

## Monthly Indicator Report - Chart 2a Compilation

The Research Unit in the Criminal Justice policy & Planning Division (CJPPD) at CT OPM publishes the Monthly Indicators Report. The report, which features operational data gathered from a variety of criminal justice agencies in the state, tracks developments and emerging issues related to criminal justice in Connecticut. The report also tracks the prison population against OPM's annual, February forecast of the prison population.

Although the Monthly Indicators Report format is largely fixed, several years ago, OPM decided to set aside a half page in each to explore a range of topics that might deserve more attention. These short pieces are published here. Please direct any questions or comments to [ivan.kuzyk@ct.gov](mailto:ivan.kuzyk@ct.gov).

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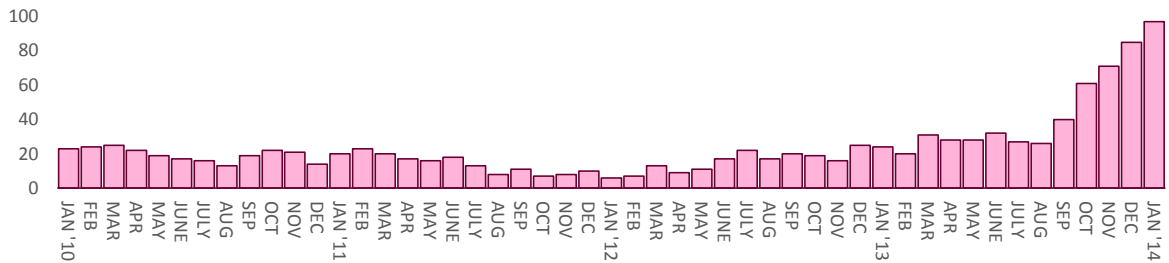
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January 2019 - Late-year effect on the prison population

February 2019 – Changes in the sentenced population, 2000 through 2018

## JANUARY 2014

**Chart 2a –Population on Transitional Placement**

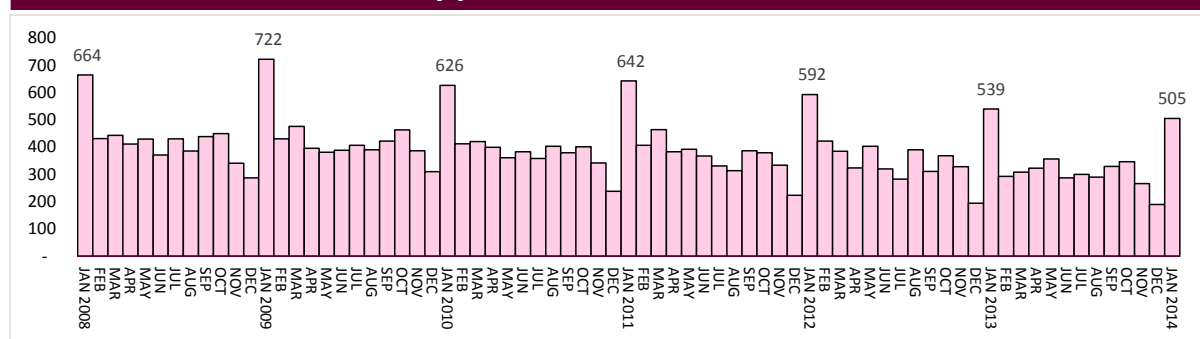


Transitional Placement is a program that allows parole-ineligible offenders who would benefit from a period of structured supervision to be transferred to an approved private residence after satisfactory performance in a residential program. Offenders selected for Transitional Placement are approved at the discretion of the Commissioner of Correction or his designee.

As the prison population began to swell over expected levels during the spring of 2013, the DOC began to investigate the options available for easing population pressures in the prisons. Since little could be done to move a large number of parole cases forward in the short term, Transitional Placement was identified as the means of moving many low-risk offenders out of halfway house beds, thus freeing up those fixed slots for appropriate offenders who were in prison. Between January 2012 and January 2014, the number of offenders on Transitional Placement grew from 6 to 97.

## FEBRUARY 2014

**Chart 2a –Monthly prisons admissions of sentenced offenders**

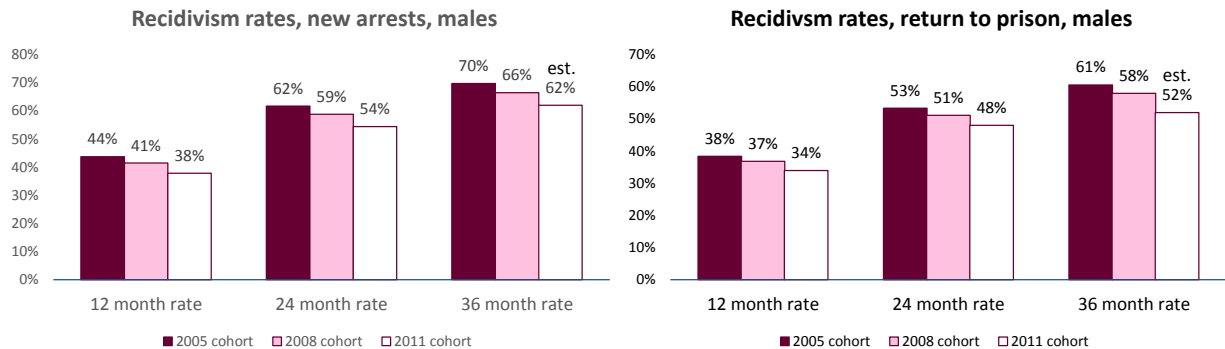


To even a casual observer, the prison system and the larger criminal justice system seem to move to their own internal rhythms. By the season, the prison population rises and falls in predictable ways. Large, atypical swings generally have less to do with external factors like the incidence of crime than they do with the operational dynamics of the criminal justice machinery.

In chart 2a, we observe data on the number of sentenced prisoners admitted to prison, on a monthly basis, since January 2008. Steady-as-a-heartbeat, the number of sentenced admissions drops every November and December only to rebound sharply during the month of January. The slower, year-to-year, declines in admissions, reflects longer-term, structural changes to the system.

## MARCH 2014

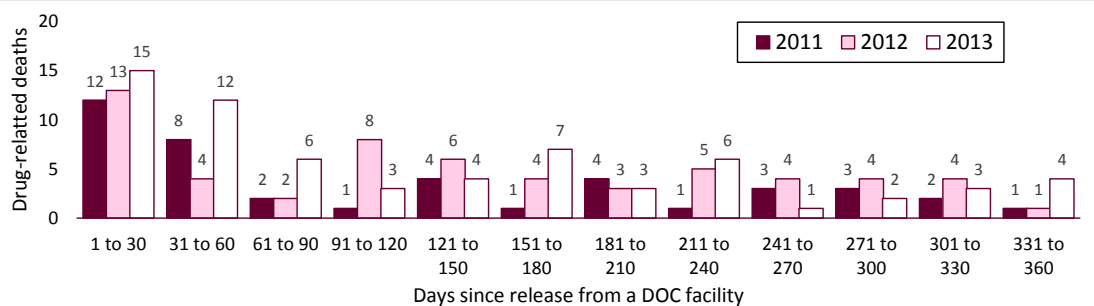
**Chart 2a –Recidivism rates among males prisoners released in 2005, 2008 and 2011**



In February, OPM calculated the recidivism rates of male, sentenced offenders who were released or discharged from prison in 2005, 2008 and 2011. Two measures of recidivism were evaluated: new arrests and return-to-prison. Returns-to-prison includes remands from community supervision, new admissions on pre-trial status or prison admissions to begin a new sentence of incarceration. The analysis revealed that recidivism rates have been declining in the state since 2005. The causes for these positive developments are not immediately clear. One could certainly theorize that greater reliance on offender risk assessments and improved community supervision, both by DOC and CSSD, have contributed to fewer people returning to the criminal justice system after prison.

## APRIL 2014

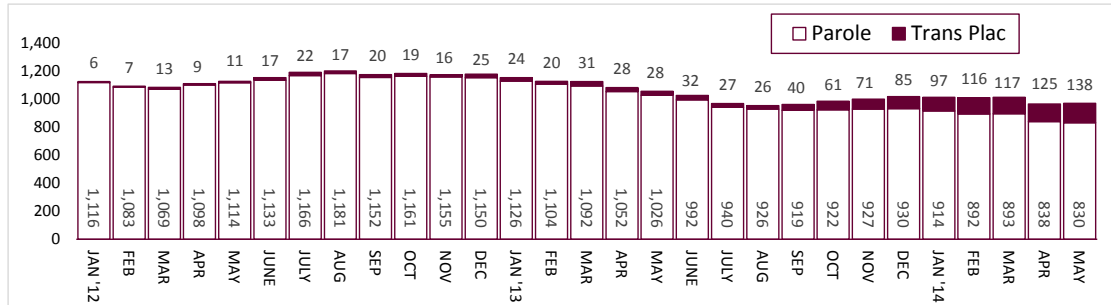
**Chart 2a –Drug-related deaths among recently released prisoners**



Drug-related deaths in the state rose dramatically in 2013. Many of these deaths involved heroin. OPM analyzed mortality data from the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner and discovered that about 45% of drug-death victims in 2011, 2012 and 2013, were former inmates. That ex-prisoners, who make up such a small proportion of the general population, account for over 40% of statewide drug deaths reveals the complex interplay that exists between substance abuse and the criminal justice system. Approximately 35% of the DOC inmates, who have been evaluated, were assigned substance abuse treatment need scores of 4 or 5. A score of 4 or 5 indicates serious substance abuse issues requiring intensive inpatient or outpatient treatment. The DOC recognizes the need to maintain programming capacity in this critical area. In addition, the Department recently unveiled a methadone maintenance pilot program at the New Haven jail in collaboration with the APT Foundation.

## MAY 2014

**Chart 2a –Offenders on transitional placement status**

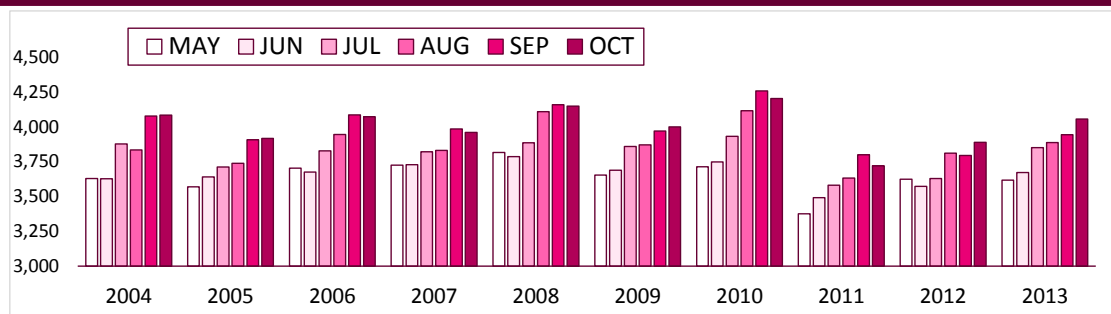


Transitional Placement (TP) allows certain offenders - at the discretion of the Commissioner of Correction or his designee - to be transferred to an approved community or private residence after satisfactory performance in a residential program. According to the Department, TP is to be utilized for Parole-ineligible offenders or those offenders who would benefit from a period of structured supervision following halfway house placement.

Over the last year, the DOC has significantly increased its use of the TP program in an attempt to mitigate the effects of reduced Parole-grant rates on the prison population. Maintaining a reasonable balance between the number of offenders who are incarcerated and those offenders who are supervised in the community is one of the major challenges associated with running the state's prison system in a safe and effective manner.

## JUNE 2014

**Chart 2a – The incarcerated pre-trial offender population, May through October**

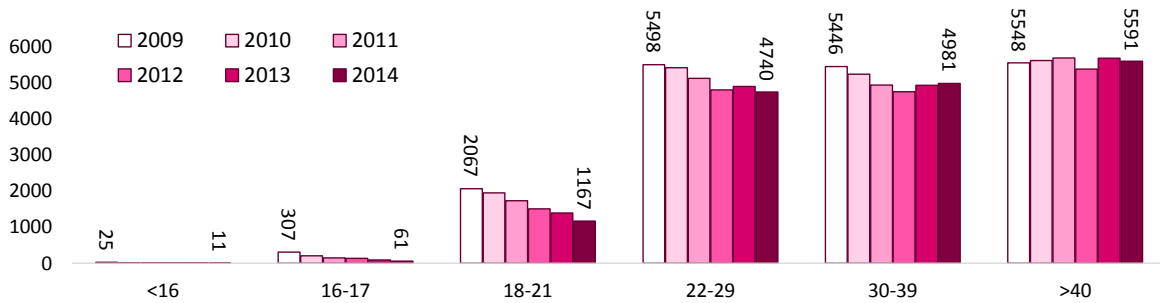


The state's prison population ebbs and flows to strong seasonal rhythms. Chart 2a presents ten years of data on the growth in the number of pre-trial offenders held in DOC facilities each year between May 1 and October 1. Over the last 10 years, the pre-trial population grows, on average, by 9.9% between May and October. In 2010, the pre-trial population grew by 13.2%, the largest increase during the decade, due, in part, to minor staffing reductions at the Judicial Branch's Jail Re-Interview Program (JRIP). A reduction in a just handful of JRIP positions resulted in the utilization of several thousand extra prisoner-bed-days over the course of that summer.

On June 1, 2014, there were 3,408 pre-trial offenders incarcerated in Connecticut jails and prisons. Last year on the same date, 3,671 pre-trial offenders were in state prisons (see Table 2). Between April and May of this year, the number of pre-trial offenders admitted to prison jumped by 10.8%, from 1,487 to 1,647 (see Table 3).

## JULY 2014

**Chart 2a – Age ranges of offenders incarcerated in CT, 2009 through 2014**

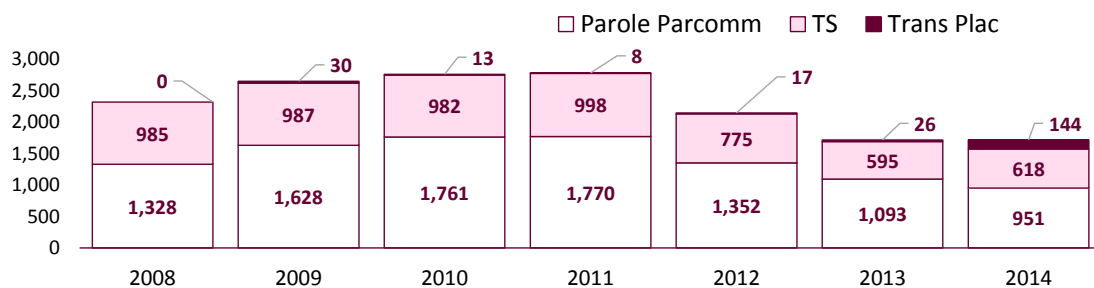


The state's prison population is aging. Between July 1, 2009 and July 1<sup>st</sup> of this year, the prison population declined by 12.4%, from 18,891 to 16,551. During this same period, the number of inmates aged 18-to-21 dropped by 43.5% and the number of 16- and 17-year olds in prison – the group most impacted by raise the age legislation – fell by 80.1%.

While the number of prisoners aged 40 or older has remained relatively constant - as a percentage of the total prison population - this group increased from 29% of all inmates to 34% since 2009. Since younger offenders generally recidivate at higher rates than older ones, this development may have contributed to the moderate reductions in prisoner recidivism rates we have witnessed in recent years.

## AUGUST 2014

**Chart 2a – Discretionary Community Supervision caseloads on August 1st**

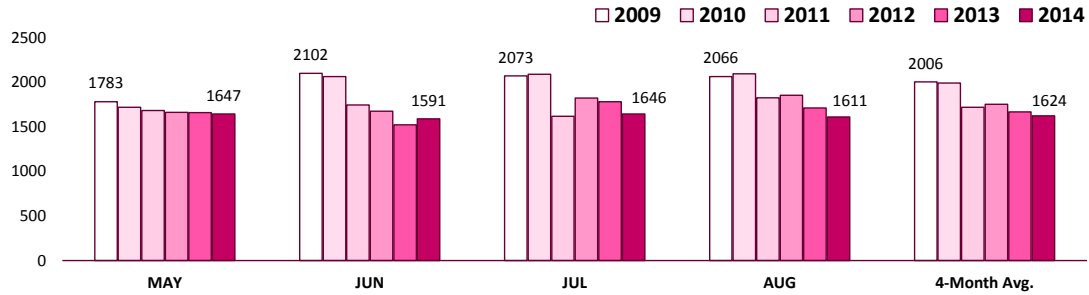


The number of offenders completing their prison sentences in discretionary community supervision programs has decreased dramatically over the last three years. On August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011, 2,809 offenders were on either Parole (including Parcom), Transitional Supervision or Transfer Placement status. By 2014, that figure had fallen to 1,713, a 38.2% drop.

Although the sentenced prison population declined during the same period, it fell much less precipitously – from 13,523 to 12,451 – a 7.9% drop. In 2011, there were 4.9 sentenced offenders incarcerated for every offender in a non-residential community supervision program. By 2014, that ratio had jumped to 7.3 offenders in prison for every community placement. Several factors appear to be driving this change. Legislation, passed last year, and procedural changes at the Board of Pardons and Paroles have certainly affected the flow of offenders to Parole. Less clear are the factors that have pushed down the number of offenders on Transitional Supervision.

## SEPTEMBER 2014

**Chart 2a – Trends in summertime pre-trial prison admissions, 2009 - 2014**



Pre-trial prison admissions during the months of May through August have fallen off in recent years. In 2009, approximately 2,000 pre-trial offenders were admitted to prison each month between May 1st and September 1st. This year, the average number of admissions was 1,624, a 19.1% decline.

The reasons for this development are not immediately apparent although the trend itself may help to explain why the prison population has not grown at the rate OPM forecast in February. Coincidentally, perhaps, statewide criminal arrests during the same four-month period declined as well. In 2009, police agencies in the State reported 44,941 criminal arrests. During the same period in 2014, they reported only 32,585 arrests, a 27.5% drop.

The historical data reveals a useful rule-of-thumb relationship between criminal arrests and pre-trial admits. In a typical month, one DOC pre-trial admit is clocked for every five criminal arrests reported.

## OCTOBER 2014

**Chart 2a – Bail cases and pre-trial prison admissions**

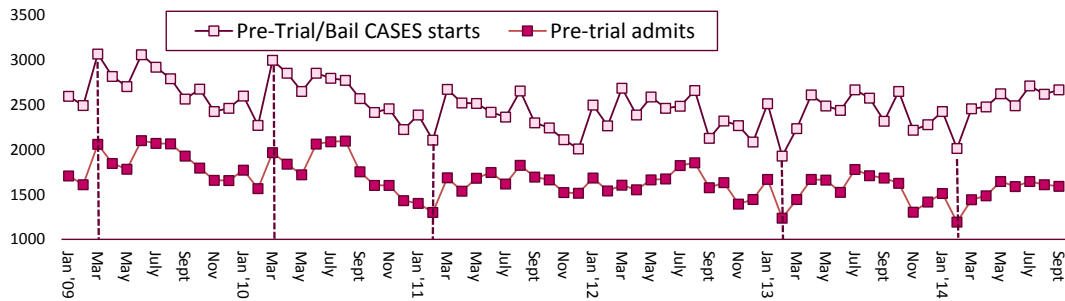


Chart 2 is a rather complicated and perhaps confusing attempt to portray the aggregated movement of offenders through the state's criminal justice system each month.

For new criminal cases, the front end of the system is reflected in the number of new arrest dockets filed with the courts. Following arrest, offenders may be released on their own recognizance or they may be issued a surety bond to guarantee their appearance at court.

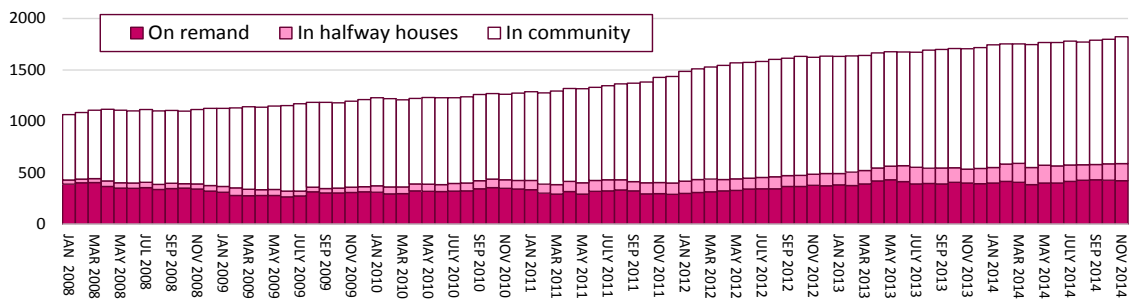
Offenders unable to post bond are generally admitted to a DOC facility to await the disposition of their cases. Chart 2a illustrates how the volume of bail cases opened each month fluctuates in roughly the same pattern as pre-trial prison admissions.

Between 2009 and 2013, the number of arrests recorded annually dropped by 23.7%. The number of new bail cases, however, declined by only 11.2%. Pre-trial prison admissions were down 15.9% during the same period.



## NOVEMBER 2014

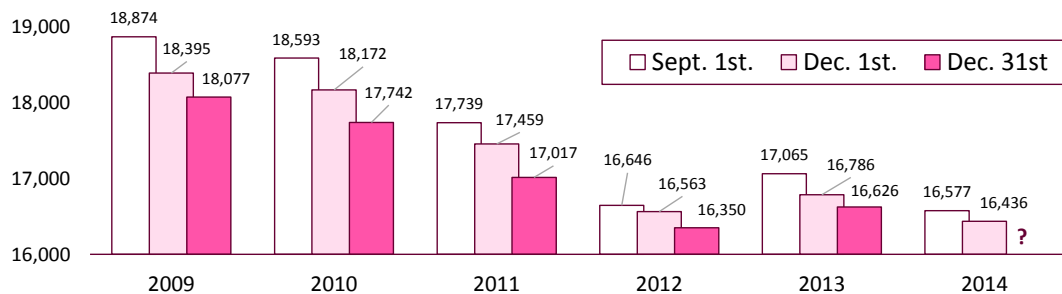
**Chart 2a – Special parole, an increasingly used option in the courts**



In recent years, OPM has reported on significant declines for some important criminal justice measures. Statewide arrests have been dropping, so too have general parole and probation caseloads. The number of crime reports are also down as are the number of people being admitted to prison. One indicator, however, has bucked this general trend: the number of offenders on special parole continues to grow. Between January 2008 and November 2014, the number of offenders on special parole status grew by 71%. Judges and prosecutors appear to be increasingly turning to special parole, instead of probation, as a post-incarceration community supervision option. Ostensibly designed to provide authorities with a simpler, more-straightforward mechanism to remand offenders than the probation violation process, special parole is putting greater demands on DOC's capacity to manage offenders in the community. In July 2013, the number of special parolees surpassed the number of general parolees for the first time ever. Since then, the gap has widened (see chart 8).

## DECEMBER 2014

**Chart 2a – Late-year effect on the population weakening**



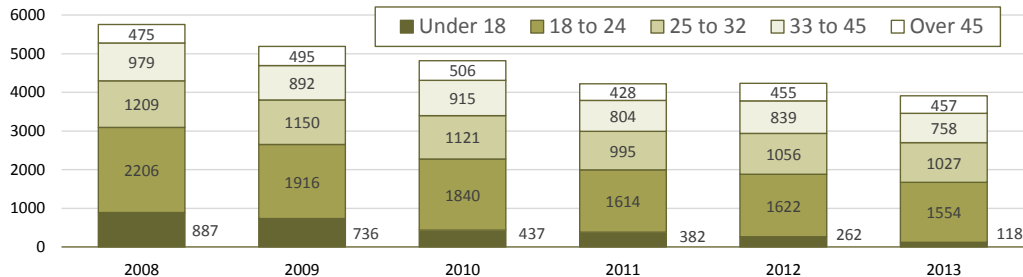
The state's prison population is influenced by a variety of internal and external constraints and forces. In addition, prison population also ebbs and flows over the course of the year, in rhythm with the changing seasons.

Over the last 10 years the prison population has generally spiked during January, reaching a peak in February before leveling off during the spring. As summer begins, the prison population typically grows until late-September or early October before dropping off as the year winds down.

In recent years, when the number of inmates exceeded 17,500, it was not uncommon for the prison population to tumble by over 700 between September 1<sup>st</sup> and December 31<sup>st</sup>. A drop on this scale was welcome relief, helping to alleviate crowding issues in some facilities. With smaller prison populations, like those being managed today, it appears unrealistic to expect such large, end-of-the-year drops in the total inmate count. In 2009, 2010 and 2011, the prison population lost 790 prisoners, on average, between Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> and the end of the year. In 2012 and 2013, the average loss in the same period was 368 inmates.

## JANUARY 2015

**Chart 2a – First-time pre-trial admits for males, by age, 2008 - 2013**



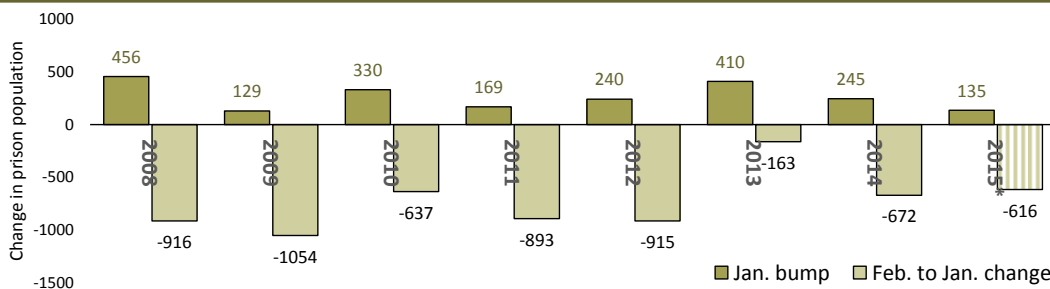
The state's prison population has been dropping for several years. On January 1st, 2008, the state's prisons held 19,438 inmates. This year, 16,167 people were in prison, a 16.8% decline.

During the same period, the size of the pre-trial population has also dropped but by a less dramatic 10.6%. Even though the decrease was smaller, there is reason to be optimistic; the number of new people being admitted to prison as pre-trial detainees appears to be decreasing. In 2008, 5,756 men, who had never been in prison before, were admitted as pre-trial offenders. In 2014, the number of new men being admitted to prison dropped to 3,786, a 34 % decrease.

Simply put, almost 2,000 fewer new people entered prison in 2014 than in 2008. Complete data on persons admitted to prison on pre-trial status by age and gender is only available through 2013. That data shows that the reduction in new people entering the prison system is disproportionately affecting younger adults. In 2008, 3,093 men under the age of 25, with no prison histories, were admitted on pre-trial status. By 2013, that number had fallen to 1,672, a 46% decrease.

## FEBRUARY 2015

**Chart 2a – The January Bump**



Recently, the prison population has declined each year during the late fall only to rebound strongly after January 1st, when the courts return with vigor after a long holiday lull. The number of offenders picking up sentences spikes in January and the subsequent increase in the prison population has become known as "the January bump".

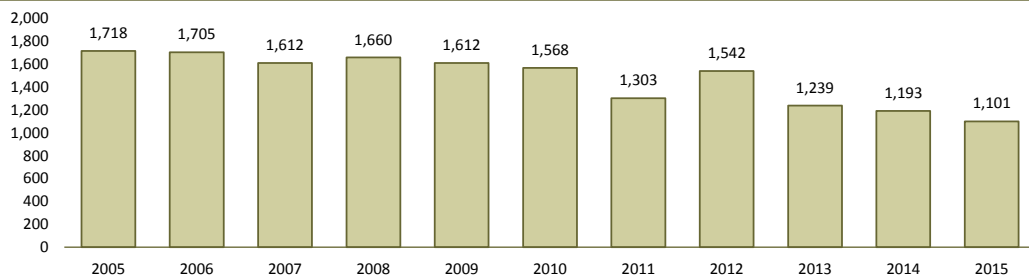
Since 2008, the prison population has increased every January. This year's increase of 135 prisoners appears relatively modest in comparison to recent years. In the past the prison population has expanded by upwards of 400 prisoners in a single month.

Because of the January bump, early February is the time of the year when the prison population peaks. The chart above shows the range of January population increases going back to 2008, and the subsequent decrease in the number of prisoners between February 1st and the following January.

OPM recently completed its prison population forecast for the coming year. If accurate, the prison population could decline to 15,686 by January 1, 2016, a projection of 616 people.

## MARCH 2015

Chart 2a – Pre-trial admissions in February



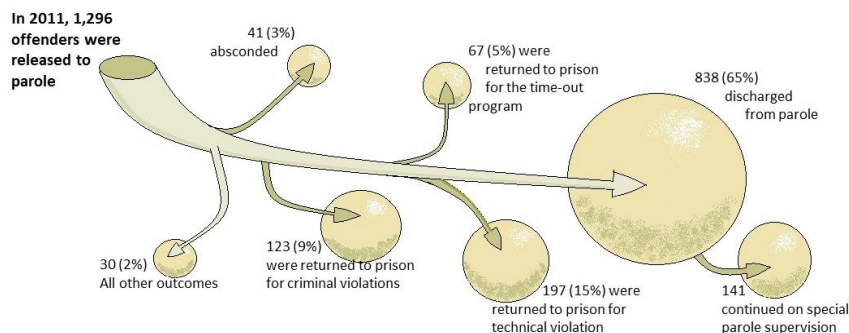
Over the last 10 years, the prison population in Connecticut has declined significantly. A major factor has been a relatively steady drop in the number of people admitted to prison each year. In February 2005, 1,718 people were admitted to prison as pre-trial detainees. This February 1,101 were admitted, an overall 35% reduction over the last decade.

No single factor can be credited for the impressive drop in admissions. Significant changes to the bail process, designed and implemented by CSSD, have certainly been critical. An overall drop in the number of statewide criminal arrests has also contributed to these declining numbers.

The number of new people being admitted to prison in recent years has also been dropping. Table 5b tracks persons admitted to prison on pre-trial status who have no prior history of incarceration with the CT DOC. An analysis performed by OPM revealed that the percentage of new people being admitted to prison has been declining for several years. In 2008, 29.3% people admitted, pre-trial, had no prior history with DOC. By 2014, that number had fallen to 25.6%

## APRIL 2015

Chart 2a – Parole outcomes within 3 years

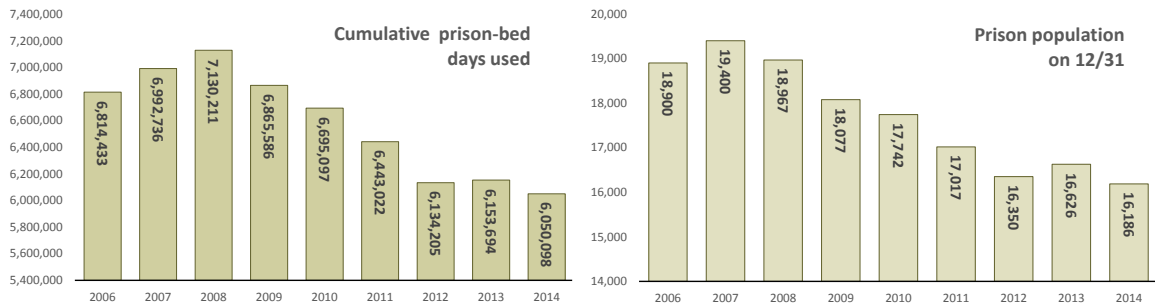


In 2011, 1,296 offenders were released from prisons and halfway houses to parole. Over the next three years, 65% of these individuals successfully discharged the remainder of their sentences in a community setting. This represents a solid improvement over 2008, when only 57% completed the terms of their parole successfully. Technical violations were also down between 2008 and 2011, from 23% to 15%.

Of the 197 parolees who were remanded to prison for technical violations in 2011, 22 were returned facing new criminal charges. Of the remaining 175 technical violators, 164 served out the remainder of their sentences in prison; only 11 – or 6% of the total – ever made it back into a community supervision setting. In fact a higher percentage of criminal violators, in 2011, (15%) made it back into the community. This analysis does not include TS, halfway house or other releases.

## MAY 2015

### Chart 2a – Prison bed-days and the count



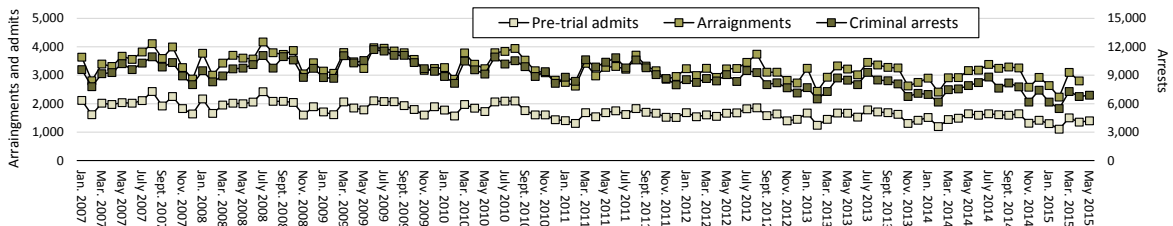
In recent years, the state's prison population has dropped significantly. The most direct measure of this decline can be seen in historical daily-count data published by DOC and OPM. What is less obvious is what these declines mean in terms of system capacity and cost.

The graph on the right in Chart 2a contains data for the prison population on December 31 for the years 2006 through 2014. On the left is a graph of the cumulative prison bed-days for the same years. A prison bed-day represents one prisoner occupying a prison bed for a single day. Thinking in bed-days allows us to better understand total demand on system resources.

Between 2008 and 2014, the number of prison bed-days used at the DOC fell from 7.1M to 6.1M, a 15% decrease. Assigning a cost of \$50 per each bed-day, suggests savings to be in the range of \$54M. A million bed-days is equivalent to incarcerating 2,740 offenders for one year.

## JUNE 2015

### Chart 2a – Arrests, arraignments and pre-trial admissions



The Monthly Indicators Report will now publish data on the number of court arraignments that take place across the state each month. Arraignments (see chart 2a) are more closely correlated with pre-trial admits than the number of arrests.

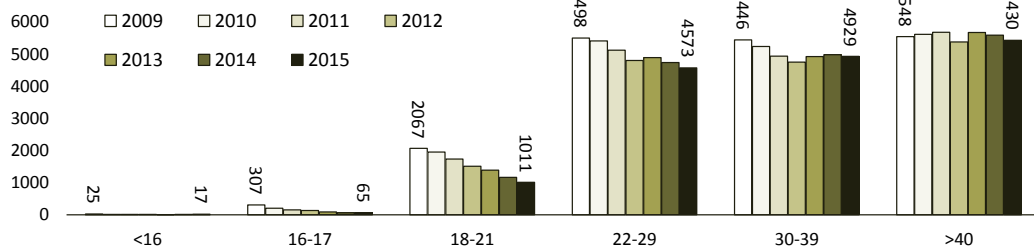
The trend lines in chart 2a illustrate how stable the state's criminal justice system is. In the short term, the system is strongly self-stabilizing. Over the longer term, however, significant changes can be observed.

In January 2007, for example, approximately 59 people were admitted to prison, pre-trial, for every 100 arraignments. By January 2015, only 45 people were admitted to prison per 100 arraignments. This reduction in admits may go a long way towards explaining why pre-trial admissions have been dropping over the last few years.

In recent years, the Judicial Branch has prioritized efforts to improve the efficiency and fairness of the bail system. The Branch's CSSD has revised its bail-risk assessment and weighted metrics to better inform and enhance the bail decision making process. The result: more defendants are diverted from jail while their cases are pending. This has been accomplished without subsequent increases in new arrests or FTAs.

## JULY 2015

**Chart 2a – Age ranges of offenders incarcerated in CT, 2009 through 2015**



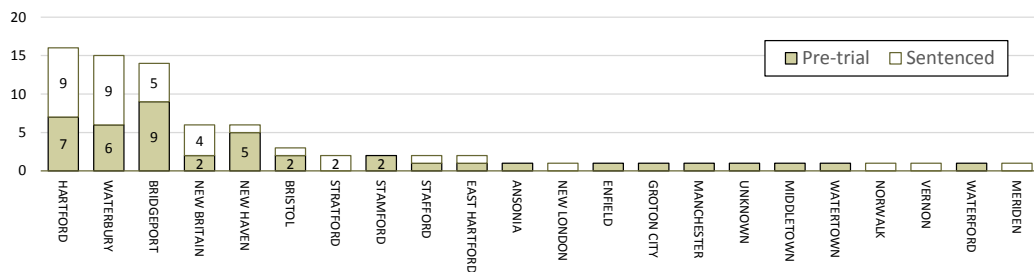
A chart similar to the one shown above, covering the years 2009 through 2014, appeared in the July 2014 issue of this report. In that issue we noted that while the total prison population between 2009 and 2014 had dropped by 12.4%, the decline in the number of younger prisoners was even more pronounced.

We have updated last year's chart to include 2015. Between 2009 and 2015, the total prison population declined by 15.4%. While this drop in the total prison population is noteworthy, the declining number of younger prisoners is even more dramatic. Between July 1, 2009 and July 1, 2015, the number of prisoners aged 18 to 21 fell from 2,067 to 1,011, an impressive 51.1% decrease. The number of prisoners between ages of 22 and 29 dropped by 16.8%. In contrast, the over-40 prison population declined by only 2.1%.

These trends bode well for the state's criminal justice system as we move forward. Recidivism is generally most pronounced among younger offenders and the youth of an offender at the time of their first incarceration is a strong predictor of subsequent incarceration.

## AUGUST 2015

**Chart 2a – Youth under 18 in adult prisons**



In this section, in the July issue of this paper, we reported that the number of offenders, under the age of 18, incarcerated in adult prisons in the state fell from 332 to 85 between 2009 and 2015, a 74% decrease.

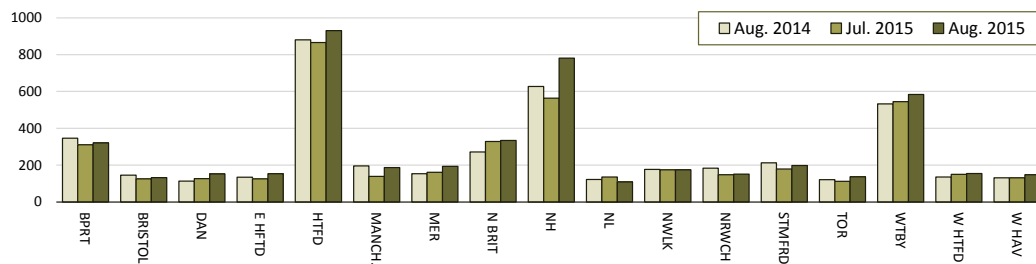
On August 13, 2015, 80 offenders under the age of 18 were incarcerated in adult prison facilities in Connecticut; 37 were serving sentences, 43 were on pre-trial status. Forty-five (45) out of the 80 incarcerated youth came from just 3 towns, Hartford (16), Waterbury (15), and Bridgeport (14). In contrast, only 6 incarcerated youths were from New Haven.

Out of 80 young prisoners, only one was female. Seventy percent (70%) of these young prisoners were black. Among sentenced prisoners, the percentage of blacks jumped to 81%.

For the 43 pre-trial offenders bonds ranged from \$7,500 to \$2M. Two-thirds of pre-trial detainees came from either Hartford, Waterbury, Bridgeport, New Britain or New Haven.

## SEPTEMBER 2015

Chart 2a – Monthly arrest patterns



As noted on page 1, the number of arrests jumped by 11% between July and August. At present, this is not a cause for concern because the number of statewide arraignments declined during the same period. This suggests either a glitch in the arrest data, or that these added arrests were not considered serious enough by the courts to be continued past presentment.

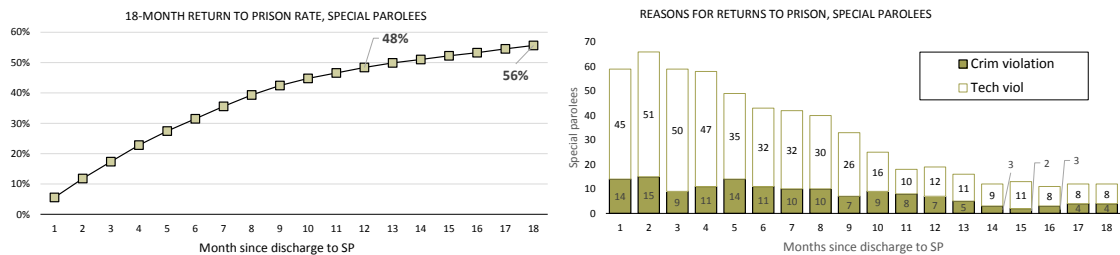
Chart 2a contains monthly arrest data for the 17 municipal police departments that regularly report over 100 arrests per month. Not surprisingly, Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury have very high levels of arrests relative to their populations.

The New Britain police report as many arrests as Bridgeport and many more than Stamford, despite the fact both Bridgeport and Stamford are considerably larger. The data indicates that arrests in Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury all increased between July and August.

Statewide, there were 837 more arrests reported in August than in July. These 17 police departments accounted for 520, or 62%, of these increased arrests. The jump in New Haven alone accounted for roughly a quarter of the statewide entire increase.

## OCTOBER 2015

Chart 2a – Recidivism among special parolees



A DOC inmate recently contacted OPM asking for recidivism data comparing probationers and special parolees. It appears that prisoners disagree about the efficacy and the relative merits and flaws associated with both types of supervision.

Since such an analysis does not currently exist, and because it seemed a reasonable question, OPM asked the DOC for data for all offenders who had been discharged to special parole between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2013. A cohort of 1,060 offenders was quickly identified. The results of a preliminary analysis of return-to-prison rates were surprising and thought provoking. Among offenders discharged to special parole during 2012 and 2013, 48% were returned to prison within a year. A large majority, 75%, were returned to prison for technical violations. Contrast this against the 34% of all offenders leaving prison in 2008 who returned within a year.

Over the last 5 years, the number of special parolees in prison on remand status has increased by 58%. On October 1, 2015, 546 special parolees were in prison, remanded. On that same day there were four prison facilities (Garner, Brooklyn, Northern and Walker RSMU) with fewer prisoners. OPM will take a more thorough look at this issue in the months ahead.

## NOVEMBER 2015

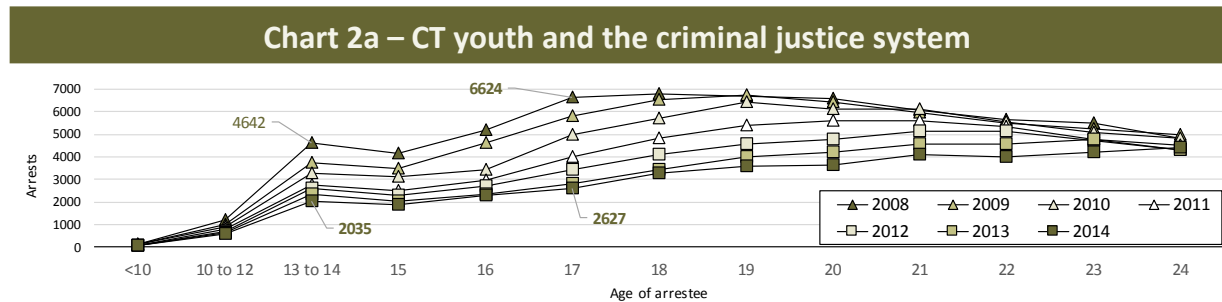


Chart 2a plots statewide, juvenile and adult arrest age for the years 2008 through 2014. The data was compiled from “Crime in Connecticut” reports published annually by the CT State Police ([online at: http://www.dpsdata.ct.gov/dps/ucr/ucr.aspx](http://www.dpsdata.ct.gov/dps/ucr/ucr.aspx)).

The chart reveals that arrests of young people are down considerably since 2008. In 2008, for example, 6,624 17-year olds were arrested in CT. That number has declined in every year since. In 2014, only 2,627 17-year olds were arrested, an astounding 60% reduction in six years. The reason for these declines is still being debated. Citing brain development science, Gov. Malloy, this month, called for a conversation focused on raising the age of juvenile jurisdiction to 21, and alternative ways to handle offenders who are under the age of 25. Although a number of states use hybrid sentencing schemes for offenders under age 25, no state has considered raising the juvenile age above 18.

We have already seen a dramatic drop in young people imprisoned in the state (see Monthly Indicators Report, July 2015). Although the long-term implications of these proposed changes are difficult to predict at this time, Connecticut’s recent experience raising the juvenile jurisdiction age from 16 to 18 has demonstrated the potential for both reducing crime and significantly affecting the adult prison population.

## DECEMBER 2015



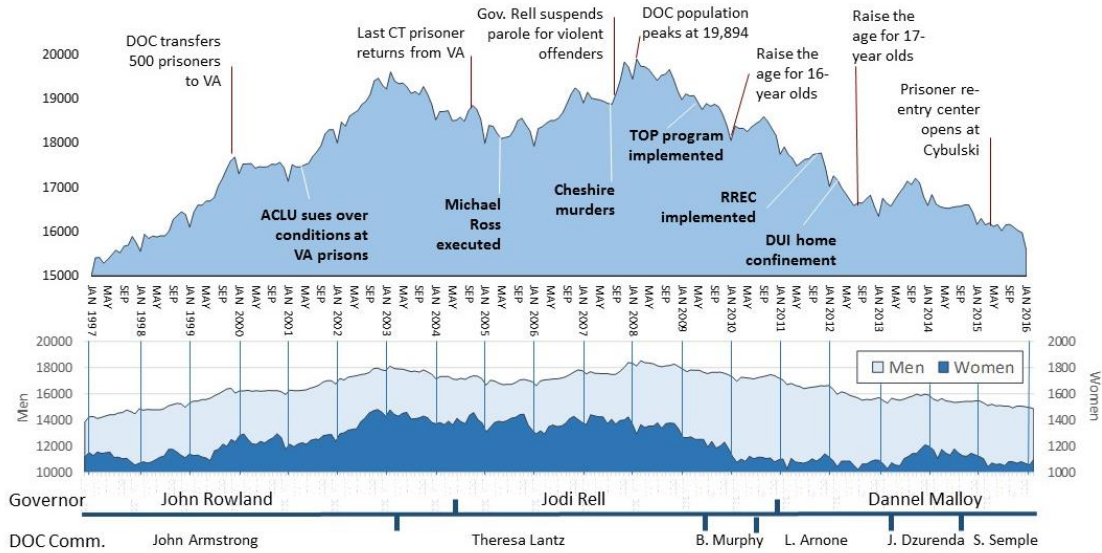
Last month, this paper reported on declines in the number of youth arrests since 2008, based on CT Uniform Crime Report data. This month, we look at the same data with a focus on changes in arrests by crime type.

Six offense categories account for roughly 85% of arrests. The six include: DUI arrests, Drug Arrests, Disorderly Conduct, Larceny, Simple Assault and a catch-all category, All Other Offenses. All Other Offenses includes approximately 1,400 state or local laws not captured elsewhere. The offenses range from interfering with an officer to willful avoidance of tax on tobacco sales. The most common offense is Failure to Appear. Between 2008 and 2014, total arrests in the state were down by 26%. There was significant variation, however, in arrest declines by offense type. Family violence offenses were the only offense group exhibiting an increase (2%) between 2008 and 2014. Arrests for Murder, Rape, Sex offenses, Robbery and Aggravated Assault were all down (-23%, -22%, -33%, -24% and -49%).

The state also reported large drops in arrests for Gambling, -64%, Vagrancy, -61%, Liquor laws, -76%, and Drug charges, -46%. A pdf of this information is available on-line (see Highlights on page 1).

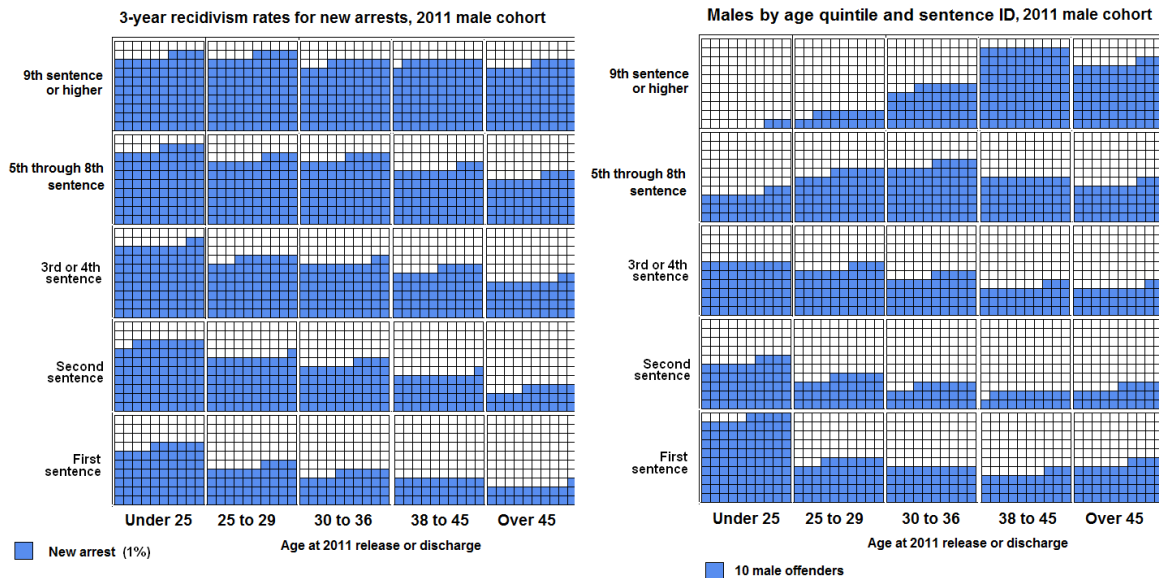
# JANUARY 2016

Chart 2a – The CT prison population, January 1997 through January 2016



# FEBRUARY 2016

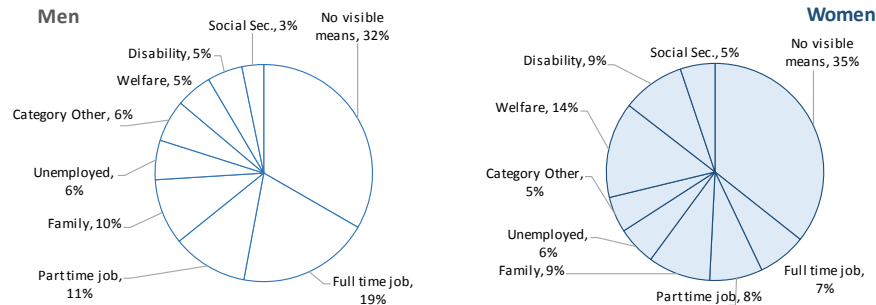
Chart 2a – Recidivism by age and sentence history, men leaving prison in 2011





## MARCH 2016

Chart 2a – Means of support, pre-trial prisoners, 2011



As part of an on-study study of the state's pre-trial prison population, OPM obtained data from the DOC on 15,898 people who were admitted to prison on pre-trial status during 2011.

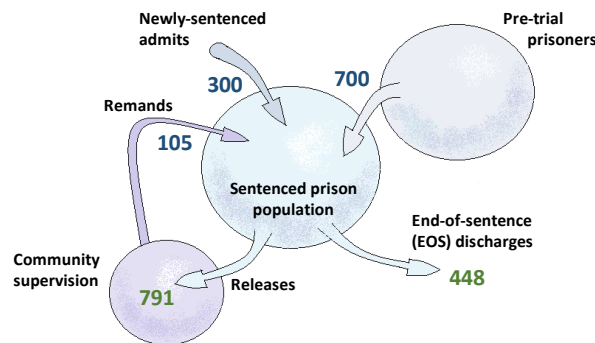
Court Support Services Division (CSSD), in the Judicial Branch, agreed to try to match this data with a variety of information collected by their Jail Re-interview Program (JRIP). Each month, JRIP staff interview almost every pre-trial detainee in an attempt to ease the jail population through bail modifications or appropriate programming. CSSD was able to match JRIP data with 13,059 persons in our 2011 pre-trial cohort. The data in chart 2a contains information on major means-of-support for 97% of the men and women in the sample. Among men, 32% reported no visible means of support. Among women the figure was 35%. Only 19% of men had a full-time job. For women the figure was 7%. This information may help to explain why many pre-trial prisoners remain incarcerated with - what on the face of it appear to be - very low bonds.

## APRIL 2016

Chart 2a – Churn among the DOC's sentenced population, March 2016

On March 1, 2016, there were 11,846 sentenced prisoners in CT DOC facilities. A month later, on April 1, there were 11,755, a drop of 95 totals like these, though capture the constant, and movement and change the sentenced

Although the total population dropped by 95 of March, almost 800 prisoners were released March to serve out the sentences in community supervision programs. Another 450, or so, were discharged at the end of their sentences (EOS).



were 11,846 CT DOC inmates. Monthly useful, fail to significant, taking place within population.

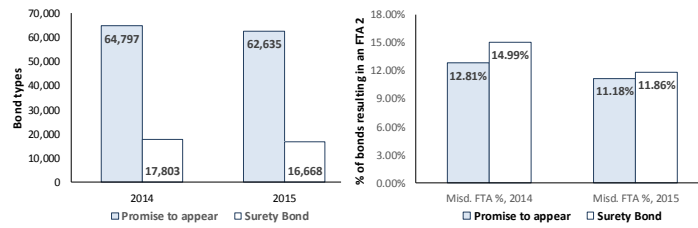
sentenced during the month sentenced from prison during remainder of their

Balancing these 1,250 releases and discharges were approximately 1,100 additions to the sentenced-prison population. These 1,100 offenders were either newly sentenced or had been remanded to custody.

During March, approximately 2,300 offenders - out of a population of roughly 11,800 sentenced prisoners - either entered or left the sentenced prison population. In other words, one in five sentenced prisoners was replaced during March, a monthly churn rate of 19.5%.

# MAY 2016

## Chart 2a – Bail and misdemeanor failure-to-appear rates



The Legislature is currently considering changes to the state's bail system that would largely eliminate court-imposed, cash bonds for most misdemeanor offenses.

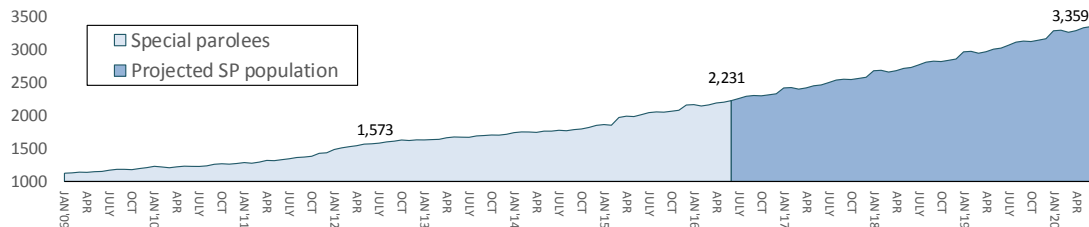
For decades, opponents of cash bonds have argued that the bail system unduly punishes the poor without adequate evidence to demonstrate increased public safety. The bail industry counters that without their services, the pre-trial prison population would inevitably mushroom, and for those offenders released without bail, failure-to-appear (FTA) rates would sky-rocket.

OPM recently reviewed Judicial Branch data on offenders released to bond in 2014 and 2015. This data suggests that misdemeanor FTA rates, in fact are slightly higher among offenders with surety bonds compared to offenders who were released on promise-to-appear agreements. Though not definitive, this data bolsters those who assert that current FTA rates will not be adversely affected.

It is too early to project the impact of proposed bail-reform legislation on the size of the state's jail population given the dynamics of the Connecticut's pre-trial system.

# JUNE 2016

## Chart 2a – Projected growth in the Special Parole population



In November 2014, this paper reported on a disquieting expansion in the size of the state's special parole population. At that time, the state had 1,822 special parolees. Today there are over 2,200\* and the data suggests that the number of offenders sentenced to special parole is accelerating.

Since last June, the state's special parole population - both in the community and on remand - is up 10.4%. Were this rate-of-increase to continue unchecked, OPM estimates there will be 3,359 special parolees in CT by June 1, 2020.

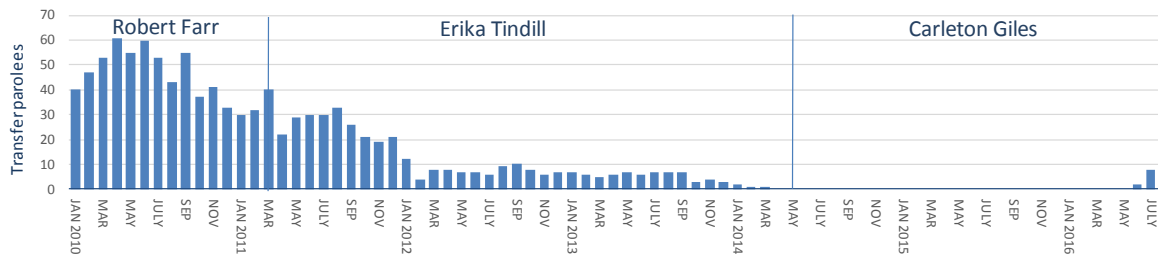
Records for the 11,500 offenders currently serving a prison sentence in a DOC facility indicate that 2,628, or 23%, will serve a term of special parole when they leave prison. If we add the increasing use of special parole as an option in sentencing and the high remand rate for technical violations among special parolees (see Monthly Indications Report, October 2015), it might be reasonable to wonder whether OPM's estimate for June 2020 is too conservative.

This issue will not resolve itself on its own. The relevant parties should consider; reviewing the state's expectations of special parole, seek to identify the types of offenders that are most appropriate for special parole supervision, and to review current sentencing guidelines and practices.

\*in the community, in halfway houses and on prison remand.

## JULY 2016

Chart 2a – Piloting the return of transfer parole at BOPP



By general statute (CGS: 54-125h), an offender who has already been granted parole may be released to transfer parole up to 18 months prior to their actual parole date. Offenders on transfer parole face the same or, in some cases, stricter supervision conditions than offenders on parole.

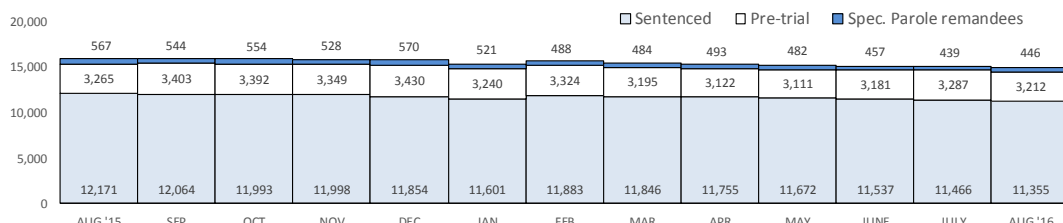
In May 2013, the Board of Pardons and Paroles stopped approving transfer parole releases. By the following year the number of transfer parolees in the community had fallen to zero. In recent months, the Board has revisited its decision to eliminate transfer parole as a release option. A pilot program was recently initiated to evaluate whether the reintroduction of transfer parole was warranted.

In May, three offenders - all women - were released to transfer parole. They were the first in thirty-three months. During June, more ten women were released to transfer parole.

During 2010, there were many as 60 offenders, per month, serving out their sentences in the community, on transfer parole status, instead of in prison. For the appropriate type of offender, transfer parole may, in fact, result in better outcomes with respect to prisoner re-entry and recidivism, all without negatively impacting public safety. It remains unclear, at this point, whether transfer parole numbers will ever return to earlier levels.

## AUGUST 2016

Chart 2a – Prison population drops by 1,000 prisoners in a year



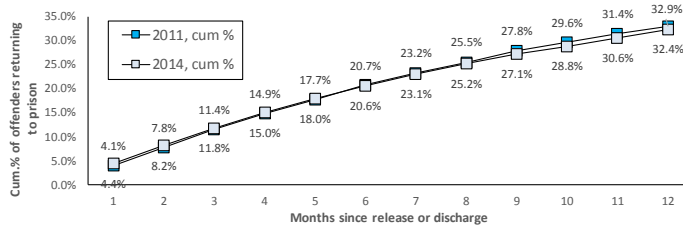
On August 1, the state's prisons held 15,161 inmates, 995 fewer than they did a year ago. The scale of this year-long population decline was not anticipated by OPM, and the causes have not been definitively established. Shifts, of this magnitude are generally associated with large policy or legislative changes that affect the flow of offenders either into, or out of, the DOC. The last time we observed such a rapid and sustained drop in the prison population was in the months following the implementation of RREC in 2011 and 2012.

The data indicates that 94% of this past year's drop can be accounted for by a 6.7% decline in the number of sentenced prisoners and a 21.3% reduction in the number of special parole remandees. The number of federal and pre-trial prisoners remained, essentially, flat.

OPM has watched recent declines in the number of sentenced prisoners with great interest. The creation of a Community Release Unit combined and a much-improved reporting capability supplied by the DOC MIS Division, has introduced transparency to the case review and approval process that was once confounding opaque and dispersed. Until the last year, it was impossible to determine just how many prisoners were eligible for release, and how many actually had their cases reviewed. OPM is now confident that cases of release-eligible offenders are being reviewed quickly and efficiently. The cumulative impact of this improved efficiency is a falling count.

## SEPTEMBER 2016

### Chart 2a – Recidivism rates and recidivism, 2011 and 2014



#### Recidivism - 1-year return to prison, 2011 v. 2014

	2011	2014	Change,%
Offenders in cohort	12,579	10,328	-17.9%
Recidivators w/in 1-year	4,138	3,348	-19.1%
1-year recidivism rate	32.9%	32.4%	-1.5%

OPM recently received offender-movement data from CT DOC's MIS unit for all sentenced prisoners who were released or discharged from prison during calendar year 2014. The data allowed this office to calculate 12-month recidivism rates for returns-to-prison. The findings were compared with recidivism data for a similar cohort of offenders in 2011.

The comparative analysis revealed an important detail that can commonly be overlooked when people think about and discuss recidivism, i.e., recidivism rates and recidivism events cannot be used interchangeably.

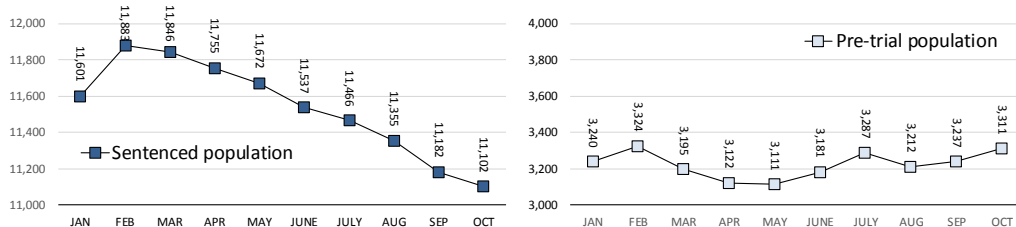
OPM's preliminary analysis, for example, revealed that the 12-month recidivism rate for offenders returning to prison in the 2014 was virtually unchanged from the recidivism rate of offenders who left prison in 2011. However, the 2014 prisoner cohort was 17.9% smaller than the 2011 cohort (see table). As a result, many fewer former prisoners, 790 in fact, were returned to prison within 12-months from the 2014-cohort than from the 2011-cohort. This translates into 19.1% fewer return-to-prison events.

These returns-to-prison include readmissions for a variety of reasons including technical violations of supervision conditions, rearrests for new charges, and admissions to prison to begin a new term of incarceration. OPM will publish more complete findings from this analysis in the coming weeks and months.

## OCTOBER 2016

OBTS, Court and probation data - CSSD, all other data - CT DOC.

### Chart 2a – Trends for sentenced and pre-trial prisoners



After trending down since February, the prison population stalled last month. While the sentenced population has continued to shrink (see above), increases in the size of the pre-trial population were large enough to hold the total prison population steady. If the pre-trial count was at its May 2016 level, the prison population on October 1, would have been 14,810 instead of 15,010.

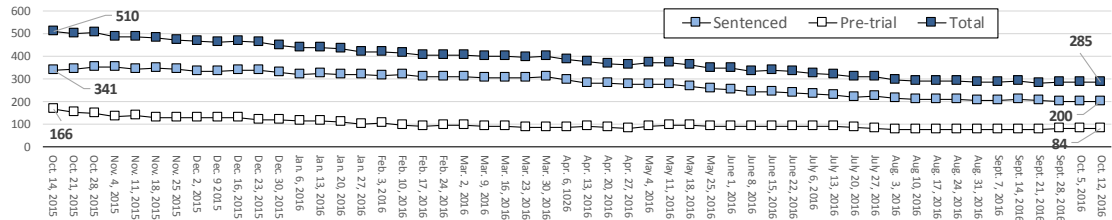
Although pre-trial admits have risen over the last two months, OPM suspects there is more behind the rise in the pre-trial population than the admit data suggests. We suspect that average incarceration length has been increasing. CSSD's Jail Re-interview Program provides many pre-trial prisoners with bond and program assistance within a week of entering prison. In recent months, JRI has been impacted by both layoffs and staff transfers. According to CSSD data (see table 6), JRI-related offender releases in September were down 18% compared to August and down 50% compared to last year.

DOC figures indicate that the number of pre-trial prisoners with bonds of under \$100k rose 12% between May and October; the number of pre-trial prisoners held for less than 6 weeks jumped by 8%. These types of prisoners are the kind most typically targeted by JRI. OPM also compared the average length-of-incarceration for pre-trial prisoners, without detainees, held on bonds under \$100k. Between April and October, the average length-of-incarceration for these prisoners increased from 91.1 to 95.6 days.

## NOVEMBER 2016

OBTs, Court and probation data - CSSD, all other data - CT DOC.

**Chart 2a – In prison on 21a-279 class offenses, controlling offenses**



Governor Malloy’s Second Chance Society legislation in 2015 included a change in the long-standing penalty for Possession of Narcotics, CGS Sec. 21a-279. Under the former law, simple possession was an unclassified felony with a maximum prison sentence of 7 years. Possession of narcotics within 1,500 feet of a school or daycare center carried a minimum mandatory 2-year period of incarceration.

Effective October 1, 2015 the penalty for simple possession became a misdemeanor with a maximum jail sentence of one year. The minimum mandatory prison sentence for possession within 1,500 feet of a school or daycare center was eliminated.

These changes did not affect the penalties for Sale of Narcotics or Possession with Intent to Sell. The stated purpose of the change was to reduce the number of persons incarcerated for relatively minor drug possession and to refocus criminal justice resources on high-risk, dangerous and violent offenders.

In the first year since the law took effect, the number of pre-trial prisoners with a controlling offense of Possession of Narcotics has dropped 49.4 % and the number of sentenced possession offenders has dropped by 41.3%, for a total reduction of 44.1%. As of November 15, 2016, the total number of persons held in prison on these charges was down to 266.

## DECEMBER 2016

**Chart 2a – Where does the prison population go from here?**

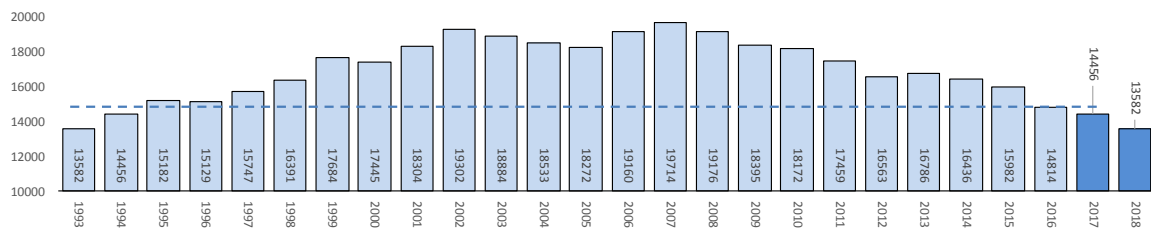


Chart 2a plots the December 1<sup>st</sup> prison population in CT since 1994. The chart displays a curious symmetry with the expansion and contraction of the prison population almost equally balanced over the last two decades.

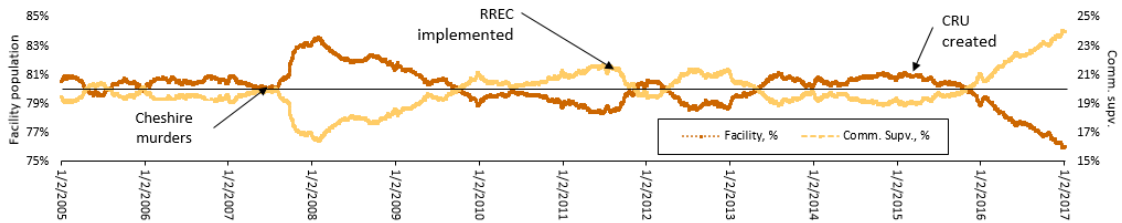
During the 1990s, CT, like most other states, introduced longer and harsher sentencing guidelines for wide range of offenses. As a consequence incarcerated populations swelled across the nation and states scrambled to build enough prison-bed space to meet the growing need. At one point, CT OPM projected the state’s prison population could reach 25,000 prisoners.

This December the prison count was the lowest in 21 years, and unlike the 1990s when violent crime rates were peaking, the reported crime rate has been falling for several years. As a matter of fact, over the last three years, CT’s violent crime rate has declined by 23%, the steepest drop in the nation.

The question the state must now consider is, what is the appropriate size for a prison system in a state like ours? While the current prison population hovers at the same level it did in the mid-1990s, we should recall that on December 1, 1985, the prison population was only 5,829.

## JANUARY 2017

**Chart 2a – The community population and the facility population**



In chart 2a we observe trend lines of the relationship between offenders in DOC custody who were, either, in prison or in programs where they were supervised in the community. In periods of normal operational stability, the chart suggests that the prison system exhibits a propensity to settle at a level where 80% of offenders are in prison and 20% are in the community. Over the past twelve years, however, the DOC has experienced several considerable shifts in this balance.

The first occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Cheshire murders in 2007 when the system reacted with a massive drop in the number of offenders being released into community supervision programs. By February of the following year, the prison population had swelled by 1,000 prisoners.

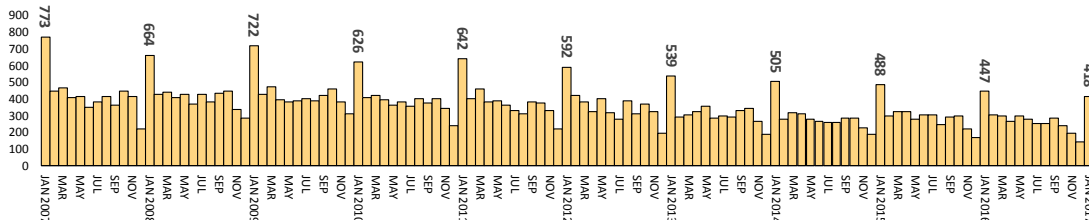
The second, major, significant shift in the percentage-balance between facility and community populations began in spring 2015 when the DOC restructured the decision-making processes guiding the preparation, review and management of community release cases. Chief among these changes was the creation of the Community Release Unit (CRU) in March 2015. As a result of these internal reforms, the prison population is down by over 1,600 prisoners and the percentage of offenders under community supervision is at its highest level in recent memory.

This past year's drop in the prison population has been a surprise to all. These latest reforms, which have been monitored closely, suggest that the efficiencies squeezed out of discretionary release processes deserve much of the credit.

## FEBRUARY 2017

*Court and probation data - CSSD, all other data - CT DOC.*

**Chart 2a – Sentenced-prison admissions since 2007**



This paper often reminds readers that the prison system seems to run by some invisible, internal rhythm that is self-regulating. Given the tens-of-thousands of people that regularly pass through the system, the thousands of people who arrest, prosecute, defend, adjudicate, bond, transport, incarcerate and supervise these people and dozens of internal and external factors that influence the system, it is a genuine wonder to observe how stable the system appears to be.

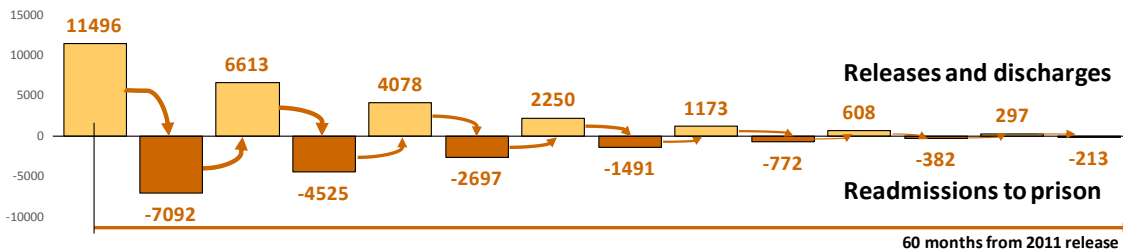
Chart 2a plots the monthly admissions-to-prison for newly-sentenced prisoners going back to January 2007. The chart illustrates how in every year, sentencing falls off in the last month or two of each year, only to be followed by a strong rebound during January. This phenomenon contributes to what has become known as the January bounce.

While the year-to-year pattern for sentenced admits appears relatively consistent over time, the incremental decline in the number of people being sentenced during January has been quite significant. In January 2017, 418 people were sentenced to prison, 46% fewer than the 773 people who had been sentenced to prison in January 2007.

Sentenced admissions to prison have not only dropped off during the month of January. Annual admissions are down too. During 2007, 5,121 people were admitted to prison in CT to serve a prison sentence. By 2016 - the last year for which full data is available - 3,261 people were admitted to a DOC-facility to begin a sentence. This represents a 36.3% drop in the number of sentenced admissions in just under the last decade.

## MARCH 2017

### Chart 2a – What recidivism actually looks like in CT



OPM recently completed a recidivism analysis of 11,496 sentenced, male offenders who left prison in 2011. The men were tracked for 5 years. During that time, 61.7% - or 7,092 of these men - were readmitted prison at least once. While a 61.7% recidivism rate might appear disquieting, the actual pattern of returns-to-prison suggests that recidivism is a deeper, more complex problem than the overall recidivism rate, alone, suggests.

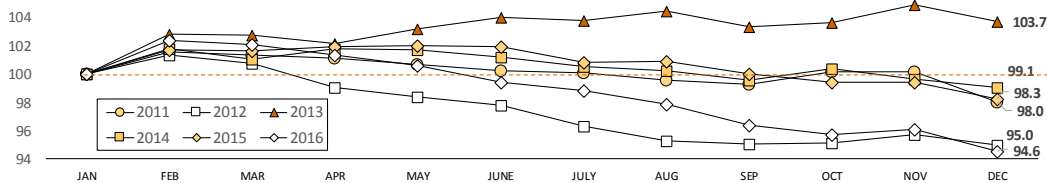
Of the 7,092 men who were readmitted to prison, 6,613 were released for a 2nd time within 5 years. Among these men, 68% (4,525) were readmitted to prison within 5 years. Chart 2a tracks the number of offenders who were released and readmitted within 5 years, out to the 7<sup>th</sup> return to prison. One offender in the study was released and readmitted to prison again 31 times within 60 months of his 2011 release. Given multiple readmissions by offenders, the 7,092 offenders who were readmitted to prison accounted for 17,400 separate prison admissions within 5 years. OPM calculated the total prison-bed capacity associated with all of these readmissions at 3.6 million prisoner-bed days. Assuming a rather conservative estimate of \$32.00 per prisoner-bed day, the cost of recidivism among the 2011 cohort was at least \$117 million.

In the Sept. 2016 issue of this paper, we compared 1-year recidivism rates for prisoners released in 2011 and 2014. Even though return-to-prison rates had remained constant, we found that because fewer people were passing through the prison system in 2014, 790 fewer prisoners were readmitted to prison within a year. This translated into 19.1% fewer readmission events in 2014 than in 2011.

## APRIL 2017

*Court and probation data - CSSD, all other data - CT DOC.*

### Chart 2a – The impact of internal and external factors on the sentenced population



OPM studies the state's prison population with the same fervor that devot racetrack regulars follow the ponies. The prison system, like the racing game, occasionally reveals hidden and mysterious patterns. Chart 2a plots the last six years of data for the sentenced prison population in CT. The data is indexed to the month of January. Indexing data is a useful way to compare the performance of different variables from the same starting point.

Over the last six years, the prison population declined in every year but one, 2013. During 2012 and 2016, the sentenced population contracted very quickly, by 5% and 5.4% respectively. In 2011, 2013 and 2014, the sentenced population declined at only a moderate annual pace of between 1% and 2%. This is notable because these differences in the changes to the size of the sentenced population were all linked to the specific conditions that were operating on the prison system at the time.

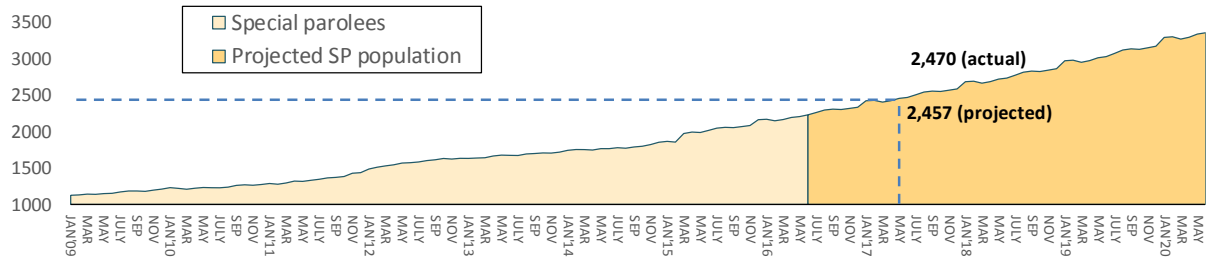
During 2012, the system felt the effect of the Risk Reduction Earned Credit (RREC) program begun in late-2011. The result, a 5% drop. In 2016, the efficiencies unleashed by the centralization of DOC's review and discretionary-release process, saw the prison population decline by 5.4%.

In contrast to 2011 and 2016, 2013 saw a confluence of factors at both DOC and the Board of Pardons and Paroles that resulted in many fewer prisoners making it out to community supervision programs on, or after, their eligibility dates. The result, the sentenced population in prison grew by 3.7% during the year.

With no exceptional forces pushing the population up or down during 2011, 2014 and 2015, the sentenced prison population ebbed slowly downward, following the general drop in arrests, prison admissions, lower remand rates and fewer, overall, returns to prison.

## MAY 2017

**Chart 2a – Special parole caseloads continue to grow**



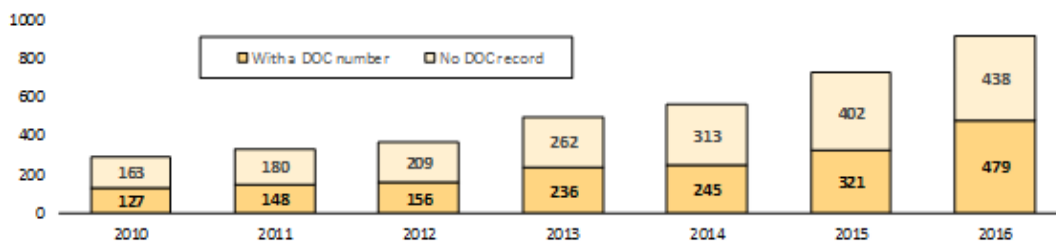
This chart was first featured in the June 2016 issue of this publication. It was intended to draw our readers' attention to the steadily rising number of offenders who were being sentenced to special parole supervision. OPM is concerned that, given existing rates of growth, the special parole population would reach 3,360 by June 1, 2020.

This month, the special parole population in the community topped 2,000 for the first time. To provide some perspective, this number is larger than the combined caseloads for parole and transitional supervision. Given this milestone, it seemed reasonable to revisit our projection. In June 2016, OPM projected that the special parole population on May 1, 2017 would total 2,457. In fact, the total special parole population on May 1 was 2,470. This number includes 1,713 special parolees who are currently under supervision, another 299 special parolees in halfway houses, and 458 special parolees who have been remanded to custody.

Unchecked growth in the size of the special parole population may create capacity problems for the DOC in the near future. Special parolees are generally supervised for longer periods than other offenders. In addition, they often require more resources than other offenders. This, coupled with higher remand rates, means that special parolees are consuming more and more resources, both in the community and in prison. It may be time to initiate a deeper discussion about the future of special parole and its role and function.

## JUNE 2017

**Chart 2a – Opioid deaths and CT prisoners**



The New York Times (6/6/2017) estimated that up to 65,000 people died of drug overdoses in the US in 2016. In CT, 917 people died, a 27% increase over the 2015 figure. OPM, which has been monitoring drug deaths reported by the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner (OCME) for several years recently determined that 52% of 2016 overdose victims been admitted to the DOC and assigned a DOC inmate number. This is an alarmingly high rate given the small percentage of state residents who have ever been admitted to prison.

Qualitative research conducted by OPM found that almost everyone in prison admitted to using illicit drugs before arriving in prison. Among prisoners, marijuana-use was virtually ubiquitous. In fact, the only offenders who did not report using drugs in our study were self-described, heavy-users of alcohol.

Opioid abuse is driving the recent rise in overall overdose deaths in the state and nationally. National overdose deaths last year surpassed the peak number of deaths for gun fatalities, HIV-related deaths and car crashes. Our analysis of OCME and DOC data revealed that overdoses are probably the single most common cause of death among prisoners within 60 days of release from prison.

While Whites accounted for almost 80% of state overdose deaths, OPM analysis reveals that opioid-related death rates have increased almost identically among every major racial and ethnic group in CT. Given the high concentration of drug abusers in prison, it would make good public policy sense to develop and expand programs to address opioid-use among prisoners and educate them about the resources that may be available to users after prison.



## JULY 2017

### Mortality among former CT prisoners

Last month, we reported on high concentrations of drug overdose deaths among former prisoners. In 2016, for example, 52% of people that died of a drug overdose in CT had, at some point, been an inmate at the CT DOC. Following up on these findings, OPM requested death registry data from the Department of Public Health (DPH) for all deaths between 2011 to the end of 2016. In the data we were able to identify 524 sentenced inmates who had been released or discharged from prison in 2011.

In our analysis, we observed that former prisoners – particularly those between the ages of 20 to 49, were much more likely to die from either a drug overdose or a homicide than the general population. Although it might seem reasonable that ex-convicts exhibit higher rates for these types of deaths, the alarming disparity in death rates that we witnessed was a major surprise.

Our analysis computed deaths per 10,000 persons over a 5-years period. 2010 U.S. Census data was used as the baseline for the non-prison population. The base population for prisoners was derived from a DOC-generated list of 15,890 sentenced prisoners who were released or discharged in 2011.

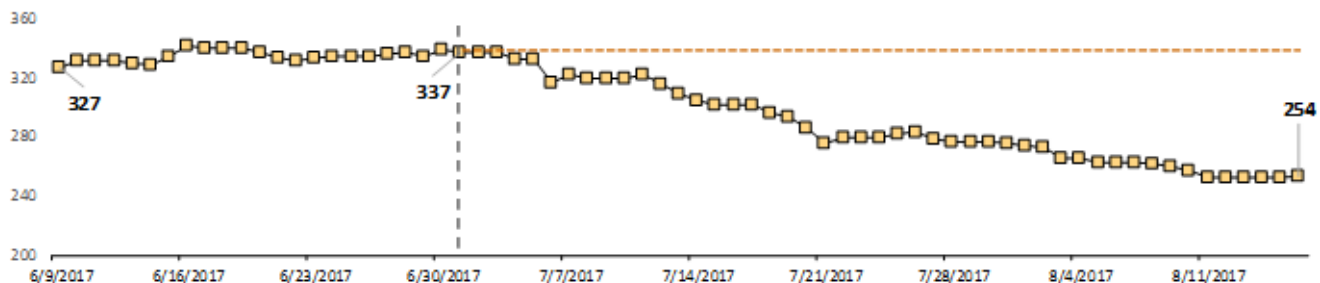
The analysis revealed that race/ethnicity was highly correlated with the cause-of-death. Among white prisoners aged 30-39, for example, 60.5% of the prisoners who died, succumbed to an overdose. Among black prisoners who died, in the same age range, 65.2% were victims of homicide.

Among all 30-39 year olds in the state, the 5-year homicide rate between 2011 and 2016 was 3.6 per 10,000 people. Among blacks, however, the rate was over 4 times higher at 16.6 per 10,000. Among former black prisoners, the homicide rate was a staggering 89.7 per 10,000. During the same period, the statewide overdose death rates for 30 to 39 year olds was 17.9 deaths per 10,000. Among whites alone, the overdose rate was 23.1 per ten thousand. Among former white prisoners, however, the rate from overdose deaths was over 7 times higher at 182.5 deaths per 10,000 people.

In the coming months OPM will publish more thorough findings on mortality among former prisoners. While there have been some recent efforts to address the problem of opioid abuse in the prisons and across the state, trauma and violence continues to disproportionately affect large numbers of minority prisoners and their communities.

## AUGUST 2017

Chart 2a – Tracking cash only bail and PA 17-145



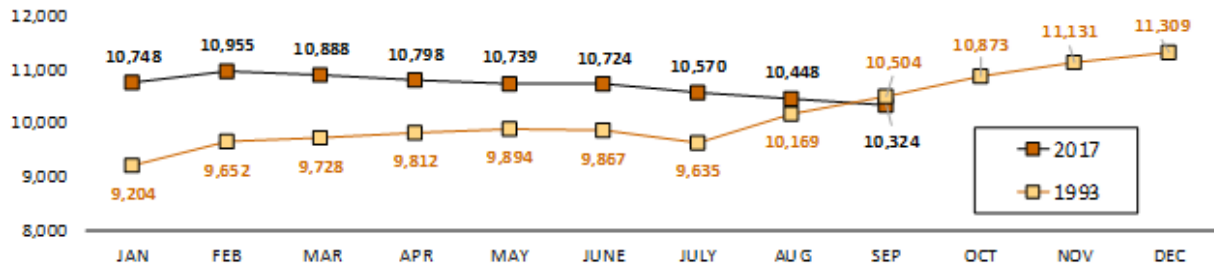
Public Act 17-145 changed the rules governing pretrial detention and bail in Connecticut. When implemented on July 1, 2017, the law, among other things, changed the way cash bail could be applied for most offenses. To measure the impact of this legislation and its implementation, OPM began monitoring the daily count of inmates held on cash-only bonds i.e., prisoners who could only meet their bail obligations by paying the full bail amount set by the court, in cash. Chart 2A suggests that the law has already significantly impacted the state's pretrial population.

Almost all pre-trial detainees in the state (almost 88% on August 16) are held on surety bonds, meaning that the defendants may meet their bail obligations through the use of a bail bondsman. Another 7% of pre-trial prisoners were held on dockets with both cash and surety bond obligations. Less than 5% of current pre-trial detainees are held on cash-only bail.

In the coming months, OPM will continue to monitor the application of cash bail in the state and its impact on the pretrial population.

## SEPTEMBER 2017

### Chart 2a – The sentenced prison population, 1993 vs. 2017



The number of sentenced prisoners has been declining for several years. In the Highlights section we reported that the number of sentenced prisoners was at its lowest level since 1993. Chart 2a compares the steady drop in the sentenced-prisoner population this year to 1993 when the number of sentenced prisoners was surging. Between January 1, 1993 and January 1, 1994, the sentenced population grew by 21.8%.

Truth-in-sentencing legislation, the elimination of Supervised-Home-Releases and a flurry of prison construction fueled a rapid expansion in the size of Connecticut's prison population. In March 2003, the number of sentenced prisoners hit its historic peak of 15,600. Between 1992 and 1994, the DOC added approximately 2,800 additional prison beds as Walker CI, Garner CI, MacDougall CI and

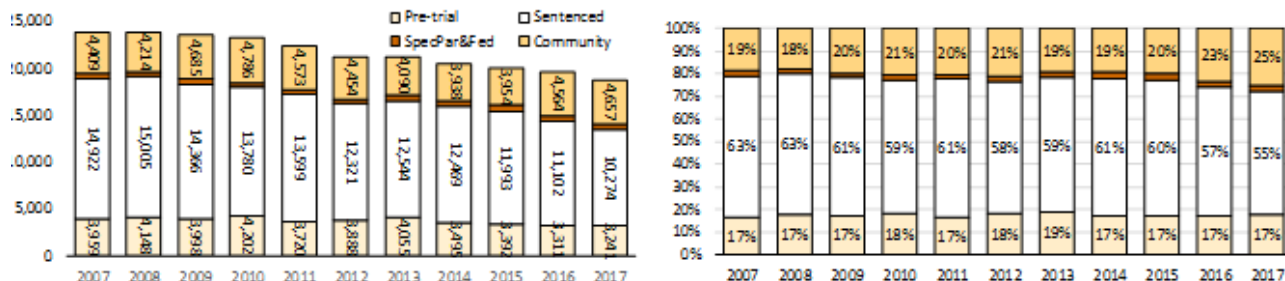
Cybulski CI all came on-line. The state's total prison population would eventually peak at 19,893 in February 2008.

As the state's prison population contracted, so too did the prison system. Since January 1, 2010, the CT DOC has taken almost 4,500 prison beds off line. Webster CI, with approximately 590 beds, closed in January 2010. Gates CI and Bergin CI both closed in 2011. Together they housed over 2,000 inmates.

Since 2015, 1,600 prison beds have been eliminated with the shuttering of the Fairmont Building at Bridgeport CC, the Niantic Annex, The Qs at Osborn CI and the Radgowski Annex.

## OCTOBER 2017

### Chart 2a – The DOC's mission is slowly changing



Over the last 10 years, the total number of offenders in DOC custody, i.e., sentenced prisoners in facilities, pre-trial detainees in jails and offenders supervised in the community, has declined by 21%. The sentenced, imprisoned component of this population has dropped by 31%. The upshot: the percentage of sentenced prisoners now constitutes only 55% of all offenders in DOC custody. Ten years ago, they accounted for 63% of the DOC custody population. Is this change important?

From an outsider's perspective, the custody of sentenced prisoners has always been central to the CT DOC's sense of its own mission. Although the Department oversees jails, halfway houses and community supervision programs, these elements

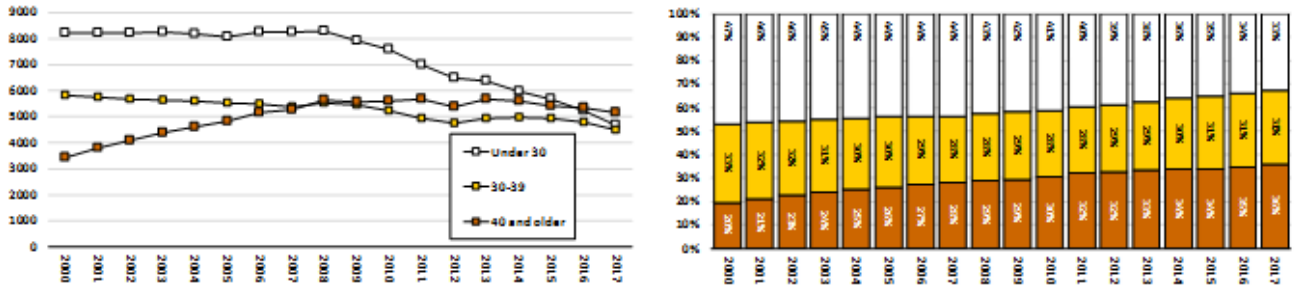
were generally observed to be peripheral to the DOC's core business, prison operations and the management and supervision of sentenced inmates.

We currently project that the mix of offenders in DOC custody will continue to gradually shift towards offenders in community-release programs and pre-trial detainees, and away from sentenced prisoners. This change will require the Department to give more urgency to addressing the needs of its pre-trial detainees and prisoners re-entering society.

In recent years the DOC has attempted to reorient the Department's operations and priorities. More change will be required since the population under DOC custody is also changing.

**NOVEMBER 2017**

**Chart 2a – Changes in the incarcerated population since 2000**



The composition of the state’s prison population has changed considerably over the last two decades. This change is particularly evident when we consider the age of prisoners incarcerated. In 2000, almost half of all prisoners were under the age of 30, while prisoners over the age of 40 made up less than 20% of the total prison population.

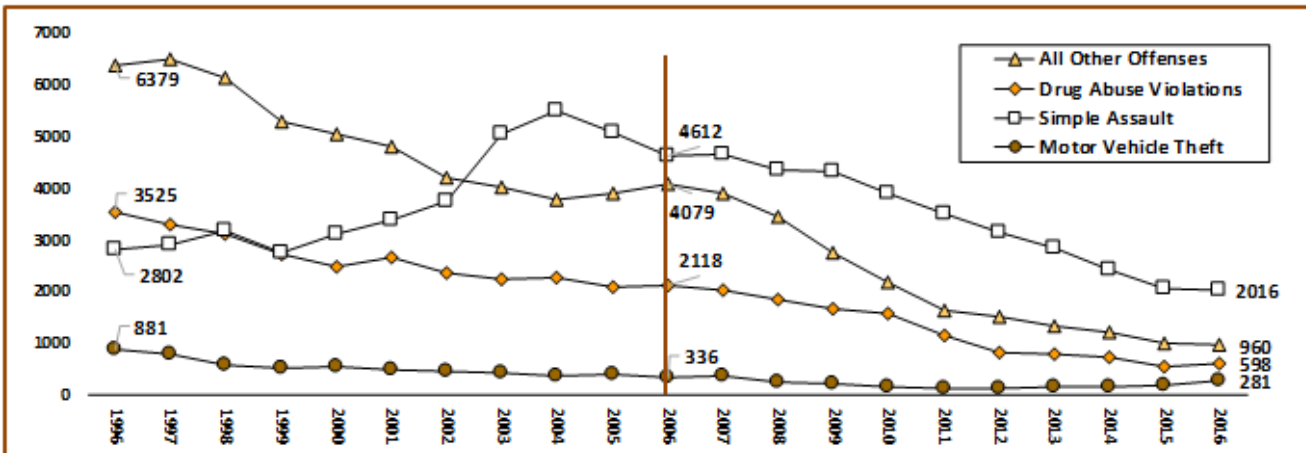
In the intervening years, the percentage of prisoners who are under the age of 30 has dropped from about a half to roughly a third of the total population. Virtually all of the growth between 2000 and 2008 was driven by a dramatic increase in the number of prisoners over the age of 40. This likely reflected changes to CT sentencing laws that resulted in offenders serving longer sentences.

Conversely, since 2008, most of the decline in the state’s prison population has been driven by a dramatic drop in the number of young persons – offenders under 30- who are incarcerated. Certainly, factors such as CT’s raise-the-age legislation has made a considerable contribution to fewer young people in the prison system. It should be noted, however, that many fewer young people are being arrested these days than in past years.

Between 2000 and 2017, the total prison population declined by almost 18%. The decline among young prisoners, however, was much greater, about 43%. The number of prisoners over the age of 40 rose by almost 50% during this time period.

**DECEMBER 2017**

**Chart 2a – Trends – Juvenile Arrests from 1996 to 2016**



One way to predict the direction the criminal justice system is heading is to look at trends in behavior among young offenders. Fewer young offenders today suggests fewer adult offenders in the future.

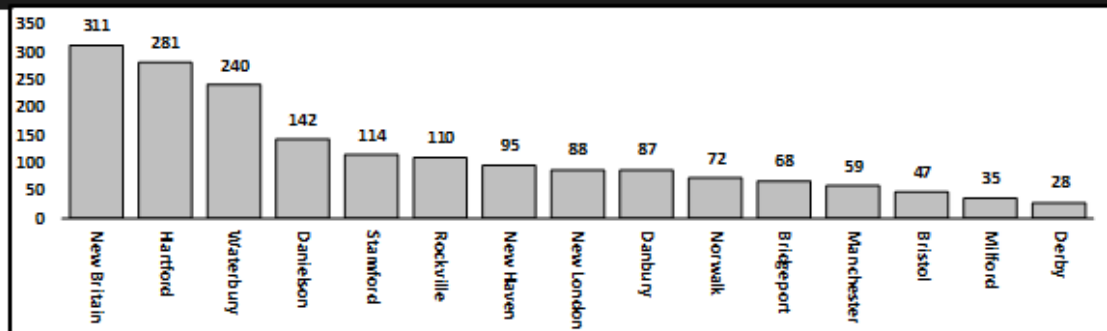
The chart above depicts the total, annual arrests of offenders under the age of 18 from 1996 to 2016. The data was collected from the annual DESPP publication - *Crime in Connecticut*.

Four categories are represented - motor vehicle theft, simple assault, drug abuse violations and the catch-all “all other offenses”.

In total, far fewer arrests have been made of young offenders in recent years. Even with a recent, but relatively small uptick in arrests for motor vehicle theft and drug abuse violations, the aggregate picture depicts large decreases relative to the recent past.

## JANUARY 2018

**Chart 2a – Special parole sentencing by court location**



Over the past two years, 1428 individuals on 1866 cases were sentenced to a term of incarceration that included special parole. Shown are the top 15 court locations (some may contain both a JD and GA) ranked by the number of sentences that included special parole.

Looking only at the raw counts alone misses the fact that these courts handle different amounts of business. Measuring workload - albeit crudely by arraignments - the contrast remains pronounced. New Britain had 40% fewer arraignments than Bridgeport (3950 vs 6424), yet but five times more special parole sentences (311 vs 68).

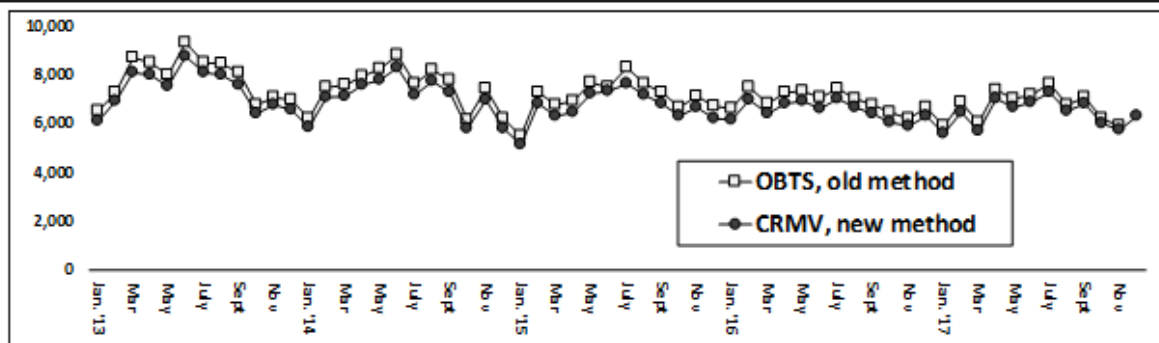
Not shown are the 138 different charges associated with special parole sentences. The top three charges were: Possession with intent to sell, sale of hallucinogen/narcotic, and burglary 3<sup>rd</sup> degree. While serious offenses, not necessarily the violence expected with special parole sentences.

Given the degree to which courts vary and the array of charges associated with this sentencing option, legislative changes may be on the horizon.

This analysis is preliminary and limited. As such, we plan to explore this topic in more detail in the future.

## FEBRUARY 2018

**Chart 2a – Arrests – new counting methodology**



Due to a recent changeover at CJIS, arrest data in this paper will come from a new source. Previously, arrests were based on counts from OBTS - the Offender Based Tracking System. Going forward arrests will be tallied by the counting rules of CRMV.

Both OBTS and CRMV are fed by the same original data. CRMV - the new method - counts arrests one step further into the judicial process. For example, if Jane Doe is arrested by on Monday, then is served with a warrant for additional crimes on Wednesday, OBTS counts two arrests. Should the court

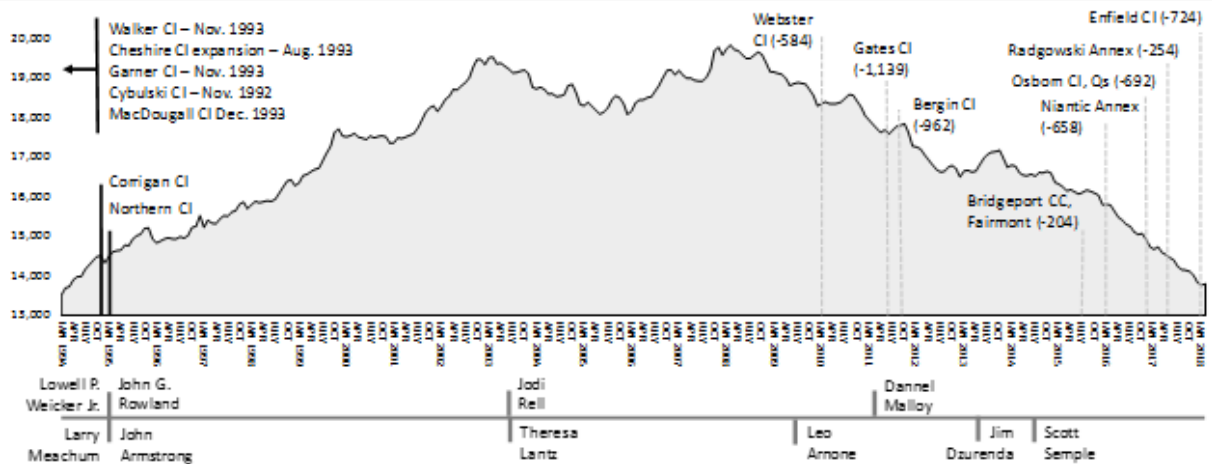
eventually place both arrests on one docket, CRMV counts one event. Based on this logic, CRMV is more offender centered than OBTS.

The chart above shows the monthly tallies for both counting rules since January 2013. The two lines nearly overlap and move in lockstep with one another. For the purpose of trend analysis there is virtually no difference.

To track comparisons over time, all arrest data, including historical data, will be based on the new counting method.

## MARCH 2018

### Chart 2a – Prison population 1994 to the present



The last quarter century has seen enormous shifts in the prison population. As of March 2018 the prison population hovers around 13,750, a level not seen since early 1994.

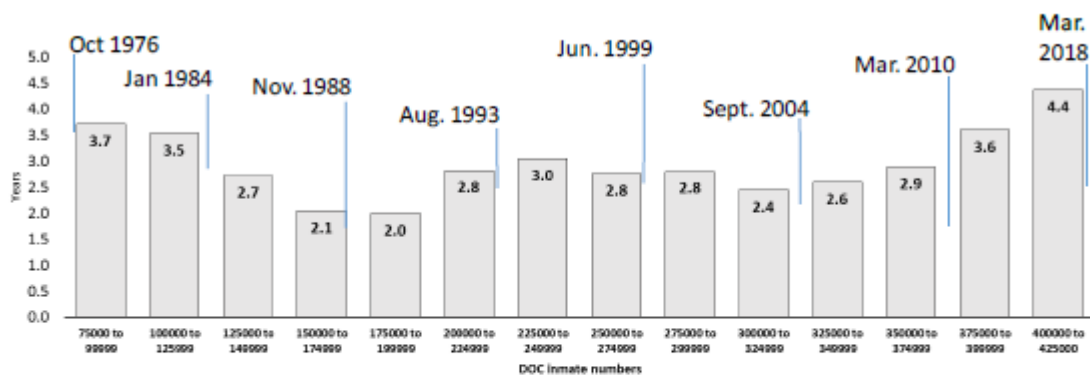
The dynamics driving the criminal justice today are much different than those in the early 1990s. Burgeoning crime rates spawned a prison building boom in the 1990s.

Between 1992 and 1995 the state's capacity to incarcerate almost doubled. Six new facilities were added; others were expanded. As a consequence, the prison population rose rapidly, peaking in early 2008.

Since then, prison counts have plummeted and significant prison-bed capacity had been taken off-line, most recently Enfield CI was closed – formerly housing 724 inmates.

## APRIL 2018

### Chart 2a – Assignment of DOC inmate numbers since 1976

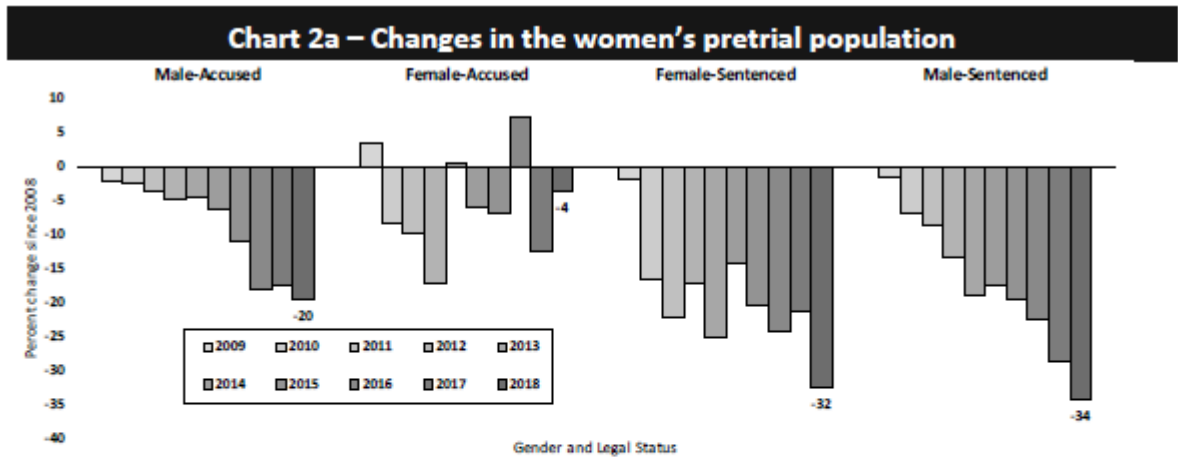


In March 2018, an offender admitted to the DOC was assigned inmate #425000. DOC inmate numbers are assigned incrementally and as new people are admitted and, as such, they serve as a measure of new business entering the system.

In the chart above, the bars represent the number of years that it took to assign 25,000 new DOC inmate numbers.

Until recently, the department had been adding new numbers at a relatively steady pace. A significant break happens after the 350,000<sup>th</sup> number was added in April of 2007. The time to add 25,000 inmate numbers swelled from about two-and-half years to four-and-half years. To put it another way, in late 1980s and early 1990s about 34 new offenders were admitted to the DOC daily, over the past four years that rate has halved to 16 per day.

## MAY 2018

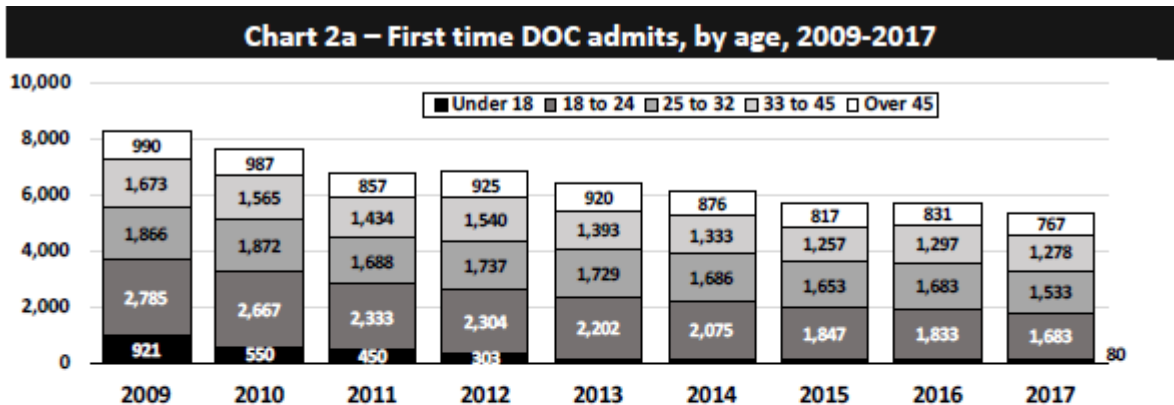


Between January 2008 and January 2018, the number of male sentenced prisoners – the largest component of state’s incarcerated population – declined by 34%, from 14,098 to 9,262. The number of sentenced women dropped by 32% (900 to 609) during the same period. Among the state’s pretrial population, i.e., persons awaiting trial, the declines were much less impressive.

Between 2008 and 2018, the male pre-trial population declined by 20%, 3,514 to 2,826. In stark contrast, the female pre-trial population declined by only 4% over the course of the decade, dropping from 339 to 327.

This begs the question, why have substantial reductions in the size of the state’s prison population had so little effect on the number of women held on pre-trial status in the state?

## JUNE 2018



The state’s prison population is down 33% since its historic peak in 2008. At the same time, the number of new admits to the DOC have been falling away as well, down 40%.

In terms of new admits, all age groups have seen a decline, but the reduction has disproportionately impacted young adults. The youngest group shown in the chart above collapses between 2008 and 2013, falling 90%, coinciding with the implementation of raise-the-age.

What is less apparent, but potentially more interesting is the subtle change in the 18-24 cohort in the years following. If raise the age merely delayed entry to prison, we would expect to see an increase in the 18 to 24 year group after implementation. That’s not what happened. Between 2013 and 2017 18 to 24 year olds admits fell by 24%, faster than all admits (16%) and twice as fast as older offenders. This suggests that the suppression of young, first time admits under the age of 18 has continued to the next age group.

## JULY 2018

### Chart 2a – Assaults on DOC staff

Facility	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Garner	63	21	45	23	24	38	36	24	27	20
MacDougall	8	14	6	12	19	17	19	18	18	12
Manson	17	21	15	9	12	8	6	12	5	1
Cheshire	5	12	11	4	9	8	7	10	3	2
Robinson	11	8	7	8	6	6	4	2	2	5
Willard	3	4	2	1	0	3	3	4	4	2
Brooklyn	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0
Total, all facilities	283	253	205	165	195	205	176	183	158	132
Population, July 1st	19,413	18,891	18,431	17,631	16,591	16,988	16,551	16,025	15,342	14,335

In light of three serious assaults on staff in recent months at the Manson Y.I., OPM obtained data from the DOC in an attempt to better understand and contextualize these incidents.

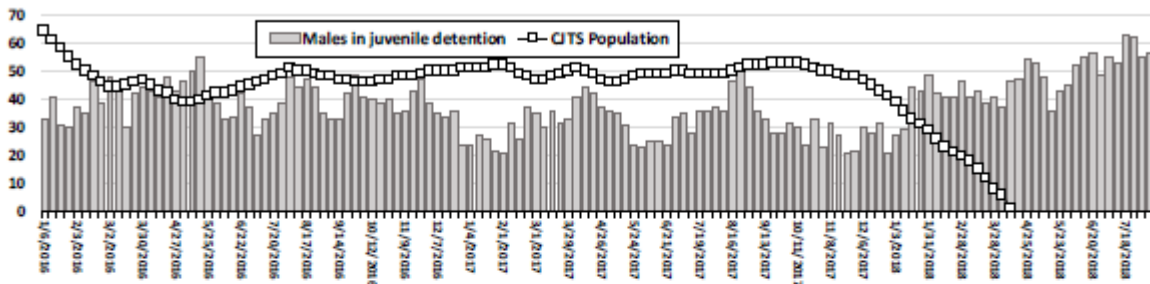
The table above shows the decreasing number assaults on staff reported from 2008 to 2017. Also shown is data from six facilities whose populations held steady over the time period and MYI. The population at these facilities fell by an average of 3% over the last decade, yet staff assaults fell by 61%.

Between 2008 and 2017, the number of assaults, across all prisons and jails, fell by 53%. During the same period, the prison population dropped by 26%. Between 2008 and 2017, the facility with the most assaults, Garner CI, saw a two thirds reduction (63 to 20).

This analysis is not intended to diminish the difficulty and potential dangerousness of the work of correctional staff, but to put recent events into a historical perspective.

## AUGUST 2018

### Chart 2a – Juvenile justice, use of incarceration



In 2016, Governor Malloy announced plans to close the CT Juvenile Training School (CJTS) no later than July 1, 2018. CJTS, which was operated by the Department of Children and Families, had housed upwards of 140 teenage males at its peak. In recent years, the population incarcerated at CJTS had fallen significantly as support for the increasingly beleaguered facility waned.

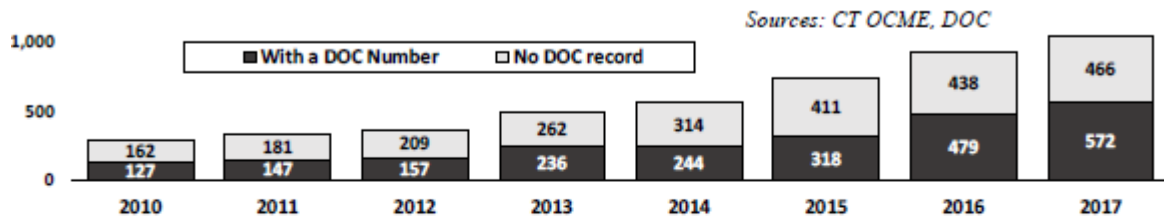
In 2017, the CT legislature voted to transfer criminal justice matters previously handled by DCF to the Judicial Branch, effective July 1, 2018.

In the wake of this decision, DCF announced that it would cease accepting new admissions to the facility after the start of January 2018.

The above chart plots the male population held in Judicial juvenile detention facilities, from the beginning of 2016, against the number of youth held at CJTS until the last inmate left in April 2018. Although the average number of youth held in Judicial detention has increased over the past year, the level of the increase has not been as dramatic as some had assumed prior to the closure of CJTS.

## SEPTEMBER 2018

### Chart 2a – Opioid deaths and CT prisoners



Former prisoners face a heightened risk to die of a drug overdose. We have reported in the past that former inmates account for a large portion of overdose victims in Connecticut. That trend seems to be growing. Between 2010 and 2016, about 45% of those dying of an accidental drug overdose had previously been incarcerated in a CT prison or jail. In 2016 the proportion grew to 52% and in 2017 increased further to 55%.

In an odd bit of morbid symmetry, 54% of CT's 2017 homicide victims between the ages of 18 and 66 had a DOC record. Former offenders who died of a drug overdose were overwhelmingly white

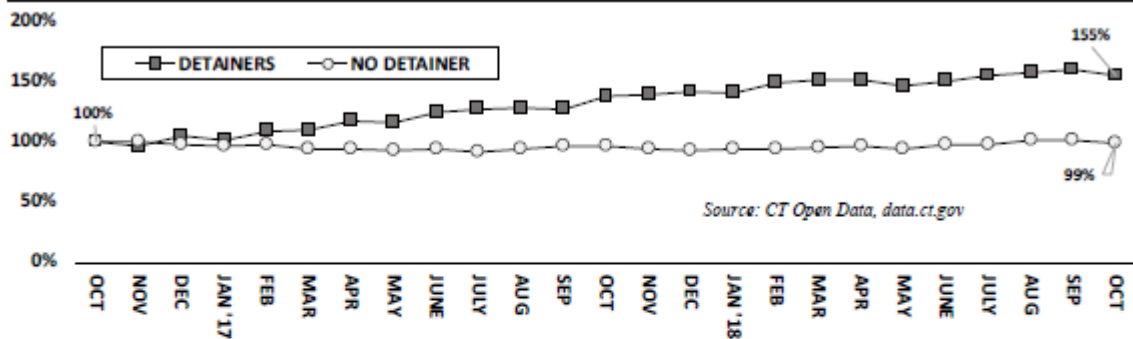
(70%) while a majority (61%) of 2017 homicide victims who had previously been incarcerated were black.

The high correlation between race/ethnicity and cause of death points to the vastly different experiences and risk profiles offenders carry with them into, and ultimately out of, the criminal justice system. The outcomes examined above foreshadow the societal factors that drive these two disparate groups into the criminal justice system. Perhaps grim outcomes can inform policy to address origins.

Further reading OPM's Mortality among ex-prisoners: [https://www.ct.gov/opm/lib/opm/cjppd/cjresearch/mainnav/prisoner\\_mortality\\_final\\_03232018.pdf](https://www.ct.gov/opm/lib/opm/cjppd/cjresearch/mainnav/prisoner_mortality_final_03232018.pdf)

## OCTOBER 2018

### Chart 2a – Increasing use of detainers, indexed



The chart above shows the growing number of pretrial prisoners being held on a detainer. Over the last two years, the number of pretrial inmates held only on a financial bond has remained flat, this month there are virtually the same number (99%) as there were on October 15, 2016. Pretrial inmates with a detainer, shown by a dark grey square above have risen to 155% of their October 2016 total over the same period.

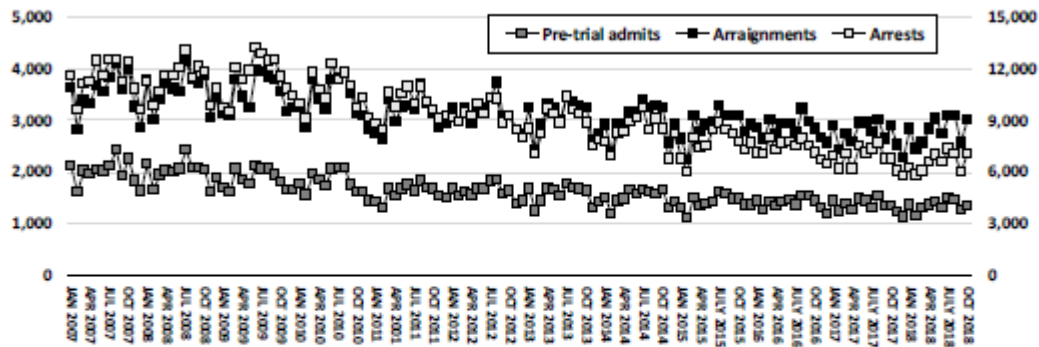
Pretrial inmates can have one of seven different kinds of detainer placed on them. Immigration

detainers are being used more and more, but over this entire time frame special parole detainers are the most frequently used. These inmates discharge from a sentence and are placed on special parole status in the community. Should they be charged with a new crime while on special parole supervision, they are remanded to prison. While cases are pending, they are categorized as accused, pretrial offenders, but cannot be released on bond because of the special parole detainer. This effectively limits the impact bond assistance or diversionary programs can have on the pretrial population.



## NOVEMBER 2018

### Chart 2a – Arrests, arraignments and pretrial admissions



The monthly indicators report has published data on offenders arraigned from lock-up since 2015. The trend lines in chart 2a illustrate changes often come slowly in criminal justice.

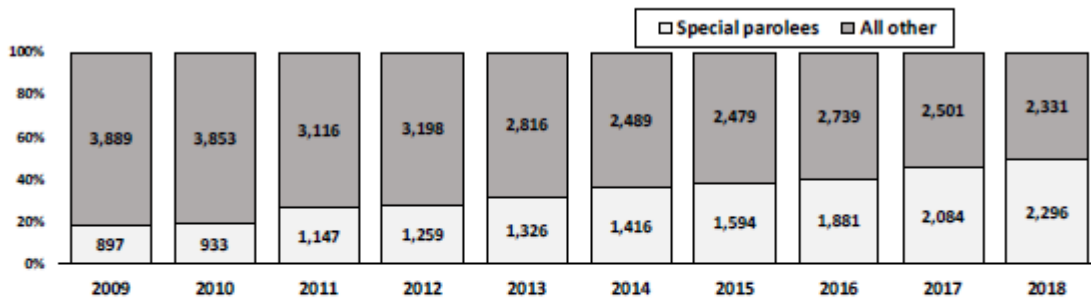
In the short term, while the system is strongly self-stabilizing, over a longer term significant changes can be observed. Since January 2007, arrests are down 36% and pretrial admits by 39%.

Arraignments, however, during the same period are down by only 17%. This suggests the relationship between arrests, arraignments, and pretrial prison admits is evolving.

In January 2007, for every 100 arrests there were 31 arraignments from lockup and 18 pretrial prison admits. By October 2018 those figures changed to 43 arraignments and 19 pretrial prison admits per 100 criminal arrests.

## DECEMBER 2018

### Chart 2a – Special Parole and Community Supervision

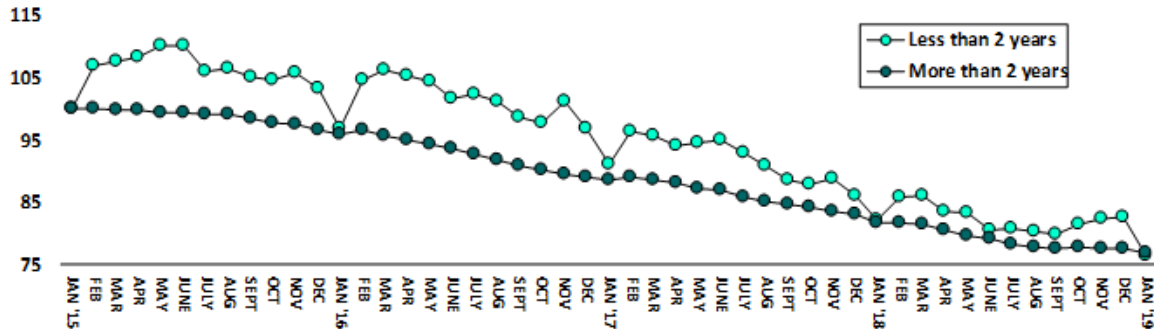


The use of special parole as a sentencing option has radically changed the composition of the DOC's parole and community supervision. The bar chart above is the December 1<sup>st</sup> DOC's community supervision population count over the last ten years. The darker shaded group represents all offenders released and supervised by a discretionary mechanism. The lighter shade is special parole, including those in halfway house beds.

Added to the court's arsenal in 1998, the impact of special parole did not reach the DOC's parole and community supervision for several years. By 2009, ten years into special parole's existence, special parolees were outnumbered by discretionary releases by a ratio of 4 to 1. This December, 1 out of every 2 offenders on supervised release are special parolees.

## JANUARY 2019

**Chart 2a – Late-year effect on the prison population**



This paper noted that the late-year drop off in the prison population appeared to be weakening in December 2014, suggesting that a shrinking population was, at least partly, responsible. This year the prison population fell by only 206 inmates between November and January; less than half of the usual 500.

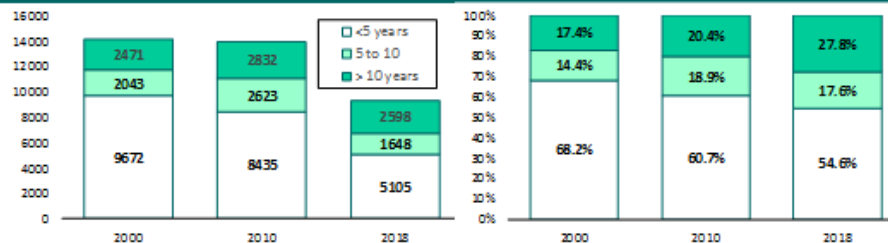
Taking a closer look at the sentenced population, we found that short-term (<2 years) sentenced prisoners play an outsized role in the late year drop off. The chart above breaks out the trends, in

indexed terms, for offenders serving more than 2 years versus those serving less than <2 years over the last four years. The chart clearly shows that the late year drop is most pronounced among those serving shorter sentences.

The number of sentenced offenders serving less than 2 years, has fallen from nearly 3700 to 2500 (33%) over the last 8 years. Being only one quarter of the sentenced population means that an already smaller group has less to give resulting in a weakened late year effect.

## FEBRUARY 2019

**Chart 2a – Changes in the sentenced population, 2000 through 2018**



Between 2000 and 2018, the total number of sentenced inmates in CT declined by 34%. This decline, however, did not impact all groups of sentenced prisoners equally. The largest drops were associated with prisoners serving sentences of less than 5 years. The number of these prisoners dropped by 47%, from 9,672 to 5,105.

In 2000, 31.8% of sentenced prisoners in CT were serving terms of incarceration of 5 years or longer. By 2018, the percentage of offenders serving these longer sentences had increased by almost 50% to 45.4% of the sentenced population. It is important to note, however, that while the percentage of prisoners serving long sentences increased

dramatically, the actual number of prisoners serving these longer sentences dropped from 4,514 to 4,246 during that 18-year window.

Chart 2a illustrates that most of the observable contraction in the State's sentenced-prison population occurred after 2010. In fact 93% of the entire contraction in the sentenced population between 2000 and 2018 occurred after 2010. It is interesting to note that the number of prisoners serving sentences of over 5 years in length grew by 20% between 2000 and 2010. The increase in longer sentences may reflect the sentencing guidelines and policies that contributed to over-incarceration.