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Orleans Parish Prison Ten-Year Inmate Population Projection¹

Prepared by

James Austin Wendy Ware Roger Ocker

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720 Kearney St. Denver, GO 80220 - Ph. 303-377-1556

www.UFA=4ssociates/com

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Major Findings and the OPP Base Projection Summary

Summary of Key Trends Impacting OPP Admissions

- 1. Prior to Katrina the Orleans Parish population had gradually declined from 483,663 to 455,188. The at-risk population was also declining at that time.
- 2. Post Katrina the Orleans Parish population has returned to approximately 80% of its former size. It is not clear the extent to which the population will continue to grow.
- 3. The repopulation of Orleans Parish has resulted in a population that has a higher rate of home ownership, higher education level, lower poverty rate, and higher median household income. All of these factors are associated with lower crime rates.
- 4. Despite significant increases in the Orleans Parish Prison (OPP), both the number and rate of serious crimes reported to police have significantly declined.
- 5. The number of arrests have declined from their peak of nearly 140,000 in 2004 to 92,500 in 2009.
- 6. More recently, the first ten months of 2010 show a 18% decrease in arrests as compared to the first ten months of 2009 a drop of 14,646 arrests.
- 7. The current demographic trends of the Parish as well as the declining reported crime and arrest trends suggest a downward trend in OPP admissions.

Recent Trends in the OPP Prisoner Population

- 1. The OPP currently consists of approximately 3,200 inmates who fall into several distinct legal categories.
- 2. 44% of the daily OPP population are in pretrial status with the vast majority of them being people charged with one or more felony crimes.

- 3. The other large group consists of persons who have been sentenced to state prison but are being housed in the OPP (currently there are about 1,025 such prisoners or about 1/3rd of the entire OPP population).
- 4. The number of admissions and releases peaked in about September 2009 and have since declined consistent with crime and arrest trends.
- 5. More recently, OPP admissions for the first nine months of 2010 are 20% below what they were for the first months in 2009 a drop of nearly 10,000 admissions.
- 6. If one removes the DPS&C inmate population from the data the remainder of the OPP population has been slightly declining which again is consistent with the arrest, booking and release data trends.

Comparisons With Other Parishes

- 1. Orleans has a significantly higher incarceration rate compared to the other three Parishes even when one takes into account the violent and total crime rates.
- If the OPP prisoner population was strictly a function of violent or total crimes rates and the same criminal justice policies as exist in East Baton Rouge, Caddo, the OPP population would be as high as 1,426 (Caddo rates).

Detailed Assessment of the OPP Admissions and Releases

- 1. During the last 12 months, there were 59,566 admissions that were generated by 42,592 people.
- 2. The average LOS for all releases was 19.6 days, which produces a projected OPP daily population of 3,196.
- 3. The overall number of admissions, releases and the LOS are quite accurate and can be used to make a valid base projection. There are difficulties in determining the exact charge and basis for release as persons admitted to the OPP have multiple charges. But despite these data issues, the basic legal statues and methods of release are relatively accurate.
- 4. The largest proportion of admissions and releases are people with an outstanding warrant (over 20,000 or 1/3rd of all releases). The vast majority of these warrants are issued by the Jefferson Parish largely for missed court dates and FTAs.

- 5. When the 20,000 warrant releases are excluded, the overall LOS increases to 28.7 days, which is more typical of a major urban jail.
- 6. The vast majority of the releases that are not warrants are exiting the OPP in some form of pretrial status (92%).
- 7. Males and Blacks have significantly longer LOS. Specifically, males have an overall LOS of 22 days versus 10 days for females. For Blacks, they have a LOS of 23 days versus 11 days for whites and 5 days for Hispanics. These LOS differentials result in these categories of inmates "stacking up" in the OPP population.
- 8. When one controls for the type of charge one is booked for, Blacks continue to show a longer LOS although the overall difference is reduced.
- A more detailed study should be conducted to determine the basis for the longer LOS for Blacks, which is a strong contributor to the size of the OPP population.
- 10. This finding coupled with the large number of warrant releases means that law enforcement and court processing are the two driving forces in determining the current and future number of OPP admissions and length of stays.
- 11. Pretrial felons produce the largest share of the OPP population. Efficiencies in expediting those cases would have a large effect on the OPP population. For example, if the LOS was reduced by an average of 10 days, the OPP population would drop by about 250 prisoners.

DPS&C State Inmates Housed and Released in OPP

- 1. In 2009 there were 1,143 people who were released from the Department of Public Safety and Corrections who have been sentenced to DPS&C by the Orleans Courts.
- 2. The overall length of stay for these people was 3.0 years with an average sentence of 5.5 years.
- 3. Of that number 726 (or 64% of all Orleans sentenced inmates) were released from the OPP system as opposed to other DPS&C state prison facilities.

Base Projection

The following key assumptions are being made for the ten year base projection which reflect current trends and criminal justice policies as noted above:

- OPP pretrial misdemeanor and warrant admissions will continue to gradually decline over the decade at a rate of 5% per year. This assumption is based on implemented initiatives that focus on misdemeanor crimes that will continue to reduce misdemeanor admissions plus declining crime and arrest rates.
- 2. The methods of release and the associated average LOS for each release type for the pretrial misdemeanor and warrant admissions population will remain constant over this ten-year projection.
- 3. The OPP pretrial felon admissions and locally sentenced populations will remain constant at 2010 level throughout the ten year forecast.
- 4. The methods of release and the associated average LOS for each release type for the pretrial felon admissions and locally sentenced populations will remain constant over this ten-year projection.

Based on these assumptions there will be continued but slight decrease in the local (non-state prison) Orleans prisoner population now estimated at 2,339 to about 2,200 by the end of 2012 and continue to decline to 1,953 by the end of 2020.

The state DPS&C inmate population, under current policy is held constant at 950 throughout the ten-year forecast based on current policies. Thus the overall OPP population will reach 2,903 by the 2018.

If one adds a 7.5% peaking factor to accommodate seasonal fluctuations and special housing needs of the inmate population the bed capacity needs would be 3.121 beds.

One final observation should be made. As time goes on, the base projection will inevitably become increasingly inaccurate as new policies and laws are introduced. For this reason the base projection needs to be revised and updated on at least an annual basis to ensure the Parish does not find itself with a crowded jail system.

Orleans Parish Prison Base Forecast CY 2010-2020 By Major Subpopulations

		Pretrial	Pretrial	Local	Sub-		
CY	Warrants	Misd/Other	Felony	Sentenced	Total	DPS&C	Grand
							Total
Sept. 2010	114	597	1,359	169	2,239	950	3,189
2010	101	591	1,364	162	2,217	950	3,167
2011	93	582	1,384	161	2,220	950	3,170
2012	91	563	1,381	166	2,200	950	3,150
2013	84	546	1,396	165	2,190	950	3,140
2014	79	522	1,383	162	2,147	950	3,097
2015	77	487	1,357	163	2,083	950	3,033
2016	73	470	1,349	161	2,053	950	3,003
2017	66	448	1,372	168	2,054	950	3,004
2018	63	427	1,350	165	2,005	950	2,955
2019	65	392	1,349	158	1,965	950	2,915
2020	58	369	1,360	165	1,953	950	2,903
With 7.5%					_		,
Peaking	62	397	1,462	177	2,099	1,021	3,121

Introduction

This report provides a ten-year projection of the Orleans Parish Prison (OPP) population to be housed by the Orleans Parish Sheriff's Office. The study was requested by the City of New Orleans and was funded by the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

At issue was to determine the need to construct a new jail facility or facilities that would have sufficient capacity to properly house and manage persons who were incarcerated under current state and local laws and criminal justice policies. Mayor Mitch Landrieu signed an executive order establishing a Criminal Justice Working Group, an official Mayoral Advisory Committee, which was tasked with reviewing plans and information relating to the size of the Orleans Parish Prison complex. This report is being submitted to the Task Force as part of its work to make recommendations to Mayor Landrieu.

As will be emphasized throughout the report, the current and future size of a jail population is largely the product of a number of factors that are beyond the control of the Sheriff. Demographic, socio-economic, crime, arrest and court processing (among others) are factors that contribute to the two major forces that produce a jail population -- admissions and length of stay (or LOS). What this initial report does is to document those trends and estimate the long-term effects of *current* trends on the projected size of the Orleans jail population. This initial estimate is referred to as the "base" projection.

A subsequent report will provide estimates of how the base projection may be impacted by two major reforms or initiatives:

- 1. Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections (DPS&C) state prisoner population now housed at the OPP; and,
- 2. Implementation of a Pre-Trial Release Program.

In completing this study, JFA relied extensively upon data provided by the Orleans Parish Sheriff's Office and New Orleans Police Department. Data were also provided by the Vera Institute, which has been conducting a number of studies of current police and criminal justice practices and initiatives. The DPS&C provided data on state inmates housed in the OPP and those sentenced to state prison each year from the Orleans Parish courts.

Technology Center of Excellence, National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, helped coordinate all of our data collection efforts.

² The authors would like to express they great appreciation to Sheriff Marlin N. Gusman, Commander Michael Laughlin, and Joe Timmons of the Orleans Parish Sheriff's Office. Further Secretary James LeBlanc, Melanie Gueho, and Tabitha Mizell of the Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections provided valuable information on the number of state inmates housed in the Orleans jail system. Paul McCaskell provided reported crime and arrest data. Michael Jacobson and Jon Wool of Vera Institute provided a great deal of background information on current criminal justice initiatives. Finally, Frederick Kullman of the Office of the Mayor of New Orleans and Eugene Atherton of the Corrections

Projection Policy Simulation Model

Inmate and correctional population projections should not be seen as magic boxes used to predict the future, but instead as tools for understanding the origin and direction of prisoner population changes based on current and alternative criminal justice policies. They are used most effectively to predict future population levels and to analyze the impact of new and proposed changes in laws, policies and administrative practices.

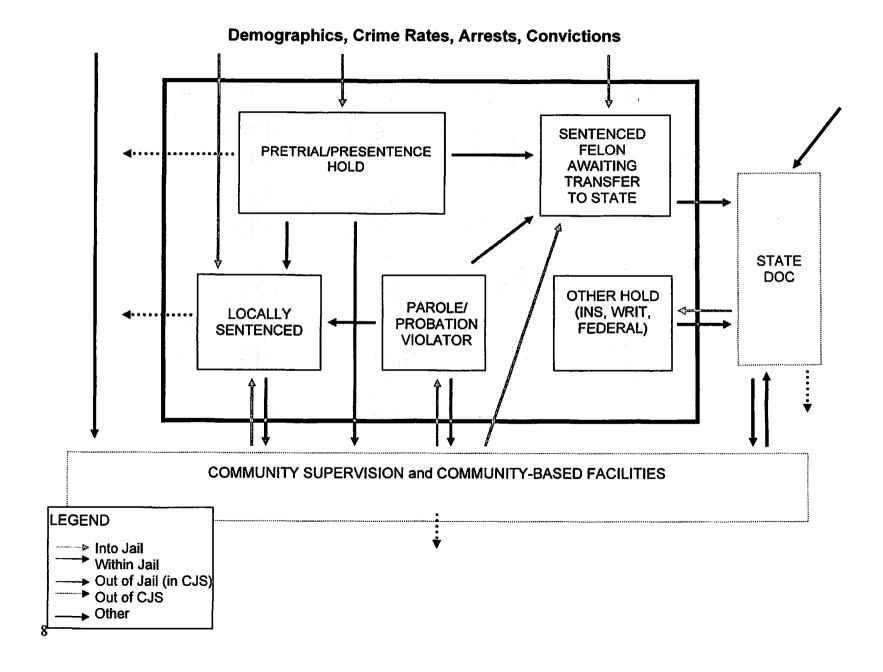
To meet this need, the JFA has developed the Prophet Simulation Software for simulating and forecasting pre-trial, sentenced prisoner, probation, parole and any other correctional populations. This model can be used in a number of ways. Institutional planners may use it to project future population levels to better prepare for increases or decreases in the growing demand for scarce bed space and programmatic resources. Policy makers can foresee the effects of changes in current laws or policies prior to their implementation. Researchers can "sort out" and isolate the effects of specific practices that may otherwise be obscured in the complex web of criminal justice activity

This model has been used since 1982 by the JFA staff to assist numerous state and local jurisdictions across the country (including the Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections) to provide support for correctional population projections. The model has been used successfully to generate prisoner population forecasts in over 50 state and local jurisdictions across the country. It was cited by the GAO as one of the nation's most sophisticated and well-established projection models available to correctional agencies.

Technical Attributes of the Model

Because no two criminal justice systems are the same, there is no single Prophet model. Instead, the software allows analysts to customize and construct models that mimic the actual flow of prisoners through systems, based on the unique law enforcement, sentencing structure and policy environments of the target system. It is best to think of the Prophet simulation software as a "shell" or beginning structure that can be constructed in any fashion.

The Prophet Simulation model is an example of a stochastic entity simulation model. It is stochastic in the sense that the model is conceptually designed around the movement of individual cases (offenders) into, through, and out of correctional populations defined by the user. The model also makes use of the Monte Carlo simulation techniques by adding an element of randomness to the simulation model.



Random numbers are generated and used by the simulation process to determine the prisoner group composition and lengths of stay associated with a system. Individual cases are processed by the model through a series of probability distribution arrays or matrices, which provide computations for individual cases. When loaded with accurate data, the model will mimic the flow of prisoners though a correctional system.

The forecasted populations are composed of: (1) cases confined at the beginning of the simulation, and (2) cases admitted to the population at any point after the start of the simulations. The existing prisoner population and new prisoner admissions are modeled separately. By disaggregating a system in this manner, the user can adjust each of these sub-populations without altering the process of other sub-groups. This is particularly significant for completing "what-if" simulations on the forecasted population.

In order to understand the process, it is useful to briefly discuss the output of the model. The Prophet simulation model produces two types of projections. First, it produces prisoner population projections, such as the incarcerated prison, jail or community program populations. These outputs are usually of primary importance. Second, the model also projects movements into and out of various statuses and produces numerous admission and release projections. The computer program produces these outputs in the form of vectors which represent a ten-year time span.

The movements and outputs are especially useful in terms of monitoring how well the model is replicating the actual flow of cases through the system. The basic building blocks of the model are:

Inmate ID Groups:

Case identifiers or offender groups that are meaningful within the context of the local jurisdiction's record keeping system and are similar to the way in which cases are processed through the corrections system (i.e. Male Felons, Female Misdemeanant, etc.).

Legal Statuses:

Stages or conditions associated with the operation of the system (i.e., Pretrial, Sentenced, etc.) are typically operationalized as statuses.

Criminal Justice System Flow:

In order to mimic correctional populations, the various events or processes that a person may undergo after the point of the arrest has been made need to be constructed. The so called "connections" between the legal statuses, represent the paths or flows a case could take through the system, and the length of stay (or lag) in each status (i.e. Arrest, Booking, Pretrial Release, Convictions, Release). These flows represent the lengths of stay in each status.

To load the model estimates are made of the number of admissions or bookings for the jail system over the next ten years. These estimates are typically based on demographic, crime and arrest trends. For each year of admissions, the associated ID groups, legal status and LOS are based on current data produced by the local criminal justice agencies. We are most interested in the current rather than prior policies since we are trying to mimic the current system.

For this project we received detailed data form the OPSO in the form of the following extract files:

- 1. Admissions and Releases to and from the OPP (last 12 months)
- 2. The Current OPP population (snapshot of end-of-day population as of September 28, 2010).

Each extract file contained detailed data on the person's admission and release dates, all criminal justice charges, the reason for admission or booking, the method and legal status at release. Because the dates for these admission and release dates were provided, it was possible to calculate the various LOS for each admission and release.

No projection can be made until the local criminal justice agencies and policy makers establish their assumptions regarding how they plan to deploy and utilize their resources. This would include assumptions regarding crime rate trends, the number of police to be deployed and law enforcement strategies designed to address current crime rate trends, pre-trial release practices, court processing and sentencing trends.

As suggested above, criminal justice policies are constantly in flux as new laws are passed and new administrative reforms are implemented. For these reasons it is not possible to accurately project the size of a jail population. What can be done is to show the consequences of current and proposed policies on a jail or any other correctional population. As will be shown in this report, there is considerable variance in the projected size and attributes of the Orleans Parish prison depending on which policies are adopted by local and state criminal justice agencies

Major Demographic, Crime and Arrest Trends

The devastation that occurred due to Hurricane Katrina has had a major impact on the size and attributes of the Orleans Parish. This historic event also had a major impact on the size of Orleans Parish Prison. In this section we summarize these trends as they relate to the current and projected future size of the Orleans Parish prison population.

Demographic Changes

Prior to Katrina, the Orleans Parish population was approximately 455,000 people. As shown in Table 1, the Parish population had been steadily declining since 2000 when it stood at nearly 484,000. In making a jail projection one is particularly interested in the size of what is referred to as the "at risk" population. These are people who are most at risk to be arrested and admitted to the jail system. As shown in Table 1, the number of males age 15- 34 was declining prior to Katrina. After Katrina, there was of course a dramatic drop in the resident population. But since then the population has re-populated to approximately 355,000 or about 80% of its pre-Katrina population.

The major question is whether the population will continue to increase and reach its former size. JFA attempted locate such a projection but none exist. Rand did an early forecast of the re-population effort but it significantly underestimated the growth in population. ³ Similarly, the state issued a forecast that stated the total population would not exceed 260,000 by 2010 and would reach 275,000 by the year 2030. ⁴ While the Parish has rebounded much faster than these earlier projections, the question is whether and when it will return to its pre-Katrina levels? At this point it would appear that it will continue to repopulate but at slower rate than has occurred since 2006.

There are also a number of variables that represent the key socio-economic attributes of the Orleans Parish population both pre and post Katrina. As shown in Table 2, on a number of these statistics, the current Orleans population is more educated, more likely to own a home, less likely to be living in poverty, have a higher median income, and not have children. In essence the Parish has been repopulated by a population that is less likely to be involved in criminal conduct, arrested, and thus become part of the criminal justice system.

³ McCarthy, Kevin, D.J. Peterson, Narayan Sastry, and Michael Pollard. <u>The Repopulation of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina</u>, 2006, Rand Gulf States Policy Institute.

⁴ http://www.louisiana.gov/Explore/Population_Projections/

TABLE 1
ORLEANS PARISH HISTORICAL POPULATION

Year	Orleans Parish Population	Orleans Males 15-19	Orleans Males 20-34	Louisiana Population
2000	483,663	18,427	68,084	4,468,979
2001	477,932	17,864	67,346	4,460,816
2002	472,744	17,519	66,723	4,466,068
2003	467,761	17,140	65,635	4,474,726
2004	461,915	16,711	65,080	4,489,327
2005	455,188	16,311	63,900	4,497,691
2006	208,548	5,993	29,042	4,240,327
2007	288,113	8,900	39,658	4,376,122
2008	336,644	10,352	46,481	4,451,513
2009	354,850	10,755	50,241	4,492,076

Source: US Census Bureau

TABLE 2
COMPARIOSNS ON KEY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
FOR ORLEANS PARISH 2009 AND 2009

Attribute	2000	2009	Difference
White	27%	30%	3%
Black	67%	61%	-6%
Hispanic	3%	5%	2%
Home Ownership	46%	51%	5%
Ownership - No Mortgage	33%	38%	5%
No Access to Vehicle	27%	18%	-9%
Households w Child	30%	24%	-6%
Single Person Household	33%	37%	4%
Poverty Rate	28%	24%	-4%
Child Poverty Rate	41%	35%	-6%
Median Income	\$34,928	\$36,468	\$1,540
No HS Degree	25%	16%	-9%
College Degree	26%	31%	5%

Source: Greater New Orleans Community Data Center

Crime Trends

Crime trends are based on the Federal Bureau of Investigations Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) data system. The UCR represents all serious crimes reported to police. It has been criticized for its inability to record all crimes (in particular drug crimes) and fluctuating due to changes in law enforcement crime reporting standards. However, assuming reporting standards are not dramatically changing from year to year, it is a good measure of the extent of serious crimes being committed each year.

Tables 3 and 4 summarize the UCR trends since 2000. Here one can see that both the number and rate per 100,000 for all crime categories have significantly declined. The absolute number has declined by about 50% and the rate per 100,000 has gone from 6,601 to 4,384 (34% decline).

Comparisons can be made with some of the larger Louisiana Parishes in terns of their crime rates. As shown in Table 5, Orleans Parish has a serious crime rate that is than Caddo and East Baton Rouge and only slightly higher than Jefferson. While the rates remain above the state rate, it is clear that Orleans is a far safer place than it was prior to Katrina. More significantly, the number of crimes and the crime rate has declined.

The significant decline in reported crimes is not limited to Orleans Parish. As shown in Figure 1 the crime rate for Louisiana peaked in about 1995 and has since steadily declined.

TABLE 3
TOTAL UCR CRIMES REPORTED ORLEANS PARISH

			Armed	Simple		Violent		_	Auto	Total	Total Index
Year	Murder	Rape	Robb.	Robb.	Assault	Total	Burglary	Theft	Theft	Property	Crimes
2002	257	162	1,517	477	2,142	4,555	4,759	14,325	7,566	26,650	31,205
2003	274	213	1,534	537	2,037	4,595	4,879	12,726	6,872	24,477	29,072
2004	265	189	1,381	455	2,178	4,468	5,238	12,544	6,534	24,316	28,784
2005	211	143	831	293	1,397	2,875	4,011	8,150	4,109	16,270	19,145
2006	160	87	556	205	1,245	2,253	4,087	5,228	2,863	12,178	14,431
2007	210	115	948	206	1,973	3,452	5,039	7,354	3,190	15,583	19,035
2008	179	65	902	183	1,540	2,869	4,591	7,081	3,208	14,880	17,749
2009	174	98	733	199	1,410	2,614	3,821	6,507	2,616	12,944	15,558
%											
Change	32%	40%	52%	58%	34%	43%	20%	55%	65%	51%	50%

TABLE 4
UCR CRIMES PER 100,000 ORLEANS PARISH RESIDENTS

Year	Murder	Rape	Armed Robb.	Simple Robb.	Assault	Violent Total	Burglary	Theft	Auto Theft	Total Property	Total Index Crimes
2002	54	34	321	101	453	964	1,007	3,030	1,600	5,637	6,601
2003	59	46	328	115	435	982	1,043	2,721	1,469	5,233	6,215
2004	57	41	299	99	472	967	1,134	2,716	1,415	5,264	6,231
2005	46	31	183	64	307	632	881	1,790	903	3,574	4,206
2006	77	42	267	98	597	1,080	1,960	2,507	1,373	5,839	6,920
2007	73	40	329	71	685	1,198	1,749	2,552	1,107	5,409	6,607
2008	53	19	268	54	457	852	1,364	2,103	953	4,420	5,272
2009	49	28	207	56	397	737	1,077	1,834	737	3,648	4,384
Avg. % Change	-9%	-18%	-36%	-45%	-12%	-24%	+7%	-39%	-54%	-35%	-34%

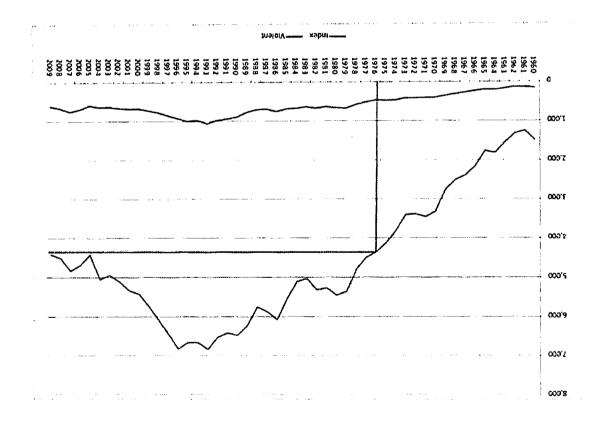
Source: Calculated by JFA using US Census Data

Table 5
Crime Rates for Comparable Parishes and Statewide

Parish	Population	UCR Crime Rates Per 100,00			
	Population	Property	Violent	lent Total 37 5,121 01 5,714 38 5,577 49 4,898	
New Orleans	354,850	4,384	737	5,121	
East Baton Rouge	434,633	4,913	801		
Caddo	253,623	4,589	988		
Jefferson	443,342	4,249	649		
Statewide	4,492,076	3,823	656	4,479	

Sources: US Census and Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement

Figure 1 Lousiana UCR Crime Rates



Adult Arrests

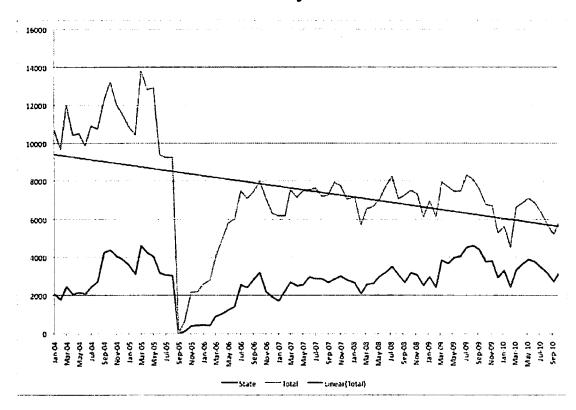
Consistent with the reported crime trends, adult arrests have been declining. In 2004 the year before Katrina, there were approximately 140,000 arrests made. By 2009 it had dropped to 92,489. Based on current trends, the 2010 total is likely to only reach 71,000 (see Table 6). Of the three factors reviewed to date (demographic, reported crime and arrests) these are the most significant as they have a direct bearing on the number of admissions to the jail system. The largest component is state level charges followed by City and Traffic level charges. With the exception of the Traffic level arrests, all categories are projected to have significantly lower numbers in 2010 based on the first 10 months of 20101. More precisely, the first 10 months of 2010 show an 18% decrease in arrests as compared to the first 10 months of 2010 show an 14,646 arrests.

Table 6
Orleans Parish Arrests 2004-2010
By Arrest Level

Year	State	Narcotic	City	Traffic	Juvenile	Total
2004	34,221	10,522	54,997	21,505	12,654	139,258
2005	31,278	7,207	39,091	12,434	7,639	97,649
2006	22,035	8,369	29,221	11,911	1,583	73,119
2007	34,273	7,239	33,429	14,540	3,347	92,828
2008	37,057	6,925	29,362	12,719	4,260	90,323
2009	48,255	6,362	23,733	10,734	3,405	92,489
2010 est.	38,644	4,459	14,192	10,691	2,968	70,954

Note: 2010 is based on the first 10 months of 2010.

Figure 2
Orleans Arrests January 2004 – October 2010



Summary of Key Trends Impacting Jail Admissions

- 1. Prior to Katrina the Orleans Parish population had gradually declined from 483,663 to 455,188. The at-risk population was also declining at that time.
- 2. Post Katrina the Orleans Parish population has returned to approximately 80% of its former size. It is not clear the extent to which the population will continue to grow.
- Despite significant increases in the Orleans Parish population (OPP), both the number and rate per capita of serous crimes reported to police have significantly declined.
- 4. The number of arrests have declined from their peak of nearly 140,000 in 2004 to 92,500 in 2009. It appears that the 2010 figure will be well below the 2009 level.
- Current repopulation demographic trends, as well as substantial declines in reported crime and arrest trends, should produce a downward trend in OPP admissions.

Overview of OPP Population Trends

In this section of the report, we present a variety of data on the OPP population. The data can be separated into two parts – aggregate and individual level data. The latter are used to estimate along with the demographic, crime and arrest data in the prior section the expected number of admissions per year. The individual level data are generated from the extract files noted earlier and are used to determine how the flow of people in and out of the prison system based on their legal status and crime type.

Aggregate Trends

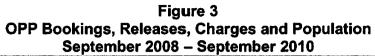
The OPP currently consists of approximately 3,200 inmates who fall into several distinct legal categories. The major categories are summarized in Table 7 below. There are several significant patterns to note here. First, 44% of the daily OPP population are in pretrial status with the vast majority of them being people charged with one or more felony crimes. The other large group are persons who have been sentenced to state prison but are being housed in the OPP. Currently there are about 850 such prisoners or about 1/3rd of the entire OPP population.

Table 7
Orleans Parish Prison Population as of October 28, 2010
By Gender and Selected Major Legal Statuses

Legal Status	Mal	es	Fen	nales	To	tals
	N	%	N	%	Ν	%
Pretrial	1,275	40%	149	5%	1,424	44%
State/Felony	1,174	36%	129	4%	1,303	40%
City/Misd	75	2%	17	1%	92	3%
Traffic	26	1%	3	0%	29	1%
Sentenced	155	5%	15	0%	170	5%
Parish Prison	53	2%	4	0%	57	2%
City Misd	97	3%	11	0%	108	3%
Traffic	5	0%	0	0%	5	0%
Probation Violations	194	6%	22	1%	216	7%
Parole Violations	131	4%	8	0%	139	4%
Total DPS&C	1,000	31%	25	1%	1,025	32%
Regular DPS&C	924	29%	25	1%	949	29%
DPS&C Work Release	71	2%	0	0%	71	2%

Note: Not all categories are shown in this table.

But the current OPP population masks the large flow of people in and out of the Parish prison each year. Based on the most recent data, there are approximately 60,000 admissions and releases per year. The last 24 months of admission and release data are shown in Table 8 and graphically portrayed in Figure 2. Here one can see that the number of admissions and releases peaked in about September 2009 and have since declined. The overall trend line is slightly downward. But more recently, OPP admissions for the first nine months of 2010 are 20% below what they were for the first months in 2009 – a drop of nearly 10,000 admissions.



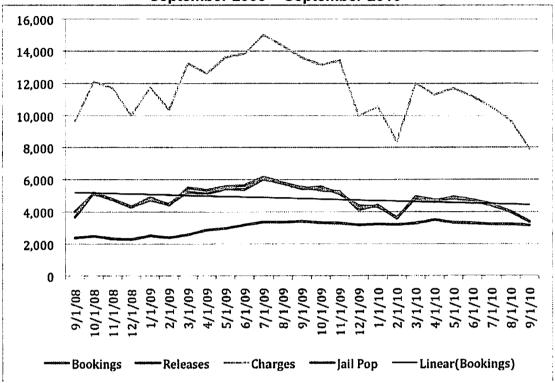


Table 8
Bookings, Releases, Charges, ADP Inmates
September 2008 – September 2010

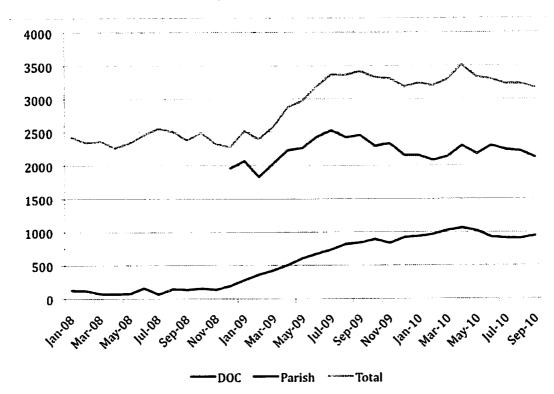
Month	Bookings	Releases	Charges	ADP
9/20/08	4,015	3,672	9,662	2,379
10/20/08	5,119	5,191	12,084	2,488
11/20/08	4,760	4,769	11,709	2,321
12/20/08	4,283	4,315	9,993	2,279
1/20/09	4,888	4,735	11,747	2,516
2/20/09	4,420	4,477	10,371	2,394
3/20/09	5,493	5,231	13,248	2,584
4/20/09	5,338	5,121	12,614	2,877
5/20/09	5,571	5,428	13,621	2,973
6/20/09	5,627	5,382	13,828	3,188
7/20/09	6,158	6,032	15,025	3,369
8/20/09	5,792	5,764	14,315	3,362
9/20/09	5,517	5,427	13,597	3,418
10/20/09	5,348	5,552	13,157	3,327
11/20/09	5,250	5,115	13,425	3,308
12/20/09	4,124	4,384	9,985	3,186
1/20/10	4,417	4,322	10,555	3,241
2/20/10	3,585	3,642	8,370	3,204
3/20/10	4,942	4,845	12,011	3,296
4/20/10	4,727	4,612	11,301	3,512
5/20/10	4,837	4,926	11,697	3,333
6/20/10	4,699	4,730	11,205	3,300
7/20/10	4,392	4,484	10,537	3,230
8/20/10	4,018	3,995	9,695	3,231
9/20/10	3,370	3,385	7,908	3,170

The data also show that the total number of charges associated with each person admitted to the OPP has declined from a peak of 15,000 in July 2009 to about 8,000 in September 2010. The fact the number of criminal charges has been rapidly declining can have a significant impact on the pretrial population for the following two reasons:

- 1. The defendant's pending charges can be disposed of more quickly and this reduce the overall period of incarceration; and,
- 2. With fewer charges the person may be able to more quickly pretrial release.

Since OPP admissions and releases have been recently declining why has the OPP population been increasing. The answer lies in the DPS&C state prisoner population. As shown in Figure 3, the DPS&C portion of the OPP population has increased from a low of about 70 in the early part of 2008 to a peak of 1,062 in April of 2010. If one removes the DPS&C inmate population once can see that the remainder of the OPP population has actually been slightly declining which is consistent with the arrest, booking and release data trends.

Figure 4
DPS&C and Rest of the OPP Inmate Population
January 2008 – September 2010



Comparison With Other Major Parishes

JFA was allso asked to make comparisons with the three other major Parishes in Lousiana (Caddo, Jefferson, and East Baton Rouge). Earlier in the report we presented population and crime data for these four Parishes. Similar comparisons can be made with regard to jail populations and incarceratinon rates. These are sumarized in Table 9.

Table 9
Comparisons of OPP and Other Major Parishes Jail Populations

Parish	Population	Total Jail	DPS&C	Rate Per 100,000	Rate less DPS&C	Jail to Violent Crime Ratio	Jail to Total Crime Ratio
Orleans	354,850	3,170	942	893	628	0.85	12.26
East Baton Rouge	434,633	1,574	75	362	345	0.43	6.04
Caddo	253,623	1,402	293	553	437	0.44	7.84
Jefferson	443,342	897	34	202	195	0.30	3.97

It should be noted from the outset that there are many unique features of the Orleans Parish that make difficult to make direct comparisons. For example, it is a major tourist destination with a great deal of transition occurring in its population. Historically it has, until recently, had a higher serious crime rate – especially homicide rates.

Nonetheless, the data show that on a number of measures, Orleans has a significantly higher incarceration rate compared to the other three Parishes. The higher incarceration rate persists even when one takes into account the violent and total crime rates. This finding is based on the last two columns of Table 8, which present violent and total crime/jail rate ratios.

One can also simulate what the OPP non-DPS&C jail population would be today if it had the same violent crime or total crime/jail rate ratios as the other three parishes. These comparisons are shown in Table10. Basically, if the OPP prisoner population was strictly a function of violent or total crimes rates and the same criminal justice policies that exist in East Baton Rouge, Caddo, and Jefferson, less the DPS&C inmates, it would be as low as 722 (Jefferson rates) and as high as 1,426 (Caddo rates).

Table 10
Simulations of Projected Orleans Parish Prisoner Population
Based on Other Parishes Crime and Incarceration Rates
(Less DPS&C sentenced inmates)

Parish	% Higher Violent Crime/Jail Ratio	Projected OPP Population	% Higher Total Crime/Jail Ratio	Projected OPP Population
East Baton Rouge	51%	1,097	49%	1,126
Caddo	36%	1,426	48%	1,157
Jefferson	68%	722	65%	784
Pooled Average	51%	1,081	54%	1,023

Detailed Analysis of the Daily OPP Population

The "snapshot" file prepared by the Sheriff's Office provides more detailed analysis of who is in the jail at any given time and for what crimes. Table 11 shows the population as of September 28, 2010. This file included all prisoners including the DPS&C sentenced inmates but they have been excluded from the table. The population is 90% male, 86% Black, with an average age of 33 years and 49% under age 30. The primary or most serious charge/offense is for a felony level crime (68%). Relatively small numbers of persons are charged or convicted of traffic or non-City misdemeanor offense.

Table 12 shows the same population but shows the major legal statuses for the OPP current population. Here one sees that pretrial felons are by far the largest group occupying 63% of the non-DPS&C prisoner population. Finally, Table 13 shows the precise charges of the pretrial felon population. About 46% of the pretrial felons are charged with at least one count of a violent/assaultive offense.

As will be shown in the next section, the snapshot population profile looks very different than the flow of admissions and releases. Specifically, it tends to reflect the fact that persons charged or convicted of more serious crimes tend to have longer LOSs as their bail amounts are higher and/or they are less qualified for other forms of pretrial release.

This profile also means that in order to further reduce the current jail population one will have to increasingly focus on persons either charged or convicted with such crimes.

Table 11
OPP Prisoner Population - September 28, 2010
Excludes DPS&C Inmates

Attribute	N	%	Avg Time In Jail To Date. (days)
Total	2,317	100.0%	146.7
Gender			
Female	232	10.0%	77.2
Male	2,085	90.0%	154.5
Race			
Other	4	0.2%	89.5
Black	1,980	85.5%	156.9
White	283	12.2%	92.0
Hispanic	50	2.2%	67.1
Age at Release			
19 & under	301	13.0%	217.4
20-24	429	18.5%	175.6
25-29	402	17.4%	125.9
30-34	291	12.6%	124.0
35-39	209	9.0%	129.4
40-44	179	7.7%	139.4
45-49	186	8.0%	122.0
50-59	201	8.7%	102.0
60-59	28	1.2%	140.1
70 & older	2	0.1%	64.2
Unknown	89	3.8%	•
Average Age		32.5 y	/ears
Charge Level			
Felony	1,569	67.7%	172.9
City	520	22.4%	107.9
Misdemeanor	105	4.5%	46.5
Traffic	16	0.7 %	26.0
Unknown	107	4.6%	74.9

Table 12
Current OPP Prisoner Population - September 28, 2010
By Legal Status - Excludes DPS&C Inmates

Comment Tons		04	Avg. Time In Jail To Date
Current Type	N	%	(days)
Pret			 -
State Pretrial	1,419	63.4%	161.2
Municipal Pretrial	89	4.0%	22.5
Traffic Pretrial	18	0.8%	3.4
Sent	ence		
Municipal Sentence	128	5.7%	26.7
Parish Sentence	67	3.0%	153.7
Traffic Sentence	4	0.2%	24.5
Other Ca	tegories		
Probation violation	217	9.7%	89.3
Parole violation	140	6.3%	128.1
Extradition	8	0.4%	84.6
Federal	107	4.8%	74.9
Hold	3	0.1%	101.9
DHHR	26	1.2%	419.9
Temp. out of custody	12	0.5%	231.9
Weekend warrior	1	0.0%	141.1

Table 13
Major Offense Charges for the Pretrial Felon Population
September 28, 2010

Charge	N=1,419	%
Murder	229	16.1%
Sex	106	7.5%
Assault	108	7.6%
Robbery	100	7.0%
Other violent	68	4.8%
Domestic violence	50	3.5%
Drug sale	123	8.7%
Weapons	42	3.0%
Burglary	72	5.1%
Theft/fraud/forgery	67	4.7%
Other property	22	1.6%
Drug possession	54	3.8%
Other non-violent	378	26.7 %

Detailed Analysis of OPP Admissions and Releases

In this section of the report, we present more detailed analysis of the OPP prisoner populations based on the flow of persons in and out of the OPP system. These tables form the basis for the projections and other policy simulations at the end of the report.

Overall the number of admissions (this includes the DPS&C prisoners) to the OPP in the past 12 months was 59,566 (Table 14). There is a considerable amount of multiple admissions/bookings for certain individuals. During the 12-month period, the number of people that produced the 59,566 bookings was 42,592 or 72% of the total bookings/admissions. This means that approximately 17,000 admissions were for the same person.

The average LOS for all releases was 19.6 days, which produces a projected OPP daily population of 3,196, which is quite close to the past 12 months of daily counts, which averaged 3,278 – a difference of only 82. This comparison shows the OPP data system is accurately measures the overall number of admissions and releases and the associated LOS.

The 19.6 days is relatively short for a major urban jail system. However, as will be showed in Table 14, the large number of warrants resulting in an admission to the OPP skews this overall LOS.

In terms of the basic demographics, while the releases remain largely male and Black, the proportions in the release file are lower than existed for the snap shot population. This is because males and Blacks have a significantly long LOS. Specifically, males have an overall LOS of 22 days versus 10 days for females. For Blacks, they have a LOS of 23 days versus 11 days for whites and 5 days for Hispanics. These LOS differentials result in these categories of inmates "stacking up" in the OPP population.

The substantially longer LOS for Blacks is not unique to Orleans Parish. On a national level Blacks released from state prisons have substantially longer periods of imprisonment even when the severity of the current offense is controlled for. For Orleans, the possibility that Blacks are being charged with more serious crimes, which have a longer LOS was evaluated. To assess this, we looked at the pretrial felon releases, which have a longer LOS. We then computed the LOS by race by crime type.

As shown in Table 15, for all pretrial felon releases and for most of the crime types, Blacks continue to show a longer LOS although the overall difference is reduced. It may be that Blacks have differential prior records or other socio-economic attributes to serve to lower their chances of release and thus increase their LOS. The data we have does not contain any measures of prior record so the analysis cannot be completed. But such a study should be conducted, as the

longer LOS for Blacks is a strong contributor to the OPP population. More directly, if Blacks charged with pretrial felons had the same LOS as whites, the OPP population would decline by 250 inmates.

Table 14
All OPP Releases
October 2009 – September 2010

Attribute	Releases	%	LOS		
Total	59,566	100.0%	19.6		
People Released	42,592	71.5%	NA		
Gender					
Female	11,109	18.6%	9.7		
Male	48,457	81.4%	21.9		
Race					
Other	267	0.4%	19.2		
Black	42,735	71.7%	23.3		
White	13,209	22.2%	11.2		
Hispanic	3,355	5.6%	5.3		
Age at Release					
19 & under	4,185	7.0%	26.8		
20-24	12,436	20.9%	17.8		
25-29	11,634	19.5%	15.2		
30-34	8,352	14.0%	19.0		
35-39	5,748	9.6%	20.0		
40-44	4,622	7.8%	24.1		
45-49	4,437	7.4%	25.7		
50-59	4,413	7.4%	21.8		
60+	630	1.1 %	16.7		
Unknown	3,109	5.2%	17.5		
Avg. age at release		32.8 years			

Table 15
Length of Stay by Race for Pretrial Felon Releases
October 2009 – September 2010

		Black White				
			LOS			LOS
PT-Felony Charge	N	%	(Days)	N	%	(Days)
Murder	78	1.1%	257.1	4	0%	61.7
Sex	289	4.1%	56.4	125	7%	36.3
Assault	147	2.1%	58.2	40	2%	37.1
Robbery	179	2.5%	15.3	7	0%	101.3
Other violent	206	2.9%	53.9	35	2%	30.5
Battery	533	7.6%	64.9	89	5%	67.7
Domestic violence	9	0.1%	32.4	1	0%	0.4
Drug sale	1,166	16.6%	28.2	117	6%	29.7
Weapons	400	5.7%	50.6	34	2%	24.4
Burglary	311	4.4%	32.6	67	4%	54.3
Theft/fraud/forgery	840	12.0%	30.8	238	13%	31.5
Other property	200	2.8%	20.5	42	2%	24.3
Drug possession	1,201	17.1%	28.6	342	19%	19.0
Other non-violent	532	7.6%	24.0	532	29%	16.7
Probation violation	921	13.1%	27.9	154	8%	28.9
Total	7,012	99.9%	40.7	1,827	100%	27.6

We have separated the admissions and release analysis according to the major ID/legal status groups as summarized in Table 16. The largest number of admissions is for persons who have been detained because they have an outstanding warrant lodged against them for another pending matter.

Because this legal status group constitutes such a large portion of the OPP admissions and releases, an audit of 121 cases randomly selected from the pool was conducted. The audit showed that 107 of these warrants had been issued in Jefferson Parish. According to OPP staff, the typical scenario was that a person is picked up on a simple traffic violation which results in the law enforcement officer discovering the outstanding warrant for failure to pay a fine or make a court appearance. The person is then taken into custody not on the traffic violation but for the warrant. The person is then released when the Jefferson Parish court sets a new court date to settle the pending matter. The overall LOS for these events is relatively short, but the high volume places great stress on what is a very costly OPP intake process, which include a medical screen. Further analysis shows that about 11,750 of the 20,000 are pure warrants with no underlying charges for other crimes who have a LOS of 3.25 days and occupy

about 105 OPP beds on any given day. The remaining 9,000 generally had charges for traffic or failure to pay fine orders.

Table 16
All OPP Releases by Legal Status at Release
October 2009 – September 2010

Legal Status at Release	Releases	%	LOS	Estimated ADP
Total Releases	59,566	100%	19.6	3,196
Major Statuses at Release				
Warrant	20,111	34%	4.2	231
Pretrial Felons	9,789	16%	57.1	1,530
Sentenced Felons	1,267	2%	59.9	208
Misd Pretrial	13,213	22%	11.2	405
Misd Sentenced	333	1%	52.2	48
City Sentenced	1,568	3%	22.3	96
City Pretrial	9,865	17%	3.6	97

Table 16 also shows that pretrial felons produce the largest share of the OPP population. It also implied that efficiencies in expediting those cases would have a large effect on the OPP population. For example, if the LOS was reduced by an average of 10 days, the OPP population would drop by about 250 prisoners.

Table 17 shows the method of release for all releases with the exception of the warrant releases. For those cases virtually all of the warrants were released for the reason "set new court date". With those cases removed, the overall LOS increases to 28.7 days, which is more typical of a major urban jail. The primary methods of release are surety/bonds, court release, Sheriff's Fast Track, and cash bond all of which represent nearly 70% of all releases.

There were some concerns regarding the accuracy of the ROR releases. To check this concern another audit was conducted on 120 cases that were randomly selected from the pool of ROR releases. All of them were found to be correctly labeled as an ROR release. It should also be noted that for 3,007 cases, there was no reason recorded for the release. An audit of this group should be conducted.

Finally, it was not always possible to precisely understand the legal status of these releases at the time of release. Such analysis is hampered by the fact that most releases have multiple charges that have multiple dispositions associated with each charge. Thus it is not possible to sort all of the charges according to the most "significant" disposition. That problem aside, one can conclude that the vast majority of the releases that are not warrants are exiting the OPP in some form of pretrial status. As shown in Table 18 for the 37,251 such releases, 92%

were in pretrial status. This finding coupled with the large number of warrant releases means that law enforcement and court processing are the two driving forces in determining the current and future number of OPP admissions and length of stays.

Table 17
Primary Methods of OPP Releases Excluding Warrant Releases
October 2009 – September 2010

Method of Release	Releases	%	LOS
All Releases Except Warrants	39,432	100.0%	28.7
Surety/property bond	9,310	23.6%	14.7
Court release	8,197	20.8%	19.0
Sheriff's "Fast Track"	5,478	13.9%	0.4
Cash bond	3,940	10.0%	4.2
Rollout	2,524	6.4%	14.5
ROR	1,636	4.1%	8.6
Time served	1,401	3.6%	34.4
Release	931	2.4%	47.3
DPS&C release	903	2.3%	240.2
DPS&C transfer	804	2.0%	299.1
Return to Parole	485	1.2%	2.6
DA refuse	167	0.4%	45.8
New court date	141	0.4%	64.3
Other	418	1.1 %	64.4
Unknown	3,097	7.9%	36.9

Table 18
OPP Releases by Legal Status at Release
October 2009 – September 2010

Known Legal Status at Release	Total	%
Pretrial - Not Sentenced	34,094	92%
Unknown	3,380	9%
City	9,865	26%
Felony	9,789	26%
Misdemeanor/Traffic	13,604	37%
Sentenced	3,157	8%
City	1,568	4%
Felony	1,267	3%
Misdemeanor/Traffic	322	1%
Total	37,251	100%

The Special Case of the DPS&C Inmates

The state sentenced prisoners occupy a considerable portion of the OPP population. And as shown earlier the DPS&C inmate population can vary significantly and independently of the Orleans criminal justice system. It is up to the OPP to determine how many Orleans people sentenced to state prison will serve all or some portion of the imposed sentenced. And because the Sheriff's Office is reimbursed by the state for housing these people, it has become a significant revenue stream for the Sheriff. Currently the rate of reimbursement ranges from \$24.39 per day for an inmate with no special medical or mental health issue to a high of \$31.39 for an inmate with mental health issues.

Based on data received from the DPS&C, in 2009 there were 1,143 people who had been sentenced from Orleans Parish and released from its custody. The overall length of stay for these people was 3.0 years with an average sentence of 5.5 years. Of that number 726 (or 64%) were released from the OPP system as opposed to other DPS&C facilities. The DPS&C has authorized the Orleans Sheriff's Office to hold no more than 1,050 state inmates.

Base Population Projection

The goal of the base population projection is to estimate the future size of the OPP population based on current demographic, crime, arrest and court practices and procedures. As shown above, the OPP population is comprised of many components all of which will a have a collective impact on the OPP population. For this study the five major components are as follows:

Group #1: Warrant only pretrial admissions (no other underlying charges);

Group #2: The misdemeanor, city, and traffic pretrial admissions;

Group #3: The felon pretrial admissions;

Group #4: Locally sentenced offenders: and

Group #5: The DPS&C state inmate population (900-1,000 inmates).

Based on the analysis the base projection will be separated according to these four classes of prisoners as each has a differential impact on the OPP population. For example, Groups 1 and 2 have very high admission rates but very short LOS thus having less of an impact on the OPP population. Group #3 has a smaller intake rate but significantly long LOS until one is released or has their court case(s) disposed of. Finally, the DPS&C state inmate population is the result of an independent process between the OSOP and the DPS&C.

Using this structure one should think of Groups 1 through 4 as being what is viewed as a typical jail population. As shown previously in Figure 3, the population that reflects Groups 1 through 4 have recently been declining which is consistent with the previously noted declines in crime and arrests. With the sole

possibility of some population growth for Orleans and nearby Jefferson, the overall trend seems to be downward. There is no basis to project increases in the OPP population at this time.

Finally, there are a number of initiatives that have been implemented in the past few years that are designed to further reduce the misdemeanor and felon pretrial admission streams. These initiatives, as presented to JFA by Vera Institute are as follows:

1. Expedited Screening and Disposition Initiative (begun March 31, 2008; expanded spring of 2010).

This initiative seeks to expedite the case processing time for all state arrests that do not involve a civilian victim. According to Vera, arrest-to-arraignment times dropped from roughly 64 days to roughly 11 days for detained individuals. This initiative has served to reduce the LOS of these cases.

2. Municipal Court Summons Initiative (begun July 2008; being expanded beginning early 2010).

This initiative encourages law enforcement agencies to use a summons in lieu of formal arrest and booking for persons arrested of non-domestic violence, non-public intoxication cases. According to Vera, this initiative has increased between October 2009 and September 2010 from 41 percent to 59 percent and will increase further.

3. State Misdemeanor Initiative (begun March 29, 2010; expected to be expanded to include domestic violence misdemeanors in early 2011).

This initiative moved all non-violent state misdemeanor charges (when unaccompanied by a felony charge) from the Criminal District Court to the Municipal Court. Arrest-to-disposition times have dropped from the 11-day duration for detained state defendants to less than two days for roughly 90 percent of arrestees.

There are also a number of additional initiatives that are being considered for implementation over the next two years. These include 1) a public intoxication sobering center (to be implemented in early 2011), 2) the reclassification of municipal offenses Initiative (to be implemented in mid 2011), and 3) a comprehensive pretrial services agency (in planning; to be implemented October 1, 2011). The former two, if implemented, would have some impact on the smaller pretrial misdemeanor OPP population while the pretrial services agency could have a significant impact on the larger pretrial felon population.

The larger point is that all of these current and future initiatives are designed to lower OPP admissions and/or the LOS for pretrial admissions. There are no proposed initiatives that would increase the current OPP population.

Key Assumptions on the Base Projection

Returning to the base projection, the five key assumptions that are being made are as follows:

- 1. OPP pretrial misdemeanor and warrant admissions (Groups 1 and 2) will continue to decline at a rate of 5% per year. This assumption is based on the implemented initiatives listed above that will continue to reduce misdemeanor admissions over the next two years.
- 2. The methods of release and the associated average LOS for each release type for the pretrial misdemeanor/other and warrant admissions population (Groups 1 and 2) will remain constant over this ten-year projection.
- 3. The OPP pretrial felon admissions and locally sentenced populations (Group 3 and 4) will remain constant at 2010 level throughout the ten year forecast.
- 4. The methods of release and the associated average LOS for each release type for the pretrial felon admissions and locally sentenced populations (Group 3 and 4) will remain constant over this ten-year projection.
- 5. The state DPS&C inmate population, under current policy is held constant at 950 throughout the ten-year forecast based on current policies.

Based on these assumptions there will be continued but slight decrease in this population now estimated at 2,339 to 2,200 by the end of 2012 and continue to decline to 1,953 by 2020 (Table 19). When adding the DPS&C 950 average population, the overall OPP population will dip to 2,903 by the 2020.

Finally, a peaking factor of 7.5% is added to address seasonal fluctuations and the separation of people according to gender and security/classification designations. When this is added, the bed capacity required to house the OPP population by the year 2020 under current policies and trends is 3,121 beds.

One final observation should be made. As time goes on, the base projection will inevitably become increasingly inaccurate as new policies and laws are

introduced. For this reason the base projection needs to be revised and updated on at least an annual basis to ensure the Parish does not find itself with a crowded jail system.

Table 18

Orleans Parish Prison Base Forecast
CY 2010-2020
By Major Subpopulations

		Pretrial	Pretrial	Local	Sub-		
CY	Warrants	Misd/Other	Felony	Sentenced	Total	DPS&C	Grand
							Total
Sept. 2010	114	597	1,359	169	2,239	950	3,189
2010	101	591	1,364	162	2,217	950	3,167
2011	93	582	1,384	161	2,220	950	3,170
2012	91	563	1,381	166	2,200	950	3,150
2013	84	546	1,396	165	2,190	950	3,140
2014	79	522	1,383	162	2,147	950	3,097
2015	77	487	1,357	163	2,083	950	3,033
2016	73	470	1,349	161	2,053	950	3,003
2017	66	448	1,372	168	2,054	950	3,004
2018	63	427	1,350	165	2,005	950	2,955
2019	65	392	1,349	158	1,965	950	2,915
2020	58	369	1,360	165	1,953	950	2,903
With 7.5%							
Peaking	62	397	1,462	177	2,099	1,021	3,121