



Research Brief

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

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

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CUNY INSTITUTE  
FOR STATE & LOCAL  
GOVERNANCE



SAFETY+JUSTICE  
CHALLENGE

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Additionally, we are thankful for our CUNY ISLG colleagues—this report would have been impossible without Michael Jacobson and Reagan Daly, who provided invaluable guidance in both understanding and framing the data, Rebecca Tublitz for helping frame and edit the brief, Carla Sinclair for support in editing and design, Michael Keith for his leadership in data processing and management, and the support of the CUNY ISLG research team. We also would like to thank Branden Dupont from Loyola University Chicago for guidance and support in data visualization. Last but not least, we thank Paragini Amin and the team at Design for Progress for their tireless creativity and help with the design of the template used for this report.

# 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

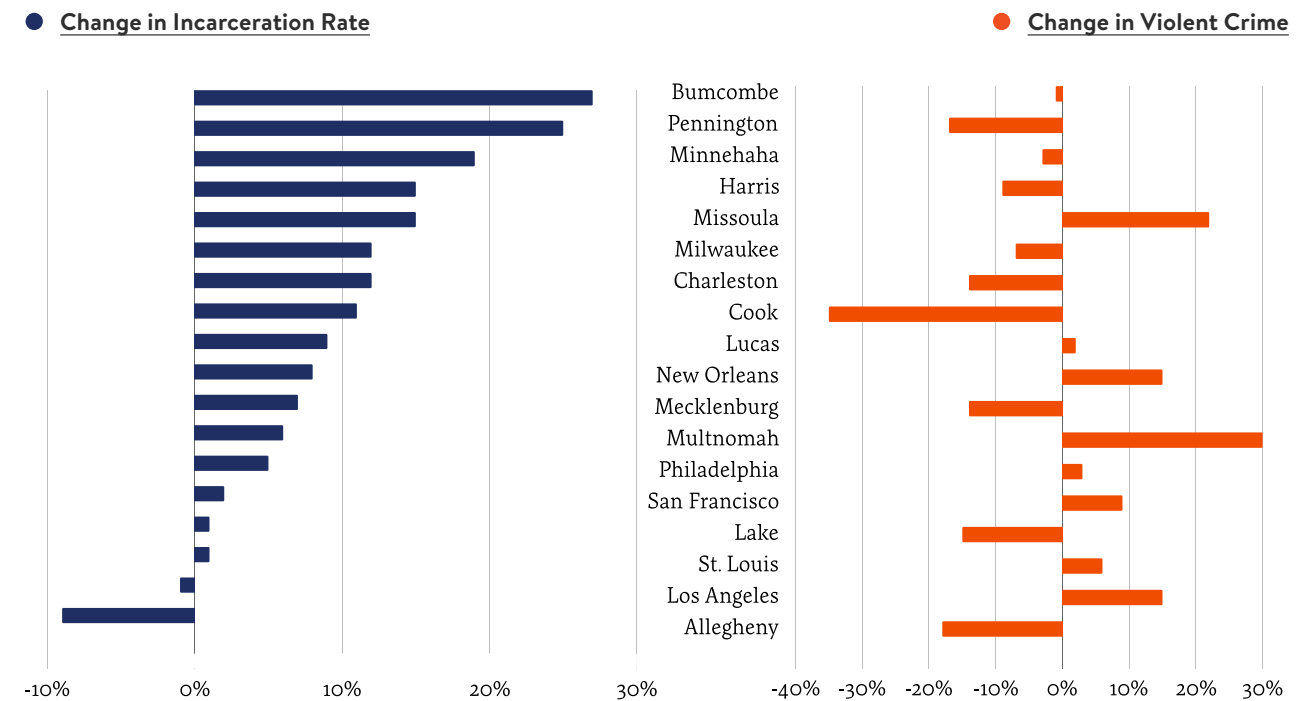
**Two years out from COVID-19’s peak, there continues to be no apparent correlation between changes in incarceration and violent crime.**

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

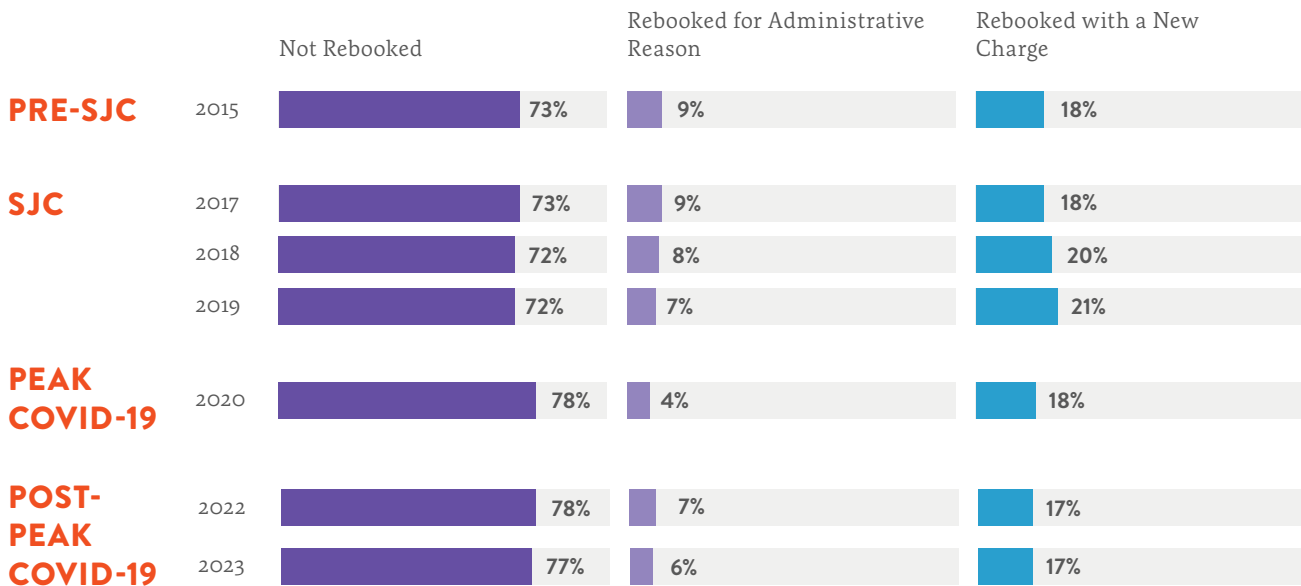
About 80 percent of people who were released on pretrial status were either not rebooked into jail at all (75 percent) or were returned to jail for administrative reasons (7 percent).

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% of individuals released pretrial returned with a new violent crime charge. This rate has remained consistent for almost a decade, predating reform efforts.

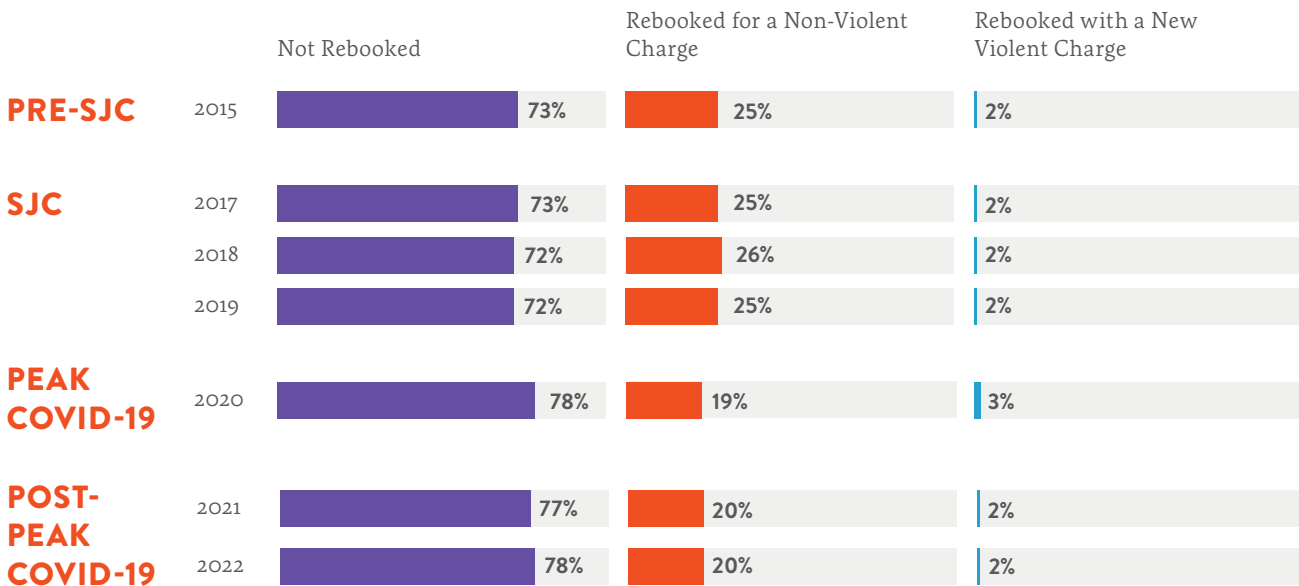
On average and over time, a very small share of people released on pretrial status (about two percent) were rebooked within six months for a new violent charge. This rate was consistent before SJC implementation in 2015, through SJC implementation and the pandemic, and through now (Figure 3). In this 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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	<a href="https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index">https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index</a>
Buncombe	<a href="https://ncsbi.gov/Services/Crime-Statistics/Crime-in-North-Carolina-Annual-Summaries">https://ncsbi.gov/Services/Crime-Statistics/Crime-in-North-Carolina-Annual-Summaries</a>
Charleston	<a href="https://www.sled.sc.gov/crimestatistics.html">https://www.sled.sc.gov/crimestatistics.html</a>
Cook	<a href="https://ilucr.nibrs.com/Report/PerCountyOffenseAndArrestAnnualComparison">https://ilucr.nibrs.com/Report/PerCountyOffenseAndArrestAnnualComparison</a>
Harris	<a href="https://www.dps.texas.gov/section/crime-records/crime-texas">https://www.dps.texas.gov/section/crime-records/crime-texas</a>
Lake	<a href="https://ilucr.nibrs.com/Report/PerCountyOffenseAndArrestAnnualComparison">https://ilucr.nibrs.com/Report/PerCountyOffenseAndArrestAnnualComparison</a>
Los Angeles	<a href="https://openjustice.doj.ca.gov/data">https://openjustice.doj.ca.gov/data</a>
Lucas	<a href="https://dpsibrspext.azurewebsites.net/?handler=Search">https://dpsibrspext.azurewebsites.net/?handler=Search</a>
Mecklenburg	<a href="https://www.ncsbi.gov/Services/Crime-Statistics">https://www.ncsbi.gov/Services/Crime-Statistics</a>
Milwaukee	<a href="https://www.doj.state.wi.us/dles/bjia/ucr-offense-data">https://www.doj.state.wi.us/dles/bjia/ucr-offense-data</a>
Minnehaha	<a href="https://sdcrime.nibrs.com/CrimePublication/CrimePublicationReports">https://sdcrime.nibrs.com/CrimePublication/CrimePublicationReports</a>
Missoula	<a href="https://dataportal.mt.gov/t/MBCC/views/CIM-AnnualAgencyNIBRSOffenseSummary/Dash_agencyAnnualOverview?iframeSizedToWindow=true&amp;:embed=y&amp;:showAppBanner=false&amp;:display_count=n&amp;:showVizHome=n&amp;:origin=viz_share_link">https://dataportal.mt.gov/t/MBCC/views/CIM-AnnualAgencyNIBRSOffenseSummary/Dash_agencyAnnualOverview?iframeSizedToWindow=true&amp;:embed=y&amp;:showAppBanner=false&amp;:display_count=n&amp;:showVizHome=n&amp;:origin=viz_share_link</a>
Multnomah	<a href="https://www.oregon.gov/osp/pages/uniform-crime-reporting-data.aspx">https://www.oregon.gov/osp/pages/uniform-crime-reporting-data.aspx</a>
New Orleans	<a href="https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrljoiNjhhMjYyZUtYTlOZS00MmQxLWlWl3MDgtM-2JkNTQ4NjZiZGM2liwidCI6IjFkYzNlZmNmLTVMlTQ4tNGRkNSlM-jE3LWE3NTBjNWlzMzlyZCIsImMiOjN9NWlzMzlyZCIsImMiOjN9">https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrljoiNjhhMjYyZUtYTlOZS00MmQxLWlWl3MDgtM-2JkNTQ4NjZiZGM2liwidCI6IjFkYzNlZmNmLTVMlTQ4tNGRkNSlM-jE3LWE3NTBjNWlzMzlyZCIsImMiOjN9NWlzMzlyZCIsImMiOjN9</a>
Pennington	<a href="https://sdcrime.nibrs.com/Home/Index">https://sdcrime.nibrs.com/Home/Index</a>
Philadelphia	<a href="https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index">https://www.ucr.pa.gov/PAUCRSPUBLIC/Home/Index</a>
San Francisco	<a href="https://www.sanfranciscopolice.org/stay-safe/crime-data/crime-dashboard">https://www.sanfranciscopolice.org/stay-safe/crime-data/crime-dashboard</a>
St. Louis	<a href="https://showmecrime.mo.gov/CrimeReporting/CrimeStatistics.html">https://showmecrime.mo.gov/CrimeReporting/CrimeStatistics.html</a>

## 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: 2015<sup>6</sup> 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		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
			Not rebooked					
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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