

Less Crime at Lower Cost State Solutions, Federal Implications

U.S. Sentencing Commission Austin, Texas November 19, 2009 Adam Gelb, Director Public Safety Performance Project Pew Center on the States



The Pew Charitable Trusts is a public charity with over five decades of experience in making successful social investments that return results.

- Pew applies a rigorous, analytical approach to improve public policy, inform the public and stimulate civic life.
- Based in Philadelphia with an office in Washington, D.C. and staff in other states and countries.



The Pew Center on the States

The Pew Center on the States develops rigorous research and strategic campaigns to help states identify and advance fiscally-sound policies, provide a return on investment to taxpayers and help our nation tackle its toughest policy questions.

- Early education
- Sentencing and corrections
- Children's dental health
- Budget and management practices
- Election reform
- Economic competitiveness



Public Safety Performance Project

Goal

- Help states get a better return on their investment in public safety

Key Messages

- State policy choices are largely responsible for prison growth (not crime, other factors)
- Better choices will reduce recidivism and save funds for other priorities

• State Strategy

- Identify and cultivate states ready for reform
- Work closely with high-level state task forces
- Analyze state prison population and cost drivers, develop tailored policy options
- Build advocacy campaigns to ensure success of reform plans
- Reinvest portion of savings/averted costs into stronger community corrections
- Establish agency accountability for implementation, measure impact

National Strategy

- Reveal key data, generate momentum with high-profile reports (1 in 100, 1 in 31)
- Partner with key national policy-maker and criminal justice groups
- Engage non-traditional allies (faith-based, victim, business groups)



Window of Opportunity for a New Approach

- Advances in Science of Behavior Change, Supervision Technology
 - Cognitive-Behavioral Treatment, Motivational Interviewing
 - Third generation risk assessment tools
 - Accurate, on site, rapid-result drug screens, GPS, alcohol monitoring
- Public Attention Elsewhere, Supportive of Alternatives
 - Crime/drugs low on public radar amidst economy, health care, wars
 - Polls regularly show 70% (+/-) support concept of "alternatives" for "non-violent"

Trend toward Managing for Results

- Shift in focus from inputs/outputs to outcomes across government

Diminishing Returns on Public Safety

- Growing evidence and recognition that we can't "build our way out"

• Fiscal Crisis

- State corrections spending now over \$50B per year
- Second fastest growing state budget category behind Medicaid
- 1 in 15 general fund dollars; 5 states spending more on prisons than higher ed





— INCARCERATION RATE

----- CRIME RATE



Incarceration and Crime: A Complex Relationship

% Change in Incarceration Rates (1997-2007)





More Prison Spending *≠* **Greater Public Safety**











EXPLOSIVE GROWTH IN PRISON SPENDING

Across 8 states, 88 percent of additional corrections spending since FY1983 has gone to prisons.



PRISONS DOMINATE SPENDING

SOURCES: Only eight states could provide 25-year spending histories (AL, GA, LA, MO, MT, NY, OR and WY).



STATE DAILY COSTS PER OFFENDER

1 day in prison costs more than 10 days on parole or 22 days on probation.



SOURCES: Spending figures were collected from AR, AL, AK, CO, DE, GA, ID, IA, KY, LA, MA, ME, MD, MI, MN, MS, MO, MT, NC, ND, NE, NH, NM, NY, OK, OR, PA, RI, SD, TN, TX, VT, VA and WY. NOTE: Caution should be used in making interstate comparisons since a wide variety of factors beyond agency performance or efficiency can account for daily cost differences. Some states have separate probation and parole agencies while others have combined them.



Reform Efforts Across the Nation

Pew/CSG Justice Center/Vera States (many also assisted with BJA funds)

- Current/Prior: AL, AZ, CT, IL, KS, MI, NE, NV, NJ, PA, RI, SC, TX, VT, VA, WI
- Upcoming: CO, FL, GA, NH, NC, OH, OR
- Common policy options
 - Graduated sanctions (vs. revocation) for probation/parole technical violators
 - Increased earned time for inmates who complete risk-reduction programs
 - Expand eligibility for front-end community corrections, drug courts
 - Accelerate release to transition centers/other supervision
- Impact
 - Overall crime rates in early reform states (e.g. TX, KS) are tracking national drops

TOTAL STATE SAVINGS

\$3.5 billion - \$6 billion over 5 years (est.)



Texas Takes a New Direction (CSG, 2007)



Problem

- Added 100,000 beds in past 20 years but still faced 14-17,000 bed shortfall by 2012
- \$523 million in additional costs for FY09

Analysis

- High recidivism rate, low parole grant rate
- Technical violators a primary driver

Solutions

- Expand network of residential, community diversion/ treatment facilities (\$241M)
- Comply with state parole rate law

Outcomes

- Probation revocations down 26%
- Parole revocations down 4%
- Actual savings of \$512M in FY08/09 Est. savings of over \$1B through FY12
- 2009 Legislature continued \$120M annual reinvestment in community corrections



Vermont Slows High Growth Rate (CSG, 2008)





2008'09 '10 '11 '12 '13 '14 '15 '16 '17 '18

Problem

- Incarceration rate grew 80% (1996-2006) vs. 18% national increase
- 23% more growth projected 2007-2018
- Cost estimate as high as \$206M

Analysis

- Property and drug offenders more than half of 2000-2006 felony prison growth
- 77% substance abusers; only 13% treated

Solutions

- Establish pilot pre-sentence assessment
- Create 100-bed work camp, intensive treatment program for substance abusers
- Improve supervision through caseload caps, EM, admin. monitoring for low risk

Outcomes

- Est. savings of up to \$92M over 10 years
- Goal of reducing revocations by 10%

POICY Framework to Strengthen Community Corrections

- Menu of five policy options to speed implementation of evidence-based practices
- Based on innovations now working in the states and a year-long review by a group of experts assembled by Pew.
- 1. Evidence-Based Practices: Require a timetable for adoption of EBP (75% of offenders within four years)
- 2. Earned Compliance Credits: Move concept of earned time from behind the walls to community (15 days per month off term of supervision)
- **3.** Administrative Sanctions: Boost the swiftness and certainty of sanctions for violations by providing supervision agencies with greater administrative authority
- 4. **Performance Incentive Funding:** Create fiscal incentives for agencies to reduce recidivism/revocation of supervision violators (keep 45% of prison savings)
- 5. **Performance Measurement:** Require tracking/public reporting of recidivism, employment, drug test results and victim restitution collection rates



10 Evidence-Based Sentencing Initiatives to Control Crime and Costs

- 1. Establish Recidivism Reduction as an Explicit Sentencing Goal
- 2. Provide Sufficient Flexibility to Consider Recidivism Reduction Options
- 3. Base Sentencing Decisions on Risk/Needs Assessment
- 4. Require Community Corrections Programs to be Evidence-Based
- 5. Integrate Services and Sanctions
- 6. Ensure Courts Know About Available Sentencing Options
- 7. Train Court Officers on Evidence-Based Practice (EBP)
- 8. Encourage Swift and Certain Responses to Violations of Probation
- 9. Use Court Hearings and Incentives to Motivate Offender Behavior Change
- **10.** Promote Effective Collaboration Among Criminal Justice Agencies

Source: Judge Roger K. Warren (ret.), "Arming the Courts with Research: 10 Evidence-Based Initiatives to Control Crime and Costs," Pew Center on the States, May 2009.



Possible Implications for the Federal System

Note: The federal and state criminal justice systems are different in many ways and the federal system handles a greater variety of offenders. Still, there is a good deal of overlap, so some state reforms are likely to be relevant. Moreover, the federal prison population is determined by the same two factors, <u>Admissions</u> and <u>Length of Stay</u>.

• <u>Admissions</u>: Increase Use of Non-Prison Sanctions for Lower-Risk Offenders

- Expand eligibility for/availability of front-end community corrections, drug courts (KS, NJ)
- Use risk assessment to identify appropriate offenders for alternate sanctions (VA, VT)
- Increase use of halfway houses as front-end option for short sentences (TX)
- Enhance use of probation for offenders in guidelines Zones A and B

• <u>Length of Stay</u>: Moderate Prison Time Served for Lower-Risk Offenders

- Incentivize program completion with modest sentence-reduction credits (KS, PA)
- Expand eligibility for programming that earns sentence-reduction credits (RDAP)
- Expand types of programs/activity that can earn sentence-reduction credits (NV)
- Accelerate transition to halfway houses/home detention at end of prison term (GA, CO)
- Calculate statutory good time (15%) to full effect



Model Program: HOPE Probation (Hawaii)

- Goal
 - Infuse drug court-like model (carrot/stick, swift/certain sanctions) across a much larger number of offenders under community supervision
- Target population
 - High- to medium-risk probationers, including meth users and DV offenders
- Intervention
 - HOPE judges monitor probationers for drug use and other violations and respond with swift and certain but modest sanctions – typically a few days in jail
- **Results (**from NIJ-supported preliminary evaluation; updated figures due soon)
 - Arrests for new crimes 53% lower; revocations 71% lower
 - Positive drug tests, missed P.O. appointments both 58% lower
 - Prison days down 63%
- Replication
 - Nevada launching pilot in October 2009
 - Federal legislation in development (Rep. Schiff)