The Council of State Governments Justice Center

The Justice Center provides practical, nonpartisan advice informed by the best available evidence.

National nonprofit, nonpartisan membership association of state government officials that engage members of all three branches of state government.

The Justice Center provides practical, nonpartisan advice informed by the best available evidence.
Since the last Justice Reinvestment Task Force meeting in September, CSG Justice Center staff have spoken with a wide array of stakeholders.

Meetings/Calls

- **State Agencies:**
  - Missouri Department of Corrections (MDOC) division directors and regional administrators
  - Missouri Department of Public Safety (MDPS) leadership

- **Law Enforcement Representatives**
  - Missouri Police Chiefs Association
  - Kansas City Police Department (KCPD)

- **Victims Groups**
  - Missouri Organization to Counter Sexual Assault (MOCSA)
  - Missouri Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence (MOCADSV)

- **Task Force members**

Ride Along

- **Ride-along with Kansas City Police Department (KCPD) officers**
CSG Justice Center staff have gathered regional perspectives in stakeholder engagement that reflect the state’s size and diversity.

Since April 2017

85+ CALLS & MEETINGS
12 SITE VISITS
3,300+ MILES DRIVEN

Since the last presentation... Members of the CSG Justice Center team have made two site visits to Missouri, which included visits to Kansas City, Jefferson City, and St. Louis. Stakeholders engaged during these visits include law enforcement and victims service providers.
Missouri’s criminal justice system involves many decision points and actors. Criminal activity leads to apprehension by local law enforcement and detention in county jail. Who stays in local jail beyond initial detention? Judges, prosecutors, defense lawyers, and sheriffs all play roles in determining who remains in jail while cases are pending, as well as ultimate sentences.

- Keep in jail or release on bond?
- Send to prison or probation?

Prison

95% of all who enter prison will exit…are they ready?

Community - Pretrial

Community - Probation

Community - Parole

Recidivism

One of the primary objectives of reentry is to reduce recidivism, or the rate at which people return to criminal behavior patterns.
Recidivism plays a major role in Missouri’s volume of prison admissions and costs the state millions:
- 51% of all people admitted to prison are admitted due to revocations of either probation or parole
- Technical violators alone account for almost $75 million in annual costs to Missouri

With the fastest growing female prison population in the nation and prisons that are short on capacity, Missouri will likely face the need to build two major prison facilities:
- $350 million in construction and one-time costs
- $54 million in annual operating costs
Missouri’s current prison population growth will require spending hundreds of millions in construction and operating costs

If current trends continue, MDOC will be 2,351 prison beds short of needed capacity by the end of FY2021.

- The cost of constructing a new 1,636 bed facility (e.g., Chillicothe women’s facility) is about $175 million.
- Operating costs would approach $27 million annually.

Note: Above projection is best-case scenario of MDOC’s projections. Furthermore, rate of growth in female prison population may necessitate construction on a greater scale, and sooner.
Today’s meeting is front-end focused

Criminal activity leads to apprehension by local law enforcement and detention in county jail.

Stop First-Time Offense
Reduction Recidivism
Repair Harm
Build Trust

Jail
Keep in jail or release on bond?
Send to prison or probation?

Community - Pretrial
Community - Probation
Community - Parole

Prison
95% of all who enter prison will exit...are they ready?

Recidivism
Four specific areas of focus for today’s presentation

1. To what extent does recidivism impact overall crime and arrests in the state? What more can be done to reduce crime by reducing recidivism?

2. What are the overall trends with violent crime and victimization in the state? What are the most effective ways to address high rates of violence and assist victims and communities?

3. Why is the female prison population rising? What can we learn from arrest trends, and to what degree are behavioral health issues involved?

4. What challenges do law enforcement officials report facing amid all these dynamics?
Overview

1. Recidivism and Overall Crime and Arrest Trends
2. Violent Crime and Victimization
3. Growth in the Female Criminal Justice Population
4. Challenges Law Enforcement Faces
Uniform Crime Reporting was started by the FBI in 1930, based upon work done by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

- Purpose is to regularly track trends on key offense types to serve as leading indicators of criminal activity.

**Violent**

1. Murder
2. Rape
3. Robbery
4. Aggravated Assault

**Property**

5. Burglary
6. Larceny
7. Motor Vehicle Theft
8. Arson
Since the peak of 1994, total index crime in Missouri is down 27 percent.

Reported Index Crimes, by Category: 1960–2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Type</th>
<th>1994</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>% chg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>280,138</td>
<td>203,262</td>
<td>- 27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>240,898</td>
<td>171,679</td>
<td>- 29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>39,240</td>
<td>31,583</td>
<td>- 20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Important to appreciate that volume of violent crime is dwarfed by volume of property crime.

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.

Note: FBI expanded definition of rape in 2013, causing number of reported rapes to increase.
Since 2006, total index crimes reported to law enforcement in Missouri have declined more than 20 percent.

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.
But declines in total index crime mask varying trends in property and violent crime

The 10-year decline in reported violent crimes is much more modest than the decline in property crimes.

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.
As with reported index crime, there are varying trends in arrests for index property and violent offenses.

The 10-year decline in arrests for violent index crimes is almost eight times greater than the decline for property crime arrests.

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.
Front-end investment in law enforcement’s efforts to deter crime pay the biggest dividends for public safety

**Deter crime**
Increase law enforcement’s ability to use hot spot strategies and deploy additional officers to increase the perceived certainty of apprehension.

**Reduce recidivism**
High-quality supervision (risk, need, responsivity), consistent sanctioning, and high-quality treatment programs tailored to people’s needs.

**Prolong incapacitation**
Increase length of stay to hold moderate- to high-risk people in prison for an additional 3 months, adding 250 to the prison population.

There are more benefits to investing in law enforcement’s efforts to deter crime

258,662 reported property index crimes (2013)

35,954 arrests for property index crimes (2013)

16,171 people arrested for felony property offenses

32% no prior felony arrests

60% prior felony arrests

8% released from prison within last 2 years

Analysis based on study of Washington State

Missouri laws on access to criminal history make such analysis impossible

Deter crime

Reduce recidivism

Prolong incapacitation

Source: UCR data; Justice Center analysis of DOC and WSP data.
Only 15 percent of all adult arrests in 2016 involved people on probation or parole supervision.

- **Adult arrests in MO—2016:** 227,346
  - Sample extracted by DPS for matching to MDOC data: 85,912 arrest events
  - 72,924 (85%) did not involve a person on MDOC supervision
  - 12,988 (15%) did involve a person on MDOC supervision

Source: CSG analysis of MDOC and MSHP data.
20 percent of adult arrests in 2016 for felony offenses involved people on probation or parole supervision.

Sample extracted by DPS for matching to MDOC data

85,912 arrest events

- **Felony Arrests**: 40,385
- **Misdemeanor Arrests**: 22,233
- **Local Ord. Arrests**: 23,294

Arrests involving people on MDOC supervision:

- **Felony Arrests**: 8,240 (20%)
- **Misdemeanor Arrests**: 2,591 (12%)
- **Local Ord. Arrests**: 2,157 (9%)

Source: CSG analysis of MDOC and MSHP data.
The three most common categories of arrests involving people on supervision were for drug, obstruction, and theft offenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense Type</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>% of Total Arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Arrests Involving MDOC Prob./Par.</td>
<td>8,240</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous Drugs</td>
<td>2,639</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstruct. Judic., Congress, Legis., or a Commission</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Offenses</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damage Property</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Offenses</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Offenses</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample extracted by DPS for matching to MDOC data

85,912 arrest events

Source: CSG analysis of MDOC and MSHP data.
There are many more people on probation than are on parole supervision, so the probation population accounts for more arrests.

Sample extracted by DPS for matching to MDOC data

85,912 arrest events

Felony Arrests
40,385

20% involved someone on probation or parole

Almost twice as many people on probation as on parole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parolees</th>
<th>Probationers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parolees</td>
<td>2,965</td>
<td>5,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probationers</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of Arrests for Most Violent Crimes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parolees</th>
<th>Probationers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSG analysis of MDOC and MSHP data.
Continued reductions in property crime have driven down overall crime in Missouri since the mid-1990s.

Research shows that increasing the perceived certainty of apprehension and effective supervision can reduce crime more cost-effectively than simply prolonging incarceration.

1 in 5 felony arrests involves someone on MDOC supervision, and half of these arrests are for drugs, obstruction, or theft offenses.

People on probation account for nearly twice the number of arrests as people on parole due to the larger probation population.

What Can Missouri Do?

- Reduce crime more cost effectively by investing in more effective law enforcement and recidivism reduction.
- Focus recidivism-reduction efforts on probation as well as parole population.
Overview

1. Recidivism and Overall Crime and Arrest Trends
2. Violent Crime and Victimization
3. Growth in the Female Criminal Justice Population
4. Challenges Law Enforcement Faces
In recent years, violent crime has been on the rise in Missouri.


2006: 31,944
2013: 26,234
2016: 31,583

18% decline 2006–2013
20% increase 2013–2016

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.
Since 2013, the number of murders reported to law enforcement has increased 44 percent.

Reported Violent Index Crimes, by Offense Type: 2006–2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violent Crime Type</th>
<th>% change 2006–13</th>
<th>% change 2013–16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Violent</td>
<td>-18%</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>+1%</td>
<td>+44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape*</td>
<td>+32%</td>
<td>+10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-28%</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated Assault</td>
<td>-19%</td>
<td>+22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The FBI expanded definition of rape in 2013, causing number of reported rapes to increase.

All categories of violent crime have increased by 10% or more since 2013.

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.
St. Louis and Kansas City rank number 1 and 13, respectively, on nationwide list of cities with the highest homicide rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Homicide Rate per 100,000 Population</th>
<th># of Times the National Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationwide</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, MI</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans, LA</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark, NJ</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, MS</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlando, FL</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis, TN</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Charleston, SC</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Bernardino, CA</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City, MO</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton, OH</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, WI</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salinas, CA</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shreveport, LA</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Rock, AR</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 2016

- **St. Louis rate is 11 times greater than national average**
- **Kansas City rate is 5 times greater than national average**

Major cities defined as having population of at least 100,000
Recent increase in violent crime is not just a problem in big cities

### Percent change in violent crimes 2013-16: Top 10 Counties in Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis (county)</td>
<td>+34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>+32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles</td>
<td>+7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis (city)</td>
<td>+18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>+18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>+43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>-18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>+19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cass</td>
<td>+29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Percent change in violent crimes 2013-16: Top 10 Counties in % Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Pop. Rank</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>+20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>+363%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>+350%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentry</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>+250%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>+144%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>+142%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daviess</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>+133%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>+131%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>+130%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bollinger</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>+128%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralls</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>+118%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, from 2013–16:

- 51 counties had declining violent crime
- 11 counties had growth of 5% or less
- 13 counties had growth of 5%–20%
- 42 counties had growth exceeding 20%

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol; US Census Bureau, American Fact Finder.
With the exception of robberies, fewer violent crimes are resulting in arrests

**Murder**—Reported Crimes and Adult Arrests: 2006–2016

- Reported Crimes: 400, 400, 400, 384, 384, 389, 389
- Arrests: 384, 384, 384, 384, 389, 389, 389

- 45% increase
- 3% decline

**Rape**—Reported Crimes and Adult Arrests: 2006–2016

- Reported Crimes: 1,770, 2,556
- Arrests: 650, 454

- 44% increase
- 30% decline

*The FBI expanded definition of rape in 2013, causing number of reported rapes to increase.


- Reported Crimes: 7,593, 6,564
- Arrests: 1,843, 1,630

- 14% decline
- 12% decline

**Aggravated Assault**—Reported Crimes and Adult Arrests: 2006–2016

- Reported Crimes: 22,197, 21,906
- Arrests: 11,080, 7,174

- 1% decline
- 35% decline

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Legal review of MI, MO and OH statutes and <a href="http://www.endthebacklog.org/">http://www.endthebacklog.org/</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Missouri statute lacks guidance on how long evidence is held and stored after it is collected through Sexual Assault Forensic Exams

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After exam and law enforcement</th>
<th>From law enforcement to lab</th>
<th>Evidence storage: unsolved, uncharged</th>
<th>Evidence storage: unreported</th>
<th>Statute of limitations (SOL) for sexual offenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>14 days</td>
<td>14 days</td>
<td>N/A test all</td>
<td>1 year w/o consent of the victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Locally determined</td>
<td>30 days</td>
<td>30 years</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>7 days</td>
<td>50 years or end of statute of limitations</td>
<td>20 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On average, 14% of the homicides in Missouri over the past five years were homicides related to domestic violence.

Source: Missouri State Highway Patrol, Crime in Missouri Reports 2012-2016

Missouri has the 10th-highest rate of DV fatalities in the US.

37 states have produced statewide reports about their DV fatality projects; these are commonly annual reports.
Engagement and communication through community policing is important for law enforcement

What is Community Policing?

Community policing is a law enforcement model that emphasizes interaction with the community and diversified approaches to problem solving.

Definitions of community policing vary, but three components are common:

1. Community involvement;
2. Decentralization;
3. Problem solving

Much of the benefit of such programs comes through improved relations with the community, which can manifest in better cooperation on crime fighting initiatives, sharing of important information, and more.

The focused deterrence model is one of the most promising community policing approaches

“Focused deterrence strategies deploy enforcement, [social] services, the moral voices of the communities, and deliberate communication in order to create a powerful deterrent to particular behaviors by particular offenders.”

- David Kennedy, National Network for Safe Communities at John Jay College, 2006

**Focused Deterrence Strategies**

1. **Focus on particular crimes** or types of violence
2. **Use of street-level intelligence** and analysis
3. **Direct communication with individuals or groups**
4. **Swift and sure consequences** when violence occurs
5. Recognition that law enforcement **cannot solve the community’s problems alone**
Boston: a case study in focused deterrence

**Boston’s “Operation Ceasefire”**

- 1990s; considered first large implementation of focused deterrence model
- Sought to impact gun and group-related violence among youth in the city
- Less than 1% of the city’s youth between the ages of 14 and 24 were responsible for more than 60% of the youth homicides in Boston.

**Results:**

- **63%** reduction in youth homicides
- **27%** reduction in shootings among notified violent groups
- **36%** reduction in gang-involved shootings among gangs treated with crackdowns

Missouri can strengthen its investment in outreach, engagement, and practical assistance to people who experience traumatic events.

There are factors known to increase risk for PTSD following a traumatic event. Community factors include chronic environmental adversity, including exposure to combat in war zones or exposure to community violence. Individual factors include female gender, membership in an ethnic minority group, a history of individual and/or family psychiatric dysfunction, limited coping skills, lower socioeconomic status, homelessness, and a prior history of victimization, particularly sexual assault.

Strategies for practical assistance to victims

1. Early, assertive outreach and engagement services are essential to meet the many complex needs of injured, urban crime victims

2. Successful engagement often begins in the client’s community and moves to a clinic setting; community-based solutions should be supported

3. Practical assistance with social and financial problems helps clients develop a sense of safety and stability

Missouri’s Crime Victim Compensation Program should be an essential resource for expenses related to crime and violence

A victim must
• Report the crime;
• Cooperate with the investigation and prosecution; and
• Apply for compensation within a certain time period.

Expenses covered by the Missouri Compensation program include medical and dental care, mental health counseling, income loss due to crime-related injuries, loss of financial support for dependents of a deceased victim, as well as funeral and burial expenses.

The federal government, through a formula grant program, matches 60 percent of a state’s allocation to this program.
Only a fraction of people who report crime also apply for crime victim compensation

Total violent offenses reported in 2014: 26,913
Total applications for crimes occurring in 2014: 1,354

Source: Email communication from Missouri Department of Public Safety, October 17, 2017.
Updating the compensation statute and regulations can decrease the likelihood that the program must deny an application.

1,621 Applications to Missouri Victim Compensation Program in 2014

- **970 Approvals** (60%)
- **651 Denials** (40%)

Top 10 denial reasons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Failure to Supply Info</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Minimum Loss</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributory Conduct</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reimbursed by Collateral Source</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to Cooperate with Law Enforcement</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to File Claim on Time</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or More Felonies</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Not Reported w/in 48 Hours</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime Not Compensable with Law</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplicate Claim</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The top reason an application is denied is administrative (65%)
Federal Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) formula funds have grown dramatically and can be leveraged to address needs of victims and gaps in services.

Missouri VOCA Assistance Award amounts have quadrupled since FY2013.

The Federal Crime Victims Fund may increase again in FY2018.

Missouri’s Department of Social Services awarded $77.8 million for FY2018 to support victims of child abuse, domestic violence, sexual assault, and underserved crimes such as homicide and burglary.

- 87% of these funds support the work of nonprofit victim service organizations.
- 11% supports victim programs in prosecutors’ offices.
- 1% supports victim programs in law enforcement offices.
- 1% supports 2 court projects.

Source: Email communication from Missouri Department of Social Services, October 10, 2017.
During two focus groups on October 19–20, victim advocates offered additional policy and program ideas:

- Create lifetime orders of protection for victims of personal offenses
- Increase accountability for people who commit domestic violence offenses: arrests, probation conditions, and stays in jail
- Modernize the process whereby victims are notified of sentences to prison and parole; use grant funds to create an interface between MOPS and MDOC
- Reduce employment and housing barriers for women with criminal histories
Trauma contributes to cycles of violence

The effects of trauma place a heavy burden on individuals, families, and communities and create challenges for public institutions and service systems.

Preventing exposure to traumatic events and responding with early interventions and treatment for people experiencing traumatic stress may improve outcomes for these individuals and prevent prolonged involvement with the criminal justice and child welfare systems.

Building trust in law enforcement through trauma-informed policing

A program, organization, or system that is trauma informed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realizes</th>
<th>Recognizes</th>
<th>Responds</th>
<th>Seeks to actively Resist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the widespread impact of trauma and understands potential paths for recovery</td>
<td>the signs and symptoms of trauma in clients, families, staff, and others involved with the system</td>
<td>by fully integrating knowledge about trauma into policies, procedures, and practices</td>
<td>re-traumatization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For law enforcement officials, trauma-informed policing practices that enhance officers’ understanding of trauma and its effects can facilitate criminal investigations through a greater awareness of a victim’s needs, reduce the potential recurrence of criminal behavior through early intervention and community trust in police, and connect traumatized people to appropriate community services and supports.

Violent index crime in Missouri has been increasing since 2013.

Violent index crime is up in all but one of Missouri’s most populous counties, and it is an issue in more rural counties as well.

Arrests for violent crime are down significantly despite rising violent crime.

Funding for victim assistance has quadrupled and has never been higher.

Many people who come into contact with the criminal justice system have experienced trauma, which can manifest in many different ways and is important to account for in a law enforcement context.

What Can Missouri Do?

- Assist local law enforcement agencies in enhancing community policing efforts, addressing violent crime, implementing trauma-informed policies, and increasing transparency and accountability.

- Improve access to and quality of services provided to victims of crime.
Overview

1. Recidivism and Overall Crime and Arrest Trends
2. Violent Crime and Victimization
3. Growth in the Female Criminal Justice Population
4. Challenges Law Enforcement Faces
Missouri had the fastest-growing female prison population in the nation from 2010 to 2015

Female Prison Population Percentage Change, 2010–2015

85 percent of women newly admitted to prison are admitted for nonviolent offenses, compared to 69 percent of men.

**New Prison Admissions by Offense Type and Gender, FY2016**

- **Total New Admissions**: 16% Violent Offenses, 6% Sex and Child Abuse Offenses, 40% Nonviolent Offenses, 33% Drug Offenses, 6% DWI Offenses
- **Males**: 18% Violent Offenses, 7% Sex and Child Abuse Offenses, 40% Nonviolent Offenses, 29% Drug Offenses, 6% DWI Offenses
- **Females**: 8% Violent Offenses, 3% Sex and Child Abuse Offenses, 36% Nonviolent Offenses, 49% Drug Offenses, 3% DWI Offenses

Figures represent new admissions only and exclude admissions for supervision violations. About half of all new admissions were for long-term treatment and were not the result of a new court sentence. Nonviolent Offenses include property offenses, public order offenses, other weapons offenses, and other traffic offenses.

Source: Missouri Department of Corrections Offender Profile, FY2016
Two-thirds of women admitted to prison for supervision violations are admitted for technical violations, compared to just over half of men.

Prison Admissions for Returns from Supervision by Reason and Gender, FY2016

- Total Returns from Supervision:
  - Law Violations: 45%
  - Technical Violations: 55%

- Males:
  - Law Violations: 47%
  - Technical Violations: 53%

- Females:
  - Law Violations: 35%
  - Technical Violations: 65%

Figures represent admissions for supervision violations only.

Source: Missouri Department of Corrections Offender Profile, FY2016
Over the past decade, arrests have increased only for females, and primarily for nonviolent property and drug offenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>-19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>-30%</td>
<td>-29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-15%</td>
<td>+15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agg. Assault</td>
<td>-39%</td>
<td>-21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>-33%</td>
<td>+26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>-6%</td>
<td>+25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MV Theft</td>
<td>-40%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>-29%</td>
<td>-44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Index</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drug Sales</td>
<td>-38%</td>
<td>-21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Poss.</td>
<td>-6%</td>
<td>+39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-42%</td>
<td>-34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime in Missouri, 2006-16, Missouri State Highway Patrol.

Although there were significant increases in arrest volume for the more serious offenses of robbery and burglary, the overwhelming increase in volume is for much less serious, nonviolent offenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrests of females for select offenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offense</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Poss.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of females admitted to prison for treatment has increased 17 times faster than males.

Source: CSG analysis of MDOC prison admission data
Males admitted to prison for treatment have more prior criminal activity than females

On average, females admitted for treatment have:

- **27% fewer** prior sentences
- **Half** as many prior incarcerations

### Admissions to Prison for Treatment—FY2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average # of Prior Sentences</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average # of Prior Incarcerations</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSG analysis of MDOC prison admission data
Missouri’s female prison population grew at the fastest rate in the nation between 2010 and 2015.

Between 2006 and 2016, the number of arrests for index crimes increased only for females; arrests for index crimes for males remained flat or went down over the same period.

Females are being sent to prison for treatment at rapidly increasing rates.

What Can Missouri Do?

- Implement treatment and programming models that account for gender-specific needs, trauma, and behavioral health challenges in criminal justice populations.
- Establish more community-based treatment and programming and rely less on prison-based treatment, which is less effective.
Overview

1. Recidivism and Overall Crime and Arrest Trends
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Engagement with law enforcement has provided critical context and information for this justice reinvestment initiative.

**Law enforcement concerns expressed in discussions:**

- Mental illnesses and substance abuse
  - “County jails are the primary mental health facilities in the state,” and “We are spending more resources and losing the battle fighting addiction and overdose deaths.”

- Jail overcrowding
  - “We don’t have the beds to keep dangerous people off the street.”

- Lack of confidence in community supervision
  - “Half of all parolees end up back in prison, and probationers are allowed to violate repeatedly before being sanctioned.”

- State doesn’t pay counties what they’ve been promised
  - “The state is behind in paying our jail reimbursements, and that forces us to make do with much less.”
Substance abuse and mental health are key concerns of Missouri law enforcement officials

Q: What are most pressing challenges in your jurisdiction?

Top 4 challenges identified by law enforcement:

- 72% - opioids/drugs
- 44% - mental illness
- 28% - repeat offenders
- 21% - domestic violence

Source: Statewide survey administered by CSG to Missouri law enforcement officials.
Between 2012 and 2016, opioid overdose deaths in Missouri increased 67 percent.

Between 2012 and 2016, 3,377 deaths were opioid related.

Source: Missouri Division of Behavioral Health, Department of Mental Health, (June 2017).
Preventing Overdose Deaths with Naloxone.
The number of opioid-related deaths in Missouri is higher than the national average.

From 1999 to 2014, opioid-related death rates increased:

- **8x** for females
- **4x** for males
- **6x** for Caucasians
- **3x** for African-Americans
- **7x** for adults age 25 to 34
- **3x** for adults age 35 to 44
- **6x** for adults age 45 to 54

Source: Missouri Division of Behavioral Health, Department of Mental Health, (April 2016). *The Rise in Opioid Overdose Deaths in Missouri.*
Trauma is strongly associated with mental illnesses and substance use disorders as well as incarceration.

**SUBSTANCE USE**

At least **two-thirds** of men and women entering substance abuse treatment report childhood abuse and neglect.

**MENTAL HEALTH**

90 percent of men and women in psychiatric hospitals have been exposed to trauma.

**WOMEN**

50%–98% of women who are incarcerated experienced childhood trauma.

**MEN**

At least **52%** of men who are incarcerated experienced childhood physical abuse.

CIT in Missouri

CIT Training in Missouri
• 88 of Missouri’s 114 counties, and the City of St. Louis, are affiliated with either an established CIT council or an expansion council in some capacity.

The Missouri CIT Council
• State-level advisory council
• Receives some funding from MDMH
• Provides training and resources to local CIT programs
• Conducts an annual conference

Barriers/Challenges for CIT
• Information-sharing
• Lack of purpose-built diversion/stabilization capacity

Source: Missouri CIT Council; [https://www.missouricit.org/](https://www.missouricit.org/) Interviews with staff from CIT International, St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department (SLMPD), and Kansas City Police Department (KCPD).
Crisis Stabilization Units are an alternative to jail or the emergency room for people experiencing a mental health crisis.

**Current options** for removing someone with SMI from the street...

- **Jails** = generally not equipped to provide necessary treatment and interventions
- **Hospital Emergency Departments (ED)** = generally only hold people for a few hours

**Alternative option…**

- **Crisis Stabilization Unit (CSU)** = residential facility designed to address mental health crises in a clinical setting with trained staff and connect people to services in the community upon discharge.

---

**The Kansas City Assessment and Triage Center (KC-ATC)**

- Example of a purpose-designed, CSU-type facility in Missouri
- Opened in November 2016
- Open 24/7 with a length-of-stay of up to 23 hours
- Available to Kansas City Police Department (KCPD) or through an approved hospital emergency department
- Funded through a public/private partnership involving the state, the city, and private companies

Source: [http://www.rediscovermh.org/kcatc.html](http://www.rediscovermh.org/kcatc.html)
Challenges Law Enforcement Faces: Section Recap

- Law enforcement identifies drugs, mental illness, repeat offending, and domestic violence as the main challenges they face.
- Mental illnesses, substance abuse, and trauma are prevalent among criminal justice populations.
- Law enforcement officers are often the first point of contact for someone experiencing a mental health crisis. As such, training and resources are key to handling these situations safely.

What Can Missouri Do?

- Establish more community-based treatment and programming to help fight the recent surge in drug overdose deaths and related community strains.
- Remove existing barriers to the sharing of critical information.
- Consider the creation of Crisis Stabilization Units (CSUs) to divert people with mental illness from jails or hospitals.
Key takeaways

- Reducing recidivism is critical to controlling prison growth and crime, to a degree. Reducing recidivism among probationers can have a bigger impact on reducing overall crime given the large volume of people on probation.

- Violent crime rates are high and have started increasing, and arrests have not been able to keep up to hold people accountable.

- Deterring crime through increased certainty of apprehension is the most cost-effective way to curb violent crime. This requires law enforcement resources and data.

- In the meantime, the state can bolster its response to victims of violent crime through compensation policy and directing increased federal resources to people and communities that are impacted most.
Key takeaways

- Arrests of females for larceny and drug possession are way up, as are sentences of females to prison for treatment. There are high rates of trauma and behavioral health treatment need among this population, and addressing these factors is key to reducing female incarceration, expanding diversion, and averting growth in prison populations.

- Local law enforcement faces huge pressures in dealing with people with behavioral health issues. Improving services and assistance for local law enforcement can allow them to focus more on responding to and solving violent crime.

- Ultimately, the state is at a crossroads. Missouri can either build a new female prison at a huge cost or invest in improving public safety through more effective responses to nonviolent offenses and behavioral health issues among females who are arrested and assisting law enforcement and victims in responding to and reducing violent crime.
Policy options

- State grant monies for local pilots to reduce crime or support effective law enforcement (overtime/training; analytics; community policing; focused deterrence)

- Modernizing victim compensation program (policies and practices)

- Codify language on the collection, storage, and holding of evidence collected through Sexual Assault Forensic Exams

- Develop gender-responsive supervision and programming to fight current crisis with female criminal justice-involved populations

- Bolster community-based behavioral health treatment resources

- Create crisis stabilization units to divert people experiencing a mental health crisis from the criminal justice system, and ensure that follow-up services are available to reduce the likelihood of people returning to these facilities
Policy options

- Make data sharing between MDOC and local law enforcement automated to facilitate better public safety partnerships
- Better data sharing to improve domestic violence fatality reviews
- Improve data sharing between local law enforcement and behavioral health treatment providers
- Change statute to allow for research-oriented access to criminal history data (i.e., sharing of identifying information in a protected, confidential manner)
Proposed timeline for justice reinvestment in Missouri

Data Analysis
- Initial Analysis
- Detailed Data Analysis
- Impact Analysis

Stakeholder Engagement
- Stakeholder Engagement and Task Force Presentations
- Policy Option Development

Timeline:
- Launch Presentation July 11
- 2nd Presentation September 20
- 3rd Presentation October 24
- Policy Options Presentation November 28
- Briefings for Legislators and other Stakeholders (as necessary/requested)

Events:
- Pre-filing Opens
- Legislative Session Begins
- Presentations:
  - July 11
  - September 20
  - October 24
  - November 28
- Policy Options Presentation

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Thank You

Ben Shelor, Policy Analyst
bshelor@csg.org

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