



Research Brief

Lowering Jail Populations Safely Before, During, and After COVID-19

Updated Findings on Jail Reform, Violent Crime, and the COVID-19 Pandemic

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CUNY INSTITUTE
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SAFETY+JUSTICE
CHALLENGE

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Introduction

Jail population reduction reforms are often cited as causing crime increases. Last year, CUNY ISLG evaluated this claim using data from cities and counties that have implemented jail reforms as part of the Safety and Justice Challenge.

The analysis found that **jail populations were lowered safely, without driving an increase in crime or an increase in returns to jail custody. A year later, the findings still hold true.**

In recent years, cities and counties across the country have made great strides to strategically reduce jail incarceration without jeopardizing community safety. To keep this momentum going, it is critical to examine the safety implications of these jail population reform efforts. This is especially true against the backdrop of COVID-19 era increases in violent crime, with unsubstantiated hypotheses suggesting that increases in violent crime were a result of efforts to reduce jail populations and not of the major socio-economic impacts of lockdowns.

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's Safety and Justice Challenge (SJC) presents a unique opportunity to explore the relationships between criminal legal reform, the COVID-19 pandemic, and violent crime. Since 2015, jurisdictions participating in the SJC have planned and implemented data-driven reform strategies to both safely reduce unnecessary jail incarceration and advance equity across the criminal legal system. These jurisdictions serve as models for pursuing data-driven criminal legal system reform. The SJC allows for comparisons of jail populations and crime pre- and post-reforms; SJC timelines also provide a look at how reforms were associated with violent crime before, during, and after the pandemic.

As the lead data and analytic partner for the initiative, the Institute for State and Local Governance at the City University of New York (CUNY ISLG) has been studying the community safety implications of the SJC over time. This has resulted in a series of reports exploring trends in crime, incarceration, and returns to jail custody in 16 participating cities and counties. The first two reports were issued in [2021](#) and [2023](#), covering individuals in jail through 2020.

This brief presents the most up-to-date data—through April 2023—on the outcomes of individuals released from jails after SJC reforms were passed. Additionally, this brief expands on previous work by distinguishing returns to jail that involve a new alleged criminal offense and those that involve administrative reasons only, such as failing to appear in court or violating a condition of release. Findings include:

- Two years out from COVID-19's peak, **there continues to be no apparent correlation between changes in incarceration and violent crime.** Most individuals released from jail on pretrial status did not return to jail custody, and **local violent crime rates varied regardless of changes to the jail population**—suggesting that jail reduction reforms can be implemented safely.
- About **80 percent of people who were released on pretrial status were either not rebooked into jail at all (75 percent) or were returned to jail for administrative reasons (7 percent)**—therefore, not a threat to public safety.
- The pandemic-era increase in violent crime was not caused by jail reduction reforms; **people released pretrial were very unlikely to return to jail charged with a violent crime**, about 2% of individuals released pretrial returned with a new violent crime charge. This rate has remained consistent for almost a decade, predating reform efforts.

These key findings are detailed below and continue to demonstrate the ability to sustain reductions in jail incarceration without endangering communities.

This data provides comprehensive information on individuals released from and rebooked into jail over time, allowing CUNY ISLG to capture trends in rebooking outcomes.

Methodology

UNIQUE NATURE OF SJC DATA

CUNY ISLG receives detailed case-level data from 16 SJC cities and counties. This data provides comprehensive information on individuals released from and rebooked into jail over time, allowing CUNY 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 utilizes data through April 2023, which is more recent than many well-established data sources.

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.

Findings

KEY FINDING 1

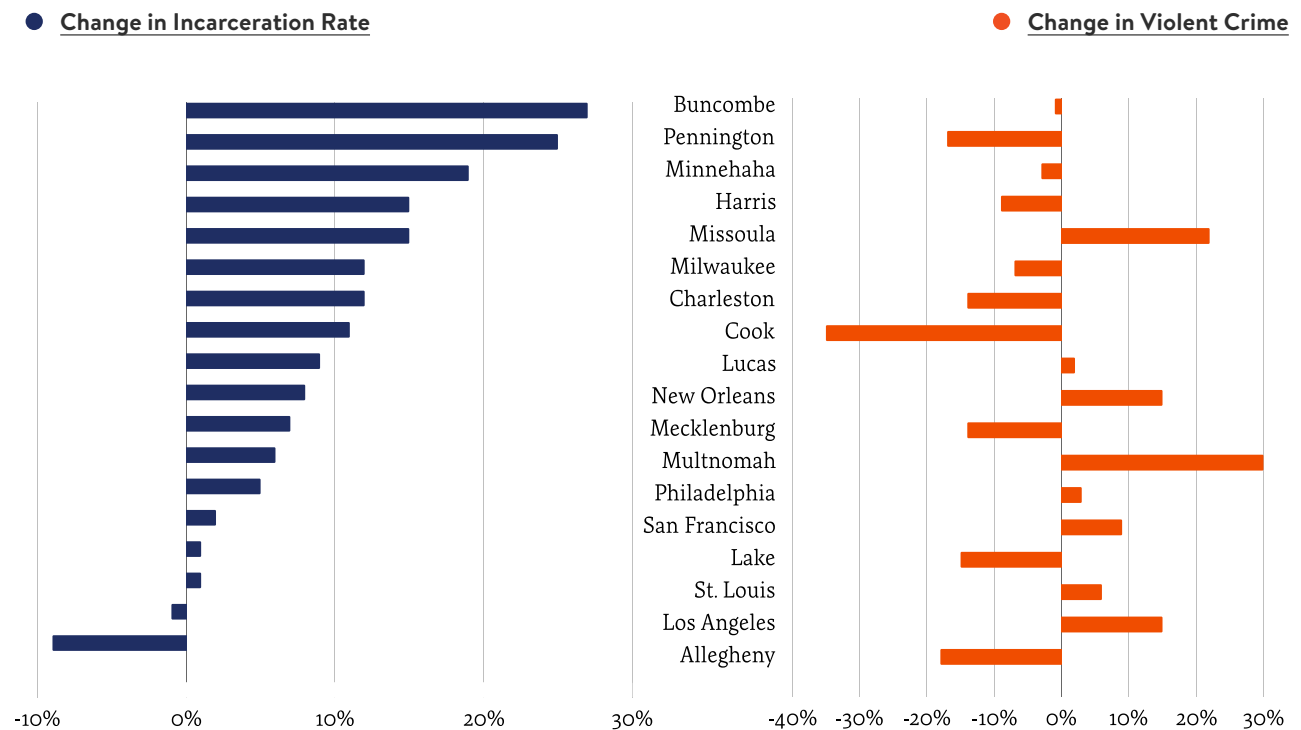
Two years out from COVID-19's peak, there continues to be no apparent correlation between changes in incarceration and violent crime.

Since SJC reforms have been implemented in 2016, jail incarceration has declined. In 2020, jail incarceration rates dipped even further when jails were implementing emergency measures to mitigate COVID-19. At the same time, violent crime rose nationally, particularly homicides.

As reported in the last [publication](#), many SJC sites also experienced an increase in violent crime during that year, though some cities and counties experienced a decrease. Since 2020, however, the relationship between changes in incarceration and violent crime rates has been variable; larger increases in incarceration rates were not always associated with larger—or any—decreases in violent crime rates (*Figure 1*). In fact, some cities and counties that had significant increases in jail incarceration also had increases in violent crime.

AS THE PANDEMIC EASED AND JAIL POPULATIONS REBOUNDED, CHANGES IN VIOLENT CRIME CONTINUED TO VARY ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

Figure 1: Changes in incarceration and violent crime rates per 100,000 people in SJC cities and counties, between 2020 and 2022



More detail on incarceration and crime rates by SJC city and county can be found in Appendix B.

KEY FINDING 2

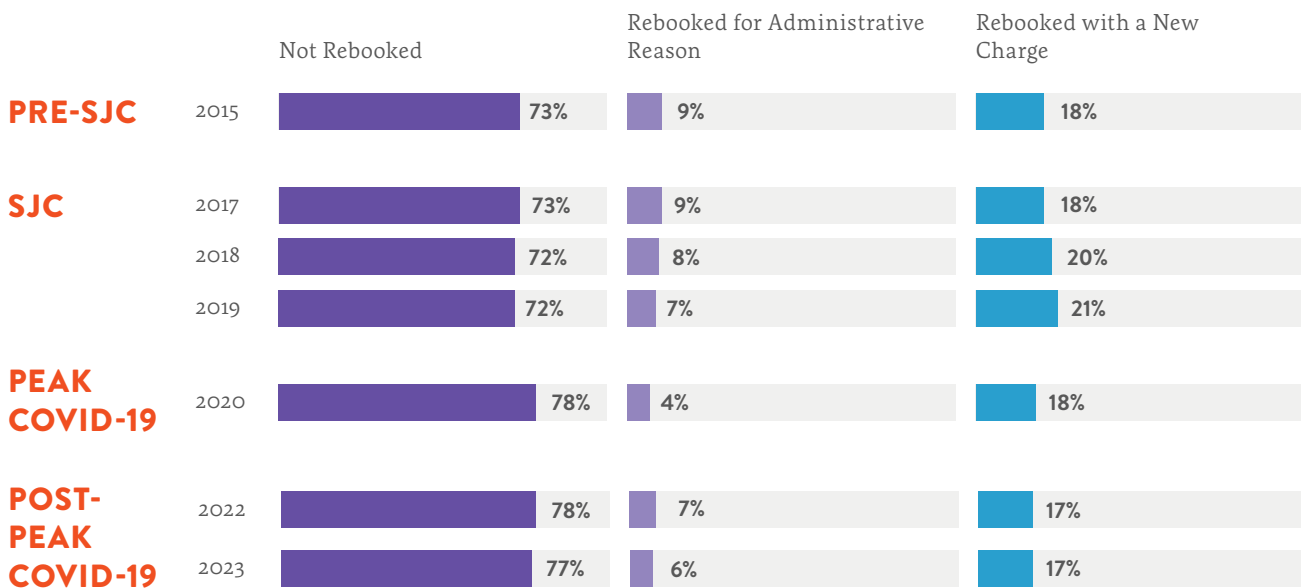
About 80 percent of people who were released on pretrial status were either not rebooked into jail at all (75 percent) or were returned to jail for administrative reasons (7 percent).

Using data from local SJC jails, CUNY ISLG followed people released on pretrial status and measured whether they were rebooked into jail within six months of the release. Across seven years, about three out of four people were not rebooked into jail (Figure 2). In other words, not only did the majority of people return safely to their communities, they were no more likely to return to jail after the implementation of SJC (2017-2019), during the peak of COVID-19 (2020), or following the onset of the pandemic (2021 to 2022) than before the SJC reform initiative began (2014).

Further, when looking at those who were rebooked, almost a third were rebooked for administrative reasons, not for committing a new alleged crime. Individuals who return to jail can be arrested and rebooked because of either 1) alleged criminal charges; 2) administrative reasons, such as violating conditions of release or failures to appear in court; or 3) both. On average, across SJC cities and counties, less than 20 percent of individuals released on pretrial status returned to jail on a new crime charge within six months (Figure 2). When adding rebookings for administrative reasons to individuals who were not rebooked at all, about 4 out of 5 people did not return to jail on a new charge.

PEOPLE RELEASED ON PRETRIAL STATUS WERE NO MORE LIKELY TO RETURN TO JAIL FOR A NEW CRIME AFTER REFORMS WERE IMPLEMENTED THAN BEFORE

Figure 2: Rebooking Outcome of Individuals Released on Pretrial Status within Six Months (Average Across SJC Cities and Counties), 2015 to 2022



Details on rebooking outcomes by SJC city and county can be found in Appendix C.

KEY FINDING 3

The pandemic-era increase in violent crime was not caused by jail reduction reforms; people released pretrial were very unlikely to return to jail charged with a violent crime—about 2 percent of individuals released pretrial returned with a new violent crime charge. This rate has remained consistent for almost a decade, predating reform efforts.

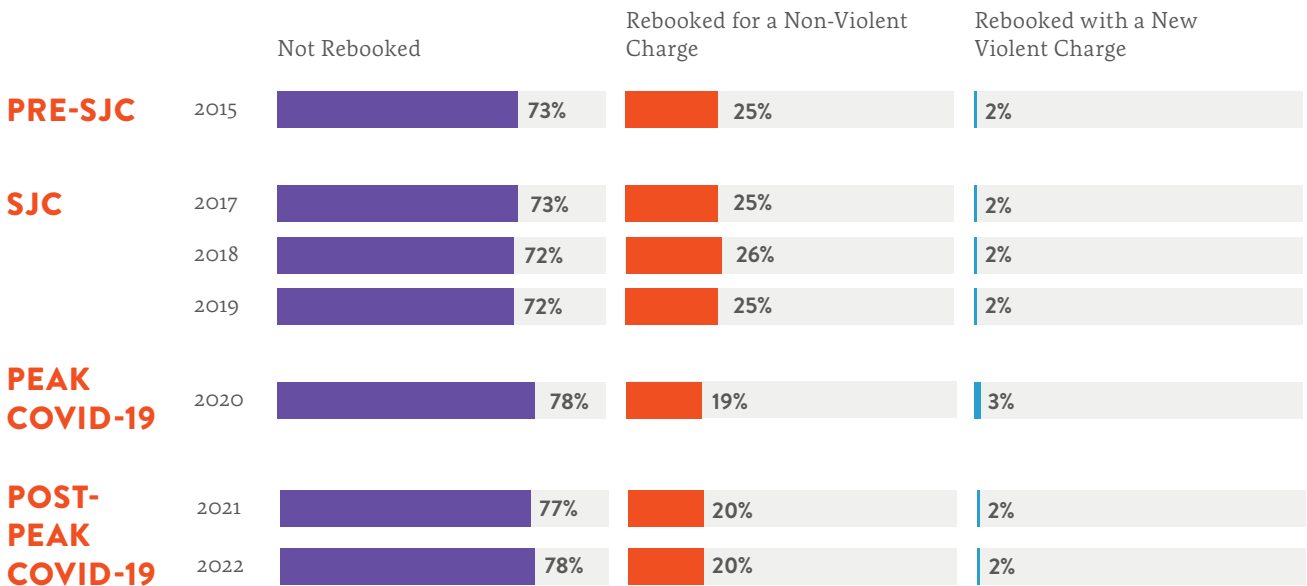
On average and over time, a very small share of people released on pretrial status (about two percent) were rebooked within six months for a new violent charge. This rate was consistent before SJC implementation in 2015, through SJC implementation and the pandemic, and through now (Figure 3). In this updated analysis, violent crime rebookings refers to returns to jail on a new violent crime charge.

As rare as it was for people released on pretrial status to be rebooked on a new violent crime charge, it was even rarer for them to be rebooked on a new homicide charge. On average, across SJC cities and counties, of all people released on pretrial status each year, less than 0.1 percent of people were rebooked on a new homicide charge (Table 1).

As rare as it was for people released on pretrial status to be rebooked on a new violent crime charge, it was even rarer for them to be rebooked on a new homicide charge

ABOUT TWO PERCENT OF PEOPLE RELEASED ON PRETRIAL STATUS WERE REBOOKED INTO JAIL FOR A NEW VIOLENT CRIME CHARGE.

Figure 3: New Violent Crime Charge Rebooking Outcomes of Individuals Released on Pretrial Status within Six Months (Average Across SJC Cities and Counties), 2015 to 2022



Details on rebooking outcomes by SJC city and county can be found in Appendix C.

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 | | Peak COVID-19 | Post-Peak COVID-19 | |
|--|---------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|--------------------|-------|
| | 2015 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 |
| Average number of people released pretrial status | 8,166 | 9,034 | 9,182 | 9,729 | 7,243 | 7,764 | 7,697 |
| Average number of people rebooked on homicide charge | 6.7 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 7.1 | 3.9 |
| Homicide rebooking rate of all people released | <0.1% | <0.1% | <0.1% | <0.1% | <0.1% | <0.1% | <0.1% |

Conclusion

As of January 2024, SJC cities and counties have collectively reduced their jail population by 23 percent since the initiative began in 2016. This translates into [over 17,000 fewer people held in jail](#) on any given day, limiting the reach of many negative impacts that can stem from spending even a few days in jail.¹ These impacts can include poor mental and physical health, increases in substance dependence, financial strain among their families, and substantial distress in children. It is also well established that pretrial detention increases conviction and sentencing rates by increasing the likelihood of a guilty plea.² While this has not been studied with respect to the SJC, it can be inferred that those who avoided jail were able to navigate decisions related to their cases more freely, without the constraint of being incarcerated and in connection with family, jobs, and other critical supports.

The findings detailed in this brief, namely that individuals released pretrial are by and large not driving increases in violent crime, are extremely important to show that criminal legal system reforms aimed at reducing jail populations can be safely implemented.³ Most people who were released on pretrial status did not return to jail within six months, and among those who did, about a third were rebooked for administrative reasons only, without any new alleged criminal offense.

That individuals released pretrial are by and large not driving increases in violent crime, are extremely important to show that criminal legal system reforms aimed at reducing jail populations can be safely implemented.

Further, these data show that very few individuals released on pretrial status returned to jail on a new violent crime charge. This trend remained consistent over time: before reform efforts were in place (2015), during implementation (2017 to 2019), the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic (2020), and the years following the peak of the pandemic (2021 to 2022). The fact that jail rebooking rates have remained constant—before and after the pandemic began and before and after reforms were implemented—demonstrates that the 2020 violent crime spike was clearly not driven by people released from jail on pretrial status.

Now that several years have passed since the peak of the pandemic in 2020, violent crime and homicides, specifically, have begun to decline both nationally and across most SJC cities and counties. Thoughtful jail reduction reforms have been implemented over time, with public safety in mind throughout. Any violent crime should be taken seriously, but so should the value of safely releasing people to be with their families and communities as they await their trials.

CUNY 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.

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 2016.⁴ Rebooking

rates in this analysis are calculated for a subset of cities and counties (16 total) that submit detailed individual-level data to CUNY ISLG.⁵

| SJC Cities and Counties | Joined SJC | Included in Rebooking Analysis | Included in Crime and Incarceration Analysis |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Allegheny | October 2018 | Yes | Yes |
| Buncombe | October 2018 | Yes | Yes |
| Charleston | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| Cook | May 2017 | Yes | Yes |
| Harris | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| Lake | October 2018 | No | Yes |
| Lucas | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| Los Angeles | May 2017 | No | Yes |
| Mecklenburg | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| Milwaukee | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| Minnehaha | May 2017 | No | Yes |
| Missoula | October 2018 | No | Yes |
| Multnomah | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| New Orleans | May 2016 | Yes | Yes |
| Palm Beach | May 2017 | Yes | No |
| Pennington | May 2017 | Yes | Yes |
| Pima | May 2016 | Yes | No |
| San Francisco | October 2018 | Yes | Yes |
| St. Louis | May 2016 | No | Yes |
| Spokane | May 2016 | Yes | No |

VIOLENT CRIME RATES

In 2020, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which collects and publishes national crime data annually, transitioned its Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) from the Summary Reporting Statistics to the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). NIBRS data collection has improved the level of detail available on each reported criminal event. However, this transition has also led to issues of under-reporting of crime since its implementation in 2021. Fewer law enforcement agencies have volunteered to submit data to NIBRS due to challenges in providing more detailed information on each crime event. In order to compare crime rates before and after this transition consistently and reliably, CUNY ISLG used publicly available crime data from state and local websites. We confirmed these sources to be accurate representations of crime estimates compared to our previous data source. National crime rates are derived from the FBI Crime Data Explorer.

| SJC Cities and Counties | State Website for Crime Data |
|-------------------------|---|
| Allegheny | https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index |
| Buncombe | https://ncsbi.gov/Services/Crime-Statistics/Crime-in-North-Carolina-Annual-Summaries |
| Charleston | https://www.sled.sc.gov/crimestatistics.html |
| Cook | https://ilucr.nibrs.com/Report/PerCountyOffenseAndArrestAnnualComparison |
| Harris | https://www.dps.texas.gov/section/crime-records/crime-texas |
| Lake | https://ilucr.nibrs.com/Report/PerCountyOffenseAndArrestAnnualComparison |
| Los Angeles | https://openjustice.doj.ca.gov/data |
| Lucas | https://dpsibrspext.azurewebsites.net/?handler=Search |
| Mecklenburg | https://www.ncsbi.gov/Services/Crime-Statistics |
| Milwaukee | https://www.doj.state.wi.us/dles/bjia/ucr-offense-data |
| Minnehaha | https://sdcrime.nibrs.com/CrimePublication/CrimePublicationReports |
| Missoula | https://dataportal.mt.gov/t/MBCC/views/CIM-AnnualAgencyNIBRSOffenseSummary/Dash_agencyAnnualOverview?iframeSizedToWindow=true&embed=y&:showAppBanner=false&:display_count=n&:showVizHome=n&:origin=viz_share_link |
| Multnomah | https://www.oregon.gov/osp/pages/uniform-crime-reporting-data.aspx |
| New Orleans | https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrljoiNjIhMjVlYzUtYTlOZS00MmQxLWlWl3MDgtM-2JkNTQ4NjZiZGM2liwidCI6IjFkYzNlZmNmLTVlMTQ4tNGRkNSliM-jE3LWE3NTBjNWlzMzlyZCIsImMiOjN9NWlzMzlyZCIsImMiOjN9 |
| Pennington | https://sdcrime.nibrs.com/Home/Index |
| Philadelphia | https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index |
| San Francisco | https://www.sanfranciscopolice.org/stay-safe/crime-data/crime-dashboard |
| St. Louis | https://showmecrime.mo.gov/CrimeReporting/CrimeStatistics.html |

INCARCERATION RATES

Incarceration rates are derived from jail data submitted to CUNY ISLG by SJC cities and counties. Population data to calculate rates were from U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) population estimates. Where available, we primarily rely on the 1-year estimates and back-filled unavailable values for particular counties or population groups using 5-year estimates. National incarceration rates were calculated based on the annual average daily population using Jail Inmates Statistical Tables published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and ACS population estimates. These rates are calculated as the Average Daily Population (ADP) divided by the total adult population and reported per 100,000 adults.

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. People may be released pretrial via bail, bond, supervision, or release on recognizance. These individuals are still under the authority of local criminal legal agencies and are closely impacted by changes to policy and practice pursued under the SJC. Seven cohorts of people released on pretrial status were identified in March to October of the following years: 2015⁶ and 2017 through 2022. 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, the 2020 cohort covered those released in the initial months of the COVID-19 pandemic, and years 2021 to 2022 reflect on a period of SJC implementation after the peak of COVID-19.

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. For total rebookings, the number of people rebooked into jail were counted, regardless of whether they were rebooked once or multiple times. The return rates for misdemeanor and felony charges are not mutually exclusive and may overlap.

A person was rebooked into jail on a new charge, defined as being arrested and booked into jail with at least one new criminal offense. This excludes people who were rebooked into jail because of administrative reasons such as failure to appear in court, probation violation, or violation of pretrial conditions. The rebooking outcomes presented are averages across SJC cities and counties, so the rebooking subsets cannot be summed to the listed totals.

Appendix B: Incarceration and Crime Rates by SJC City and County

| SJC City or County | Year | Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 Adults) | Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 People) |
|--------------------|------|---|---|
| Allegheny | | | |
| | 2015 | 239 | 366 |
| | 2017 | 264 | 365 |
| | 2019 | 232 | 312 |
| | 2020 | 174 | 260 |
| | 2021 | 163 | 259 |
| | 2022 | 159 | 213 |
| Buncombe | | | |
| | 2015 | 207 | 226 |
| | 2017 | 183 | 292 |
| | 2019 | 201 | 337 |
| | 2020 | 147 | 376 |
| | 2021 | 156 | 323 |
| | 2022 | 187 | 374 |
| Charleston | | | |
| | 2015 | 328 | 459 |
| | 2017 | 299 | 484 |
| | 2019 | 268 | 505 |
| | 2020 | 208 | 596 |
| | 2021 | 204 | 556 |
| | 2022 | 233 | 510 |
| Cook | | | |
| | 2015 | 221 | 550 |
| | 2017 | 179 | 665 |
| | 2019 | 142 | 598 |
| | 2020 | 126 | 616 |
| | 2021 | 140 | 511 |
| | 2022 | 140 | 403 |

| SJC City or County | Year | Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 Adults) | Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 People) |
|--------------------|------|---|---|
| Harris | | | |
| | 2015 | 266 | 727 |
| | 2017 | 246 | 785 |
| | 2019 | 250 | 737 |
| | 2020 | 243 | 855 |
| | 2021 | 253 | 845 |
| | 2022 | 279 | 782 |
| Lake | | | |
| | 2015 | 107 | 147 |
| | 2017 | 105 | 147 |
| | 2019 | 115 | 124 |
| | 2020 | 95 | 118 |
| | 2021 | 89 | 116 |
| | 2022 | 96 | 101 |
| Los Angeles | | | |
| | 2015 | 216 | 496 |
| | 2017 | 215 | 590 |
| | 2019 | 216 | 562 |
| | 2020 | 180 | 544 |
| | 2021 | 188 | 592 |
| | 2022 | 178 | 628 |
| Lucas | | | |
| | 2015 | 251 | n/a |
| | 2017 | 215 | 742 |
| | 2019 | 180 | 678 |
| | 2020 | 144 | 784 |
| | 2021 | 150 | 768 |
| | 2022 | 157 | 798 |
| Mecklenburg | | | |
| | 2015 | 133 | 574 |
| | 2017 | 143 | 586 |
| | 2019 | 115 | 627 |
| | 2020 | 111 | 721 |
| | 2021 | 111 | 665 |
| | 2022 | 119 | 618 |

| SJC City or County | Year | Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 Adults) | Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 People) |
|--------------------|------|---|---|
| Milwaukee | 2015 | 345 | |
| | 2017 | 293 | 1,077 |
| | 2019 | 287 | 926 |
| | 2020 | 205 | 1,093 |
| | 2021 | 204 | 1,105 |
| | 2022 | 230 | 1,012 |
| Minnehaha | 2017 | 287 | 451 |
| | 2019 | 250 | 499 |
| | 2020 | 240 | 616 |
| | 2021 | 249 | 551 |
| | 2022 | 285 | 599 |
| Missoula | 2015 | 223 | n/a |
| | 2017 | 195 | 347 |
| | 2019 | 193 | 294 |
| | 2020 | 158 | 350 |
| | 2021 | 183 | 433 |
| | 2022 | 181 | 429 |
| Multnomah | 2015 | n/a | 102 |
| | 2017 | 165 | 425 |
| | 2019 | 163 | 474 |
| | 2020 | 120 | 490 |
| | 2021 | 117 | 625 |
| | 2022 | 127 | 637 |
| New Orleans | 2015 | 581 | 806 |
| | 2017 | 495 | 884 |
| | 2019 | 371 | 804 |
| | 2020 | 291 | 933 |
| | 2021 | 273 | 1,087 |
| | 2022 | 314 | 1,077 |

| SJC City or County | Year | Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 Adults) | Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 People) |
|--------------------|------|---|---|
| Pennington | | | |
| | 2015 | n/a | 604 |
| | 2017 | 428 | 577 |
| | 2019 | 450 | 626 |
| | 2020 | 357 | 803 |
| | 2021 | 422 | 677 |
| | 2022 | 446 | 665 |
| Philadelphia | | | |
| | 2015 | 656 | 1,043 |
| | 2017 | 544 | 957 |
| | 2019 | 374 | 978 |
| | 2020 | 339 | 987 |
| | 2021 | 378 | 1,018 |
| | 2022 | 358 | 1,015 |
| San Francisco | | | |
| | 2015 | 163 | 783 |
| | 2017 | 160 | 730 |
| | 2019 | 171 | 692 |
| | 2020 | 113 | 554 |
| | 2021 | 114 | 605 |
| | 2022 | 116 | 658 |
| St. Louis | | | |
| | 2015 | 150 | 1,049 |
| | 2017 | 162 | 985 |
| | 2019 | 121 | 960 |
| | 2020 | 107 | 1,020 |
| | 2021 | 119 | 1,098 |
| | 2022 | 108 | 1,079 |

Appendix C: Rebooking Outcomes of People Released on Pretrial Status (within 6 months) by SJC Cities and Counties

| SJC City or County | Year | Total released on pretrial status | Not rebooked | Rebooked on any charge | Rebooked on a felony charge | Rebooked on a misdemeanor charge | Rebooked on a new charge | Rebooked on a new violent crime charge |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Allegheny | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 2,323 | 73% | 27% | 15% | 11% | 24% | 6% |
| Allegheny | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 3,090 | 72% | 28% | 14% | 13% | 26% | 6% |
| Allegheny | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 2,863 | 72% | 28% | 14% | 13% | 27% | 6% |
| Allegheny | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 3,372 | 73% | 27% | 12% | 12% | 24% | 5% |
| Allegheny | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 1,611 | 77% | 23% | 12% | 9% | 22% | 7% |
| Allegheny | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 1,806 | 73% | 27% | 15% | 13% | 26% | 7% |
| Allegheny | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 1,825 | 77% | 23% | 11% | 10% | 21% | 4% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 5,009 | 67% | 33% | 11% | 22% | 20% | 2% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 4,932 | 65% | 35% | 13% | 23% | 20% | 2% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 4,495 | 65% | 35% | 15% | 21% | 19% | 1% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 4,599 | 65% | 35% | 17% | 21% | 20% | 1% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 3,505 | 73% | 27% | 15% | 15% | 20% | 2% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 3,403 | 67% | 33% | 18% | 17% | 19% | 2% |
| Buncombe | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 3,474 | 74% | 26% | 14% | 13% | 15% | 1% |
| Charleston | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 8,028 | 89% | 11% | 5% | 7% | 11% | 1% |
| Charleston | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 7,471 | 87% | 13% | 7% | 7% | 12% | 1% |
| Charleston | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 6,307 | 85% | 15% | 7% | 9% | 14% | 1% |
| Charleston | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 4,023 | 80% | 20% | 9% | 12% | 19% | 2% |
| Charleston | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 3,654 | 82% | 18% | 10% | 9% | 17% | 2% |

| SJC City or County | Year | Total released on pretrial status | Not rebooked | Rebooked on any charge | Rebooked on a felony charge | Rebooked on a misdemeanor charge | Rebooked on a new charge | Rebooked on a new violent crime charge |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Charleston | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 4,134 | 85% | 15% | 8% | 8% | 14% | 2% |
| Charleston | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 4,194 | 85% | 15% | 7% | 9% | 14% | 1% |
| Cook | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 22,414 | 81% | 19% | 8% | 10% | 14% | 1% |
| Cook | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 24,027 | 81% | 19% | 10% | 9% | 15% | 2% |
| Cook | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 26,334 | 78% | 22% | 14% | 9% | 19% | 2% |
| Cook | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 29,317 | 76% | 24% | 15% | 9% | 21% | 2% |
| Cook | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 19,559 | 81% | 19% | 13% | 6% | 17% | 3% |
| Cook | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 18,114 | 82% | 18% | 12% | 5% | 15% | 2% |
| Cook | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 19,095 | 83% | 17% | 12% | 5% | 15% | 2% |
| Harris | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 27,000 | 71% | 29% | 5% | 6% | 13% | 1% |
| Harris | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 31,969 | 71% | 29% | 6% | 6% | 14% | 1% |
| Harris | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 37,679 | 73% | 27% | 8% | 7% | 16% | 2% |
| Harris | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 33,010 | 79% | 21% | 8% | 4% | 15% | 2% |
| Harris | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 40,992 | 77% | 23% | 8% | 5% | 15% | 2% |
| Harris | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 37,590 | 78% | 22% | 7% | 5% | 14% | 2% |
| Harris | November 01, 2015 - April 30, 2016 | 15,716 | 71% | 29% | 5% | 5% | 14% | 1% |
| Lucas | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 8,638 | 72% | 28% | 14% | 16% | 17% | 1% |
| Lucas | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 7,604 | 72% | 28% | 15% | 15% | 16% | 1% |
| Lucas | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 8,214 | 71% | 29% | 16% | 16% | 17% | 1% |
| Lucas | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 7,899 | 73% | 27% | 14% | 15% | 16% | 1% |
| Lucas | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 5,616 | 76% | 24% | 13% | 13% | 15% | 1% |

| SJC City or County | Year | Total released on pretrial status | Not rebooked | Rebooked on any charge | Rebooked on a felony charge | Rebooked on a misdemeanor charge | Rebooked on a new charge | Rebooked on a new violent crime charge |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Lucas | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 5,922 | 76% | 24% | 12% | 13% | 13% | 1% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 7,902 | 69% | 31% | 17% | 18% | 21% | 3% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 7,703 | 70% | 30% | 17% | 16% | 21% | 3% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 5,847 | 70% | 30% | 18% | 14% | 21% | 4% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 7,043 | 71% | 29% | 19% | 13% | 23% | 6% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 5,138 | 77% | 23% | 17% | 9% | 22% | 7% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 5,287 | 80% | 20% | 13% | 8% | 18% | 5% |
| Mecklenburg | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 5,044 | 76% | 24% | 16% | 10% | 20% | 5% |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 6,933 | 68% | 32% | 18% | 13% | 9% | 1% |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 7,397 | 78% | 22% | 13% | 9% | 8% | 1% |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 7,069 | 78% | 22% | 12% | 10% | 9% | 1% |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 7,057 | 78% | 22% | 12% | 10% | n/a | n/a |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 4,135 | 84% | 16% | 12% | 5% | 9% | 2% |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 4,680 | 85% | 15% | 12% | 4% | 7% | 1% |
| Milwaukee | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 3,706 | 84% | 16% | 12% | 4% | 4% | 1% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 7,235 | 61% | 39% | 17% | 23% | 23% | 2% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 6,517 | 58% | 42% | 18% | 24% | 23% | 2% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 6,863 | 59% | 41% | 18% | 24% | 24% | 3% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 7,061 | 57% | 43% | 19% | 25% | 25% | 3% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 4,448 | 75% | 25% | 13% | 11% | 19% | 3% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 3,023 | 69% | 31% | 17% | 12% | 21% | 3% |
| Multnomah | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 3,803 | 65% | 35% | 16% | 15% | 19% | 1% |

| SJC City or County | Year | Total released on pretrial status | Not rebooked | Rebooked on any charge | Rebooked on a felony charge | Rebooked on a misdemeanor charge | Rebooked on a new charge | Rebooked on a new violent crime charge |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| New Orleans | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 4,440 | 82% | 18% | 13% | 3% | 15% | 2% |
| New Orleans | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 6,287 | 80% | 20% | 15% | 4% | 17% | 3% |
| New Orleans | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 4,145 | 78% | 22% | 18% | 4% | 19% | 4% |
| New Orleans | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 3,994 | 82% | 18% | 14% | 4% | 16% | 3% |
| New Orleans | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 3,438 | 88% | 12% | 9% | 3% | 11% | 3% |
| New Orleans | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 3,501 | 89% | 11% | 9% | 3% | 10% | 3% |
| New Orleans | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 3,073 | 90% | 10% | 8% | 2% | 10% | 3% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 11,190 | 75% | 25% | 15% | 11% | 14% | 2% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 10,813 | 77% | 23% | 15% | 10% | 14% | 1% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 10,474 | 76% | 24% | 15% | 10% | 14% | 2% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 10,182 | 77% | 23% | 14% | 10% | 14% | 2% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 8,043 | 79% | 21% | 15% | 8% | 14% | 2% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 9,389 | 79% | 21% | 13% | 9% | 13% | 2% |
| Palm Beach | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 9,004 | 81% | 19% | 12% | 9% | 12% | 1% |
| Pennington | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 3,310 | 61% | 39% | 21% | 22% | 28% | 2% |
| Pennington | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 3,442 | 58% | 42% | 25% | 21% | 29% | 2% |
| Pennington | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 3,222 | 54% | 46% | 30% | 21% | n/a | n/a |
| Pennington | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 2,560 | 62% | 38% | 28% | 15% | 27% | 3% |
| Pennington | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 2,664 | 56% | 44% | 30% | 19% | 30% | 3% |
| Pennington | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 2,611 | 58% | 42% | 27% | 19% | 28% | 2% |
| Pennington | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 2,545 | 62% | 38% | 17% | 23% | 30% | 1% |

| SJC City or County | Year | Total released on pretrial status | Not rebooked | Rebooked on any charge | Rebooked on a felony charge | Rebooked on a misdemeanor charge | Rebooked on a new charge | Rebooked on a new violent crime charge |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Pima | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 9,865 | 71% | 29% | 14% | 17% | 23% | 2% |
| Pima | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 10,194 | 69% | 31% | 18% | 18% | 25% | 3% |
| Pima | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 9,655 | 68% | 32% | 19% | 17% | 27% | 3% |
| Pima | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 9,865 | 68% | 32% | 20% | 17% | 26% | 3% |
| Pima | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 6,082 | 75% | 25% | 17% | 11% | 21% | 4% |
| Pima | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 6,630 | 75% | 25% | 18% | 10% | 20% | 3% |
| Pima | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 6,982 | 75% | 25% | 18% | 9% | 20% | 2% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 4,998 | 69% | 31% | 22% | 8% | 31% | 8% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 4,555 | 67% | 33% | 24% | 9% | 25% | 9% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 4,957 | 64% | 36% | 26% | 10% | 32% | 10% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 4,865 | 66% | 34% | 25% | 9% | 33% | 9% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 3,242 | 74% | 26% | 22% | 5% | 25% | 8% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 2,953 | 70% | 30% | 25% | 5% | 30% | 9% |
| San Francisco | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 3,022 | 67% | 33% | 27% | 7% | 33% | 9% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2015 - October 31, 2015 | 5,251 | 65% | 35% | 17% | 23% | 33% | 1% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2017 - October 31, 2017 | 4,617 | 64% | 36% | 17% | 23% | 32% | 1% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2018 - October 31, 2018 | 5,097 | 61% | 39% | 21% | 23% | 38% | 1% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2019 - October 31, 2019 | 5,758 | 60% | 40% | 22% | 25% | 40% | 1% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2020 - October 31, 2020 | 4,599 | 69% | 31% | 18% | 17% | 30% | 1% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2021 - October 31, 2021 | 3,958 | 68% | 32% | 16% | 20% | 32% | 1% |
| Spokane | March 01, 2022 - October 31, 2022 | 4,328 | 68% | 32% | 16% | 20% | 32% | 1% |

Endnotes

1. 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>.
2. 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/content/journals/10.1146/annurev-criminol-011518-024601>.
3. CUNY ISLG also acknowledges that this analysis does not alone not explain the causes of violent crime. However, examining rebooking rates is a good proxy for evaluating claims that jail reform efforts are the drivers of changes in crime.
4. Accurate publicly available crime data for Pima County, Palm Beach County, and Spokane County were not available through 2022 at the time of publication.
5. New case-level data for St. Louis County was not available for the rebooking analysis at the time of publication.
6. 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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