Recidivism among pre-trial detainees

Presented by

The Research and Evaluation Unit, CJPPD

January 2019
Recidivism among pre-trail detainees

- Each year, the Criminal Justice Research Unit at OPM produces an analysis of recidivism among CT prisoners.

- Over the last decade, the Unit has tracked four measures of recidivism among cohorts of sentenced prisoners:
  - New arrests
  - Returns-to-prison for any reason
  - New convictions, and
  - Returns to prison begin new term of incarceration

- This year - in a break with past practice - we investigate recidivism among pre-trial detainees.

- For this study a single recidivism measure will be considered, returns to prison for any reason within three years a release following a pre-trial admission in 2014.

- We will observe recidivism through several variable:
  - Release type, residence, criminal history and age.
Recidivism among pre-trail detaineees

- As a general rule, pre-trial detainees in CT are persons who are incarcerated in lieu of posting a bond prior to the disposition of a criminal case(s).

- Over the last few years, OPM – in collaboration with the CT DOC and CCSD has attempted to develop a more nuanced understanding of this little understood population, and of the dynamics that drive the state’s pre-trial incarceration system.

- In October 2018 – the Research Unit published Women in Jail in CT. This month we will be publishing the summaries of interviews with pre-trial prisoners conducted by our researcher, Kendall Bobula, at York CI in 2018.

- For this current study the CT DOC provided the Unit with data on movement, sentence history and classification scores for 15,416 people who were admitted to the CT DOC as pre-trial detainees in 2014.
Some background on the pre-trial population

Some of the urgency in investigating the pre-trial population is due to:

- Its growing system impact
- An existing imbalance in knowledge regarding sentenced and pre-trial population
- The inability to explain significant shifts in the pre-trial population over time
- To need to model the mechanisms that drive the pre-trial population.
The CT DOC by the numbers – 15 facilities

CT DOC – January 1, 2019
13,228 prisoners

- Sentenced prisoners: 9,270, 70%
- Pre-trial detainees: 3,401, 26%
- Other: 557, 4%

Total admissions in 2018: 21,018
- Sentenced admissions: 2,638 (13%)
- Pre-trial admissions: 15,853 (75%)
- Other: 1,467 (7%)

Releases and discharges in 2018: 21,967
- Sentenced releases and discharges: 11,498 (52%)
- Pre-trial releases: 10,469 (48%)
- Other: na

Costs – bed-days versus event-related costs
First outcomes associated with 99% of pre-trial detainees

15,416* people admitted as pre-trial detainees in 2014

4,902 detainees (32%) bonded out from jail

5,453 detainees (36%) were released at court

4,951 detainees (32%) became sentenced prisoners

* The figure does not include special parolees charges with new crimes
The bond group and the court-release group

15,416 people admitted on pre-trial status in 2014

- The bond group was composed of pre-trial detainees who posted their bonds at the jail and were released.

- The court-release group – according to CT DOC movement data – left jail for a court date and were released at court. (A fuller analysis of these cases will be performed in the future.)

- These two groups of 10,355 people became the study-cohort
Where pre-trial detainees came from in CT

Roughly 2/3 of all pre-trial admissions came from just 15 towns of the state’s 169 towns.
Pre-trial detainees and home towns

Top 5 towns
Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Waterbury

Next 10 towns
Bristol, Danbury, E. Hartford, Manchester, Meriden

Top 5, 579,943, 16%

Next 10, 651,478, 18%

CT other, 2,345,031, 66%

CT pre-trial admittees, 2014

Top 5 towns Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Waterbury, New London

Next 10 towns Bristol, Danbury, E. Hartford, Manchester, Meriden, New London, Norwalk, Norwich, Stamford, W. Haven

Percentage of statewide population in top 15 towns: 34%

Percentage of CT pre-trial admittees from top 15 towns: 67%

CT population 2017

Top 5, 579,943, 16%

Next 10, 651,478, 18%

CT other, 2,345,031, 66%

Median Household Income by town 2010

Top 5 towns Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Waterbury, New London

Next 10 towns Bristol, Danbury, E. Hartford, Manchester, Meriden, New London, Norwalk, Norwich, Stamford, W. Haven

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>CT population 2017</th>
<th>Pre-trial admits, CT residents, 2014</th>
<th>DOC admits per 100,000 residents</th>
<th>Violent crime reported, 2016</th>
<th>Violent crime per 100,000 residents</th>
<th>Property crime reported, 2016</th>
<th>Property crimes per 100,000 residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top 5</td>
<td>579,943</td>
<td>6,425</td>
<td>1107.9</td>
<td>4,453</td>
<td>767.8</td>
<td>20,267</td>
<td>3494.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next 10</td>
<td>651,478</td>
<td>3,313</td>
<td>508.5</td>
<td>1,792</td>
<td>275.1</td>
<td>12,460</td>
<td>1912.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT other</td>
<td>2,345,031</td>
<td>4,773</td>
<td>203.5</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>27,315</td>
<td>1164.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>3,576,452</td>
<td>14,511</td>
<td>405.7</td>
<td>7,754</td>
<td>216.8</td>
<td>60,042</td>
<td>1678.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Pre-trial detainees – race and ethnicity

### Pre-trial admittees, race/ethnicity by town group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Other race/eth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top 5</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next 10</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT other</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other state</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The racial and ethnic mix among pre-trial detainees is strongly influenced by residence patterns.

### Admitees and the general population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre-trial admittees 2014</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>DOC population 3/1/2019</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>2015 CT population est.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>6,635</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>4,075</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>2,479,807</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5,227</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>5,691</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>331,849</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>3,397</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>3,467</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>523,085</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>239,144</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15416</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>13,348</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>3,573,885</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blacks and Hispanics: 56% 69% 24%

Although minorities still constituted a majority of pre-trial admittees in 2014, that disparity was lower than the one observed in the sentenced population.
Pre-trial detainees from CT in 2014 - continued

Prior involvement with the CT DOC

- Less than a third of persons admitted as pre-trial detainees in 2014 (31%) were admitted to the CT DOC for the first time.

- A majority of persons admitted as pre-trial detainees in 2014 (52%) had served a prison sentence in CT prior to their latest admission.

- 10% of persons admitted in 2014 been admitted to DOC facility at least 13 times in the past – another 10% had served 10 sentences or more.

![Prior DOC admit history](chart1)

- No prior DOC admits, 4774, 31%
- 1 to 3 prior DOC admits, 4568, 29%
- 4 to 12 prior DOC admits, 4576, 30%
- 13 or more prior DOC admits, 1498, 10%

![Prior DOC sentence](chart2)

- No prior DOC sentence, 7,431, 48%
- 1 to 2 prior sentences, 2,574, 17%
- 3 to 9 sentences, 3,893, 25%
- 10 or more sentences, 1,518, 10%
Bond ranges of pre-trial detainees in 2014

- Over a third of pre-trial detainees had bonds of under $50,000.
- Detainees who posted bonds had the highest churn rates among pre-trial detainees.
Time to clear the system - the first 26 weeks

First significant movement

- Bond group
- DNRFC group
- Sentenced group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bond group</th>
<th>DNRFC group</th>
<th>Sentenced group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group size</td>
<td>4,902</td>
<td>5,453</td>
<td>4,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% remaining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...after 4 weeks</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...after 10 weeks</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...after 26 weeks</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time to first significant move by outcome

- Bond group
- DNRFC group
- Sentenced group

- Sentenced 90%: 38 weeks

Group size: 4,902, 5,453, 4,951
% remaining: after 4 weeks 10%, 52%, 85%; after 10 weeks 3%, 23%, 59%; after 26 weeks 1%, 3%, 25%
Recidivism rates, return-to-prison

- Almost half of the people who bonded out of jail (48%) were back in a DOC facility within a year.

- The 10-point gap between the bond group and the court-release group, observed at the 12-month mark, closed to a 7 point gap at the 36-month point.
Recidivism rates, persons released from pre-trial detention, 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bond group</th>
<th>Court-release group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bond cohort</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,453</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st readmit w/in 3 years</td>
<td>3,009 55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... new charges</td>
<td>2,633 88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... with a sentence</td>
<td>369 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... from another jurisdiction</td>
<td>7 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bond cohort</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,902</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st readmit w/in 3 years</td>
<td>3,040 62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... new charges</td>
<td>2,266 75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... with a sentence</td>
<td>767 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... from another jurisdiction</td>
<td>7 0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recidivism - returns to prison

- Bond group
- Court-release group

Months since release from jail

Cum./ percent

- 0% 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36
Recidivism – sentenced prisoners vs. pre-trial detainees

Return-to-prison recidivism rates calculated for
- 4,902 PT detainees who bonded out
- 5,453 PT detainees released from court, and
- 11,133 sentenced prisoners who left prison in 2014

Recidivism rates by group
- Highest – the bond group (48%, 62%)
- Mid-group – court release group (38%, 55%)
- Lowest group – sentenced prisoners (34%, 54%)
Recidivism – sentenced prisoners vs. pre-trial detainees

Return-to-prison recidivism rates calculated for
- 4,902 PT detainees who bonded out
- 5,453 PT detainees released from court, and (34%, 54%)
- 5,595 sentenced prisoners who had no DOC community supervision
- 5,538 sentenced prisoners who had DOC community supervision

Return-to-prison recidivism at 12-months and 36-months
- Highest – the bond group (48%, 62%)
- Mid-group – sentenced and supervised (38%, 57%)
- Mid-group – court release group (38%, 55%)
- Lowest group – sentenced, unsupervised (29%, 50%)
Recidivism and criminal history

Persons with no prior admits have lower recidivism rates at 36-months compared to the 12-month rates of others.

Similarly, persons with no prior sentence history have lower recidivism rates at 36-months compared to the 12-month rates of others.

The extent of a person’s involvement with the criminal justice system appears linked to higher recidivism.

- No prior admit: 43%
- Prior admit no sentence: 48%
It should come as no surprise that persons from out-of-state had the lowest return-to-prison rates in CT. If we could track these people into other states we might find they recidivate at rates similar to locals.

Among pre-trial admittees, age and recidivism rates were much more closely clustered than among sentenced prisoners who were released or discharged in 2014.
Recidivism findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>12-month rate</th>
<th>36-month rate</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bond group</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>4,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>court-release group</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>5,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All sentenced prisoners, 2014</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>11,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervised sentenced</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>5,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsupervised sentenced</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>5,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No prior admits</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>3,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3 admits</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>3,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 12 admits</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>2,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 or more admits</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No sentence history</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>5,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3 sentences</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>1,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 9 sentences</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>2,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 or more sentences</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the top 5 towns</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>4,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the next 10 towns</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>2,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remaining 154 towns</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>3,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-CT offenders</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 14 to 23</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>2,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 24 to 28</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>2,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 29 to 34</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>1,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 35 to 44</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>1,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 45 to 91</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>2,076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we discovered in our studies of recidivism among sentenced prisoners, the risk of recidivism appears to be influenced by a range of social and personal factors.

At the 12-month mark, we observed that recidivism-rate ranges for different groups of detainees ran from 18% to 61%.

At the 36-month mark, recidivism rates ranges from 26% to 79%. It should be noted that the highest rates were found among persons who had long and extended experience with the CT DOC.
Recidivism findings

12-month rate

- 10 or more sentences: 61%
- 13 or more admits: 59%
- 4 to 9 sentences: 51%
- 4 to 12 admits: 54%
- 1 to 3 sentences: 48%
- Age: 14 to 23: 47%
- Age: 24 to 28: 45%
- from the top 5 towns: 45%
- 1 to 3 admits: 45%
- Age: 29 to 34: 44%
- remaining 154 towns: 44%
- from the next 10 towns: 42%
- Age: 35 to 44: 40%
- Supervised sentenced: 38%
- court-release group: 38%
- Age: 45 to 91: 36%
- No sentence history: 34%
- All sentenced prisoners,...: 34%
- No prior admits: 29%
- Unsupervised sentenced: 29%
- non-CT offenders: 18%

36-month rate

- 10 or more sentences: 79%
- 13 or more admits: 78%
- 4 to 9 sentences: 72%
- 4 to 12 admits: 72%
- 1 to 3 sentences: 66%
- Age: 14 to 23: 64%
- from the top 5 towns: 63%
- bond group: 62%
- Age: 24 to 28: 61%
- 1 to 3 admits: 61%
- Age: 29 to 34: 60%
- remaining 154 towns: 60%
- from the next 10 towns: 59%
- Supervised sentenced: 57%
- Age: 35 to 44: 56%
- court-release group: 55%
- All sentenced prisoners,...: 54%
- Age: 45 to 91: 51%
- Unsupervised sentenced: 50%
- No sentence history: 48%
- No prior admits: 43%
- non-CT offenders: 26%
Findings

1. Most people who are admitted to prison as pre-trial detainees in CT have a prior history of incarceration.

2. When aggregated, the criminal histories of persons on pre-trial status are not significantly different from the histories of people serving prison sentences.

3. The return-to-prison rates of pre-trial people are remarkably similar to the recidivism rates of sentenced offenders leaving prison.

4. It appears from this analysis that the distinction that is made between sentenced-prisoners and accused-prisoners is rests largely on procedural, legal and circumstantial concerns. From a less system-oriented perspective, the differences between sentenced prisoners and most pre-trials detainees are minimal. Passage through the system for many individuals is lived on a continuum between pre-trial status and sentenced status. This probably explains why recidivism outcomes appears so similar.

5. We shall publish this information in a report within the coming months.
Presentation produced by OPM's Research and Evaluation Unit /CJPPD

Ivan Kuzyk, Kyle Baudoin & Kendall Bobula