major objective of the project was to examine how these incidents occurred and what transpired during these events. This involved qualitatively coding more than 30 police reports and then quantitatively analyzing the causes and occurrences of these incidents. The report was prepared for the sheriff of the county and utilized in future policy and practice issues.

Milwaukee County Drug Treatment Court

August 2014 – January 2016; August 2017 – August 2018

Research Assistant

The Milwaukee County Drug Treatment Court is funded through the Bureau of Justice Assistance's (BJA) grant #2009-DC-BX-0041 and #2013-144-PRJ82PX-5 as well as the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) grant #TI021527 and #TI024223. I was responsible for attending the drug treatment court staff meetings as well as evaluation team meetings. Also responsible for tracking client progress throughout the program, specifically the evaluation of Medication-Assisted Treatment (MAT). Responsible for the client satisfaction survey section in the annual report. Assisted in the facilitation of focus groups on the cognitive behavioral intervention (Thinking for a Change) and the trauma-informed care program (Trauma Recovery Empowerment Model) as well as documenting the progress of these groups as they relate to the Milwaukee County Drug Treatment Court.

I had the opportunity to rejoin the evaluation team for the court in August 2017. My responsibilities for the assistantship included interviewing clients in regards to what their experiences were with the court, with treatment providers, and with MAT. I was also responsible for analyzing this data and writing portions of the final report as it relates to consumer experiences as well as the court adherence to the 10 Key Components of Drug Treatment Courts.

Music and Memory Program

July 2015 – January 2016

Research Assistant

As part of this project, I was charged with co-facilitating the evaluation survey to the nursing homes included in the program. I was also charged with facilitating a survey to all nursing homes in Wisconsin that focused on perceptions of the program as well as how certain nursing homes had implemented the program (facilitators and barriers to implementation). This was done using Teleform. I created the survey in Teleform, was responsible for distributing the survey via mail, as well as collecting and cleaning responses.

Field Placement Program

August 2012 – August 2014

Project Assistant

Responsible for recruiting and coordinating student placements with different agencies in southeastern Wisconsin. Students were placed in the traditional criminal justice agencies as well as a number of social welfare and community-based organizations. Also responsible for grading and compiling grades for the Field Placement Program Supervisor, Dr. Tom LeBel.

Helen Bader School of Social Welfare – Criminal Justice Department

August 2012 – August 2014

Graduate Assistant

As part of my graduate assistantship, I was responsible for proctoring exams, helped with grading, and worked under several faculty members on a number of different projects. I also was responsible for assisting in departmental and college matters such as constructing syllabi for new courses and writing sections of the accreditation report. The assistantship included a full tuition waiver and an annual stipend.

Local Initiatives Support Corporation – Community Safety Initiative

September 2013

Technical Assistance

Was asked to report on the third of three Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation regional meetings in Milwaukee. The Community Safety Initiative is a part of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation and provides technical assistance to the Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation grant awardees. This included posting updates on Facebook as well as submitting three blog posts. Two of the blog posts were more in-depth updates on the meeting and the third was an article on the student perspective of the meeting and the projects discussed.

Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Grant

May 2013 – September 2013

Technical Assistance

I worked on the NIJ funded Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Grant (2013) for the Milwaukee, WI site. I worked with Dr. Kimberly Hassell in transcribing focus group data, and preparing the data for analyses. The 354 single-spaced pages of focus group data were used to assess Washington Park residents' perceptions of disorder and crime, police, community organizations and collective efficacy. The data were used by the Milwaukee Police Department and community organizations in fashioning strategic responses to the findings identified in data analyses. I was also responsible for entering the data for the community-wide surveys as well as providing feedback for how the collection of data could be improved.

PUBLICATIONS

- LeBel, T. P. & Richie, M. (forthcoming). Thinking of Oneself as a Typical Former Prisoner. Does this Belief have a Person on the Road to Reentry Success or Failure? In A. Leverentz, J. Christian, & E. Chen (Eds.), *Beyond Recidivism*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Sheeran, A. M., Hilinski-Rosick, C. M., Richie, M., & Freiburger, T. L. (2018). Correlates of Elderly Inmate Misconduct: A Comparison of Younger, Middle-Age, and Elderly Inmates. *Corrections*, 1-26.
- LeBel, T. P. & Richie, M. (2018). The Psychological Effects of Contact with the Criminal Justice System. In B. Huebner & N. Frost (Eds.), *ASC Division on Corrections and Sentencing Handbook, Volume 3: The Collateral Consequences of Punishment*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- LeBel, T. P., Richie, M., & Maruna, S. (2017). Can Released Prisoners “Make it”? Examining Formerly Incarcerated Persons’ Belief in Upward Mobility and the “American Dream.” In S. Stojkovic (Ed.), *Prisoner Reentry: Critical Issues and Policy Directions*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Richie, M. & Randol, B. M. (2017). Corrections in Mexico. In *The Encyclopedia of Corrections*.
- LeBel, T. P., Richie, M., & Maruna, S. (2015). Helping others as a response to reconcile a criminal past: The role of the wounded healer in prisoner reentry programs. *Criminal Justice & Behavior*, 42(1), 108-120.
- Richie, M. & Freiburger, T. (2014). Creating identity on social network sites. In C. D. Marcum & G. E. Higgins (Eds.), *Social network as a criminal enterprise* (9-25). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press Taylor & Francis Group.

UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH REPORTS

- Richie, M. & Rose, C. (2018). Evaluation Data on the UWO Drug Diversion Program. Prepared for the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Police Department & Winnebago County District Attorney’s Office.
- Richie, M. (2018). Preliminary Point-In-Time Jail Population Report. Prepared for the Winnebago County District Attorney’s Office, Winnebago County Sheriff’s Office, and the Winnebago County Jail Reduction Committee.
- Richie, M. (2018). Winnebago County Jail Trends: Ten-Year Trends. Prepared for the Winnebago County District Attorney’s Office.

- Freiburger, T. L., Jordan, K. L., & Richie, M. (2018). Assessment of the “Thinking for Change” Program. Presented to: Eastern District of Wisconsin United States Probation Office.
- Richie, M. & Freiburger, T. L. (2017). Eviction Defense Project: Year One Evaluation. Prepared for Eviction Defense Project, Legal Action of Wisconsin.
- Richie, M. (2017). Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument (VPRAI) Validation Report. Prepared for Wisconsin Community Services.
- Richie, M. (2017). An Evaluation of the OWI Pretrial Risk Assessment and Supervision Model: The Analysis after Nine Months. Prepared for Wisconsin Community Services.
- Richie, M. (2016). An Evaluation of the OWI Pretrial Risk Assessment and a New Model of OWI Supervision: The First Six Months. Prepared for Wisconsin Community Services.
- Richie, M. (2016). Predicting OWI Recidivism from the ‘OWI Pretrial Risk Assessment’ (Pilot Study). Prepared for Wisconsin Community Services.
- Richie, M. (2016). A Descriptive Examination of Officer-Involved Shooting Incidents in a Western County. Prepared for the Sheriff’s Office of the Western County
- LeBel, T. P., Richie, M. & Fendrich, M. (2016). Evaluation of the Milwaukee County Drug Treatment Court Enhancement Initiative: Final Report. This evaluation was supported by BJA grant 2013-DC-BX-0034.
- LeBel, T. P., Richie, M., & Fendrich, M. (2015). Evaluation of the Milwaukee County Drug Treatment Court: Final Report. This evaluation was support by SAMHSA grant # TI021527and # TI024223; and BJA grant # 2009-DC-BX-0041 and 2013-144-PRJ82PX-5
- Randol, B. M. & Richie, M. (2015). Evaluation of Youth-related Crime and Disorder in the Metcalfe Park Neighborhood: Assessing the Impact of the White House’s Building Neighborhood Capacity Program. Prepared for the Milwaukee Police Department and the Stakeholders of Milwaukee’s Metcalfe Park Neighborhood
- LeBel, T. P., Fendrich, M., & Richie, M. (2015). Evaluation of the Milwaukee County Drug Treatment Court Annual Report for 2014. This evaluation was support by SAMHSA grant # TI021527and # TI024223; and BJA grant # 2009-DC-BX-0041 and 2013-144-PRJ82PX-5

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- LeBel, T. P. & Richie, M. (2018). The Psychological Effects of Contact with the Criminal Justice System. Accepted for presentation at the annual meeting for the American Society of Criminology. Atlanta, GA.
- Sheeran, A. M., Richie, M., Hilinski-Rosick, C., & Freiburger, T. L. (2018). Inmate Misconduct: A Test of the Importation and Deprivation Theories. Accepted for presentation at the annual meeting for the American Society of Criminology. Atlanta, GA.
- Caudill, J. W., Richie, M., Trulson, C. R., & DeLisi, M. (2018). Prison Politics in the County Jail: Exploring the Consequences of Sentencing Reform and Merged Expectations. Accepted for presentation at the annual meeting for the American Society of Criminology. Atlanta, GA.
- Richie, M. & Carpenter, S. (2017). *An Evaluation of the WCS Repeat OWI Pretrial Risk Assessment and Supervision Matrix*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.
- LeBel, T. P., Headley, R., & Richie, M. (2017). *Is a Picture Worth a Thousand Words? Examining the Referral, Screening and Admission Process in a Midwestern Drug Treatment Court*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.
- Richie, M. & Freiburger, T. L. (2017). *Dealing with Eviction: A mixed-methods evaluation of an eviction assistance program*. Submitted for presentation at the Midwest Criminal Justice Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL.
- Pfeiffer, A., Richie, M., Freiburger, T., & Hilinski-Rosick, C. (2017). *Factors Contributing to Prison Misconduct among Elderly Inmates*. Submitted for presentation at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Kansas City, MO.
- Richie, M. & Caudill, J. W. (2016). *A Descriptive Examination of Officer-involved Shooting Incidents in a Western County*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.
- LeBel, T. P., Richie, M., & Fendrich, M. (2016). *Is Success in Drug Court About Drugs? Examining the Impact of Adding a Cognitive-Behavioral Treatment Intervention*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.
- Richie, M. & Brandl, S. G. (2015). *An Examination of Police Use of Force in Stop and Frisk Situations*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C.

- LeBel, T. P., Fendrich, M., & Richie, M. (2015). *Is the Process Part of the Punishment? Recommended versus Actual Sentences Imposed for Persons Terminated from Drug Treatment Court*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C.
- Richie, M., Singh, P., Freiburger, T. L., Snowden, A. J. (2015). *Evaluation of Place-Based Policing in Milwaukee, WI*. Submitted for presentation at the Midwest Criminal Justice Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL.
- LeBel, T. P. & Richie, M. (2014). *Helping others as a response to reconcile a criminal past: The role of wounded healer in prisoner reentry programs*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California.
- Richie, M. & LeBel, T. P. (2014). *On the road to desistance? Formerly incarcerated person's (dis)identification as a "typical former prisoner."* Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California.
- Richie, M. (2013). *The effect of concealed carry legislation on crime rates in Ohio*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Mellom, D., Richie, M., Freiburger, T., & Romain, D., (2013). *Undergraduates' perceptions of academic misconduct*. Submitted for presentation at the Midwest Criminal Justice Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.
- Richie, M. (2012). *Judicial Waiver Laws: A social problem within a social problem*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.
- Richie, M. (2011). *A Quantitative Approach to Acceptable Limits on Marijuana Possession and its Normalization*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Washington D.C.
- Dietsche, L. & Richie, M (2011). *My Pal Fred: A Look Inside the Life of a College Sex Offender*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Washington D.C.
- Richie, M. (2010). *Normalization of Marijuana and Current Views of Marijuana Legislation*. Submitted for presentation at the American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California.
- Richie, M. (2010). *Current Views on Marijuana Legislation*. Submitted for presentation at the Midwest Sociological Society Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.

COURSES TAUGHT

Organized Crime (online)
Correctional Process (online and face-to-face)
Perspective on Crime and the Criminal Justice System (Graduate) (face-to-face)
Theories of Crime (face-to-face)
Introduction to the Criminal Justice (face-to-face)
Social Work Research Methods
Community-Based Corrections

Honors Thesis Advisor for Amy Lanzendorf

AWARDS

Distinguished Graduate Student Fellowship (2015-2016)
HBSSW Dean's Fellowship Award (2014-2015)
HBSSW Criminal Justice Graduate Student of the Year (2014)
HBSSW Random Act of Kindness Award (2014, 2016)
Department of Criminal Justice Graduate Assistantship (2012-2014)
Chancellor's Graduate Student Award (2012-2013 & 2013-2014)
University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh Criminal Justice Scholarship Award (2012)
Midwest Sociological Society Travel Award (2010)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Manuscript Reviewer for:

Race and Justice
Criminal Justice Review
Corrections: Policy, Practice, and Research
International Journal of Restorative Justice
Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice
Journal of Interpersonal Violence

Reviewer for the MCJA Student Paper Competition

Professional Memberships:

American Society of Criminology
Midwest Criminal Justice Association
Midwest Sociological Society
Winnebago County Jail Reduction Committee
Outagamie County Evidence-Based Decision-Making Committee

UNIVERSITY SERVICE & VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

26th Annual UWM Criminal Justice Career Day Coordinator (2014)
HBSSW Student Grievance Committee (2013-Present)

Scholastic Graduate Appeals Committee (2012-Present)
Helen Bader School of Social Welfare Awards Committee Member (2012-2014, 2016)
Internal Review Team – Criminal Justice Department (UWM) (2014-2018)