



Research Brief

Jail Populations, Violent Crime, and COVID-19

Findings from the Safety and
Justice Challenge

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CUNY INSTITUTE
FOR STATE & LOCAL
GOVERNANCE



SAFETY+JUSTICE
CHALLENGE

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Introduction

In response to the rapid spread of COVID-19, jails across the country implemented emergency strategies to reduce jail populations and mitigate the virus's spread.¹ New data collected from cities and counties participating in the Safety and Justice Challenge (SJC), a multi-year initiative funded by John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and analyzed by the CUNY Institute for State & Local Governance (ISLG), shows how often individuals released from jail are rebooked into jail while their criminal case is pending. The findings directly address recent claims about the role of criminal legal reform in crime trends. It is one of the few analyses exploring these questions on a national scale using in-depth, multisite data from SJC cities and counties.

On average, SJC cities and counties successfully reduced jail populations without jeopardizing community safety.

Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, public data show that violent crime and homicides have increased nationally. These increases have put a spotlight on criminal legal reform efforts, with growing public discourse in some political and media circles suggesting that reforms are causing these increases. These claims often speculate that people released due to reform efforts are responsible for many new violent acts committed. To date, these claims have not been grounded in any evidence. They do not acknowledge the concurrent complex web of pandemic-related social and economic strains,^{2, 3, 4} or the fact that homicides increased in many major cities that did not enact progressive jail population reform efforts.⁵

Increases in violent crime were seen in some cities and counties participating in the SJC. In 2021, ISLG released [a report](#) on how criminal legal reforms related to crime trends in SJC cities and counties before COVID-19 emerged. The report showed that, on average, SJC cities and counties successfully reduced jail populations without jeopardizing community safety. People released from jail after the implementation of criminal legal reforms were no more likely to return to jail within a year and were extremely unlikely to return to jail for a violent crime.

The findings from this updated analysis, using individual-level jail admissions data through April 2021, show that reforms focused on releasing people from jail on pretrial status did not appear to drive recent increases in violent crime. In contrast, ISLG found that for SJC cities and counties:

1. There is **no apparent correlation** between declines in jail incarceration and increases in violent crime through COVID-19.
2. Most individuals released on pretrial status were **not rebooked** into jail. This has remained consistent over the years.
3. Of the small percentage of the individuals rebooked into jail, it was **very rare to return with a violent crime charge** and exceedingly rare to return with a homicide charge.

Methodology

To explore whether increases in violent crime were related to both the pandemic and criminal legal reforms, ISLG compared rebooking outcomes before communities joined the SJC (2015), after the implementation of reforms to reduce jail populations but before the pandemic (from 2017 to 2019), and since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic (2020). Specifically, five cohorts of people released on pretrial status between 2015 and 2020 were identified and followed for six months (up to April 2021) to see if they returned to jail. Among those rebooked, ISLG examined if the rebooking was for a felony, misdemeanor, violent, or non-violent charge. It should be noted that rebookings were not limited to returns to jail for new law violations. Returns could also be due to other reasons associated with previous cases (such as a failure to



The Safety and Justice Challenge

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation launched the Safety and Justice Challenge (SJC) in response to the misuse and overuse of American jails. The SJC Network includes cities, counties, and states committed to rethinking local criminal legal systems with innovative solutions that are data-driven, equity-focused, and community-informed. The goals of the strategies are to safely reduce jail populations, eliminate ineffective and unfair practices, and reduce racial and ethnic disparities. The SJC Network participants work to identify drivers of over-incarceration and racial disparities, engage community stakeholders to

determine potential solutions, and build infrastructure to track data and measure performance. SJC cities and counties have demonstrated effective ways to keep people out of jail who do not belong there, address racial disparities in the criminal legal system, better reintegrate individuals into the community upon release, and ensure they have the support to stay out of jail – making communities healthier, fairer, and safer. To track the progress of reforms in the SJC jurisdictions, the Foundation engaged the Institute for State & Local Governance (ISLG) at the City University of New York (CUNY).

appear in court, for a technical violation, etc.). ISLG intends to build on this analysis in a future report to understand different types of returns to jail.

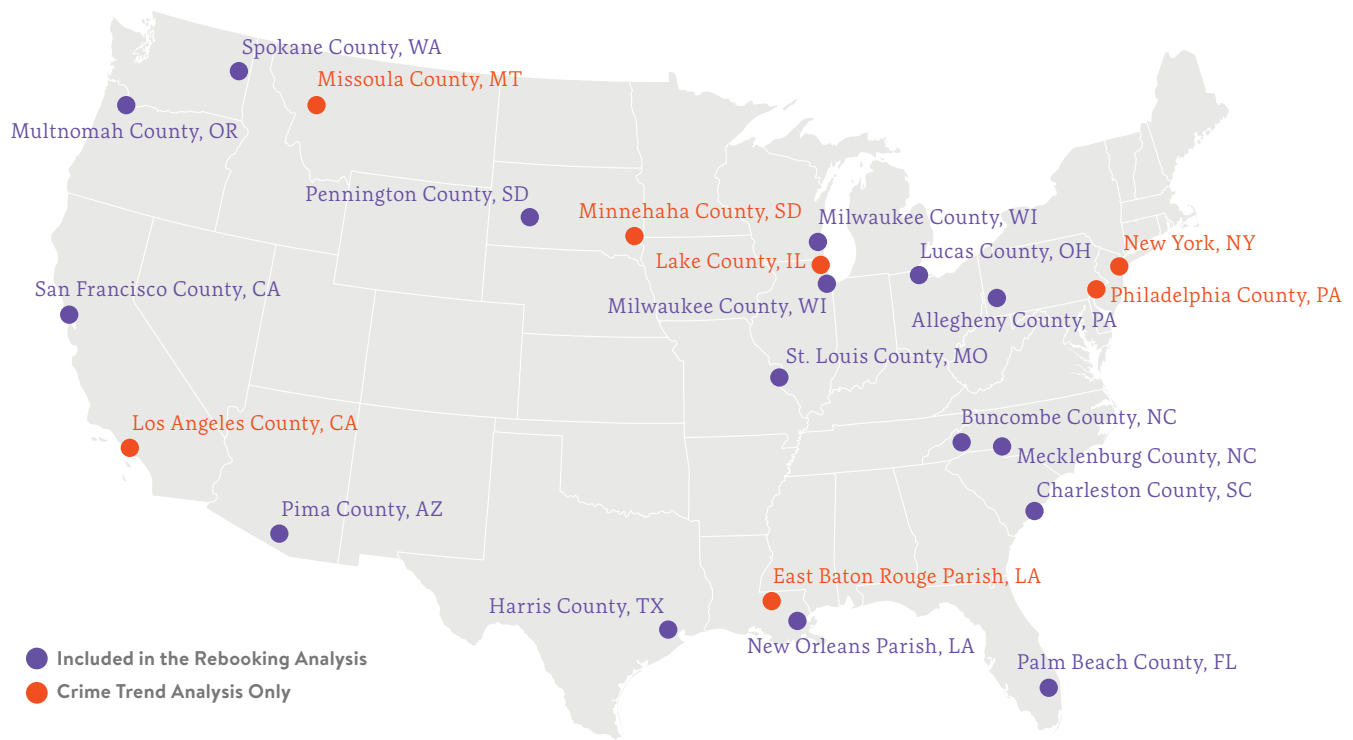
The primary data source for this analysis is detailed jail data through April 2021 that ISLG receives from SJC cities and counties. Publicly available crime trends data is also used to provide additional context. Figure 1 shows the SJC cities and counties included in this analysis. For more information on data sources and site-by-site implementation timelines, please refer to Appendix A.

Unique Nature of SJC Data

ISLG receives detailed case-level data from 16 SJC cities and counties. This data provides comprehensive information on individuals booked into and released from jail over time, allowing ISLG to capture trends in rebooking outcomes. The SJC cities and counties in this analysis provide a diverse cross-section of jails in the U.S., varying in geography, population, and jail size. The rebooking analysis covers data through April 2021, which is more recent than many well-established data sources.

SJC CITIES AND COUNTIES REPRESENT ALL GEOGRAPHIC AREAS OF THE COUNTRY AND ARE DIVERSE IN SIZE, DEMOGRAPHICS, AND PERSPECTIVES.

Figure 1: SJC Cities and Counties Included in the Analysis



Findings

KEY FINDING 1

There is no apparent correlation between declines in jail incarceration and increases in violent crime through COVID-19.

Following the implementation of SJC strategies to reduce local jail populations, SJC cities and counties' incarceration rates declined at a faster pace compared to the national average but mirrored national trends in violent crime. This was true both before and after the COVID-19 pandemic began.

Before COVID-19, from 2017 to 2019, incarceration rates in SJC cities and counties declined by 9 percent, compared to a national average reduction of only 3 percent. Violent crime, in turn, declined by 3 percent in SJC cities and counties and 4 percent nationally during the same time frame.

During the first year of COVID-19, SJC cities and counties continued to outpace declines in jail populations compared to the national average (down 21 percent and 11 percent, respectively). Violent crime began to increase around the country, and the increase looked similar in SJC cities and counties as well as nationally (up 8 percent and 5 percent, respectively).

As shown in Figure 2, the recent uptick in violent crime in SJC cities and counties does not appear to be driven by jail population reductions. When looking at data, all 23 SJC cities and counties decreased their incarceration rates between 2019 and 2020, when the pandemic emerged. However, changes in violent crime varied across cities and counties, and larger decreases in the jail populations were not always associated with increases in violence.

Methodology Definitions

Incarceration

In this report, incarceration is referring to people who are being held in local jails after being arrested and charged for a crime. Incarceration does not indicate whether a person has been convicted or whether they are guilty of the charged crime.

Violent Crime

The number of reported crimes in a city or county are classified as the index violent crime rate, which includes murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, as defined by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program.

Pretrial Release

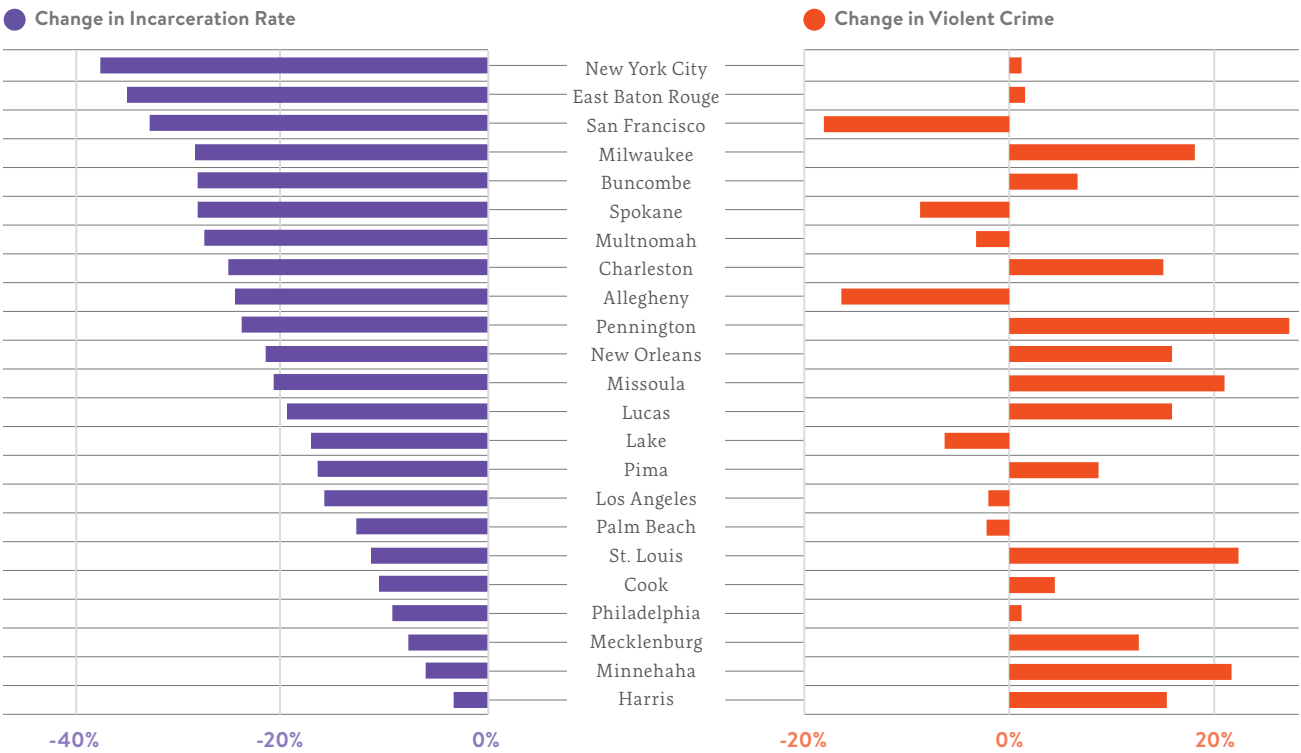
Individuals who have been released from physical jail custody while their criminal case is ongoing, pending the disposition of one or more of their booking charges. People may be released on pretrial status via bail, bond, supervision, or release on own recognizance (no bond or supervision required).

Rebooking Outcomes

When tracking people who were released on pretrial status, we measured whether they were or were not booked into jail within six months of their initial release.

THERE WERE DECLINES IN INCARCERATION RATES ACROSS ALL SJC CITIES AND COUNTIES, WHILE CHANGES IN VIOLENT CRIME RATES VARIED.

Figure 2: Percent Change in Incarceration and Violent Crime Rates in SJC Sites, 2019-2020



Larger declines in incarceration rates did not lead to a greater increase in violent crime rates.

Table 1: Percent Change in Incarceration and Violent Crime Rate in Select SJC Cities and Counties, 2019-2020

Change in Incarceration Rate		Change in Violent Crime Rate
↓ -38%	New York City	↓ -1%
↓ -25%	Allegheny	↓ -16%
↓ -3%	Harris	↑ +15%

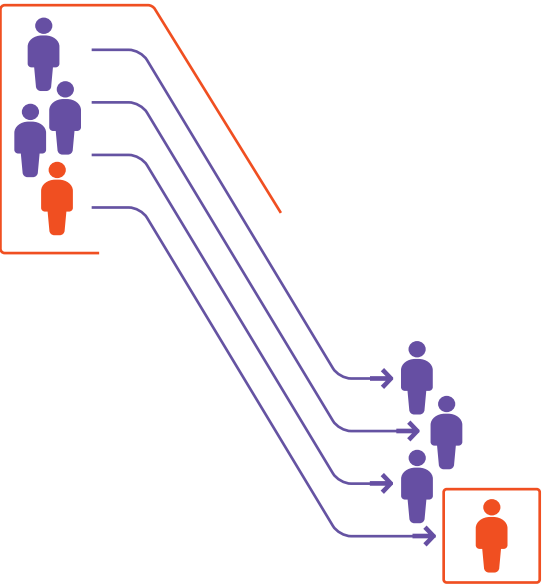
For example, as Table 1 demonstrates, between 2019 and 2020, New York City saw the largest drop in its jail population (down 38 percent) among SJC cities and counties, while violent crime remained about the same. In comparison, Harris County’s jail population had the smallest decline in incarceration (down 3 percent), yet the violent crime rate went up by 15 percent. Allegheny reduced its jail population significantly, by 25 percent, but also experienced a 16 percent decline in the violent crime rate.

KEY FINDING 2

Most individuals released on pretrial status were not rebooked into jail, which was consistent over the years.

Using data from local SJC jails, ISLG followed people released on pretrial status and measured whether they were rebooked into jail within six months of the release. This analysis showed that across the five years, about three out of four people were not rebooked into jail (Figure 3). In other words, people released from jail were no more likely to return after the implementation of SJC or COVID-19-related strategies for reducing jail populations began than before. Details on rebooking outcomes by SJC city and county can be found in Appendix B.

About 3 out of 4 people released on pretrial status were **not rebooked** into jail within six months. This was consistent from 2015 to 2020.



MOST PEOPLE WHO WERE RELEASED ON PRETRIAL STATUS WERE NOT REBOOKED INTO JAIL.

Figure 3: Rebooking Outcome of Individuals Released on Pretrial Status within Six Months (Average Across SJC Cities and Counties), 2015 to 2020

		Not Rebooked		Rebooked with a Misdemeanor Charge		Rebooked with a Felony Charge
PRE-SJC	2015	<div><div></div></div> 74%		<div><div></div></div> 12%		<div><div></div></div> 13%
SJC	2017	<div><div></div></div> 74%		<div><div></div></div> 11%		<div><div></div></div> 13%
	2018	<div><div></div></div> 73%		<div><div></div></div> 12%		<div><div></div></div> 14%
	2019	<div><div></div></div> 72%		<div><div></div></div> 12%		<div><div></div></div> 16%
COVID-19	2020	<div><div></div></div> 71%		<div><div></div></div> 11%		<div><div></div></div> 19%

KEY FINDING 3

Of the small percentage of the individuals re-booked into jail, it was very rare to return with a violent crime charge and exceedingly rare to return with a homicide charge.

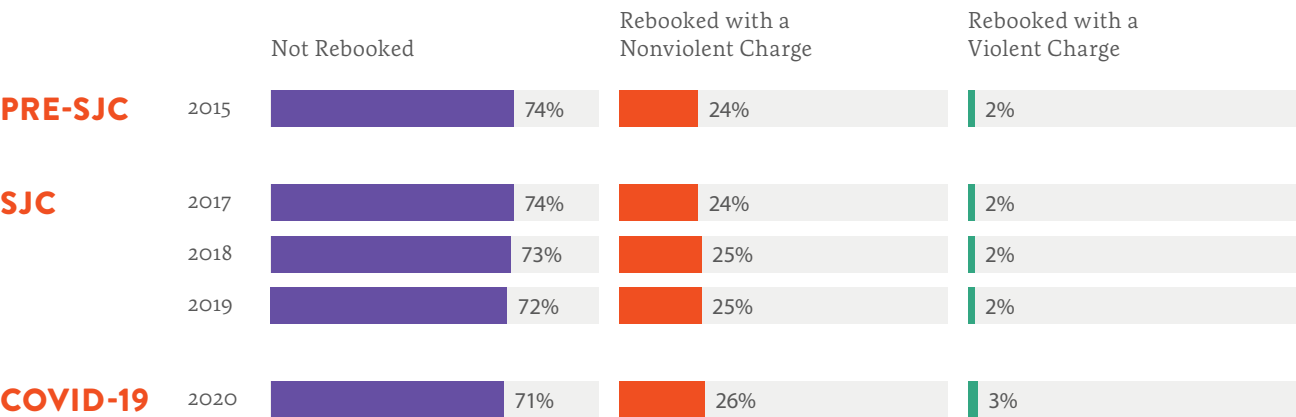
Over time, a very small share (2 to 3 percent) of people released on pretrial status were rebooked within six months for a violent charge, a rate consistent before SJC implementation in 2015 and through COVID-19 in 2020 (Figure 4). While violent crime may have increased in some SJC cities and counties overall, it did not increase among people who were booked into jail and released before their cases were resolved. The overwhelming majority of people released on pretrial status between 2015 and 2020 (over 96 percent) did not return to jail on a violent crime charge.

While violent crime may have increased in some SJC cities and counties overall, it did not increase among people who were booked into jail and released before their cases were resolved.

As rare as it was for people released on pretrial status to be rebooked on a violent crime charge, it was even rarer for people to be rebooked on a homicide charge. On average, across SJC cities and counties, of all people released on pretrial status each year, less than 0.1% of people were rebooked on a homicide charge (Table 2).⁶

LESS THAN 4 PERCENT OF PEOPLE RELEASED ON PRETRIAL STATUS WERE REBOOKED ON A VIOLENT CRIME CHARGE.

Figure 4: Violent Crime Charge Rebooking Outcomes of Individuals Released on Pretrial Status within Six Months (Average Across SJC Cities and Counties), 2015 to 2020



Less than 0.1 percent of people released on pretrial status were rebooked into jail on a homicide crime charge.

Table 2: Homicide Charge Rebooking Outcomes of Individuals Released on Pretrial Status (Average Across SJC Cities Counties), 2015 to 2020

	Pre-SJC		SJC		COVID-19
	2015	2017	2018	2019	2020
Average number of people released pretrial status	8,099	9,031	9,196	8,765	6,427
Average number of people rebooked on homicide charge	5.8	5.3	6.1	6.0	5.9
Homicide rebooking rate of all people released	<0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%

Over 99 percent of people released on pretrial status were not rebooked on a homicide charge within six months. This was consistent from 2015 to 2020.

Conclusion

Since the SJC began in 2016, participating cities and counties have collectively reduced their jail population by 20 percent as of October 2022. This reduction resulted in [15,168 fewer people](#) held in jail on any given day, individuals who were able to remain with their families, communities, and jobs while their cases were pending. It is well-established that pretrial detention increases conviction and sentencing rates due to an increase in guilty pleas.⁷ Being held in jail, even for a brief time, also causes poor mental and physical health outcomes, increases substance dependence, creates financial strain for families, and is detrimental to the well-being of their children.⁸

Reforms to safely reduce jail populations did not drive increases in violent crime that occurred following the emergence of the pandemic. Despite a general uptick in violent crime between 2019 and 2020, local data show that it was very rare (less than 4 percent) for people released from jail on

pretrial status to be rebooked with a violent crime charge. It was even rarer for people to be rebooked for a homicide charge—fewer than 0.1 percent of those released pretrial returned for an alleged homicide. Neither type of rebooking was any more common than before the pandemic.

It is likely that many complex social and economic factors related to the pandemic contributed to the overall increases in violence, and particularly in homicides, that occurred across cities in 2020. However, these findings suggest that evidence-driven criminal legal reforms were not among those factors. This is further reinforced by the fact that SJC cities and counties, on average, did not experience increases in violent crimes or homicides during the first few years of the SJC initiative, when reforms were being implemented and jail populations declined outside of the context of the pandemic.

The discourse suggesting that jail population reform causes an increase in violent crime makes for attention-grabbing headlines but is not backed by any evidence-based research. The recent uptick in violent crime is real, but the increase is reflected across the country, in jurisdictions with progressive and traditional prosecutors, and in cities and counties pursuing jail population reform and those maintaining the status quo. This study adds to the growing evidence that advancing equitable and thoughtful criminal legal reform is possible without compromising public safety. To suggest otherwise without evidence undermines the harms of incarceration on individuals, their families, and communities. Such discourse also distracts from genuine attempts to understand the true causes of rising violent crime, particularly homicides. More research is needed to unpack the increases in violence during a time of even more pronounced disparity in the U.S. as we recover from the COVID-19 pandemic.

ISLG acknowledges that the metrics employed in this analysis do not necessarily align with more inclusive definitions of public safety defined by the communities most impacted by the criminal legal system. These analyses rely on administrative data from criminal legal agencies, where the definition of public safety highly reflects the legal system's responses. These responses and enforcement practices disproportionately impact Black, Latinx, Indigenous, and other people of color who are often underserved and overpoliced, and this analysis does not address these inequities. While SJC strategies have advanced towards making a fairer criminal legal system and safer communities, much more work remains to make it just and equitable. This analysis intends to provide a general understanding of trends. The next update to this work will include a detailed analysis of racial and ethnic disparities in rebookings.



Appendix A: Methods

SJC CITIES AND COUNTIES

As of 2023, there are over 50 cities and counties in the SJC Initiative. This analysis focuses on 23 cities and counties that received funding to fully implement their proposed strategies to reduce jail incarceration after May 2016. Rebooking rates in this

analysis are calculated for a subset of cities and counties (16 total) that submit detailed individual-level data to ISLG.

SJC Cities and Counties	Joined SJC	Included in Rebooking Analysis
Allegheny	October 2018	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Buncombe	October 2018	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Charleston	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Cook	May 2017	Crime and Rebooking analyses
East Baton Rouge	October 2018	Crime analysis only
Harris	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Lake	October 2018	Crime analysis only
Lucas	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Los Angeles	May 2017	Crime analysis only
Mecklenburg	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Milwaukee	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Missoula	October 2018	Crime analysis only
Multnomah	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
New Orleans	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
New York City	May 2016	Crime analysis only
Palm Beach	May 2017	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Pennington	May 2017	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Philadelphia	May 2016	Crime analysis only
Pima	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
San Francisco	October 2018	Crime and Rebooking analyses
Spokane	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses
St. Louis	May 2016	Crime and Rebooking analyses

VIOLENT CRIME RATES

Crime rates for SJC cities and counties are derived from Jacob Kaplan's Concatenated Files: Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program Data and CDC Vital Statistics. Publicly available state crime data was used for Allegheny,⁹ Lucas,¹⁰ Palm Beach,¹¹ and Philadelphia.¹² Population data to calculate rates were from CDC Vital Statistics. National crime rates are derived from the FBI Crime Data Explorer.

INCARCERATION RATES

Incarceration rates are derived from jail data submitted to ISLG by SJC cities and counties. Population data to calculate rates were from CDC Vital Statistics. These rates are calculated as the Average Daily Population (ADP) divided by the total adult population and reported per 100,000 adults. The U.S. incarceration rate is derived from the Vera Institute's Incarceration Trends Dataset.

PRETRIAL RELEASES

People released on pretrial status are individuals who have been released from physical jail custody pending the disposition of one or more of their booking charges.¹³ People may be released pretrial via bail, bond, supervision, or release on recognizance.

Five cohorts of people released on pretrial status were identified in March to October of the following years: 2015,¹⁴ 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020. Each person released in each cohort was followed in the data for six months to identify their rebooking outcome. In this analysis, individuals released between March and October 2015 are considered the pre-SJC implementation cohort. Years 2017 to 2019 include SJC implementation, and the 2020 cohort covered those released in the initial months of the COVID-19 pandemic.

REBOOKING OUTCOMES

The earliest pretrial release for each individual in each time period was identified. If a person had two releases within the cohort period, the analysis used the earliest release. Individuals were then tracked for a six-month follow-up period to identify if they were rebooked into jail. The number of people rebooked into jail were counted, regardless of whether they were rebooked once or multiple times. A rebooking does not necessarily imply new law violations but may include returns due to underlying cases (such as failure to appear in court, to serve a sentence, for a violation, etc.). The return rates for misdemeanor and felony charges are not mutually exclusive and may overlap. The rebooking outcomes presented are averages across SJC cities and counties, so the rebooking subsets cannot be summed to the listed totals.

Appendix B: Data Tables

SJC City or County	Year	Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 people)	Percent Change in Incarceration Rate (2019-2020)	Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 people)	Percent Change in Violent Crime Rate (2019-2020)
Allegheny	2019	232		312	
	2020	175	-25%	261	-16%
Buncombe	2019	203		354	
	2020	146	-28%	378	7%
Charleston	2019	272		491	
	2020	204	-25%	564	15%
Cook	2019	142		599	
	2020	127	-11%	626	5%
East Baton Rouge	2019	575		642	
	2020	373	-35%	653	2%
Harris	2019	250		737	
	2020	241	-3%	850	15%
Lake	2019	115		124	
	2020	95	-17%	116	-6%
Los Angeles	2019	216		552	
	2020	181	-16%	541	-2%
Lucas	2019	179		674	
	2020	144	-20%	781	16%
Mecklenburg	2019	118		652	
	2020	108	-8%	735	13%
Milwaukee	2019	287		909	
	2020	205	-28%	1,074	18%
Minnehaha	2019	251		493	
	2020	236	-6%	601	22%
Missoula	2019	195		332	
	2020	154	-21%	402	21%
Multnomah	2019	164		526	
	2020	119	-28%	510	-3%

SJC City or County	Year	Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 people)	Percent Change in Incarceration Rate (2019-2020)	Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 people)	Percent Change in Violent Crime Rate (2019-2020)
New Orleans	2019	371		1,157	
	2020	291	-22%	1,341	16%
New York City	2019	112		574	
	2020	70	-38%	581	1%
Palm Beach	2019	154		377	
	2020	135	-13%	369	-2%
Pennington	2019	459		615	
	2020	349	-24%	784	27%
Philadelphia	2019	375		978	
	2020	340	-9%	991	1%
Pima	2019	224		434	
	2020	187	-17%	473	9%
San Francisco	2019	171		693	
	2020	115	-33%	568	-18%
Spokane	2019	193		402	
	2020	139	-28%	367	-9%
St. Louis	2019	121		350	
	2020	107	-11%	428	22%

Rebooking Outcomes of People Released on Pretrial Status

SJC City or County	Year	People Released on Pretrial Status	Not Rebooked within 6 Months	Rebooked within 6 Months on Any Charge	Rebooked on a Felony Charge	Rebooked on a Misdemeanor Charge	Rebooked on a Violent Crime Charge
Allegheny	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	2,344	73%	27%	15%	11%	5%
Allegheny	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	3,579	72%	28%	13%	12%	4%
Allegheny	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	3,363	72%	28%	13%	12%	4%
Allegheny	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	3,951	74%	26%	12%	11%	3%
Allegheny	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	1,800	74%	26%	14%	11%	5%
Buncombe	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	4,947	68%	32%	11%	22%	2%
Buncombe	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	4,904	66%	34%	13%	23%	2%
Buncombe	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	4,455	66%	34%	15%	22%	1%
Buncombe	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	4,572	66%	34%	17%	22%	1%
Buncombe	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	3,830	75%	25%	13%	14%	1%
Charleston	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	8,018	89%	11%	5%	7%	1%
Charleston	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	7,417	87%	13%	8%	6%	1%
Charleston	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	6,213	84%	16%	9%	7%	1%
Charleston	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	4,022	80%	20%	12%	9%	1%
Charleston	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	3,653	76%	24%	17%	9%	2%
Cook	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	22,414	81%	19%	8%	10%	1%
Cook	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	24,027	81%	19%	9%	9%	1%
Cook	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	26,334	78%	22%	12%	9%	1%
Cook	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	29,318	77%	23%	13%	9%	2%
Cook	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	19,559	74%	26%	16%	8%	3%

Rebooking Outcomes of People Released on Pretrial Status

SJC City or County	Year	People Released on Pretrial Status	Not Rebooked within 6 Months	Rebooked within 6 Months on Any Charge	Rebooked on a Felony Charge	Rebooked on a Misdemeanor Charge	Rebooked on a Violent Crime Charge
Harris	November 01, 2015 - April 30, 2016	15,722	71%	29%	9%	9%	2%
Harris	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	27,006	71%	29%	8%	9%	1%
Harris	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	31,972	71%	29%	9%	9%	2%
Harris	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	24,151	70%	30%	16%	10%	3%
Harris	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	22,911	66%	34%	19%	10%	4%
Lucas	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	9,421	73%	27%	13%	16%	2%
Lucas	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	8,086	73%	27%	15%	15%	2%
Lucas	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	8,764	72%	28%	15%	15%	2%
Lucas	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	8,387	74%	26%	14%	15%	2%
Lucas	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	5,763	64%	36%	21%	20%	3%
Mecklenburg	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	8,235	70%	30%	16%	17%	N/A
Mecklenburg	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	8,036	71%	29%	16%	15%	N/A
Mecklenburg	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	6,095	71%	29%	18%	14%	N/A
Mecklenburg	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	7,113	72%	28%	18%	12%	N/A
Mecklenburg	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	5,133	72%	28%	20%	11%	N/A
Milwaukee	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	5,731	65%	35%	20%	14%	3%
Milwaukee	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	6,156	74%	26%	15%	10%	3%
Milwaukee	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	5,689	73%	27%	15%	12%	3%
Milwaukee	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	5,516	74%	26%	15%	11%	2%
Milwaukee	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	3,400	79%	21%	15%	7%	3%

Rebooking Outcomes of People Released on Pretrial Status

SJC City or County	Year	People Released on Pretrial Status	Not Rebooked within 6 Months	Rebooked within 6 Months on Any Charge	Rebooked on a Felony Charge	Rebooked on a Misdemeanor Charge	Rebooked on a Violent Crime Charge
Multnomah	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	7,234	61%	39%	17%	23%	2%
Multnomah	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	6,517	58%	42%	18%	24%	2%
Multnomah	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	6,861	59%	41%	18%	24%	2%
Multnomah	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	6,862	59%	41%	19%	24%	3%
Multnomah	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	3,945	71%	29%	16%	13%	3%
New Orleans	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	4,429	82%	18%	13%	3%	2%
New Orleans	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	6,250	80%	20%	15%	4%	2%
New Orleans	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	4,117	78%	22%	18%	4%	3%
New Orleans	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	3,973	82%	18%	14%	4%	2%
New Orleans	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	3,419	83%	17%	13%	4%	3%
Palm Beach	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	11,730	75%	25%	15%	11%	1%
Palm Beach	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	11,313	77%	23%	15%	10%	1%
Palm Beach	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	10,973	76%	24%	15%	11%	1%
Palm Beach	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	10,556	77%	23%	14%	11%	1%
Palm Beach	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	8,166	73%	27%	19%	12%	2%
Pennington	November 01, 2015 - April 30, 2016	2,509	66%	34%	14%	20%	1%
Pennington	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	3,277	66%	34%	18%	20%	1%
Pennington	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	3,402	63%	37%	22%	18%	1%
Pennington	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	3,177	58%	42%	28%	19%	2%
Pennington	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	2,538	57%	43%	31%	19%	4%

Rebooking Outcomes of People Released on Pretrial Status

SJC City or County	Year	People Released on Pretrial Status	Not Rebooked within 6 Months	Rebooked within 6 Months on Any Charge	Rebooked on a Felony Charge	Rebooked on a Misdemeanor Charge	Rebooked on a Violent Crime Charge
Pima	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	9,507	70%	30%	16%	18%	2%
Pima	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	8,599	67%	33%	20%	17%	3%
Pima	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	8,484	67%	33%	21%	16%	3%
Pima	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	8,759	66%	34%	22%	17%	3%
Pima	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	5,863	70%	30%	20%	13%	3%
San Francisco	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	4,491	78%	22%	13%	5%	5%
San Francisco	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	3,641	80%	20%	13%	5%	4%
San Francisco	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	3,951	77%	23%	15%	6%	5%
San Francisco	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	4,032	79%	21%	14%	5%	5%
San Francisco	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	2,768	77%	23%	19%	5%	5%
Spokane	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	5,251	65%	35%	17%	23%	1%
Spokane	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	4,615	64%	36%	17%	23%	1%
Spokane	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	5,101	61%	39%	21%	23%	1%
Spokane	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	5,757	60%	40%	22%	25%	1%
Spokane	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	4,598	60%	40%	24%	23%	1%
St. Louis	March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015	7,795	80%	20%	13%	3%	1%
St. Louis	March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017	8,264	79%	21%	14%	3%	1%
St. Louis	March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018	8,290	81%	19%	12%	2%	1%
St. Louis	March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019	7,875	81%	19%	13%	2%	1%
St. Louis	March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020	4,013	81%	19%	15%	2%	1%

Endnotes

- 1 Sawyer, Wendy, “New data: The changes in prisons, jails, probation, and parole in the first year of the pandemic,” Prison Policy Initiative, January 11, 2022, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2022/01/11/bjs_update/.
- 2 Graham, David A., “America Is Having a Violence Wave, not a Crime Wave,” *The Atlantic*, September 29, 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/09/america-having-violence-wave-not-crime-wave/620234/>.
- 3 Foglesong, Todd and Ron Levi, et al, *Violent crime and public prosecution*, Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at University of Toronto, October 21, 2022, <https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/research/violent-crime-and-public-prosecution>
- 4 Rosenfeld, Rick, *Pandemic, Social Unrest, and Crime in U.S. Cities: Mid-Year 2022 Update*, Council on Criminal Justice, July 22, 2022, <https://counciloncj.org/mid-year-2022-crime-trends/>.
- 5 Murdock, Kylie and Jim Kessler, *The Red State Murder Problem*, Third Way, March 15, 2022, <https://www.thirdway.org/report/the-red-state-murder-problem>.
- 6 Mecklenburg County was not included in the violent crime charge and homicide charge rebooking analyses.
- 7 Stevenson, Megan T., “Distortion of Justice: How the Inability to Pay Bail Affects Case Outcomes,” *The Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 34, no 4 (November 2018): 511-542, <https://academic.oup.com/jleo/article/34/4/511/5100740>.
- 8 Turney, Kristin and Emma Conner, “Jail Incarceration: A Common and Consequential Form of Criminal Justice Contact,” *Annual Review of Criminology* 2 (January 2019): 265-290, <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-criminol-011518-024601>.
- 9 “Crime in Pennsylvania Online,” Pennsylvania Uniform Crime Reporting System, accessed February 2023, <https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index>.
- 10 “Crime in Ohio,” Ohio Office of Criminal Justice Services, Ohio Incident Based Reporting System, accessed February 2023, <https://dpsoibrspect.azurewebsites.net/>.
- 11 “Annual State Summary Crime Data Reports,” Florida Department of Law Enforcement, Criminal Justice Analytics Bureau, accessed February 2023, <https://www.fdle.state.fl.us/CJAB/UCR/Annual-Reports.aspx>.
- 12 “Crime in Pennsylvania Online.”
- 13 Due to data limitations, Cook County’s pretrial release cohorts include some records that have ambiguous jail release statuses. However, these releases do not materially impact findings.
- 14 Due to data limitations, Harris and Pennington’s pre-SJC periods were defined as November 1, 2015 to April 30, 2016.



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