The author(s) shown below used Federal funds provided by the U.S. Department of Justice and prepared the following final report:

Document Title:	Profiling Inmates in the Los Angeles County Jails: Risks, Recidivism, and Release Options
Author(s):	Joan Petersilia ; Susan Turner ; Terry Fain
Document No.:	189733
Date Received:	August 20, 2001
Award Number:	96-CE-VX-0018

This report has not been published by the U.S. Department of Justice. To provide better customer service, NCJRS has made this Federallyfunded grant final report available electronically in addition to traditional paper copies.

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Profiling Inmates in the Los Angeles County Jail: Risks, Recidivism, and Release Options

Joan Petersilia, Susan Turner, and Terry Fain

DRU-2394-NIJ

September 2000

Prepared for the National Institute of Justice

Criminal Justice Program

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PREFACE

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The Federal Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, as amended, provided for federal Violent Offender Incarceration and Truth-in-Sentencing (VOI/TIS) incentive grants to the states and U.S. Territories. These grants are to be used to increase the capacity of state correctional systems to confine serious and violent offenders. Congress and the U.S. Department of Justice have agreed to devote some of the committed funds to evaluating the actions they support. This project was supported by funds from the National Institute of Justice for projects that are collaborative efforts between researchers and practitioners.

This project profiles the inmates in the Los Angeles jail system in early 1996 in order to determine which might be suitable candidates for intermediate sanctions. Analyzing data from a full census of almost 22,000 inmates, as well as a randomly selected sample of 1000 preadjudicated inmates, it provides limited offense and demographic information on the entire census, as well as detailed prior record and post-release criminal behavior for the sample of 1000 inmates. Data used in the report were extracted from automated information systems maintained in Los Angeles County, as well as hand-coded abstractions of official records.

This project is one in a series of RAND studies on the impact of truth-in-sentencing and other "get tough" policies on state and local corrections. Other reports for interested readers include:

Susan Turner, Peter Greenwood, Elsa Chen, and Terry Fain (1999), "The Impact of Truth-in-Sentencing and Three-Strikes Legislation: Prison Populations, State Budgets, and Crime Rates," *Stanford Law and Policy Review*, Volume 11:1.

Susan Turner, Terry Fain, Peter Greenwood, Elsa Chen, and James Chiesa (January 2001), National Evaluation of Violent Offender Incarceration Truth-in-Sentencing Incentive Grant Program, DRR-2285-1-NIJ, Final Report to the National Institute of Justice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the Los Angeles Sheriff's and Probation Departments for the opportunity to work with them on issues directly related to county correctional planning. Many staff in these Departments assisted us on a wide variety of tasks. We wish to thank Commander Larry Waldie and Mr. Benjamin Katz, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department; David Davies, Alisa Drakodaidis, Terry Clarke, and Patrick Santos, Los Angeles County Probation Department. We appreciate the time and effort these persons, and their staff, devoted to defining the overall project objectives as well as the hours related to data extraction and coding.

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SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

U.S. jails, particularly those in Los Angeles, have begun to attract significant policy interest due to a number of recent developments. First, jail capacity has not increased commensurate with the amount or seriousness of crime. About a third of all jails in the US--including those in Los Angeles County--are now under lawsuit or involved in some type of legal action, nearly all of it pertaining to overcrowded conditions (Pontell and Welsh 1994). By 1990, local jail guidelines dictated that in order for pre-adjudicated offenders to be accepted into jail, they must have a felony arrest or extremely serious misdemeanor charge. All offenders sentenced to a term in county jail were still accepted, however, the actual times served were reduced. The passage of over 400 tough-on-crime penalties between 1992 and 1997 also increased intakes into the jails. During this time, the Los Angeles Sheriff's budget increased about 1-2 percent annually. In sum, jails couldn't expand as fast as the crime problem or sentencing changes demanded.

By 1996, everyone agreed that the Los Angeles County jails faced serious problems. The core problem was overcrowding, and there were really only two choices: build more jail capacity or divert a greater number of incoming inmates to community-based, intermediate sanctions. Both options were costly, and the County already faced serious fiscal woes. Los Angeles County projected a budget deficit of \$1 billion in 1997, and some believed it might follow Orange County, California in declaring bankruptcy. County officials considered closing Los Angeles' largest public hospital, raising the specter of people literally dying in the streets (Lazarovici 1997). Los Angeles County has solvency in sight--for now. But competition for scarce resources continues to be fierce, and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors has begun to seriously question the requested increases in the Sheriff's budget. In 1998, the average inmate in Central Jail cost about \$46 per day to

house, and the cost increases if higher security cells are required for more serious inmates. On the other hand, the County did not have a well-developed system of credible community-based sentencing options, so developing those would be costly as well. They wondered: Did the Los Angeles jail system need more capacity, or were inmates currently housed there good candidates for community-based sanctions?

To answer that question, County officials requested assistance from researchers at RAND and the University of California, Irvine (UCI), who in turn received a research grant from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The research team was asked to "profile" inmates in the Los Angeles jail system, and to determine how many of them might be good candidates for intermediate sanctions. After all, programs such as electronic monitoring, work release, house arrest, intensive supervision had been used elsewhere to successfully address jail crowding. Maybe investing in *those* programs, rather than additional jail beds, would best serve the County.

METHODOLOGY

Our research consisted of two consecutive phases:

Phase I: We began by assembling a database consisting of the crime, and minimal background characteristics of all inmates who were in jail custody on January 15, 1996 from readily available computer files in Los Angeles County. We abstracted their "status" (e.g., pre-trial, awaiting sentencing, awaiting transfer), their current crime, and available demographics (i.e., age, race, gender). On the date of our jail "census," there were 21,758 inmates in custody of the Los Angeles Sheriff. A separate report describing the complete results of our Phase I research was published by the Los Angeles County Probation and Sheriff's Department in 1996 (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department 1996). In this current report, we summarize general characteristics of the total jail population.

Phase II: We selected a sample of 1,000 "pre-adjudicated" (or unconvicted) inmates from the total sample identified in Phase

I to study in more detail. For these inmates, we hand-coded more detailed prior criminal record and current offense information. We also requested State and local "rap sheets" in order to record their recidivism behavior between our census date and two years hence (January 15, 1996, to January 15, 1998). Of these 1000 offenders, we were able to obtain jail and recidivism information on 931.

RESULTS

Who Was in Jail on January 15, 1996?

On January 15, 1996, there were 21,758 inmates in custody of the Los Angeles Jails; 11,967 were pre-adjudicated, 9,9791 were adjudicated. On the day of our census, 87 percent of all jail inmates were male and 13 percent female. The average age was 32 years, the minimum was 17 years, and the maximum was 91 years. Nearly half (49%) of the jail population was classified as "high security" based on the jail system's internal risk classification scoring system. The crime types associated with the Los Angeles jail population is shown in Figure S1. This chart shows pre-adjudicated and adjudicated offenders¹. Most jail inmates fall into the three highest crime classifications: violent, serious property, and felony drug. This is not surprising since, as was noted previously, the sheriff has tried to use scarce jail beds to house the most serious and violent. In fact, 26% (or 5698) of all jail inmates in our sample were charged with or convicted of violent crimes. It is also the case that few misdemeanor charges are held in jail. In short, few of the jail inmates were not charged with serious or violent felony crimes. This is quite a contrast to the perception that jails are full of non-serious offenders, who are simply troublesome to their local communities (e.g., public drunks).

¹ BCS classification of offenses was used; see Chapter 3 for details.

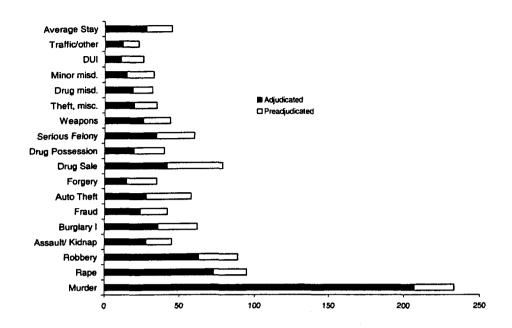


Fig. S1 - Los Angeles County Jail Inmates on January 15, 1996, Most Serious Crime Charge or Conviction (Adjudicated and Pre-adjudicated)

A Profile of Pre-adjudicated Inmates in the Los Angeles Jail

Understanding more about the characteristics of pre-adjudicated inmates is important for jail administrators, since this group could potentially be diverted to the community to reduce jail crowding and the overall intake of inmates. A 1996 study noted that Los Angeles County did not make extensive use of "intermediate sanctions," which includes programs such as house arrest, electronic monitoring, and intensive probation (Department 1996). Local officials questioned whether there were pre-adjudicated jail inmates who might be considered good candidates for such programs. To assess the appropriateness of this and other diversion options, we needed to know more about the public safety risks such inmates posed. Our second sample of a randomly selected 1000 pre-adjudicated offenders allowed us to examine these issues.

Los Angeles Jail Inmates: Current Offense, Prior Criminal Record, and Potential for Intermediate Sanctions. Nearly 80% of the Los Angeles sample had been in jail (38.1%) or prison (40.4%) at least once prior to the current jail term. Fewer than 10% of them had never been arrested before. We cross-tabulated each inmate's current offense (classified by

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the BCS scheme discussed earlier), by their prior criminal record. As expected, those inmates with no prior arrests have very serious property or violent current offenses. We used our matrix of offenders and their records to identify categories of inmates that might be appropriate for community diversion or intermediate sanctions. In fact, most sentencing or intermediate sanctions systems usually use this type of information to devise in/out guidelines (Tonry 1997). Policymakers can construct categories that might be appropriate for diversion, and then compute the percent of the total population that would be eligible. This datadriven approach to jail and prison crowding is commonly recommended by those attempting to reduce jail and prison crowding through intermediate sanctions. We simulated the effect of diverting inmates with a current non-violent crime, and no prior jail or prison term. This policy would affect 11.1% of the entire sample. If one were willing to add current non-violent offenders who have a prior jail (but not prison) term, the number of inmates affected increases to 63.4%, but 24.5% of those are felon drug offenders (nearly all traffickers).

Currently the Sheriff's Department considers adjudicated offenders for possible placement in their "Community-based Alternatives to Custody." This program automatically excludes offenders convicted of a number of serious crimes ranging from murder to stalking.² Although appropriate to adjudicated offenders only, we simulated the numbers of pre-adjudicated offenders in our sample that might be eligible for such a program. Our results suggest that almost 40 percent would be excluded based on offense type alone. In sum, there are few in the Los Angeles jail sample who look like obvious candidates for diversion, based on their prior criminal record or current offense.

Length of Jail Term Served and Final Case Disposition. Of the inmates who were in the Los Angeles County jail at the time our January 15, 1996 sample was taken, some had already been in jail for a

² Offenses include assault, DUI, false imprisonment, battery sexual battery, shoot, spousal battery, child abuse, evading arrest, child sexual abuse, sex offender, cruelty to dependent/terrorizing, escaped prisoner, stalking, attempted murder, attempted manslaughter, attempted robbery, attempted carjacking.

significant period of time, while others had been incarcerated that very day. Similarly, some would remain in custody only one day, while others remained in jail or prison continuously up to the time of our analysis. The median time in jail from the date the offender entered jail until his/her release (or until January 15, 1998) was 133 days. As noted above, some inmates left the same day they entered. Of more interest is the other extreme, namely those individuals who were in jail for a long period of time. We identified seven individuals who had been in jail for more than three years. All were accused of murder, attempted murder, or voluntary manslaughter, and all would subsequently be convicted. One's sentence was still pending; the remainder were given prison sentences ranging from 11 years (for manslaughter) to life plus 25 years, the latter for a man with two convictions of murder for hire. Two other individuals had been held in jail for just under three years. Both were arrested for robbery had multiple prior arrests. One was subsequently sentenced to 700 years in prison (in actuality, probably multiple life sentences, served consecutively). The other's disposition was unknown.

During their tenure in the Los Angeles County jail, additional charges would be filed against 9.2% of the sample. These charges generally took one of two forms. One involved additional crimes committed while in custody, most often assault on a corrections officer. The other was a sort of "piling on" of additional charges based on events that occurred before the inmate was arrested.

Fifty-one percent of our sample was never released from custody during the two-year follow-up period, whereas 49% were. Table S1 shows the percent released by most serious current offense. As might be expected, a higher percentage of violent offenders were not released during the follow-up, although 14.1% of those released during the two years had original charges of violence, and 8.8% of those released had serious assault charges.

Table S1

Release from Custody during Two-Year Follow Up, by Offense Codes

	Not	
Current Offense	Released	Released
Violent	19.8%	14.1%
Homicide	5.8%	1.2%
Rape	0.3%	0.2%
Robbery	7.6%	3.4%
Assault	5.3%	8.8%
Kidnap	0.8%	0.4%
Property	11.9%	8.4%
Burglary	5.5%	3.7%
Fraud/Theft	4.5%	2.9%
Auto Theft	1.0%	1.0%
Forgery	1.0%	0.9%
Felony Drug	13.4%	12.4%
Trafficking	11.6%	9.9%
Possession	1.8%	2.5%
Serious Felony	1.3%	1.9%
Public Order	4.6%	12.2%
Weapons	1.9%	1.6%
DUI	0.3%	2.0%
Other	2.4%	8.6%
Total	51.0%	49.0%

As noted above, there were many different ways an inmate might end his or her tenure in the Los Angeles County jail. The vast majority of these inmates were eventually convicted (84%), and the majority (76.7% of our entire sample) was convicted of a felony crime.

Once convicted, over half (51%) of the sample were sentenced to prison, and an additional 28.9% were sentenced to a combination of jail plus probation. If one adds these two sentences together, about 80% of the entire sample studied were sentenced to some custody time either in jail or prison. Just 1.2% of this sample received probation only. Again, the severity of the final case disposition portends to the seriousness of the sample studied, since the courts considered a small fraction of them suitable for "probation" alone (or fines alone). A relatively small number of cases were dismissed or declined by the prosecutor for filing (9.9%), and just 1.4% of the offenders was acquitted.

Post-Release Recidivism. As shown earlier, nearly half of the preadjudicated inmates studied were released back to the community at some point during our two-year follow-up period. Of those released, 61.8% of the sample were re-arrested during our follow up period, and of those re-arrested, 67% were subsequently convicted of a new offense. And, similar to the original offense, which brought them to our attention initially, nearly a quarter of all subsequent convictions were for drugrelated offenses. During the entire two-year follow-up period, only 18.7% of the sample were released from jail and remained arrest free (or 38.2% of those released).

Table S2 shows the percent of those released into the community who were subsequently re-arrested. This table shows the very high recidivism rates for the sample as a whole, but particularly for offenders originally convicted of serious felonies and weapons related offenses. Contrary to earlier studies, those convicted of public order offenses have rates even lower than those originally charged with violent crimes.

Current Offense	New Arrest	New Con- viction
Violent	54.2%	35.9%
Property	65.4%	47.48
Felony Drug	61.7%	40.9%
Serious Felony	77.8%	44.48
Weapons, Misdemeanors	72.6%	45.2%
Public Order	53.7%	39.0%
Total	61.8%	41.2%

Table S2

Post-release Recidivism, by Original Offense

We were also interested in the factors associated with recidivism (e.g., age, race, gender). The males in our sample had higher re-arrest rates, as did the blacks. Similar to other recidivism research, the lower the age, the higher the recidivism. Nearly 67% of those aged 18 to 24 were re-arrested, whereas 59% of those aged 45 to 54 were rearrested. Although the age groups differ, these differences are not



large, suggesting perhaps that the Los Angeles inmates are active in their criminal careers for long periods of time.

When we examine the length of time between release from jail and the date of first re-arrest, we find that for the sample as a whole, the mean time between these two dates was 7 months, and the median was 5.7 months, with a minimum of 0 months and a maximum of 22.1 months. We see a revolving door: 42% of those re-arrested experienced that re-arrest within three months of release from the Los Angeles County jail. Nearly 80% of those re-arrested were re-arrested within 12 months of leaving the facility. There do not appear to be any differences in length of time to re-arrest by crime type. These results are similar to other "time to failure" studies, which show highest failure rates within the first twelve months after release from custody (Beck and Shipley 1989).

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of pre-adjudicated inmates has shown that almost no one housed in the Los Angeles jails could be considered non-serious or simply troublesome to their local communities. Rather, we found the Los Angeles jails occupied almost entirely with offenders who have a current felony offense combined with an extensive criminal record. The Los Angeles jails now house only the "worst of the worst," and competition for scarce jail beds seems to be increasing. Recent population pressures seem to be caused by two factors: a court-ordered population cap which has kept jail capacity at roughly the same level as in the early 1990s, despite a growth in certain violent crimes in the county; coupled with the full enforcement in Los Angeles County of the state's Three Strikes Law.

Our analysis leads us to conclude that few inmates currently housed in Los Angeles jails are good candidates for ISP programs, and that jail capacity should be expanded so as to allow lengthier incarceration of the more dangerous pre- and post-adjudicated inmates.

We recognize several limitations in our analysis that might affect this conclusion, however. First, it may be that inefficiencies in court processing have contributed to jail crowding; by speeding up the time to trial, lengths of stay by pre-adjudicated offenders could be reduced. Unfortunately, we did not have data regarding length of time to trial in order to examine recent trends and possible areas for improvement. In addition, our focus was on programs and services provided by the Sheriff and Pretrial Services, although clearly other areas of the justice system affect jail crowding and can be targeted for change. Another limitation is our understanding of the impact of supervision received by offenders during our follow-up period. We did not have information on the extent of supervision received by offenders after release from jail, although most were on formal probation for felony convictions. Such information would enable us to examine whether those under more intensive supervision were less likely to be arrested, suggesting promise for intensive community alternatives in addition to the increase in jail capacity we propose.

This is not to say that Los Angeles County should not invest in intermediate sanctions. It definitely should. But Los Angeles has been diverting out the less serious offenders due to cuts in resources at all levels for over a decade, and it needs to develop *enhancement-type* Intermediate Sanction Programs, where *more* offenders get *more* surveillance and treatment, rather than diversion-type intermediate sanctions, where offenders currently in custody can be alternatively handled in community-based options. In short, there are few *in* the system who should be diverted *out*, but there are many *in* the system who need *more* surveillance and longer custody time.

In addition, for long range planning efforts, we recommend that Los Angeles County develop an ongoing ability to simulate different criminal justice policies and the effects they have on criminal justice agencies. Such a sentencing simulation or "population projection" model could take into account changes in demographics, crime rates, police arrest practices, length of sentences imposed and projected time served (as influenced by prosecution policies and state-level legislation). Developing this dynamic inmate projection model would require combining information about the characteristics of persons arrested (or charged, or convicted) in Los Angeles County. Using samples of offenders at earlier parts of the justice system (e.g., arrests rather than convictions) are better for such projection models, as they permit one

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to simulate the impact that changes to police and prosecution policy have on jail and prison intake. Such models to estimate custody populations have been recommended since the early 1970s (Belkin and Blumstein 1972).

Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department did conduct an excellent pilot effort of this type in 1992 (Austin and Irie 1992), but due to budget pressures it was not continued. Such analytic capacity should be reintroduced in the County, and optimally coordinated by the police, courts, and jails. In a County the size of Los Angeles, where 10% of its \$13.7 billion annual budget goes to public safety, such a system seems long past due. It would allow policymakers to routinely examine the flow of intake into each of the subsequent steps in criminal justice processing, and plan for changes in crime or policy directives. Importantly, such research capability would enable the County to continuously simulate the projected impact of proposed State legislation or local policies on the jails and help the efforts of local jail administrators to provide safety and justice for its citizens.

1. INTRODUCTION AND STUDY BACKGROUND

The Los Angeles County jail system, with an average daily population in 1998 of just under 22,000 inmates--and about 175,000 new bookings and 144,000 releases that year--is the largest jail system in the world. On average, in 1998, there were 480 new bookings and 395 releases. On any given day, the jail system houses 3.4% of *all* jail inmates in the U.S., and is responsible for more inmates that the entire state prison systems in 35 states (Gilliard and Beck 1998).

By sheer size alone then, the Los Angeles jail system is a major player in California's efforts to combat crime. Yet, the Los Angeles jails (and jails elsewhere) are seldom studied, widely misunderstood, and not of particular interest to the public until there are escapes, riots or special media interest. A recent book on the subject commented:

With an estimated 10 million men and women being admitted and released from jail systems in more than 3,000 counties in America, the jail--not the prison--has become the dominant correctional institution in this country (Wallenstein 1996:78)

Another writer noted "Jails in the United States are one of the most maligned and forgotten components of the criminal justice system" (Cornelius 1996:1).

This lack of interest is partly due to the fact that jails in the U.S. are usually locally controlled and locally funded. In Los Angeles County, for example, an elected sheriff operates the jail; he receives budget review and final approval from the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. The Los Angeles Sheriff's budget is regularly in excess of one billion dollars and policy directives are not easily accessible to the public. Unlike the California Department of Corrections, which is responsible for state prisons, there is no annual report on characteristics of jail inmates, their offenses, the length of time they serve, or their recidivism rates. Across California, Sheriffs are generally left to their own to run their local jails, and there is generally a "hands off" policy regarding their operations.

Jails are often neglected because they are perceived to hold misdemeanor or less serious offenders. Until the mid-to-late 1980s this has been true even in Los Angeles County. Jails were designed as shortterm facilities for those awaiting trial, and as such were thought to house less serious offenders (many of whom would not be convicted), for shorter periods of time (as their cases were disposed of), and who could be managed with lower security (combination of lower risk and shorter terms) (Thompson and Mays 1992). There was little need for high security, extensive classification systems, or inmate programs. Jail inmates were not seen as particular financial burdens nor were its inmates thought to represent particular serious risks to public safety.

However, U.S. jails, particularly those in Los Angeles, have begun to attract significant policy interest due to a number of recent developments. First, jail capacity has not increased commensurate with the number of inmates. About a third of all jails in the US--including those in Los Angeles County--are now under lawsuit or involved in some type of legal action, nearly all of it pertaining to overcrowded conditions (Pontell and Welsh 1994).

In 1972, the ACLU filed a lawsuit against the Los Angeles County Sheriff. The suit filed on behalf of all present and future inmates including crowding as one of the "illegal" conditions of confinement. In 1988, a federal district judge approved designated limits at each of the county jail facilities in Los Angeles County, an action that forced the Sheriff to consider artificial release mechanisms, such as citation release, early release credits, and percentage releases that let people out who had served 80% of their original sentences (Myron 1994).

By 1990, guidelines specifically dictated that in order for preadjudicated offenders to be accepted into the jail, they must have a felony arrest or an extremely serious misdemeanor charge (e.g., battery on a police officer). Persons not meeting those criteria were issued a citation and released on their written promise to appear, regardless of bail amount. Los Angeles jail administrators announced they no longer had any capacity to hold misdemeanor offenders prior to court appearance, and the Sheriff publicly warned that the result of this leniency early in the criminal's career might further encourage crime.

In early 1995, two facilities were closed due to budget constraints. Sentenced inmates housed at these facilities were placed in a work release program--an out of custody program--regardless of their criminal background. At about the same time, due to a loss of available beds, all new inmates sentenced to 90 days or less in custody were released to the Work Release Program. By the end of 1995, screening procedures had been instituted to identify inmates for work release (as well as other community-based alternatives to custody), but not before over 6000 work release offenders were considered noncompliant work release failures.

In 1996, all offenders sentenced to a term in county jail were still accepted, however, the actual times served were reduced. With pre-sentence credits awarded by the court and a percentage discount used to manage the jail, some inmates were released immediately. In the early nineties, with statutory credits figured into the equation, inmates served a net sentence length of approximately 25% of their original sentence during this period depending upon available beds. A one-year sentence equated to 83 days in jail in 1994 (Feldman and Lichtblau 1996).

But, as one author noted (Kerle 1998:94), "the worst was yet to come for the Los Angeles County jail system." Even though jail capacity was "capped," the California Legislature continued to pass hundred of crime bills that increased criminal penalties and mandated that certain crimes result in jail or prison terms, rather than probation.

Between 1992-1997, the California Legislature passed more than 400 tough-on-crime penalties (Petersilia 1997). These new laws increased intake to both the jails and the prisons, but only prison budgets significantly increased. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department budget, for example, increased about one or two percent annually during this time period, while the State prison budget increased from five to eleven percent annually over the same time period. Counties were responsible for funding their jails, and property taxes are the principal source of local revenue available to Counties. Proposition 13--the taxpayer revolt initiative that capped property taxes--severely limited growth in county budgets.

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Jails couldn't expand as fast as the crime problem or sentencing changes demanded. The jail's federally mandated capacity in 1992 was 25,488 inmates. In 1996, it was 20,099 inmates--5,389 or 21% fewer inmates than the 1992 holding capacity. Yet, in 1992, there were 193,000 felony arrests in Los Angeles County, and in 1996, that number had decreased to 162,000. So, while adult felony arrests declined by 16% over this time period, jail capacity had declined by 21% (California Department of Justice; California Board of Corrections). However, simply comparing the overall number of arrests relative to the jail capacity fails to adequately describe the seriousness of the situation.

In March 1994, the California legislature enacted a "three-strikesand-you're-out" law. This legislation was written to provide enhanced sentencing for repeat felons. California's law is recognized to be the most severe in the nation, since a term of 25 years to life imprisonment may be triggered by *any* third felony (not just a *violent* felony, as in most states). The California law also includes a two-strike provision that prohibits probation and doubles the prison sentences for offenders with a prior "serious" or "violent" felony conviction.

Even prior to its enactment, Three Strikes was predicted to have severe impacts on the entire judicial system (Greenwood et al. 1994). With the enactment of the Three Strikes Legislation, the entire judicial process was expected to lengthen. As the time to adjudicate each person increases, and as more defendants decide to "fight" their case through the entire process, cases were predicted to "back up" the system. Experts predicted that plea bargains would decline, while the number of jury trials would increase. The trial process was expected to lengthen, as it does for any case involving these potential penalties. Even First and Second Strikers were expected to continue through the judicial process without pleading as they would not want a Strike against them. All of these predictions have been realized.

The effects of three strikes have been particularly felt in Los Angeles County. Data show that while Los Angeles County is responsible for committing 35% of all persons statewide to the California Department of Corrections, they have committed 42% of the 4600 third strike cases sentenced between March, 1995, and January 31, 1999 (California

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Department of Corrections 1999). Prosecuting these cases has severely backed up the Los Angeles jail system, and changed the nature of inmates held in jail custody.

A greater percentage of the Los Angeles jail population is now preadjudicated (awaiting trial), rather than sentenced. In 1994, the population was composed of approximately 57 percent pre-adjudicated inmates; but by 1996, the pre-adjudicated population had risen to about 70 percent (see Figure 7). These inmates have caused an overall "hardening" of the jail system, wherein only the worst-of-the-worst are housed in jail. These high-security inmates are also causing frequent violent eruptions in the jail between rival gang members. Riots marked by racial confrontations between Latinos and African-Americans in 1996 involved close to 3,000 inmates and left at least 160 injured (Los Angeles Times, A1, Feb 16,1996).

With jail capacity "capped," and more serious offenders occupying a greater proportion of the available beds, other offenders--many quite serious--were released early onto crowded probation caseloads, where probation officers, without additional resources, were expected to handle an increasingly serious offender population. The end result was that many committed new crimes, and respect for the justice system is further eroded. A front-page article in the *Los Angeles Times* concluded:

At a skyrocketing pace unmatched anywhere in the nation, tens of thousands of inmates are literally walking out the back doors of Los Angeles County's overcrowded jails after serving little more or none of their sentences behind bars. Worse yet, thousands of criminals--as many as one in four--commit new offenses within months of their early releases. If not for jail overcrowding, many would still have been behind bars at the time they committed [the new offenses]. (Los Angeles Times, A1, May 20, 1996)

By 1996, everyone agreed that the Los Angeles County jails faced serious problems. The core problem was overcrowding, and there appeared to be only two choices: build more jail capacity or divert a greater number of incoming inmates to community-based, intermediate sanctions.

Both options were costly, and the County already faced serious fiscal woes. Los Angeles County projected a budget deficit of \$1 billion in 1997, and some believed it might follow Orange County, California in declaring bankruptcy. County officials considered closing Los Angeles' largest public hospital, raising the specter of people literally dying in the streets (Lazarovici 1997). Los Angeles County has solvency in sight -- for now. But competition for scarce resources continues, and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors began to seriously question the requested increases in the Sheriff's budget. In 1998, the average male inmate in custody cost about \$46 per day to house, with increases if higher security cells were required for more serious inmates. On the other hand, the County did not have a welldeveloped system of credible community-based sentencing options, so developing those would be costly as well. They wondered: Did the Los Angeles jail system need more capacity, or were currently housed inmates good candidates for community-based sanctions?

To answer that question, County officials requested assistance from researchers at RAND and the University of California, Irvine (UCI), who in turn received a research grant from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The research team was asked to review a 1996 "profile" of inmates in the Los Angeles jail system, and to determine how many of them might have been good candidates for intermediate sanctions. Intermediate sanction programs such as electronic monitoring, work release, house arrest, intensive supervision had been used in Los Angeles County and elsewhere to successfully address jail crowding. Perhaps the decision to invest additional resources in these types of programs, rather than additional jail beds, would best serve the County. This report present the results of our research project.

Our Research Approach

Our research consisted of two consecutive phases:

Phase I: We began by assembling a database consisting of the crime, and minimal background characteristics of all inmates who were in jail custody on January 15, 1996 from readily available

computer files in Los Angeles County. We abstracted their "status" (e.g., pre-trial, awaiting sentencing, awaiting transfer), their current crime, and available demographics (i.e., age, race, gender). On the date of our jail "census," there were 21,758 inmates in custody of the Los Angeles Sheriff. A separate report describing the complete results of our Phase I research was published by the Los Angeles County Probation and Sheriff's Department in 1996 (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department 1996). In this current report, we summarize general characteristics of the total jail population.

Phase II: We selected a sample of 1,000 "pre-adjudicated" (or unconvicted) inmates from the total sample identified in Phase I to study in more detail. For these inmates, we hand-coded more detailed prior criminal record and current offense information. We also requested State and local "rap sheets" in order to record their recidivism behavior between our census date and two years hence (January 15, 1996, to January 15, 1998). Of these 1000 offenders, we were able to obtain jail and recidivism information on 931.

2. LOS ANGELES COUNTY: CRIME, ARRESTS, AND JAIL CAPACITY

Los Angeles County, with 9.6 million residents, is the largest county in the nation, and is exceeded by only eight states in population. Approximately 29% of all California's residents live in Los Angeles County. The jail is a "responsive" system, in that it reacts to the actions of others, particularly law enforcement and citizens. If crimes decrease, or if citizens fail to notify the police, or if the police divert a greater number of suspects on the street, then "intake" into the jail is significantly affected. Thus, understanding crime and arrest trends in Los Angeles County helps to place the jails in context.

Crimes Reported

One of the most obvious factors affecting jail "intake" is the number of crimes reported, and the number of arrests made. Similar to other California counties and the nation, Los Angeles County crime statistics show a decreasing crime rate since 1991. The FBI reports that index crimes decreased 10.3% in California between 1980-1993, and in Los Angeles County, they decreased 7.5% over the same time period (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1994).

The cause for the decrease in overall crime rates--in Los Angeles and other major cities--is unknown (for a review, see National Institute of Justice 1998). Some suggest that, as the justice system has become strained, and punishment for less serious crimes uncertain, the public has developed an impression that little is being done to thwart criminals. This may affect their willingness to report crimes to the police (although recent victim surveys suggests that actual victimization rates have declined). Others attribute the decreases in crime to the tougher sentencing policies recently enacted, such as "Three Strikes and You're Out." Still others credit a good economy or community policing.

Yet, while the overall number of crimes reported is declining in Los Angeles and California, a slighter greater percent of those reported is violent (see Figure 2.1).

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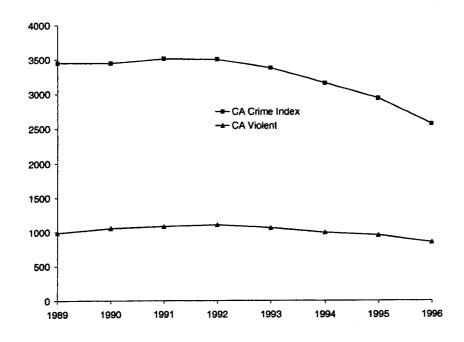
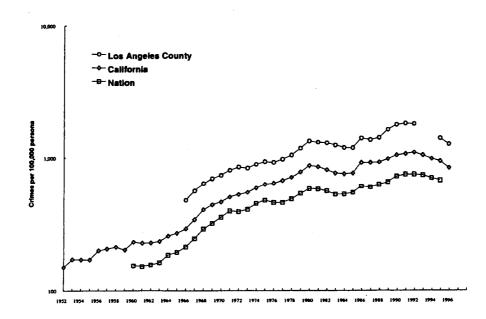
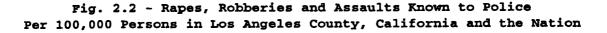


Fig. 2.1 - California Crimes per 100,000 Persons, 1989-1996

Figure 2.2 shows the rates of reported violent crime in Los Angeles County, California, and the nation. These figures show that while Los Angeles County's reported crime rates began to decline in 1995-96, they are still higher than California or the national average.





Arrests. It is also true that the total number of arrests in Los Angeles County has declined in recent years (see Figure 2.3). But again, this figure may be deceiving in terms of what it means about real crime in the community. Police, knowing that the sheriff's jail capacity is limited and only the most serious can be incarcerated, may be arresting fewer of the less serious offenders. Throughout this study, law enforcement officers suggested this was happening. These policy decisions certainly affect the total number of arrests made each year.

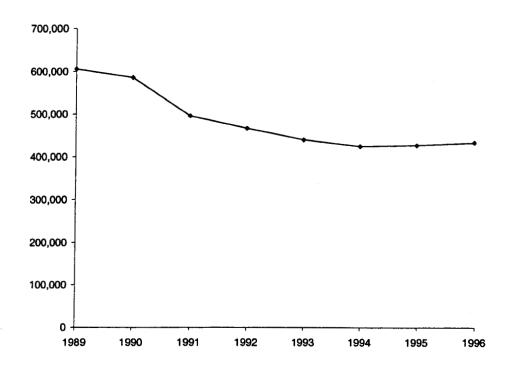


Fig. 2.3 - Total Annual Number of Arrests, Los Angeles County

Similar to the crime rate data, although the total number of felony arrests has declined in recent years, the proportion of felony arrests that are violent increased from 26% in 1989 to 32% in 1996 (see Figure 2.4).



45%

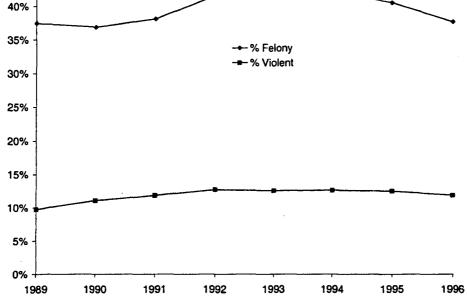


Fig. 2.4 - Percent of Los Angeles County Arrests for Felonies and Violent Crime

Jail Capacity, Inmate Status, and Length of Time Served. In consideration of past overcrowding problems and projections of the need for increased jail beds, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department constructed three new jail facilities in the last 10 years (North County Correctional Facility, Century Regional Detention Facility, and Twin Towers Correctional Facility). In addition, four facilities have been closed. Overall, the jail system has lost 5,389 jail beds since 1992, dropping jail capacity from 25,488 to 20,099 in 1996. In 1996, the sheriff calculated a deficit of about 18,000 jail beds from the projected need identified in the Jail Needs Assessment and Master Plan completed in 1990-1991 (see Figure 2.5).³

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³ The Master Plan called for three phases of jail construction, renovation, and replacement. Phase I (through 1995) called for 36,502 required jail beds, yet there were only 20,099 available. Phase II (1995-2005) called for 41,516 and as of mid 1999 there were only 22,090 available, a shortage of 19,426 needed beds. By 2010, when Phase III would be completed, it was projected that the Department would need 43,923.

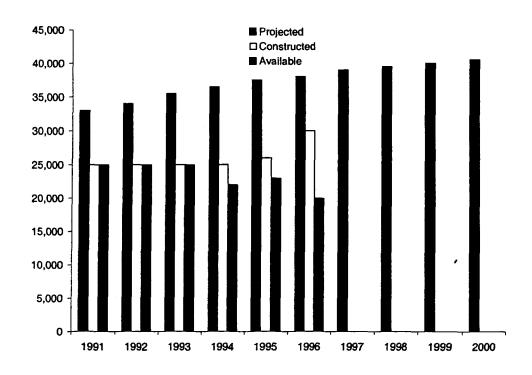


Fig. 2.5 - Los Angeles County Jail Beds, Need vs. Capacity

As previously noted, increased arrests and/or increased lengths of stay must be offset by increased inmate releases. At the time of our study, the intake criteria were set to turn away most misdemeanors and warrant arrests. County Sheriff policy accepted only pre-adjudicated felony defendants or misdemeanants who were charged with a selected number of "high profile" crimes, for example, spousal rape, spousal battery, violation of domestic violence orders, and stalking. Moreover, once in the jail, the policy was to release inmates after serving only 35% of their sentences--a figure calculated after all other release credits had been deducted. Clearly, this was not good policy, and as the late Sheriff Block said on the *Today* show (May 22, 1996), "Such policies fail to protect our community. Not only are we unable to incarcerate serious offenders for their full court terms, but we totally ignore the less serious offenders--contributing further to their criminality and teaching them that, indeed, crime does 'pay.'"

One of the impacts of a greater number of violent and serious persons being arrested is that such offenders usually face higher

penalties, they fight their cases through more of the judicial procedures, and remain in the criminal justice system longer. They also are more violent in jails and require higher security jail beds. As these pre-adjudicated offenders (i.e., those awaiting case dispositions) remain in the system longer, space must be made for them by releasing, plea-bargaining, or refusing to prosecute others. As the system becomes more strained, criminals of greater and greater "threat" must be released back into the society they endanger. As shown in Figure 2.6, by 1996 a much greater portion of the Los Angeles jail population was composed of pre-adjudicated inmates than had been the case in years The net effect of this has been more inmates released early on past. work release. In fact, if we eliminate offenders on work release/early release, about 70% of all Los Angeles jail inmates are pre-adjudicated, rather than sentenced. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that nationally in 1995, about half the total US jail population was preadjudicated (Gilliard and Beck 1998).

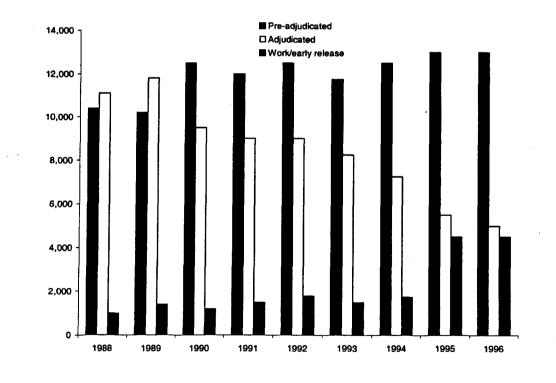


Fig. 2.6 - Composition of Los Angeles County Jail Inmate Population

Criminals also sense a loss of control by the criminal justice system. Offenders recognized that only a small fraction of the courtimposed sentences were actually served. In 1996, jail inmates served just 40 days on a six-month sentence, down from 120 days in 1988, and 73 days before the 1989 property tax shift. As one jail inmate reported to the *Los Angeles Times*, "How do you take the system seriously? (May 20, 1996:A10). The lesson I've learned every time I've been here is that no matter what the judge says, I can rely on the County Jail system to take care of me." This offender was placed on work release by the Sheriff's Department immediately after being sentenced to 90 days in jail for his eighth arrest for driving with a suspended license.

Unfortunately, at the time there seemed to be no sign that these problems would diminish in the near future. Existing jail and court release methods had been strained to the breaking point. Inmates previously considered "unfit for release" were being released to allow the system to retain those of even greater threat to society. There was no longer a choice of retaining *all* inmates who posed a threat to society, only of releasing those who posed *less* of a threat. As Gloria Molina, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors put it:

"The net result is that persons who commit crimes in Los Angeles County and are sent to County jails are serving only a small fraction of their sentence. Victims have a false sense of security when they believe that 'justice has been served,' because all too often the criminal is back on the street in just a few short weeks, ready to strike again." (May 21, 1996).

The Impact of the "Three Strikes Law" on Los Angeles County Jails

Between 1994 and 1996, the Los Angeles District Attorney's office filed 10,837 Second Strike Cases, and 4,397 Third Strike Cases. Throughout this period, the filings of both Second and Third Strike cases have been consistent--there were no large changes in the number of filings per month. In fact, while many expected the number of filings to "tail off" as potential criminals became unwilling to commit crimes that would result in heavy punishment, this did not occur. Impact on County Jails. To safely house inmates, the Sheriff's Department classifies inmates into categories based on their threat to society, custody staff, or other inmates, and their potential to attempt escape. Under this system, high security, high-risk inmates are housed separately from those presenting less danger to persons and less risk of escape. In April 1994, the high security population totaled approximately 39% of the inmate population. During the first 23 months of the implementation of the Three Strikes Law, this population had increased to about 60% (see Figure 2.7). These inmates were classified among those posing the highest security and safety risk out of an already high security population (early release mechanisms had released inmates posing a lower risk).

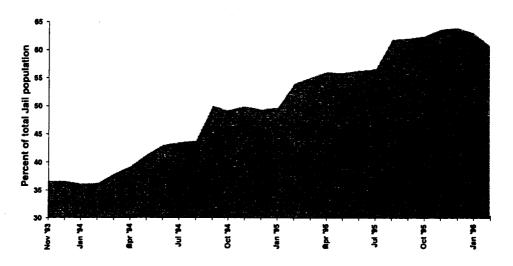


Fig. 2.7 - High Security Inmates in Los Angeles County Jail

Since September 1995, several "snapshots" had been taken of the jail population. These "snapshots" revealed that, of the persons housed within the Sheriff's Department's jail facilities, approximately eight percent of the total inmate population was composed of Second Strikers and six percent were Third Strikers. Of these, sentenced Third Strikers had an Average Length of Stay (ALOS) of 226 days, and sentenced Second Strikers had an ALOS of 126 days.⁴ Two details should be noted: first,

⁴ Sentenced inmates were examined, as these inmates had probably completed the majority of their time in the county jail system.

the ALOS for the entire system was 35.92 days, so inmates not charged with a Strike allegation must be staying in jail a much shorter time to "make up" for the much longer than average length of stay for Strikers. Second, the ALOS figures for Strikers are conservative--all of these Strike inmates were still in custody at the time of this "snapshot".

In sum, crime was decreasing in Los Angeles County, but not as much as in the rest of the State and not as dramatically for violent crimes. Jail populations were "capped," and only the most serious of inmates were accepted into its cells. Inmates that were accepted tended to be of higher security risk than in previous years, and most were awaiting adjudication of their cases, rather than serving short jail terms for less serious crime convictions. 3. WHO WAS IN THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY JAILS ON JANUARY 15, 1996?

On January 15, 1996, there were 21,758 inmates in custody of the Los Angeles County Jails. Table 3.1 shows their status.

Table 3.1

Status of Inmates in Los Angeles County Jail

In Jail	21,758
Pre-adjudicated	11,967
Adjudicated	9,791
Serving Jail Sentence	3,703
On Work Release	4,634
CDC/CYA Commits	1,454

On the day of the January census, 87 percent of all jail inmates were male and 13 percent female. The average age was 32 years, the minimum was 17 years, and the maximum was 91 years. Nearly half (49%) of the jail population was classified as "high security" based on the jail system's internal risk classification scoring system. See Table 3.2 for details.

Table 3.2

Demographic Characteristics and Risk of Los Angeles County Jail Inmates

Sex		Age		Ethnicity		Security level	
Male	87% 17-24		24% Hispanic		478	High	49%
Female	13%	25-29	20%	Black	33%	Medium	58
		30-39	36%	White	17%	Low	34%
		40-49	16%	Other	3%	Unclassified	12%
		50-59	38				
		60+	18				

Current Crime. For each inmate, we reclassified the penal code associated with their current offense into the categories used by the California Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS). The BCS offense category rankings correspond to offense severity (with "1" equaling murder, and "74" equaling traffic violations). These categories were then grouped into ten offense groupings (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3

Bureau of Criminal Statistics (BCS) Crime Ranking

2-Digit					
Rank	Crime Description				
	Violent				
1-3	Murder/Manslaughter/Vehicular Manslaughter				
4	Rape				
5	Robbery				
6	Assault/Battery				
7	Kidnap				
	Property				
8	Burglary I				
9	Fraud/Grand theft/Petty theft with prior				
10	Auto theft				
	Forgery				
	Felony Drug				
12-13	Drug sale				
14-15	Drug possession				
	Serious Felony				
16-18	Sex violations/Child/Others				
	Weapons				
	Weapons				
	Theft and Miscellaneous				
20	Miscellaneous theft				
21-25	Arson/Extortion/Prisoner escape				
26-30	Vehicular manslaughter/Felony probation violation				
	Drug Misdemeanor				
34-36	Drug possession/Marijuana/Misdemeanor drug				
	Less Serious Misdemeanors				
31-33	Petty theft				
37-50	Bench warrant/FTA/Disorderly conduct				
. = 4	DUI Deining under influence				
51	Driving under influence				
E0 E7	Traffic Bookloss driving (Missellaneous				
52-57 58	Reckless driving/Miscellaneous Various municipal codes				
58 59-73	Misdemeanor probation violation/Miscellaneous				
5/60	misdemeanor probation violation/Miscellaneous misdemeanors (e.g. hazardous waste violation,				
	misdemeanors (e.g. mazardous waste vioration, maintain public nuisance, bribe public officer)				
74	Traffic violations				
/ 4					

The crime types, in terms of our 10 crime descriptions, for the entire Los Angeles County jail population are shown in Figure 3.1. This chart combines pre-adjudicated and adjudicated offenders. Most jail inmates fall into the three highest crime classifications: violent, serious property, and felony drug. This is not surprising since, as was noted previously, the sheriff has tried to use scarce jail beds to house

the most serious and violent. In fact, 26% (or 5698) of all jail inmates in the one-day census were charged with or convicted of violent crimes.

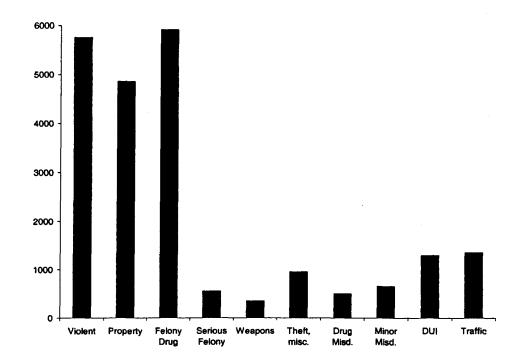


Fig. 3.1 - Los Angeles County Jail Inmates on January 15, 1996, Most Serious Crime Charge or Conviction (Adjudicated and Pre-adjudicated)

It is also the case that few offenders charged with misdemeanors are held in the jail. Figure 3.2 shows the percent of jail inmates who have felony, as opposed to misdemeanor, charges. In short, few of the jail inmates are not charged with serious or violent felony crimes. This is quite a contrast to the perception that jails are full of nonserious offenders, who are simply troublesome to their local communities (e.g., public drunks).

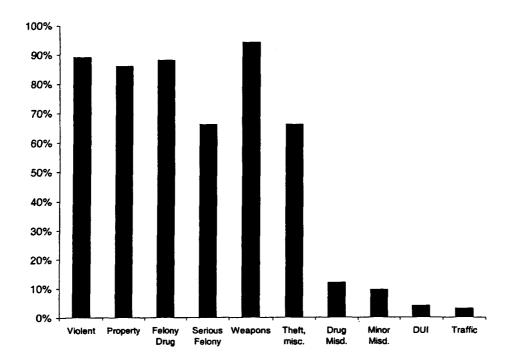


Fig. 3.2 - Percent of Inmates With Felony Charges, by Offense Type (Adjudicated and Pre-adjudicated)

As noted, jail inmates are composed of pre-adjudicated and those who have been sentenced to jail for less than one year. In addition, because of jail crowding, the sheriff utilized a "work release" or early release mechanism for sentenced inmates to reduce the overall size of the population to within legal limits. On January 15, 1996, the jail inmate population comprised inmates in the statuses shown in Table 3.4.

Inmate Composition on January 15, 1996							
	In Custody	Out on Programs					
Pre-adjudicated	11,967	N/A					
Fully Adjudicated	5,299	4,830					

17,266

4,830

Table 3.4

Figure 3.3 shows the crimes for pre-adjudicated and adjudicated inmates. Again, in both categories, the majority of offenses are for serious property, drug, or violent charges/convictions.

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Total

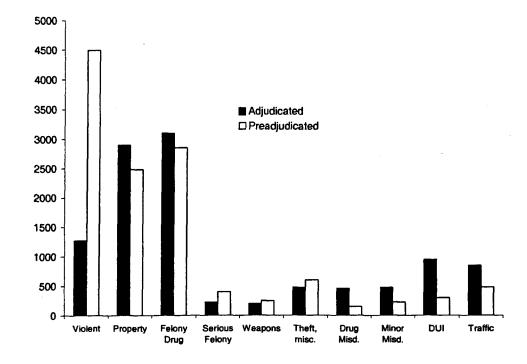


Fig. 3.3 - Los Angeles County Inmates on January 15, 1996, Most Serious Crime Charge or Conviction (Adjudicated and Pre-adjudicated)

Average Length of Stay. The average length of stay (ALOS) over all inmates, pre-adjudicated and adjudicated combined, was about 35 days in 1995. An analysis of time spent in the two statuses is shown in Figure This figure shows the very long pre-adjudication time being spent 3.4. in jail by very serious offenders (e.g., murderers, and rapists). It is important to point out that this length of sentence is not the total amount of incarceration time these offenders serve, since many of them are convicted and then sentenced to state prison (McVey, 1994). This figure only reflects the time they spent in local jail custody. It does illustrate, however, the point we heard repeatedly in conducting this study: that pre-adjudicated inmates are swamping the jails, particularly since the passage of the Three Strikes law.

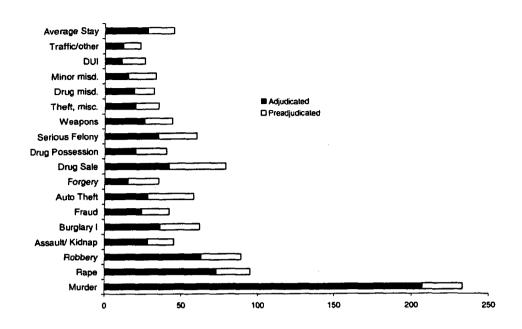


Fig. 3.4 - Average Length of Stay in Jail, in Days (Adjudicated and Preadjudicated)⁵

Drug Offenders in Jail

The large presence of drug offenders in our one-day jail census was striking. Twenty-nine percent of all offenders under jail supervision were formally convicted or charged with drug offenses. The less serious of these drug offenders may be prime candidates for intermediate sanction programs. There are well developed models of drug offender ISPs, motivated drug offenders do particularly well on these programs, and the public seems more willing to invest in drug rehabilitation programs than other types of work and training programs.

Offenders Sentenced to State Prison

On our census date, there were 1506 jail inmates who had been sentenced to state prison and were awaiting transfer to state prison. Only 105 of these had been fully sentenced (having all their cases adjudicated), the remainder was only partially sentenced (1401).⁶

⁵ Source: McVey, David "Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department Jail Population Report" 1994

⁶ Once inmates are sentenced by the courts to state prison, all of their "paper work" must be processed and the State must have an

4. A PROFILE OF PRE-ADJUDICATED INMATES IN THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY JAIL: PHASE II

Our Study Methods

As shown in Table 3.1, 11,967 persons were in jail awaiting disposition of their current offenses on our census date (January 15, These inmates were being held by the jail pending arraignment 1996). and while they are awaiting trial, conviction, or sentencing. Understanding more about the characteristics of pre-adjudicated inmates is important for jail administrators, since this group could potentially be diverted to the community to reduce jail crowding and the overall intake of inmates. A 1996 study noted that Los Angeles County did not make extensive use of "intermediate sanctions," which includes programs such as house arrest, electronic monitoring, and intensive probation (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department 1996). Local officials questioned whether there were pre-adjudicated jail inmates who might be considered good candidates for such programs. To assess the appropriateness of this and other diversion options, we needed to know more about the public safety risks such inmates posed. Unfortunately, the full census dataset lacked important information in an automated form. Thus, in Phase II we developed a sample in which important offense prior record, time served, and recidivism outcomes could be gathered.

We began by selecting only inmates who had not yet been convicted of any of the charges related to their current offense. Of the 11,967 pre-adjudicated inmates, 159 of them had already been convicted of one or more of their pending charges and were awaiting disposition on other currently pending offenses. We deleted these persons from the sample.

From the remaining 11,808, we selected a random sample of 1,000 inmates (males and females) for more detailed prior record coding and recidivism follow-up. For each of these offenders, information on their

available bed for them. There is often a several month lag between prison sentencing and actual transfer from local jail to a CDC facility.

prior criminal history, current offense, and subsequent recidivism behavior was obtained from official records maintained by several county agencies (i.e., pretrial services, sheriff's department, and probation, courts). Information regarding prior arrests, the current offense, and subsequent recidivism was coded by Probation Pretrial Services staff using their routine pretrial release charting that captures the specific arrest charge (penal code), disposition, sentence imposed. Information regarding length of stay in jail for the current offense was obtained from jail records. The follow-up period for coding recidivism information ended on January 15, 1998. Thus the maximum street time for any offender in our sample was two years (i.e., if they were released on the day of our initial sampling January 15, 1996).

Of the 1,000 inmates chosen for the sample, criminal histories were unavailable on 69 of them. We suspect these inmates, while in jail on our census date, were in fact, quickly turned over to other authorities (e.g., immigration, federal, juvenile) or simply released. No information about their prior criminal record existed on any of the files we had access to. As a result, our final sample of preadjudicated inmates numbered 931 persons. Comparisons between our 931 sample and all 11,808 pre-adjudicated inmates reveals no statistically significant differences in age, race, gender, or current offense between the two.

For each of the 931 inmates, we compiled the following data:

- Demographics
 - Date of birth
 - Race
 - Gender
 - Prior criminal history (for each prior adult arrest)
 - Type of filing charge (arrest charge if no charges were filed)
 - Case disposition
 - Type of sentence and sentence length (if convicted)
 - Total number of prior juvenile petitions sustained

- Current offense
 - Arrest date
 - Crime type for current arrest (up to six separate arrest charges on a given date)
 - Crime charge (offense charge, felony or misdemeanor, number)
 - Type and date of final case disposition
 - Sentence type and length (if convicted)
- Strike information
 - Number of "strikes"
 - Offense that qualifies as a "strike"
- Jail custody record
 - Jail entry and exit date for the current offense
 - Reason for release (if released
- Two-year follow-up (recidivism)
 - Date, type, disposition of each subsequent arrest between January 15, 1996, and January 15, 1998

Research Questions For Pre-adjudicated Sample

With these data elements, we were able to address the following questions:

- 1. How do Los Angeles County jail inmates compare with similarly situated inmates nationwide?
- 2. How "serious" was the pre-adjudicated sample, if judged by their prior record and current offense?
- 3. For those whose cases were disposed of during the two-year follow up, what were the final dispositions? For example, how many went to prison, probation, or had their cases dismissed?
- 4. For those who were released to the community during the twoyear follow-up:
 - How many recidivated and to what kinds of crimes?
 - Which offenders have the highest probability of serious reoffending?
 - Can statistical models predict who recidivates?

How Do Los Angeles Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Compare with Similar Inmates Nationwide?

Age, Race, Crime, and Prior Criminal History. The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has conducted a national survey of jail inmates approximately every five years since 1983. The latest BJS jail survey was completed in March 1996 (see Harlow 1998). The BJS survey relies on inmate self reports, whereas our data comes from official records, so the two data sources are not identical.

Table 4.1 compares the characteristics of the Los Angeles preadjudicated jail sample with that of similar inmates nationwide (as reported in Harlow 1998). Los Angeles jail inmates were similar in gender, but in nearly every other respect they differed.

An overwhelming majority of both the national and Los Angeles sample are male (more than 90%). Nearly eighty-two percent of the Los Angeles sample was black or Hispanic, whereas this was the case with 63.8% of the national jail population.⁷

⁷ In Los Angeles County overall, Hispanics make up 41% of the resident population, Whites, 36.9%, Asians, 11.5%, and Blacks, 10.3% (<u>http://www.co.la.ca.us/statistics.htm</u>).

	Los Angeles County	BJS National
Gender	county	
Male	91.8%	90.3%
Female	8.2%	9.0%
Race		
Black	38.0%	44.7%
Hispanic	43.9%	19.1%
White	14.8%	32.4%
Other	3.2%	3.8%
Age at current arrest		
16-17	0.4%	4.1%
18-24	26.7%	30.2%
25-34	39.2%	34.7%
35-44	24.4%	22.6%
45-54	7.5%	6.9%
55+	1.7%	1.4%
Mean age	31.3	26.0%
Criminal History		
No previous sentence	13.3%	41.7%
Current violent offense	8.0%	17.6%
Current drug offense	1.3%	8.7%
Current other offense	4.0%	15.4%
Prior Record		
No prior arrests	9.7%	N/A
Arrests, no sentence	3.6%	N/A
Probation only	4.5%	N/A
Incarceration	78.5%	N/A
Jail only	38.1%	N/A
Prison	40.4%	N/A
Probation and incarceration	79.2%	N/A

Characteristics of 1996 Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates, Los Angeles County vs. U.S. Samples

(continued on next page)

Table 4.1 (cont'd)

	Los Angeles	BJS National
	County	
Current Crime		
Violent	33.8%	36.6%
Homicide	7.0%	6.0%
Rape	0.5%	0.8%
Robbery	11.1%	8.8%
Assault	14.1%	15.4%
Kidnap	1.1%	0.6
Other violent	0.0%	5.0
Property	20.3%	25.5
Burglary	9.1%	7.7
Fraud/Theft	7.48	4.3
Auto Theft	1.9%	3.3
Forgery/Other	1.8%	2.2
Other	8.0%	8.0
Felony Drug	25.8%	20.2
Trafficking	21.5%	9.2
Possession/Other	4.3%	11.0
Other Serious Felony	3.2%	1.5
Public Order	20.1%	17.4
Weapons	3.5%	2.2
DUI	2.4%	3.6
Other	14.2%	11.6

Characteristics of 1996 Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates, Los Angeles County vs. U.S. Samples

The Los Angeles sample was also older, with a mean age of 31.3 years as compared to a mean age of 26.0 years for the national sample. In the Los Angeles sample, the most common primary charge for the current arrest was alleged drug trafficking, with a total of 25.8% of the sample being charged under one of several drug-related statutes. Other frequently charged primary offenses for the Los Angeles sample included robbery (11.1%), homicide or attempted homicide (7.0%), burglary or attempted burglary (9.1%), and assault and/or battery (14.1%). Overall, 33.8% had been arrested for violent crimes, 20.3% for property crimes, 25.8% for drug sales, and 20.1% for public order offenses.⁸ This compares with 36.6%, 25.5%, and 20.2% for violent,

⁸ Public order offenses typically include driving while intoxicated, traffic violations, drunkenness, or other less serious offenses.

property, and felony drug offenses, respectively, for the BJS national sample.

Perhaps the most striking difference between the Los Angeles and national jail inmates is the severity of their prior criminal records. Just 13.3% of the Los Angeles jail sample have no previous sentence (3.6% of them have arrests, but no formal sentencing), whereas this was true with 41.2% of those nationally. Based on the data, pre-adjudicated inmates in Los Angeles have lengthier prior records than pre-adjudicated inmates nationally, and many more of them are arrested for drug trafficking.

Los Angeles Jail Inmates: Current Offense and Prior Criminal Record

As shown in Table 4.1, nearly 80% of the Los Angeles sample had been in jail (38.1%) or prison (40.4%) at least once prior to the current arrest. Fewer than 10% of them had never been arrested before. When we examine the relationship between current charge and prior record (see Table 4.2), we see as expected that those inmates with no prior arrests sentences, have very serious property or violent current offenses. It also shows clearly that persons with more serious current crimes also have lengthy prior criminal records. Of course, there is a selection bias, since the combination of these factors is exactly why they remain in jail while awaiting adjudication of their instant offense.

	Public	Weapon	Serious	Felony			
	Order	/Misd.	Felony	Drugs	Property	Violent	Total
No prior arrest	0.4%	0.9%	0.8%	2.9%	1.2%	3.5%	9.7%
Arrest only	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%	0.6%	2.3%	3.7%
Probation	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	1.0%	0.1%	2.7%	4.5%
1-2	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.9%	0.1%	2.6%	4.3%
3+	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%
Jail	3.2%	5.5%	1.5%	9.7%	6.4%	11.8%	38.1%
1-2	1.6%	2.5%	1.1%	4.6%	1.9%	7.1%	18.8%
3-5	1.2%	1.6%	0.2%	3.0%	2.3%	3.4%	11.7%
б+	0.4%	1.4%	0.2%	2.0%	2.3%	1.3%	7.6%
Prison	1.2%	4.5%	0.6%	11.0%	11.8%	11.3%	40.4%
1-2	1.2%	3.0%	0.5%	6.3%	7.2%	8.3%	26.5%
3-5	0.0%	1.5%	0.1%	4.3%	3.4%	2.6%	11.9%
6+	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	1.2%	0.4%	1.9%
Unknown	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	1.0%	0.1%	2.3%	3.7%
Total	5.2%	11.7%	3.2%	25.8%	20.3%	33.8%	100.0%

Offense Codes, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates in the Los Angeles Jail on January 15, 1996

Table 4.2 is particularly useful in trying to identify categories of inmates who might be appropriate for community diversion or intermediate sanctions. In fact, most sentencing or intermediate sanctions systems usually use this type of information to devise in/out guidelines (Tonry 1997). Policymakers can construct categories that might be appropriate for diversion, and then compute the percent of the total population that would be eligible. This data-driven approach to jail and prison crowding is commonly recommended by those attempting to reduce jail and prison crowding through intermediate sanctions.

For example, let's simulate the effect of diverting inmates with a current non-violent crime, and no prior jail or prison term. This policy would affect 11.1% of the entire sample. If one were willing to add current non-violent offenders who have a prior jail (but not prison) term, the number of inmates affected increases to 63.4%, but 24.5% of those are felon drug offenders (nearly all traffickers).

Currently the Sheriff's Department considers adjudicated offenders for possible placement in their "Community-based Alternatives to Custody." This program automatically excludes offenders convicted of a

number of serious crimes ranging from murder to stalking.⁹ Although appropriate to adjudicated offenders only, we simulated the numbers of pre-adjudicated offenders in our sample that might be eligible for such a program. Our results suggest that almost 40 percent would be excluded based on offense type alone.¹⁰

In sum, there are few in the Los Angeles jail sample who look like obvious candidates for diversion, based on their prior criminal record or current offense.

The Presence of "Strikes" in the Los Angeles Pre-adjudicated Sample

As noted earlier, the passage of Three Strikes has significantly affected the Los Angeles jail. Data made available by the California Department of Corrections showed that 42% of the 4965 Third Strike Cases admitted to the CDC between March, 1994, and January, 1999, were from Los Angeles County (special analysis from the California Department of Corrections, Data Analysis Unit).

Some suggest that the Los Angeles jail is becoming predominantly a holding place for those awaiting disposition on second and third strike cases. Offenders are less willing to plea, and push for a jury trial when faced with such length terms if convicted. Also, interestingly, the Three Strikes Law allows inmates to earn 50% good time credits, whereas once they are convicted and sentenced to prison, their good time credits are restricted to 20%. Inmates are also closer to their families in the Los Angeles jail than they are likely to be when sentenced to State Prison, since all but one of the State's 33 prisons is outside of Los Angeles County. All of these reasons provide incentives for inmates facing strikes to delay as long as possible final adjudication of their cases.

¹⁰ Recent analyses of the CBAC program for adjudicated jail inmates shows that 11,527 inmates were placed in out-of-custody programs in 1996; 8,010 in 1997; and 13,855 in 1998--expanding the use of custody alternatives and freeing more jail space for housing of violent offenders.

⁹ Offenses include assault, DUI, false imprisonment, battery sexual battery, shoot, spousal battery, child abuse, evading arrest, child sexual abuse, sex offender, cruelty to dependent/terrorizing, escaped prisoner, stalking, attempted murder, attempted manslaughter, attempted robbery, and attempted carjacking.

In our sample, 49.5% of the jail inmates had at least one strike on their record prior to the current arrest, 28.1% of the sample had two or more strikes, prior to the current offense (Table 4.3), one inmate had 12 strikes.

Table 4.3

	Number of Strikes					
Current Offense	None	1	2	3+		
Violent	60.6%	18.4%	10.5%	10.5%		
Property	37.6%	24.3%	12.7%	25.4%		
Felony Drug	42.1%	24.6%	14.2%	19.2%		
Serious Felony	83.3%	3.3%	3.3%	10.0%		
Weapons, Misdemeanors	44.0%	25.7%	13.8%	16.5%		
Public Order	70.8%	14.6%	4.28	10.4%		
Total	50.5%	21.4%	11.7%	16.4%		

Strikes Prior to Current Arrest, by Summary Offense Codes, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmate Sample

NOTE: Entries in this table are row percentages.

During their time in jail, 50.9% of the sample was credited with an additional strike under California's three-strike law, almost always as a result of their current arrest. Another 1.9% added two strikes during their jail time.

Length of Jail Term Served. Of the 931 inmates who were in the Los Angeles County jail at the time the January 15, 1996 sample was taken, some had already been in jail for a significant period of time, while others had been incarcerated that very day. Similarly, some would remain in custody only one day, while others remained in jail or prison continuously up to the time of our analysis.

Our focus, however, is on the time they actually spent in the Los Angeles County jail. As of January 1998, 928 of the 931 inmates in our sample had left that facility, for a variety of reasons. Some were convicted and sent to prison, some served time in jail and were then released, some were acquitted or the district attorney declined to charge them. A few were deported; one individual died in custody.

The median length of stay in the jail from the time the offender entered jail until his/her release (or until January 15, 1998) was 133 days. As noted above, some inmates left the same day they entered. Of

more interest is the other extreme, namely those individuals who were in jail for a long period of time. We identified seven individuals who had been in jail for more than three years. All were accused of murder, attempted murder, or voluntary manslaughter, and all would subsequently be convicted. One's sentence was still pending; the remainder were given prison sentences ranging from 11 years (for manslaughter) to life plus 25 years, the latter for a man with two convictions of murder for hire. Two other individuals had been held in jail for just under three years. Both were arrested for robbery had multiple prior arrests. One was subsequently sentenced to 700 years in prison (in actuality, probably multiple life sentences, served consecutively). The other's disposition was unknown.

During their tenure in the Los Angeles County jail, additional charges would be filed against 9.2% of the sample. These charges generally took one of two forms. One involved additional crimes committed while in custody, most often assault on a corrections officer. The other was a type of "piling on" of additional charges based on events that occurred before the inmate was arrested. The case of the double murderer for hire mentioned above furnishes an interesting example of the latter. Originally arrested for murder in 1986, he was subsequently re-arrested in 1989, again for murder, for which he was given a life sentence in 1991. Apparently he happened to be in the Los Angeles County jail at the time of our sample pursuant to proceedings related to the 1986 murder charge, which was not disposed until April, 1996, when another 25 years to life was added to his sentence.

Released From Custody During Two-Year Follow Up? Fifty-one percent of our sample was never released from custody during the two-year follow-up period (January 15, 1996 through January 15, 1998), whereas 49% were. Table 4.4 shows the percent released by most serious current offense. As might be expected, a higher percentage of violent offenders were not released during the follow-up, although 14.1% of those released during the two years had original charges of violence, and 8.8% of those released had serious assault charges.

	Not	
Current Offense	Released	Released
Violent	19.8%	14.1%
Homicide	5.8%	1.2%
Rape	0.3%	0.2%
Robbery	7.6%	3.4%
Assault	5.3%	8.8%
Kidnap	0.8%	0.4%
Property	11.9%	8.4%
Burglary	5.5%	3.7%
Fraud/Theft	4.5%	2.9%
Auto Theft	1.0%	1.0%
Forgery	1.0%	0.9%
Felony Drug	13.4%	12.4%
Trafficking	11.6%	9.9%
Possession	1.8%	2.5%
Serious Felony	1.3%	1.9%
Public Order	4.6%	12.2%
Weapons	1.9%	1.6%
DUI	0.3%	2.0%
Other	2.48	8.6%
Total	51.0%	49.0%

Type of Jail Release During Two-Year Follow Up, by Offense Codes, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmate Sample

Table 4.4

Final Case Disposition. As noted above, there were many different ways an inmate might end his or her stay in the Los Angeles County jail. The vast majority of these inmates were eventually convicted (84%), and the majority (76.7% of our entire sample) was convicted of a felony crime (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5

Disposition of Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmate Sample

Disposition	N	ş
Entire Sample	931	100.0%
Not Convicted	148	15.9%
Convicted	783	84.1%
Felony	714	76.7%
Misdemeanor	69	7.48

Once convicted, over half (51%) of the sample was sentenced to prison, and an additional 28.9% were sentenced to a combination of jail

plus probation (Table 4.6). If one adds these two sentences, about 80% of the entire sample studied were sentenced to some custody time either in jail or prison. Just 1.2% of this sample received probation only. Again, the severity of the final case disposition portends the seriousness of the sample studied, since the courts considered a small fraction of them suitable for "probation" alone (or fines alone). A relatively small number of cases were dismissed or declined by the prosecutor for filing (9.9%), and just 1.4% of the offenders was acquitted.

Table 4.6

	Public	Weapon	Serious	Felony			
	Order	/Misd.	Felony	Drugs	Property	Violent	Total
Prison	0.8%	3.9%	1.3%	13.4%	11.9%	19.8%	51.0%
Jail Plus Probation	2.6%	4.6%	1.3%	8.2%	5.0%	7.2%	28.9%
Jail Only	0.9%	0.4%	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%	0.1%	2.3%
Probation Only	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.2%	0.2%	1.2%
Dismiss/Release/ DA refuse	0.4%	1.48	0.4%	1.7%	1.4%	4.5%	9.98
Acquitted	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.6%	1.48
Other	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.6%	1.5%
Pending	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%	0.68
Unknown	0.1%	0.9%	0.2%	1.0%	0.6%	0.4%	3.28
Total	5.2%	11.7%	3.2%	25.8%	20.3%	33.8%	100.08

Final Case Disposition, by Offense Codes, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmate Sample

This information suggests that jail resources were not "wasted" on a large number of inmates who would have their cases subsequently dismissed, be acquitted, or sentenced to non-incarcerative probation terms.

Post-Release Recidivism

As shown earlier, nearly half of the pre-adjudicated inmates studied were released back to the community at some point during the two-year follow-up period. We requested both state and local rap sheets (records of arrests, convictions, and sentences) for each offender, and coded the date, crime type, and disposition for all arrests during the follow-up period. These data showed that, of those released, 61.8% of the sample was re-arrested during our follow-up period, and of those re-arrested, 67% were subsequently convicted of a new offense (see Table 4.7). And, similar to the original offense, which brought them to our attention initially, nearly a quarter of all subsequent convictions were for drugrelated offenses.¹¹ During the entire two-year study period, only 18.7% of the original sample remained arrest free (or 38.2% of those released) after release from jail.

Table 4.7

Release and Recidivism Outcomes, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmate Sample

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Disposition	N	- 8
Entire Sample	931	100.0%
Prison	475	51.0%
Released	456	49.0%
No New Arrest	174	18.7%
New Arrest	282	30.3%
No New Conviction	94	10.1%
New Conviction	188	20.2%
Violent	23	2.5%
Property	27	2.9%
Drugs	43	4.6%
Other	87	9.3%
Unknown	8	0.9%

Table 4.8 shows the percent of those not sentenced to prison who were subsequently re-arrested. This table shows the high recidivism rates for the sample as a whole, but particularly for offenders originally convicted of serious felonies and weapons-related offenses. Contrary to earlier studies, those convicted of public order offenses have rates even lower than those originally charged with violent crimes.

¹¹ Subsequent convictions for violent offenses may be under counted in our analyses. Subsequent convictions had to take place within the two-year follow-up, and violent and more serious crimes probably take longer to reach final disposition than do less serious drug crimes.

Post-release Recidivism, by Original Offense, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Released to the Community

	Sentenced	New	New
Current Offense	to Prison	Arrest	Conviction
Violent	19.8%	54.2%	35.9%
Property	11.9%	65.4%	47.48
Felony Drug	13.4%	61.7%	40.9%
Serious Felony	1.3%	77.8%	44.4%
Weapons, Misdemeanors	3.9%	72.6%	45.2%
Public Order	0.8%	53.7%	39.0%
Total	51.0%	61.8%	41.2%

NOTE: New arrest and new conviction are percentages of those who were *not* sentenced to prison for original offense.

We were also interested in the factors associated with recidivism (e.g., age, race, gender). As Table 4.9 shows, males in our sample had higher re-arrest rates, as did blacks. Similar to other recidivism research, the lower the age, the higher the recidivism. Nearly 67% of those aged 18-24 were re-arrested, whereas 59% of those aged 45-54 were arrested. Although the age groups differed, these differences were not large, suggesting perhaps that the Los Angeles inmates are active in their criminal careers for long periods of time.

·	Any A	rrest?	Any Con	viction
	N	8	N	8
Gender				
Male	255	63.8	168	42.0
Female	27	48.2	20	35.7
Race				
Black	113	67.3	74	44.0
Hispanic	119	58.0	80	39.0
White	41	60.3	27	39.7
Other	9	60.0	7	46.8
Age at Current Arrest				
16-17	0	0.0	0	0.0
18-24	78	67.2	53	45.7
25-34	116	64.4	72	40.0
35-44	63	55.3	49	43.0
45-54	. 23	59.0	14	35.9
55+	2	33.3	0	0.0
Most Severe Post-Rele	ase Arrest	Charge		
None	174	38.2	268	58.8
Violent	69	15.1	23	5.0
Property	41	9.0	27	5.9
Felony Drug	60	13.2	43	9.4
Serious Felony	10	2.2	5	1.1
Weapons/misd.	49	10.7	41	9.0
Public Order	33	7.2	41	9.0
Unknown	20	4.4	8	1.8

Post-release Recidivism, by Inmate Characteristics, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Released to the Community

Table 4.10 also shows, for those released offenders subsequently re-arrested, the offense type of their re-arrest as compared to their original offense. Criminologists often refer to this as offense specialization--i.e., whether or not offenders specialize in one type of crime or another, or simply do a variety (or get arrested for a variety). Most criminological literature reveals little offense specialization. Our data do show not much offense specialization. Offenders charged with violent offenses were slightly more likely to be arrested for violent than other offense types; property, drug, and "other" offenders were most likely to be re-arrested for "other" offenses. A new arrest would result in additional probation for 12.4% of the sample, additional jail time for 12.2%, and additional prison time for 9.7%.

Recidivism Offense Specialization, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Released to the Community and Subsequently Re-arrested

Original charge	Violent	Property	Drug	Other
Post release arrest:				
Violent	40.4	8.5	17.0	34.0
Property	20.0	16.7	26.7	36.7
Drug	18.0	10.3	30.8	41.0
Other	31.2	9.8	14.8	44.3

Length of Time to Re-arrest. Our data portray a sample that had a high re-arrest rate--overall 61.8% of those released were re-arrested. It is interesting also to look at the length of time that elapsed between their release from jail (from our January 15, 1996 crime), and their subsequent date of first re-arrest. Table 4.11 shows the length of time (in months) between when they were released from jail, and the date of their first re-arrest. For the sample as a whole, the mean time between these two dates was 7 months, and the median time was 5.7 months, with a minimum of 0 months and a maximum of 22.1 months.

The data in Table 4.11 portray a fast revolving door: Forty-two percent of those re-arrested experienced that re-arrest within three months of release from the Los Angeles County jail. Nearly 80% of those re-arrested were re-arrested within 12 months of leaving the facility. There do not appear to be any differences in length of time to re-arrest by crime type.

Table 4.11

Months to First Post-Release Re-arrest, by Offense, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Released to the Community and Subsequently Re-arrested

Current Offense	<3	3-6	6-12	12-18	18+
Violent	11.0%	3.9%	5.3%	3.9%	1.1%
Property	8.2%	2.5%	4.3%	2.5%	0.7%
Felony Drug	12.4%	3.2%	4.6%	2.8%	2.1%
Serious Felony	1.8%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	0.0%
Weapons, Misdemeanors	5.7%	4.6%	4.3%	1.4%	2.8%
Public Order	3.2%	0.0%	3.2%	1.1%	0.4%
Total	42.2%	15.2%	22.7%	12.8%	7.1%

NOTE: Percentages in this table are based on the 282 persons who were-re-arrested during the two-year follow-up.

Predicting Re-arrests Among Those Released: Regression Analysis

We considered two measures of recidivism: whether re-arrested during the two-year follow-up period, and whether re-arrested for a violent offense. Since these are dichotomous dependent variables, logistic regression was used. Only the 456 individuals in our sample who were *not* sentenced to prison for the offense which caused them to be in the Los Angeles jail on January 15, 1996 were considered; the 475 sentenced to prison terms were not included in the following regression models.

We examined the effects on recidivism of demographic factors (age, race, gender), prior criminal history (number of prior arrests, number of prior convictions, most serious prior conviction), and severity of the current offense. Of these, the only variables consistently significant variables were age and number of prior arrests. Generally speaking, number of arrests (regardless of disposition) was a more powerful predictor of recidivism than either number of prior convictions or the severity of prior convictions. As Table 4.12 below indicates, other variables often associated with recidivism (race, gender, and severity of current charge) are not statistically significant when age and number of prior arrests are included in the model.

Table 4.12

Logistic Regression Results for Re-arrest During the Two-Year Follow-Up, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Released to the Community

	Parameter	Standard	Wald	Pr >	Standardized
Variable	Estimate	Error	Chi-Sq	Chi-Sq	Estimate
# Prior Arrests	0.0714	0.0149	23.0809	<.0001	0.3322
Age	-0.0447	0.0116	14.8184	0.0001	-0.2307
Black	-0.0487	0.3010	0.0262	0.8714	-0.0130
Hispanic	-0.4330	0.2909	2.2162	0.1366	-0.1189
Male	0.5416	0.3099	3.0530	0.0806	0.0982
Current Offense Severity	0.0081	0.0064	1.6089	0.2046	0.0743
Intercept	1.0538	0.5533	3.6278	0.0568	

NOTE: Wald Chi-square for the model is 39.1664 with 6 DF (p < 0.0001). Other non-white races are included with whites in the comparison group for race.

Age and number of prior arrests are also significant factors in predicting violent recidivism, with males also being significantly more

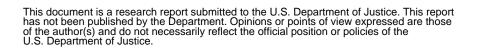
likely to be re-arrested for violent crimes than females. The younger the offender was at the time of the current arrest, and the greater the number of prior arrests, the more likely an individual was to be rearrested during the two-year follow-up. Although no one ethnic group reaches conventional statistical significance, blacks are marginally more likely to be re-arrested for a violent crime than whites.

Table 4.13

Logistic Regression Results for Re-arrest for Violent Offense During the Two-Year Follow-Up, Pre-adjudicated Jail Inmates Released to the Community

	Parameter	Standard	Wald	Pr >	Standardized
Variable	Estimate	Error	Chi-Sq	Chi-Sq	Estimate
# Prior Arrests	0.0480	0.0167	8.2565	0.0041	0.2234
Age	-0.0803	0.0198	16.4458	<.0001	-0.4144
Black	0.9902	0.4795	4.2647	0.0389	0.2637
Hispanic	-0.0622	0.4977	0.0156	0.9005	-0.0171
Male	1.4662	0.7496	3.8259	0.0505	0.2659
Current Offense Severity	0.0030	0.0084	0.1270	0.7216	0.0274
Intercept	-1.3762	1.0602	1.6852	0.1942	

NOTE: Wald Chi-square for the model is 34.5743 with 6 DF (p<0.0001). Other non-white races are included with whites in the comparison group for race.



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5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

John Irwin wrote in his well-known book, The Jail, that modern jails confine mostly detached and disreputable persons rather than true criminals (Irwin 1986). He refers to such persons as rabble, and says that these non-criminals are arrested and jailed because they are offensive, not because they have committed crimes. Researchers in Oregon and Washington studied jail bookings during a period in 1991, and found that there was support for Irwin's rabble hypothesis, they too found many jail bookings involved marginally non-serious offenders (Backstrand, Gibbons and Jones 1992).

Others have written that the modern jail has become a home for many who are indigent, transient, or homeless. Police often take these people into custody as "mercy bookings," where jail confinement is the only alternative to sleeping in the streets (Kerle 1998). Still others have written that nearly half of those in jail are persons who are awaiting trial, who sit in jail "not because of the seriousness of the offense charged or because of their prior arrest records, but because they cannot make bail" (Regoli, Poole and Pogrebin 1986:23).

This study did not confirm the rabble hypothesis, or the presence of many non-serious offenders. We found almost no one housed in the Los Angeles jails that could be considered non-serious or simply troublesome to their local communities. Rather, we found the Los Angeles jails occupied almost entirely by offenders having a current felony offense combined with an extensive criminal record. On the day of the one-day census, there were 22,096 inmates in the jail, and nearly half (49%) were classified as "high security" based on their crime seriousness, escape risk, gang affiliation, and prior criminal record. Moreover, 26% of all these jail inmates were charged with or convicted of a violent crime (rape, robbery, murder, kidnapping, and aggravated assault). There were fewer than 3,000 inmates who might be considered "less serious" in terms of their current charges (e.g., driving while intoxicated), but their criminal records often revealed lengthy and serious prior histories.

At the time of our study, the Los Angeles jails housed only the "worst of the worst," and competition for scarce jail beds seems to be increasing. Recent population pressures seem to be caused by two factors: a court-ordered population cap which has kept jail capacity at roughly the same level as in the early 1990s, despite a growth in certain violent crimes in the county; coupled with the full enforcement in Los Angeles County of the state's Three Strikes Law. Between 1994 and 1999, Los Angeles successfully prosecuted and convicted 2,086 thirdstrike cases--or 42% of all Three Strikers convicted in the State. They prosecuted a similar proportion of "Second Strike" cases. These offenders backed up the Los Angeles jail system, many demanding a jury trial. A report on the impacts of Three Strikes showed that the number of jury trials increased by 25 percent (Council 1996, #2551). As our data show, 70% of all inmates in the Los Angeles jails were preadjudicated offenders. About 30% of them had two or more "strikes" on their criminal records prior to the current jail booking--and half of all pre-adjudicated offenders in our jail sample had a "strike" added to their charges while in the jail on their current term.

Half of our pre-adjudicated sample was released from jail at some point during our two-year follow-up period, and of those released, twothirds were re-arrested within that time period. When we studied the recidivists, we found a disturbing picture. Re-arrest behavior was serious (in terms of crimes committed), and happened quite quickly (42% of the recidivists were re-arrested within three months of leaving the jail). This recidivism behavior is faster than other "time to failure" studies have shown, either nationally (Beck and Shipley 1989) or earlier studies in Los Angeles County (Petersilia and Turner 1990).

We also found little "crime specialization" in our sample's recidivism behavior--offenders arrested for a violent crime today might be arrested subsequently for a drug or property crime. Criminologists have suggested that a pattern of re-arrests for a single crime or type of crime suggests more "instrumental" rather than "expressive" motives, and the former might be a less dangerous offender (Glaser 1997).

Similarly, in the RAND study Varieties of Criminal Behavior (Chaiken and Chaiken 1982), the most active and dangerous offenders

(referred to as "violent predators") were those who reported committing a constellation of crimes, which included robbery, assault, and drug deals. When offenders had evidence of these three crimes in their backgrounds, they were also likely to be committing burglaries, thefts, and other property crimes at high rates. This research also revealed that criminals are caught and convicted for less than one tenth of their serious crimes against others and for a fraction of one percent of their illegal drug transactions. According to the findings, chance alone seemed to determine whether they were caught for their worst crimes or for lesser ones. Violent predators seemed prevalent in our Los Angeles jail sample, in that many had histories and recidivism behavior that included a variety of crime types.

Our research also revealed the difficulty of trying to predict recidivism, although the factors that proved most useful in our study are consistent with findings from previous research. The likelihood of a criminal's future lawbreaking can be most accurately assessed by four factors: frequently and severity of the person's previous crimes; age at which the person became active in crime or is currently; extent of drug and alcohol use, and extent of legitimate employment in recent years (Blumstein et al. 1986). Our available data did not include substance abuse or employment histories, but our analysis confirms the importance of age and prior arrests to recidivism prediction. In our statistical models (either predicting new arrests or new violent arrests), two factors proved consistently significant: the number of prior arrests, and the offender's age. Younger offenders and those with a greater number of prior arrests have the highest re-arrest rates, all other factors (e.g., race, gender, current crime type) held constant. The fact that "current offense type" did not prove a good predictor to violent re-arrests is another indicator of the lack of offense specialization in this sample.

Our analysis has shown a jail populated with mostly high risk, serious and violent offenders. At the time of our analysis, if offenders were convicted but not sentenced to prison, they would regularly serve but 25% of their sentence (a typical sentence of six months in jail in 1988 would have resulted in the inmate serving four

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months; at the time of our study, he/she would serve little more than one month). In Chicago and neighboring Orange County, for instance, inmates sentenced to time in county jail generally serve at least half their sentences behind bars. In Houston, New York City, Sacramento and San Francisco, they can usually expect to do two-thirds of their time. And in Phoenix, where the county set up tents in the desert to accommodate the overflow jail population, sheriff's officials are requiring inmates to serve nearly the full 100% of their sentences (Feldman and Lichtblau 1996).¹²

Our analysis leads us to conclude that few inmates currently housed in Los Angeles jails are good candidates for ISP programs, and that jail capacity should be expanded so as to allow lengthier incarceration of the more dangerous pre- and post-adjudicated inmates.

We recognize several limitations in our analysis that might affect this conclusion, however. First, it may be that inefficiencies in court processing have contributed to jail crowding; by speeding up the time to trial, lengths of stay by pre-adjudicated offenders could be reduced. Unfortunately, we did not have data regarding length of time to trial in order to examine recent trends and possible areas for improvement. addition, our focus was on programs and services provided by the Sheriff and Pretrial Services, although clearly other areas of the justice system affect jail crowding and can be targeted for change. Another limitation is our understanding of the impact of supervision received by offenders during our follow-up period. We did not have information on the extent of supervision received by offenders after release from jail, although most were on formal probation for felony convictions. Such information would enable us to examine whether those under more intensive supervision were less likely to be arrested, suggesting promise for intensive community alternatives in addition to the increase in jail capacity we propose.

¹² Procedures instituted in 1997 in Los Angeles have greatly increased the amount of time jail offenders serve on their sentences. Inmates serve the full sentence, minus work-time good time credit and emergency release time. Thus a 180-day sentence generally translates into 111 days served.

This is not to say that Los Angeles County should not invest in intermediate sanctions. It definitely should. But Los Angeles has been diverting out the less serious offenders due to cuts in resources at all levels for over a decade, and it needs to develop enhancement-type Intermediate Sanction Programs, where more offenders get more surveillance and treatment, rather than diversion-type intermediate sanctions, where offenders currently in custody can be alternatively handled in community-based options. In short, there are few *in* the system who should be diverted *out*, but there are many *in* the system who need more surveillance and longer custody time.

As an example, in late 1995, Community-based Alternatives to Custody (CBAC) was created in which eligible sentenced offenders are placed in out-of-custody community programs. In 1996, the year in which our one-day census was taken, over 11,500 inmates participated in the program; by year end 1998, almost 14,000 sentenced inmates had participated, more than two-thirds on electronic monitoring and home confinement. However, there are a limited number of inmates that qualify for CBAC programs due to exclusions for violent crimes, repeat offenses, patterns of criminal conduct or history of violence, limiting the potential of the program to effectively handle high-risk offenders in the community.

In November 1998, Lee Baca was elected the new Sheriff of Los Angeles County. He immediately vowed to open up four new jail facilities so that serious misdemeanants could be accepted into the jail, and those sentenced by the courts could serve a greater portion of their imposed term¹³. His initiatives were estimated to cost the County more than \$100 million, and the County Board of Supervisors seems inclined to offer some funding increases to expand jail capacity.

¹³ In fact, over the past several years, significant changes have occurred in the jails, particularly with respect to sentenced inmates Inmates are no longer released from custody based on percentage of time served. In 1997, the Department implemented a program in which sentences are reduced only by statutory "work time-good time" credits. thus, an offender sentenced to a 180 day sentence would serve 111 days (not the 45 days he/she previously served).

We support such an allocation. However, we would also recommend also that Los Angeles County develop an ongoing ability to simulate different criminal justice policies and the effects they have on criminal justice agencies. Such a sentencing simulation or "population projection" model could take into account changes in demographics, crime rates, police arrest practices, length of sentences imposed and projected time served (as influenced by prosecution policies and statelevel legislation). Developing this dynamic inmate projection model would require combining information about the characteristics of persons arrested (or charged, or convicted) in Los Angeles County. Using samples of offenders at earlier parts of the justice system (e.g., arrests rather than convictions) are better for such projection models, as they permit one to simulate the impact that changes to police and prosecution policy have on jail and prison intake. Such models to estimate custody populations have been recommended since the early 1970s (Belkin and Blumstein 1972).

Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department did conduct an excellent pilot effort of this type in 1992 (Austin and Irie 1992), but due to budget pressures it was not continued. Such analytic capacity should be reintroduced in the County, and optimally coordinated by the police, courts, and jails. In a County the size of Los Angeles, where 10% of its \$13.7 billion annual budget goes to public safety, such a system seems long past due. It would allow policymakers to routinely examine the flow of intake into each of the subsequent steps in criminal justice processing, and plan for changes in crime or policy directives.

Importantly, such research capability would enable the County to continuously simulate the projected impact of proposed State legislation or local policies on the jails. Tough-on-crime sentencing passed at the State level has severely impacted the ability of Los Angeles County to deliver justice at the county level. As Wallerstein recently observed: "The aura of jails still is in a quagmire of second order importance and lack of public understanding. In terms of legislative importance, it lies at the second or third level of consideration. Many elected officials serving at the state and federal levels do not accept, understand, or relate to the jail at the local level" (Wallerstein

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1996). This study, however, has shown that those State policies, like "Three Strikes and You're Out," can seriously undermine the efforts of local jail administrators to provide safety or justice for its citizens.

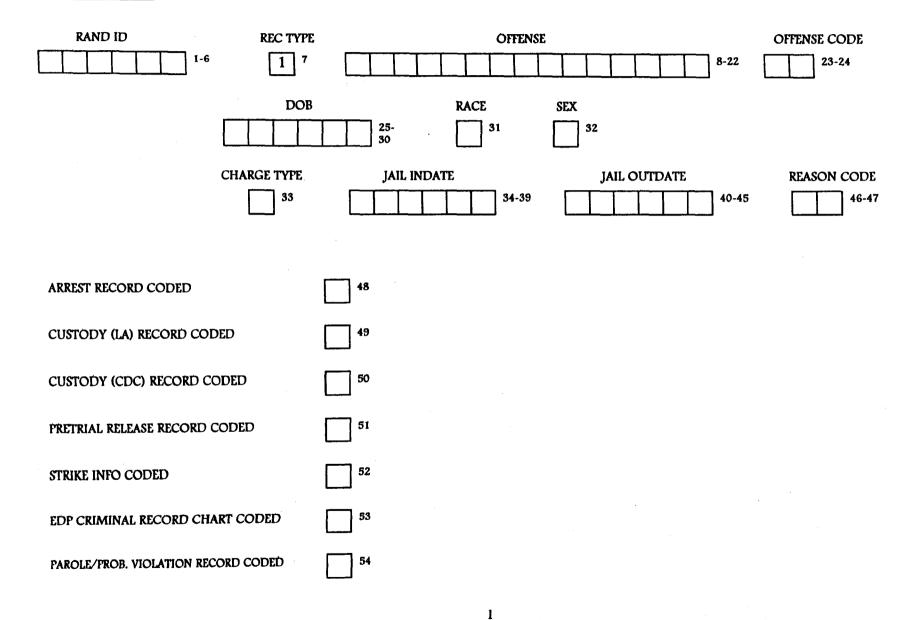
Appendix

CODING FORMS FOR ABSTRACTING "RAP SHEET" DATA

NIJ Violent Offender and Truth-in-Sentencing RAND and LA Sheriff & Probation Collaboration

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CURRENT OFFENSE



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RAND ID	REC TYPE O	TENSE	OFFENSE CODE
1-6	3 7	8-17	18-19
	ARREST DATE	DISPO DATE	
	20-25	26-31	
	DISPOSITION 1 SENTENCE LI	NGTH SENTENCE UNIT	
	32-33	34-36 37	
	DISPOSITION 2 SENTENCE LI	NGTH SENTENCE UNIT	
	38-39	40-42 43	
	·····		
RAND ID	REC TYPE C	PFFENSE	OFFENSE CODE
RAND ID	REC TYPE	PFFENSE 8-17	OFFENSE CODE
	3 7	8-17	
	3 7 ARREST DATE	DISPO DATE	18-19
	3 7	8-17	18-19
	3 7 ARREST DATE	B-17 DISFO DATE 26-31	18-19
	3 7 ARREST DATE 20-25	B-17 DISFO DATE 26-31	18-19
	3 7 ARREST DATE 20-25 DISPOSITION 1 SENTENCE L	B-17 DISPO DATE 26-31 ENGTH SENTENCE UNIT 34-36	18-19

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ARREST RECORD - LA County (cont.)

RAND ID	REC TYPE	OFFENSE	OFFENSE CODE	
1-6	3 7		8-17 18-19	
	ARREST DATE	20-25	DISPO DATE	
	DISPOSITION 1	SENTENCE LENGTH	SENTENCE UNIT	
	DISPOSITION 2	SENTENCE LENGTH	SENTENCE UNIT	
	· ·			
RAND ID	REC TYPE	OFFENSE	OFFENSE CODE 8-17 18-19	
		OFFENSE		
	3 7		8-17 18-19 DISPO DATE	

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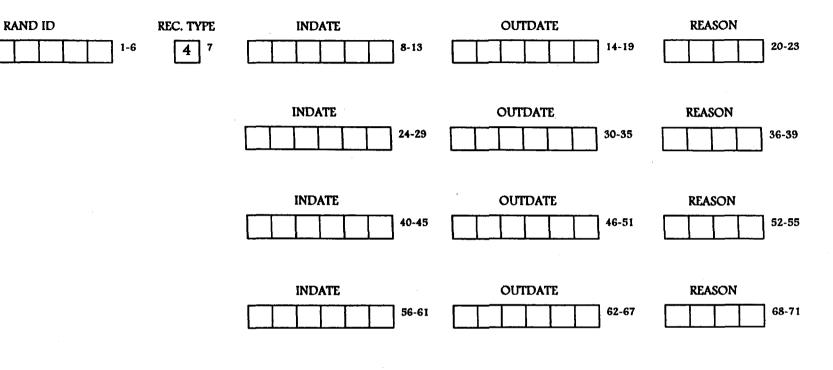
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RAND ID	REC TYPE	OFFENSE	· · (OFFENSE CODE
1-6	3 7		8-17	18-19
	ARREST DATE		DISPO DATE	
		20-25	26-31	
	DISPOSITION 1 SE	NTENCE LENGTH	SENTENCE UNIT	
	32-33	34-36	37	
	DISPOSITION 2 SE	NTENCE LENGTH	SENTENCE UNIT	
	38-39	40-42	43	
RAND ID	REC TYPE	OFFENSE		OFFENSE CODE
1-6	3 7		8-17	18-19
1-6	3 7		DISPO DATE	18-19
1-6		20-25		
1-6	ARREST DATE	20-25	DISPO DATE	
1-6	ARREST DATE		DISPO DATE	
1-6	ARREST DATE		DISPO DATE 26-3 SENTENCE UNIT	

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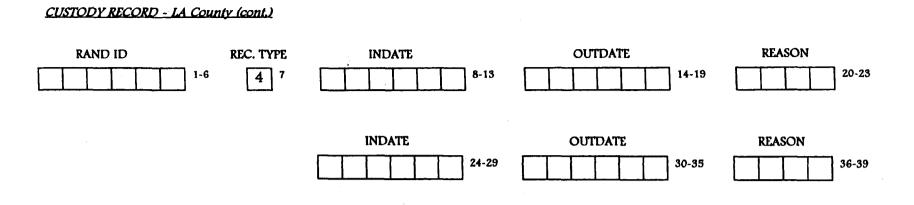




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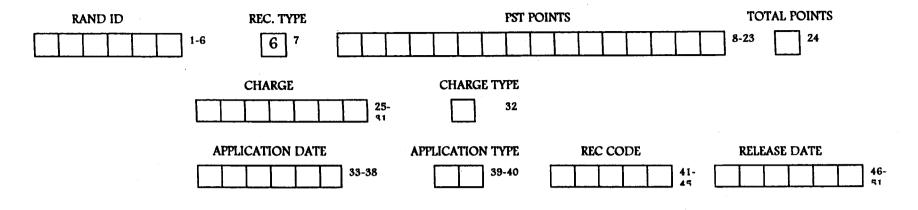
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CUSTODY RECORD - CDC

8

Date:_____

PRETRIAL RELEASE (Pretrial Plus)



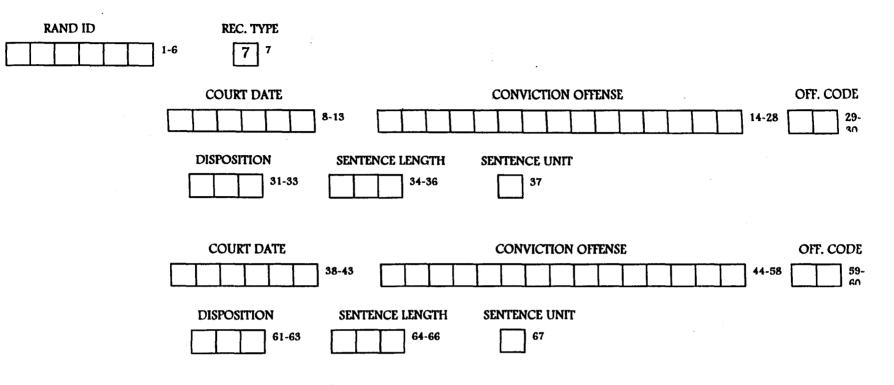
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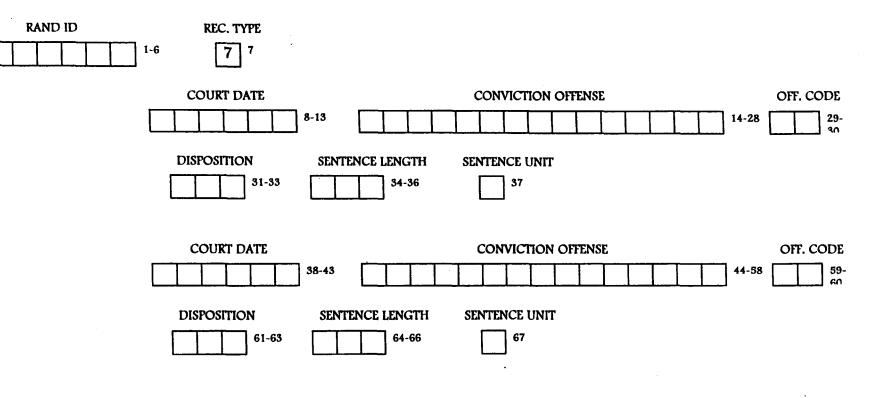
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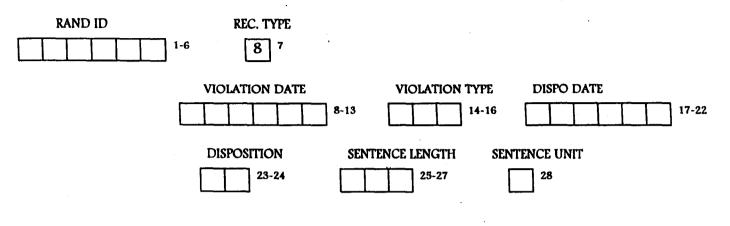
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PAROLE/PROBATION VIOLATION INFO (PHO6/CII/CHRS)



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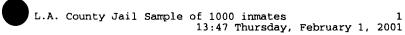
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13:47 Thursday, February 1, 2001 The CONTENTS Procedure

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L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 13:47 Thursday, February 1, 2001

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LAPU007	1	0	0	1	0	0
LAPU008	19	18	0	5	5	0
LAPU009	17	16	0	2	0	1
LAPU010	2	1	0	3	2	0

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 1 13:55 Thursday, February 1, 2001



L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 2 13:55 Thursday, February 1, 2001

The CONTENTS Procedure

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7	OFFCODE	Char	2	31		offense code for current offense
8	RACE	Char	1	33		race
9	SEX	Char	1	34		sex
10	CHARTYP	Char	1	35		charge type
11	REASON	Num	8	8	BEST6. BEST6.	reason code
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6	CUROFF	Char	15	16			current offense
3	DAYSSRVD	Num	3	49			Jail outdate minus indate
1	IN_AGE	Num	3	43			Age at indate
4	JAKE_FL	Num	3	52			
7	OFFCODE	Char	2	31			offense code for current offense
12	PUID	Char	7	36			public use id
8	RACE	Char	1	33			race
11	REASON	Num	8	8	BEST6.	BEST6.	reason code
5	RECTYPE	Num	8	0			record type
9	SEX	Char	1	34			sex

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 13:55 Thursday, February 1, 2001

P U I D	I N G E	A G E	D A Y S R V D	JAKE FL	R E C T Y P E	C U R O F F	O F C O D E	R A C E	. S E X	C H A R T Y P	R E A S O N
LAPU001	25	29	160	0	1	11351	нs	н	м	F	21
LAPU002	19	22	137	0	1	422	PC	Н	м	F	21
LAPU003	28	31	241	0	1	211	PC	в	м	F	21
LAPU004	19	22	110	1	1	211	PC	в	М	F	21
LAPU005	38	41	6	0	1	11377A	HS	W	F	м	23
LAPU006	25	28	54	1	1	487D	PC	W	М	F	21
LAPU007	20	24	372	0	1	245A	PC	W	м	F	21
LAPU008	38	42	605	0	1	286C	PC	в	М	F	21
LAPU009	22	25	68	0	1	666	PC	в	М	F	21
LAPU010	38	41	96	0	1	666	PC	W	М	F	21



L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates The CONTENTS Procedure

Data Set Name: PU.PAGE1BCS Member Type: DATA Engine: V8 Created: 14:02 Thursday, February 1, 2001 Last Modified: 14:02 Thursday, February 1, 2001 Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	Observations:931Variables:14Indexes:0Observation Length:136Deleted Observations:0Compressed:NOSorted:YES
--	--

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Set Page Size:	16384
Number of Data Set Pages:	8
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	120
Obs in First Data Page:	101
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/public.use/page1bcs.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84078
Access Permission:	rw~rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	139264

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Format	Informat	Label
1 11 7 12 13 3 2 4 9	AGE BCS_CODE CHARTYP CODE_DES CRIM_CAT CUROFF DAYSSRVD OFFCODE OFFCODE	Num Num Char Char Char Char Num Char Char	3 8 1 43 20 15 3 2 15	129 16 43 59 102 24 132 39 44	9. \$43. \$15.		Age as of January 15, 1998 BCS code charge type description of offense criminal category current offense Jail outdate minus indate offense code for current offense offense code
14 5 10 8 6	PUID RACE RANK REASON SEX	Char Char Num Num Char	7 1 8 8 1	122 41 8 0 42	9. BEST6.	BEST6.	public use id race severity of offense reason code sex



L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates

The CONTENTS Procedure

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Format	Informat	Label
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	AGE DAYSSRVD CUROFF OFFCODE RACE SEX CHARTYP REASON OFFCODES RANK BCS_CODE CODE_DES CRIM_CAT PUID	Num Num Char Char Char Char Char Num Char Char Char Char Char	3 3 15 2 1 1 1 8 15 8 8 43 20 7	129 132 24 39 41 42 43 0 44 8 16 59 102 122	BEST6. \$15. 9. 9. \$43.	BEST6.	Age as of January 15, 1998 Jail outdate minus indate current offense offense code for current offense race sex charge type reason code offense code severity of offense BCS code description of offense criminal category public use id

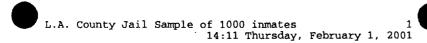
-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby:	PUID
Validated:	YES
Character Set:	ASCII

τ. Δ	County Jail	Sample	of	1000	inmates	•	14:
ь.А.	County Jail	Sampre	OL	1000	Inmates	-	1.48.

14:02 Thursday, February 1, 2001 3

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D	Ц	D	L	12		Λ	-		14	5		K	-	0	
LAPU001	29	160	11351	нs	н	м	F	:	21	11351HS		12	801	POSS OR PURCHASE FOR SALE NARCOTIC CONTROLL D	RUG SALE
LAPU002	22	137	422	PC	н	М	F	:	21	422PC		6	345	THREATEN CRIME WITH INTENT TO TERRORIZE V	IOLENT
LAPU003				PC					21	211PC		5	210	ROBBERY (Summary) V	IOLENT
LAPU004				PC						211PC		5	210	ROBBERY (Summary) V	IOLENT
LAPU005				-						11377HS		35	826		RUG MISD
LAPU006	-	-	487D	PC	•••	-				487H(A)PC		10		GRAND THEFT: VEHICLES, VESSELS/ETC P	ROPERTY
LAPU007				PC			-			187 (A) PC		1			IOLENT
LAPU008				PC						207 (A) PC		7			IOLENT
LAPU009			666	PC						459PC		ģ			ROPERTY
LAPU010			666		W					666PC		<u>a</u>			ROPERTY
DALOOIO	44 I	90	000	FC	W	14	Ľ	•	5 4	000FC		9	210	THEFT WILLOW CHED THAT FOR THEFT, BOX I	



Data Set Name: PU.PAGE2 Member Type: DATA Engine: V8 Created: 14:11 Thursday, February 1, 2001 Last Modified: 14:11 Thursday, February 1, 2001 Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	931 8 0 56 0 NO YES
---	---	---------------------------------------

----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Set Page Size:	8192
Number of Data Set Pages:	7
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	145
Obs in First Data Page:	111
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/
	public.use/page2.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84083
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	65536

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
2	ARRESTS	Num	8	8	total number of arrests
6	CDCHOLD	Num	8	40	CDC hold
3	FELCONV	Num	8	16	no. felony convictions
4	MISDCONV	Num	8	24	no. misdemeanor convictions
7	PARTERM	Char	1	48	parole terminated
8	PUID	Char	7	49	public use id
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
5	SUSJUV	Num	8	32	no. sustained juvenile petitions

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
2	ARRESTS	Num	8	8	total number of arrests
3	FELCONV	Num	8	16	no. felony convictions
4	MISDCONV	Num	8	24	no. misdemeanor convictions
5	SUSJUV	Num	8	32	no. sustained juvenile petitions
6	CDCHOLD	Num	8	40	CDC hold
7	PARTERM	Char	1	48	parole terminated
8	PUID	Char	7	49	public use id

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L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 2 14:11 Thursday, February 1, 2001

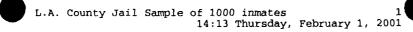
The CONTENTS Procedure

----Sort Information-----

Sortedby: PUID Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 14:11 Thursday, February 1, 2001

PUID	RECTYPE	ARRESTS	FELCONV	MISDCONV	SUSJUV	CDCHOLD	PARTERM
LAPU001	2	4	2	0	0	0	N
LAPU002	2	7	ī	ŏ	2	Ō	N
LAPU003	2	16	5	0	0	0	N
LAPU004	2	1	1	0	0	0	
LAPU005	2	1	0	0	0	0	N
LAPU006	2	13	7	4	0	0	Y
LAPU007	2	2	1	0	0	0	N
LAPU008	2	40	7	4	0	0	N
LAPU009	2	22	5	4	4	0	
LAPU010	2	4	3	0	0	0	N



Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created:	DATA V8 14:13 Thursday,	Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length:	10357 10 0 64
Last Modified:	February 1, 2001 14:13 Thursday, February 1, 2001	Deleted Observations:	0
Protection: Data Set Type: Label:		Compressed: Sorted:	NO YES

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Set Page Size: Number of Data Set Pages: First Data Page: Max Obs per Page:	8192 82 1 127
Obs in First Data Page:	93
Number of Data Set Repairs:	
File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/
	public.use/page3.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84082
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	679936

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
2	ARROFF	Char	10 8	40 8	offense arrested for disposition #1
4 7	DISP1 DISP2	Num Num	8	24	disposition #2
3 10	OFFCODE PUID	Char Char	2 7	50 54	offense code public use id
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
5 8	SLENGTH1 SLENGTH2	Num Num	8 8	16 32	sentence length, disposition #1 sentence length, disposition #2
6 9	SUNIT1 SUNIT2	Char Char	1 1	52 53	sentence unit, disposition #1 sentence unit, disposition #2

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
2	ARROFF	Char	10	40	offense arrested for
3	OFFCODE	Char	2	50	offense code
4	DISP1	Num	8	8	disposition #1
5	SLENGTH1	Num	8	16	sentence length, disposition #1
6	SUNIT1	Char	1	52	sentence unit, disposition #1
7	DISP2	Num	8	24	disposition #2
8	SLENGTH2	Num	8	32	sentence length, disposition #2
9	SUNIT2	Char	1	53	sentence unit, disposition #2
10	PUID	Char	7	54	public use id

-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby: PUID Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII

The CONTENTS Procedure

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates

2

14:13 Thursday, February 1, 2001

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

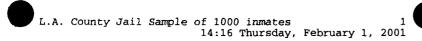


PUID

3

RECTYPE ARROFF OFFCODE DISP1 SLENGTH1 SUNIT1 DISP2 SLENGTH2 SUNIT2

LAPU001 LAPU001 LAPU001 LAPU002 LAPU002 LAPU002 LAPU002 LAPU002 LAPU002 LAPU002	3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 7 3 7 3 7 3 7 3 7	11359 11351.5 11359 11351 245A1 484A 12025B 11357 148 496b	HS HS HS PC PC HS PC HS PC	8 2 4 1 27 9	0 36 3 0	0 0 M Y 0	3	180	D
LAPU002	3	496A	PC		•		•	•	



-----Engine/Host Dependent Information----

Data Set Page Size:	8192
Number of Data Set Pages:	16
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	254
Obs in First Data Page:	208
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	<pre>/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/</pre>
	public.use/page4.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84084
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	139264

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
2	LACUSRSN	Char	4	16	<pre>l.a. custody reason public use id record type time in l.a. custody</pre>
3	PUID	Char	7	20	
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	
4	lacust	Num	8	8	

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
2	LACUSRSN	Char	4	16	l.a. custody reason
3	PUID	Char	7	20	public use id
4	lacust	Num	8	8	time in l.a. custody

----Sort Information-----

Sortedby:	PUID
Validated:	YES
Character Set:	ASCII

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L.A.	County	Jai1	Sample	o£	1000	inmates			2
							February	1,	2001

PUID	RECTYPE	LACUSRSN	lacust
LAPU001	4	9999	•
LAPU002	4	JUVH	0
LAPU002	4	49B1	2
LAPU003	4	REJ	4
LAPU003	4	BOND	36
LAPU003	4	49B1	8
LAPU003	4	EXP	176
LAPU003	4	BAIL	0
LAPU003	4	ORDS	4
LAPU003	4	DISM	14

.

Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created: Last Modified: Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	DATA V8 14:20 Thursday, 14:20 Thursday,			Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	2060 4 0 32 0 NO YES
--	--	--	--	---	--

----Engine/Host Dependent Information----

8192
9
1
254
208
0
<pre>/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/</pre>
public.use/page5.sas7bdat
8.0000M0
SunOS
84085
rw-rr
fain
81920

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
2	CDCUSRSN	Char	4	16	cdc custody reason
3	PUID	Char	7	20	public use id
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
4	cdcust	Num	8	8	time in cdc custody

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
2	CDCUSRSN	Char	4	16	cdc custody reason
3	PUID	Char	7	20	public use id
4	cdcust	Num	8	8	time in cdc custody

-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby:	PUID
Validated:	YES
Character Set:	ASCII

PUID RECTYPE CDCUSRSN cdcust 9999 5 LAPU001 . 5 9999 LAPU002 . LAPU002 5 9999 5 8000 511 LAPU003 5 9999 LAPU003 LAPU003 5 5 5 9999 9999 LAPU003 9999 LAPU004 LAPU005 5 0000

9999

LAPU006

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 1 14:33 Thursday, February 1, 2001

The CONTENTS Procedure

Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created: Last Modified: Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	DATA V8 14:33 Thursday, 14:33 Thursday,			Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	931 7 40 0 NO YES
--	--	--	--	---	----------------------------------

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Set Page Size: Number of Data Set Pages: First Data Page: Max Obs per Page: Obs in First Data Page:	8192 5 1 203 158
Number of Data Set Repairs:	
File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/ public.use/page6.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84086
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	49152

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
2 5 3 4 7 6	PSTTOTAL PTAPTYPE PTCHARGE PTCTYPE PUID RECCODE	Num Char Char Char Char Char Char	8 2 7 1 7 5	8 24 16 23 31 26	pst total points pre-trial application type pre-trial charge pre-trial charge type public use id pre-trial rec code
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Type	Len	Pos	Label
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	RECTYPE PSTTOTAL PTCHARGE PTCTYPE PTAPTYPE RECCODE PUID	Num Num Char Char Char Char Char Char	8 8 7 1 2 5 7	0 8 16 23 24 26 31	record type pst total points pre-trial charge pre-trial charge type pre-trial application type pre-trial rec code public use id

The CONTENTS Procedure

2

-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby: Validated: PUID YES Character Set: ASCII

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 14:33 Thursday, February 1, 2001

•

PUID	RECTYPE	PSTTOTAL	PTCHARGE	PTCTYPE	PTAPTYPE	RECCODE
LAPU001	6	•	HS11351	F	OR	2US
LAPU002	6	9	PC136.1	F	OR	2US
LAPU003	6	26	PC211	F	OR	2US
LAPU004	6	7	PC211	F	· 0C	2US
LAPU005	6	0	0000000	0	00	00000
LAPU006	6	15	PC459	F	OR	2US
LAPU007	6	0	187A	F	BD	5BU
LAPU008	6	0	PC288A	F	OR	2US
LAPU009	6	15	PC666	F	OR	2US
LAPU010	6	26	PC666	F	OR	2US

Protection: Data Set Type:	DATA V8 14:36 Thursday, 14:36 Thursday,		Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	1684 7 56 0 NO YES
Label:				

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Set Page Size: Number of Data Set Pages:	8192 12
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	145
Obs in First Data Page:	113
Number of Data Set Repairs:	
File Name:	<pre>/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/</pre>
	public.use/page7.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000MO
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84088
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	106496

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
3 4 2 7 1 5 6	CONVCODE CONVDISP CONVOFF PUID RECTYPE SENTLEN SENTLEN SENTUNIT	Char Num Char Char Num Num Char	2 8 15 7 8 8 1	39 8 24 42 0 16 41	conviction offense code conviction disposition conviction offense public use id record type sentence length sentence unit

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
2	CONVOFF	Char	15	24	conviction offense
3	CONVCODE	Char	2	39	conviction offense code
4	CONVDISP	Num	8	8	conviction disposition
5	SENTLEN	Num	8	16	sentence length
6	SENTUNIT	Char	1	41	sentence unit
7	PUID	Char	7	42	public use id

The CONTENTS Procedure

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates

2

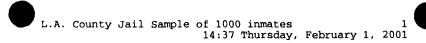
14:36 Thursday, February 1, 2001

-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby: PUID Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 14:36 Thursday, February 1, 2001

PUID	RECTYPE	CONVOFF	CONVCODE	CONVDISP	SENTLEN	SENTUNIT
LAPU001	7	11378	HS	3	180	D
LAPU001	7	11351	HS	4	3	Y
LAPU002	7	211	PC	4	2	Y
LAPU003	7	11351	HS	3	180	D
LAPU003	7	11351.5	HS	4	3	Y
LAPU004	7	211	PC	4	10	Y
LAPU006	7	459	PC	4	4	Y
LAPU006	7	487HA	PC	4	32	м
LAPU007	7	245A1	PC	18	7	Y
LAPU008	7	459	PC	3	270	D



-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Cat Daga Cigo.	8192
Data Set Page Size:	
Number of Data Set Pages:	5
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	203
Obs in First Data Page:	161
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	<pre>/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/</pre>
	public.use/page8.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84087
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	49152

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
6 1 3 4 2 5	PUID RECTYPE VIOLDISP VIOLSENT VIOLTYPE VIOLUNIT	Char Num Num Char Char	7 8 8 8 3 1	28 0 8 16 24 27	public use id record type violation disposition violation sentence length violation type violation sentence unit

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	RECTYPE	Num	8	0	record type
2	VIOLTYPE	Char	3	24	violation type
3	VIOLDISP	Num	8	8	violation disposition
4	VIOLSENT	Num	8	16	violation sentence length
5	VIOLUNIT	Char	1	27	violation sentence unit
6	PUID	Char	7	28	public use id

The CONTENTS Procedure

----Sort Information-----

Sortedby: PUID Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 14:37 Thursday, February 1, 2001

PUID	RECTYPE	VIOLTYPE	VIOLDISP	VIOLSENT	VIOLUNIT
LAPU001	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU002	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU003	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU004	8	000	0	Ó	0
LAPU005	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU006	8				
LAPU008	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU009	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU010	8	000	0	0	0
LAPU011	8	000	0	0	0

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 14:41 Thursday, February 1, 2001

1



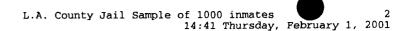
Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created: Last Modified: Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	DATA V8 14:41 Thursday, February 1, 200 14:41 Thursday, February 1, 200		931 10 80 0 NO YES
--	--	--	-----------------------------------

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

Data Set Page Size:	8192
Number of Data Set Pages:	10
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	101
Obs in First Data Page:	73
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/
Release Created: Host Created: Inode Number: Access Permission: Owner Name: File Size (bytes):	public.use/probpar.sas7bdat 8.0000M0 SunOS 84090 rw-rr fain 90112

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
 2 6 5 4 3 1 10 9	PARVIOL POSTPAR POSTPROB PREPAR PREPROB PROBVIOL PUID TOTPOST	Num Num Num Num Num Char Num	8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 7 8	8 40 32 24 16 0 72 64	parole violations post-custody parole violations post-custody probation violations pre-custody probation violations pre-custody probation violations probation violations public use id total post-custody violations
8 7	TOTPRE TOTVIOL	Num Num	8 8	56 48	total pre-custody violations total violations (probation and parole)



The CONTENTS Procedure

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	PROBVIOL PARVIOL PREPROB PREPAR POSTPROB POSTPAR TOTVIOL TOTPRE TOTPOST	Num Num Num Num Num Num Num Num	8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8	0 8 16 24 32 40 48 56 64	probation violations parole violations pre-custody probation violations post-custody parole violations post-custody parole violations post-custody parole violations total violations (probation and parole) total pre-custody violations total post-custody violations
10	PUID	Char	7	72	public use id

-----Sort Information-----

PUID Sortedby: Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 14:41 Thursday, February 1, 2001

P U I D	P R O B V I O L	P A V I O L	P R E P R O B	P R E P A R	P S T P R O B	P O S T P A R	T O T V I L	Т О Т Р R E	T O T P O S T	
LAPU001	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU002	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU003	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU006										
LAPU007			-							
LAPU008	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
LAPU010	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	•

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 1 14:42 Thursday, February 1, 2001

The CONTENTS Procedure

Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created: Last Modified: Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	DATA V8 14:42 Thursday, 14:42 Thursday,			Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	931 2 0 16 0 NO YES
--	--	--	--	---	---------------------------------------

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

	A. A.
Data Set Page Size:	8192
Number of Data Set Pages:	2
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	506
Obs in First Data Page:	428
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	<pre>/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/</pre>
	public.use/riskass.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84089
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	24576

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

	Variable			Label
2	PUID RISKSCOR	7	8	public use id

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

	Variable				Label
1	RISKSCOR	Num	8	0	most recent pre-custody risk assessment
2	PUID	Char	7	8	public use id

-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby:	PUID
Validated:	YES
Character Set:	ASCII

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of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the
U.S. Department of Justice.

L.A.	County	Jail	Sample	o£	1000	inmates			2
			•	14	4:42	Thursday,	February	1,	2001

PUID	RISKSCOR
LAPU001	
LAPU002	
LAPU003	26
LAPU004	•
LAPU005	98
LAPU006	15
LAPU007	•
LAPU008	98
LAPU009	•
LAPU010	•

Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created: Last Modified: Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	DATA V8 14:47 Thursday, 14:47 Thursday,			Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	931 7 64 0 NO YES
--	--	--	--	---	----------------------------------

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information-----

	Data Set Page Size:	8192
	Number of Data Set Pages:	8
	First Data Page:	1
	Max Obs per Page:	127
	Obs in First Data Page:	98
	Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
	File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/
		public.use/strikes.sas7bdat
•	Release Created:	8.0000MO
	Host Created:	SunOS
	Inode Number:	84092
	Access Permission:	rw-rr
	Owner Name:	fain
	File Size (bytes):	73728

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

Ħ	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	CUROFF	Char	15	40	current offense
5	INSTRIKE	Num	8	24	strikes between indate and outdate
4	POSTSTR	Num	8	16	strikes after outdate
3	PRESTR	Num	8	8	strikes prior to indate
7	PUID	Char	7	55	public use id
6	SEVOFF	Num	8	32	rank of most severe offense
2	STRIKES	Num	8	0	total number of strikes

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	CUROFF STRIKES PRESTR POSTSTR INSTRIKE SEVOFF PUID	Char Num Num Num Num Num Char	15 8 8 8 8 8 8 7	40 0 8 16 24 32 55	current offense total number of strikes strikes prior to indate strikes after outdate strikes between indate and outdate rank of most severe offense public use id

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 2 14:47 Thursday, February 1, 2001 The CONTENTS Procedure

-----Sort Information-----

Sortedby: PUID Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII



L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 3 14:47 Thursday, February 1, 2001

PUID	CUROFF	STRIKES	PRESTR	POSTSTR	INSTRIKE	SEVOFF
LAPU001	11351	2	1	0	1	12
LAPU002	422	1	0	0	1	6
LAPU003	211	2	2	0	. 0	5
LAPU004	211	1	0	0	. 1	5
LAPU005	11377A	0	0	0	0	14
LAPU006	487D	2	1	0	1	9
LAPU007	245A	1	0	1	0	6
LAPU008	286C	4	3	0	1	18
LAPU009	666	2	1	0	1	9
LAPU010	666	3	2	Ō	1	9

L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 1 13:51 Thursday, February 1, 2001



PUID

14

Char

2 L.A. County Jail Sample of 1000 inmates 13:51 Thursday, February 1, 2001

public use id

The CONTENTS Procedure

Data Set Name: Member Type: Engine: Created: Last Modified: Protection: Data Set Type: Label:	DATA V8 13:51 Thursday, 13:51 Thursday,			Observations: Variables: Indexes: Observation Length: Deleted Observations: Compressed: Sorted:	931 14 0 56 0 NO YES
--	--	--	--	---	--

-----Engine/Host Dependent Information----

Data Set Page Size:	8192
Number of Data Set Pages:	7
First Data Page:	1
Max Obs per Page:	145
Obs in First Data Page:	96
Number of Data Set Repairs:	0
File Name:	/libra/a/fain/voitis/lacounty/datasets/
	public.use/p3counts.sas7bdat
Release Created:	8.0000M0
Host Created:	SunOS
Inode Number:	84080
Access Permission:	rw-rr
Owner Name:	fain
File Size (bytes):	65536

-----Alphabetic List of Variables and Attributes-----

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
10	INSIDE	Num	3	43	New charges while incarcerated
12	IN_JAIL	Char	1	8	Still In Jail-Y=Yes/N=No
13	NXT_ARST	Num	8	0	days to next arrest
9	PRIORS	Num	3	40	Prior Arrests
8	PR_CYA	Num	3	37	Prior arrest resulted in CYA Term
6	PR_JAIL	Num	3	31	Prior arrest resulted in Jail Term
7	PR_PRISN	Num	3	34	Prior arrest resulted in Prison Term
5	PR_PROB	Num	3	28	Prior arrest resulted in Probation Term
14	PUID	Char	7	9	public use id
11	SUBSEQS	Num	3	46	Subsequent Arrests
4	SU CYA	Num	3	25	Subsequent arrest resulted in CYA Term
2	SU_JAIL	Num	3	19	Subsequent arrest resulted in Jail Term
3	SU_PRISN	Num	3	22	Subseq. arrest resulted in Prison Term
1	SU_PROB	Num	3	16	Subseq. arst resulted in Probation Term

#	Variable	Туре	Len	Pos	Label
1	SU_PROB	Num	3	16	Subseq. arst resulted in Probation Term
2	SUJAIL	Num	3	19	Subsequent arrest resulted in Jail Term
3	SU PRISN	Num	3	22	Subseq. arrest resulted in Prison Term
4	SU_CYA	Num	3	25	Subsequent arrest resulted in CYA Term
5	PR_PROB	Num	3	28	Prior arrest resulted in Probation Term
6	PR JAIL	Num	3	31	Prior arrest resulted in Jail Term
7	PR_PRISN	Num	3	34	Prior arrest resulted in Prison Term
8	PR_CYA	Num	3	37	Prior arrest resulted in CYA Term
9	PRIORS	Num	3	40	Prior Arrests
10	INSIDE	Num	3	43	New charges while incarcerated
11	SUBSEQS	Num	3	46	Subsequent Arrests
12	IN_JAIL	Char	1	8	Still In Jail-Y=Yes/N=No
13	NXT_ARST	Num	8	0	days to next arrest

The CONTENTS Procedure

-----Variables Ordered by Position-----

-----Sort Information-----

9

7

PUID Sortedby: Validated: YES Character Set: ASCII

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D	в	L	N	A	в	L	N	A	S	E	S	L	т
LAPU001	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	N	
LAPU002	0	0	Ō	õ	õ	õ	õ	õ	6	ŏ	ŏ	N	
LAPU003	0	0	0	0	1	ĩ	3	Ō	15	õ	ŏ	N	
LAPU004	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ō	N	
LAPU005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N	
LAPU006	0	0	0	0	4	5	1	0	12	0	0	N	
LAPU007	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		Y	
LAPU008	0	0	0	0	8	8	2	0	38	0	0	N	
LAPU009	0	0	1	0	5	6	0	0	20	0	1	N	393
LAPU010	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	N	

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