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-trial detainees

- 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%
Others: 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 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

CT population 2017

Top 5 towns: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, Waterbury
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%

Median Household Income by town 2010

Top 5 towns: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, Waterbury
Next 10 towns: Bristol, Danbury, E. Hartford, Manchester, Meriden
New London, Norwalk, Norwich, Stamford, W. Haven

Percentage of CT pre-trial admittees from top 15 towns: 67%
## Pre-trial detainees – race and ethnicity

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town Group</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 admitees 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></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 admitees in 2014, that disparity was lower than the one observed in the sentenced population.
• 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group size</th>
<th>Bond group</th>
<th>DNRFC group</th>
<th>Sentenced group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,902</td>
<td>5,453</td>
<td>4,951</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% remaining

- after 4 weeks: 10% 52% 85%
- after 10 weeks: 3% 23% 59%
- after 26 weeks: 1% 3% 25%

Time to first significant move by outcome

- Bond group
- DNRFC group
- Sentenced group

Sentenced 90%: 38 weeks
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

#### Bond group
- Bond cohort: 4,902
- 1st readmit w/in 3 years: 3,040 (62%)
- ... new charges: 2,266 (75%)
- ...with a sentence: 767 (25%)
- ...from another jurisdiction: 7 (0%)

#### Court-release group
- Bond cohort: 5,453
- 1st readmit w/in 3 years: 3,009 (55%)
- ... new charges: 2,633 (88%)
- ...with a sentence: 369 (12%)
- ...from another jurisdiction: 7 (0%)
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%
Recidivism – residence and age

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.
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: 54%
- 4 to 12 admits: 54%
- 1 to 3 sentences: 51%
  
  bond group
  - 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
  - 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 who recidivism outcomes appears so similar.

5. We shall publish this information in a report within the coming months.
Women in Jail Interview Notes

The Connecticut Statistical Analysis Center
March 2019

OPM - Criminal Justice Policy & Planning Division
Women in Jail Interview Notes

Purpose and Methodology

Between March 3, 2015 and August 23, 2015, the Criminal Justice Policy and Planning Division at the Office of Policy and Management, performed a series of one-on-one, open-ended interviews with 33 incarcerated women who were awaiting adjudication at York Correctional Institution, the state’s only prison for women.

These interviews were intended as part of a broader OPM investigation into the dynamics that appeared to be driving the state’s female pre-trial population (Women in Jail in CT, 2015). The interviews at York CI provided an often-sobering look at the issues and circumstances confronting a large portion of the state’s female pre-trial population. A majority of the women who were interviewed exhibited a complex constellation of issues and concerns that included economic and family instability, chronic substance abuse, mental and physical health issues, and histories of childhood and sexual trauma.

Access to inmates at York CI was granted by former ODC Commissioner Scott Semple. The women that were interviewed were selected at random by OPM from the DOC’s inmate management system. Staff at York CI were informed of the names of women to be interviewed in advance and correctional officers accompanied each woman to a private interview room where they were informed about the purpose of the interviews. The women were then given the opportunity to opt out and return to their housing units or to sign a consent agreement. In the consent agreement, each interviewee was informed that she was not required to discuss or reveal anything that she did not feel comfortable sharing, and that she could and the interview at any time.

Only one caveat was placed on OPM by York CI staff. Interviews were only allowed with women who had been admitted to the facility at least one week prior to the date of the interview. This was done, we were told, to ensure that none of the women were undergoing detox at the time of the interview. The DOC staff’s decision to restrict interviews to pre-trial women held for more than one week certainly affected the composition of the interview cohort. In the report Women in Jail in CT we discovered that among women who were able to bond out from jail, 75% were able to do so within the first week. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the women who are able to leave prison within 7 days of admission have greater access to economic assets and social and family support than the women who remain incarcerated past one week. Given this constraint we assume that the interview cohort is slightly more likely to be experiencing/more difficult circumstances than the average pre-trial admittee.

The following pages are an attempt to present the information gleaned from the interviews in a general way in the hope that they might be useful to future researchers interested in incarcerated women.

- Kondahl Bobula, Principal investigator

Women in Jail Interview Notes, Criminal Justice Policy & Planning Division, I. Kuzy, K. Bobula, K. Budoi, M. Sawicki March 2019

• Childhood Trauma
  - 84% (16 of 19) women said their parent or primary caregiver had a serious mental or physical health issue

• Pregnancy
  - The most frequently occurring age for a first pregnancy was age 17

• Sexual Trauma
  - 86% (24 of 28) woman had been sexually assaulted and of those 24 women, 18 were 16 year old or younger

• Mental Health Issues
  - 82% (21 of 26) of the women said they had a mental health condition or multiple

• Drug Abuse
  - 69% (11 of 16) women said they had tried a drug treatment program

• Family and Economic Instability
  - 64% (16 of 25) said they had experienced homelessness at some point in their lives

• Violence
  - 75% (21 of 28) said they were physically abused

• Health Emergencies
  - 15 women mentioned they were in a serious car accident and 13 women recalled having a traumatic brain injury, brain surgery or a serious concussion
  - 92% (24 of 26) women experienced the death of a loved one
Constellation of issues

- Childhood Instability
  - Mom was a heroin addict
  - Not enough food to eat as a kid
  - More than 5 schools as a kid
  - Moved around as a kid
  - Primary caretaker was grandma
  - Dad and brother have been in prison before
  - Biological sister is also a heroin addict
  - DV in the house as a kid
  - Parental Physical Abuse
  - DCF Involved

- Pregnancy
  - 2 abortions
  - First pregnant at age 14
  - Has 3 daughters

- Unexpected Deaths
  - At age 22, her mom overdosed and died on Christmas

- Drug Use
  - Heroin
  - Cocaine
  - Marijuana
  - Crack

- Sexual Trauma
  - Sexually abused by cousins from ages 12-14

"Brenda"
New London, CT
31, White
FTA, 2nd degree
Past Features
- Injury Location
- Sex
- Race/Ethnicity
- Age

New Features
- Heroin Related
- Fentanyl Related
- Town Level Data

Presentation
produced by OPM's
Research and
Evaluation Unit
/CJPPD

Ivan Kuzyk, Kyle Baudoin
& Kendall Bobula

www.ct.gov/opm/CriminalJustice/Research