





## Sentencing and Justice Reinvestment Initiative

Michigan Law Revision Commission September 24, 2013

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### **Overview of Presentation**

Reducing Criminal Behavior

**Sentencing Analyses** 

**Stakeholder Perspectives** 

Reducing Criminal Behavior

Sentencing Analyses

# Stakeholder Engagement Has Been Substantial and Rewarding



7 visits to Michigan

5 cities

50+ meetings

40+ conference calls

so far...

### Divergent Views of Michigan's Longer Lengths of Stay

**Prosecutors** see longer lengths of stay as the natural effect of a serious crime problem - a hardening population - and of the difficulty of getting to a prison sentence under the sentencing guidelines.

**Defenders** see an accumulation of increased penalties in amendments to the guidelines, increased maximums, harsh mandatory minimum terms, increased authority for consecutive sentencing, wide discretion for habitual and repeat drug offenders, and tough parole practices and policies.

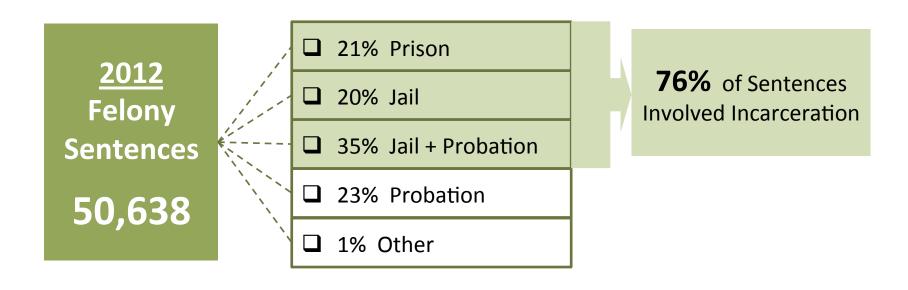


Analysis of Difference in Time Served								
	Percent of or resulting in sentence		Time served in prison (in months)					
Offense	National Michigan (2004 court (2005 court disposition data) disposition data)		National Average (2005 release)	Michigan Average (2007 rdoma)	e Minimum			
Murder	89%	86%	147	142	139			
Robbery	72%	77%	64	97	73			
Sexual Assault	61%	63%	79	105	61			
Aggravated Assault	43%	38%	42	64	49			
Burglary	49%	38%	29	<b>52</b> 25 MDOC Amual Report; 2007 MDOC	33			

### Divergent Views of the "Short Sentence" Problem

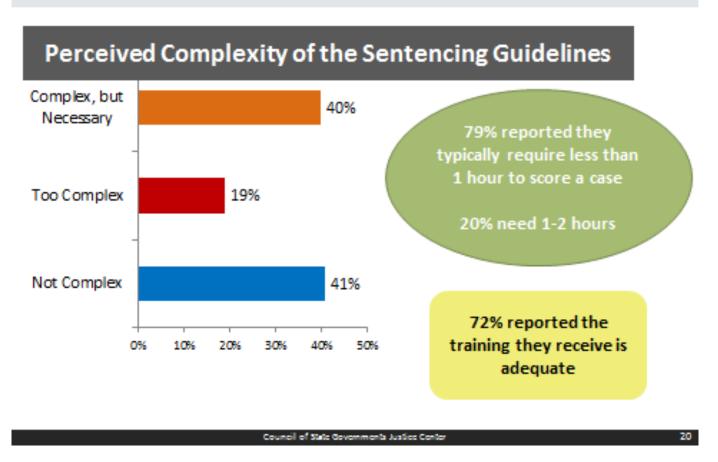
**Counties** feel burdened by existing sentences to jail and fear the "shift and shaft" where the guidelines are concerned.

**DOC** feels ineffective when short sentences defeat their ability to provide appropriate programming sufficiently before ERD.



### Survey of Prosecutors Informs the Question of "Workability"

Almost 60% of Prosecutors Find the Guidelines Complex, But Most Feel the Complexity Is Necessary



### Divergent Views on Disparities in Sentencing and Charging

**Probation Agents** view PSIs as bench-driven, so practices differ from place to place.

**Prosecutors and judges** view sentencing recommendations in PSIs as driven by DOC policy.

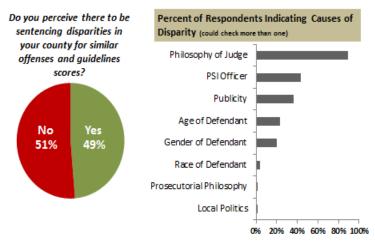
**Prosecutors** perceive sentencing disparities and primarily attribute them to judicial philosophy.

**Defenders** perceive disparity in prosecutor charging practices.

## Rule 6.425 Sentencing; Appointment of Appellate Counsel

- (A) Presentence Report; Contents.
- (1)Prior to sentencing, the probation officer must investigate the defendant's background and character, . . .

Almost Half of Prosecutors Perceive Sentencing Disparities



ouncil of State Covernments Justice Center

2

### Legal Financial Obligations Are a Recurring Theme

#### Different perspectives:

- Reentry & Offender Impact
- Child Support Enforcement
- **Court System Collections**
- **Crime Victim Compensation**
- Crime Victim Restitution

#### <u>Issues Emerging in Michigan:</u>

- Victims: Courts not prioritizing restitution
- Defenders & Advocates: Courts using 'pay or stay' sentencing

Consensus? Many Stakeholders suggest Driver Responsibility Fees are excessive



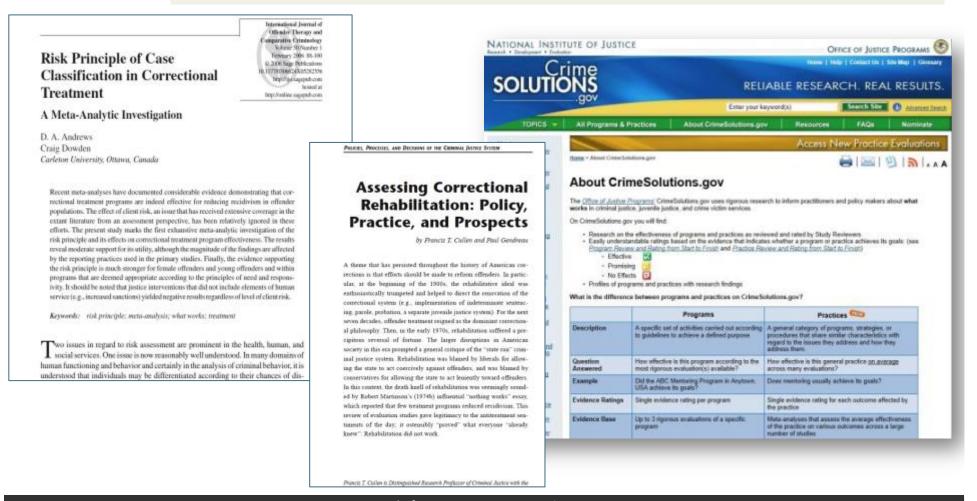
Stakeholder Perspectives

**Reducing Criminal Behavior** 

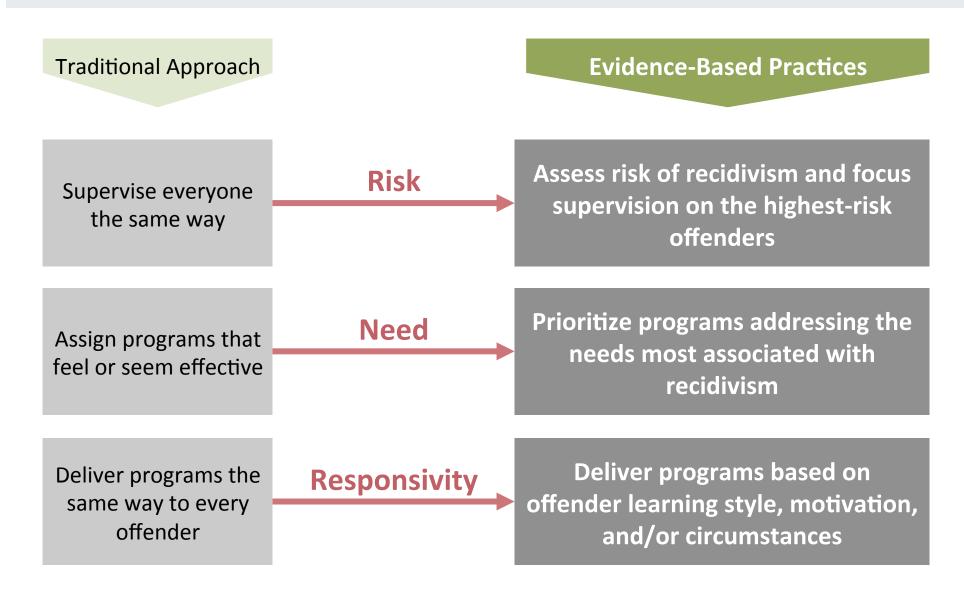
Sentencing Analyses

# Knowledge on Improving Criminal Justice Outcomes Has Increased Dramatically Over the Last 20 Years

## Academics and practitioners have contributed to this growing body of research



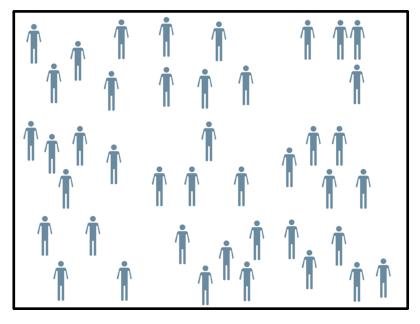
## Reducing Criminal Behavior Requires Focusing on Risk, Need, and Responsivity



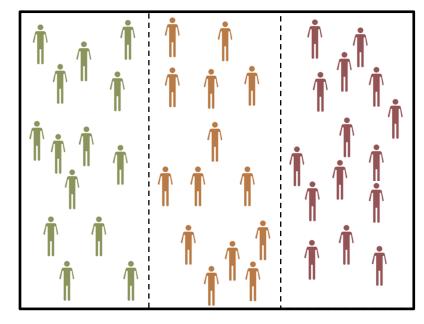
### Identify and Focus on Higher-Risk Offenders

#### Who?

#### Without Risk Assessment...



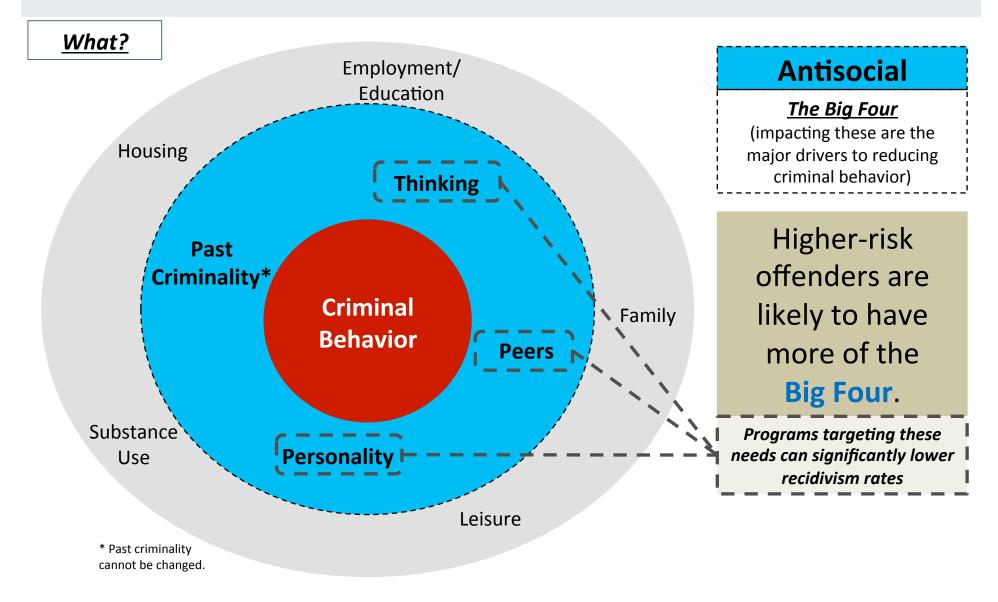
#### With Risk Assessment...



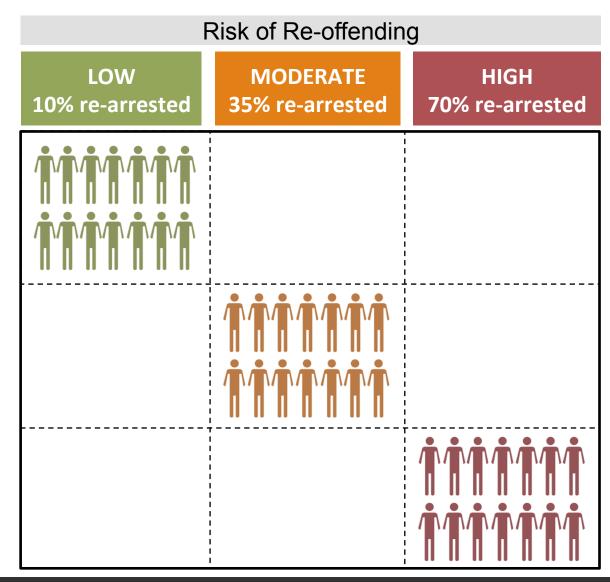
#### Risk of Re-offending

LOW MODERATE HIGH
10% 35% 70%
re-arrested re-arrested re-arrested

## Target the Factors that Evidence Shows Are Most Central to Criminal Behavior



# After Getting the Who and the What, Supervision and Programming Should Be Well Targeted



Supervision/ Program Intensity

#### **Moderate**

Supervision/ Program Intensity

#### High

Supervision/ Program Intensity

### Ensure Programs Are High Quality and Properly Implemented

#### **How Well?**

Program
Effectiveness
(reduced recidivism)

Is the program based on principles demonstrated to be effective?

Is program matched with appropriate client population?

Is program implemented as designed?

Are program staff properly trained?

Is performance tracked and measured against expectations?

### **Elements of Effective Supervision**

Dosage/Intensity

Focus supervision officer time and program resources on the highest-risk offenders.

Consistency

Use a graduated range of sanctions <u>and</u> incentives to guide specific type of response to violations and compliance.

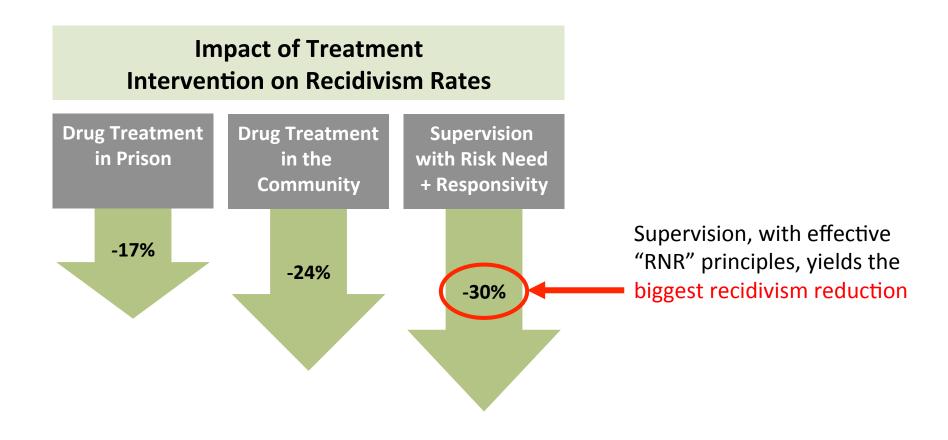
**Swiftness** 

Enable officers to respond meaningfully to violations without delay or time-consuming processes.

Cost-effectiveness

Prioritize the most expensive, restrictive sanctions for offenders committing the most serious violations.

## Where and How Treatment Is Delivered Impacts the Degree of Recidivism Reduction



Source: Lee, S., Aos, S., Drake, E., Pennucci, A., Miller, M., & Anderson, L. (2012). Return on investment: Evidence-based options to improve statewide outcomes, April 2012 (Document No. 12-04-1201). Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

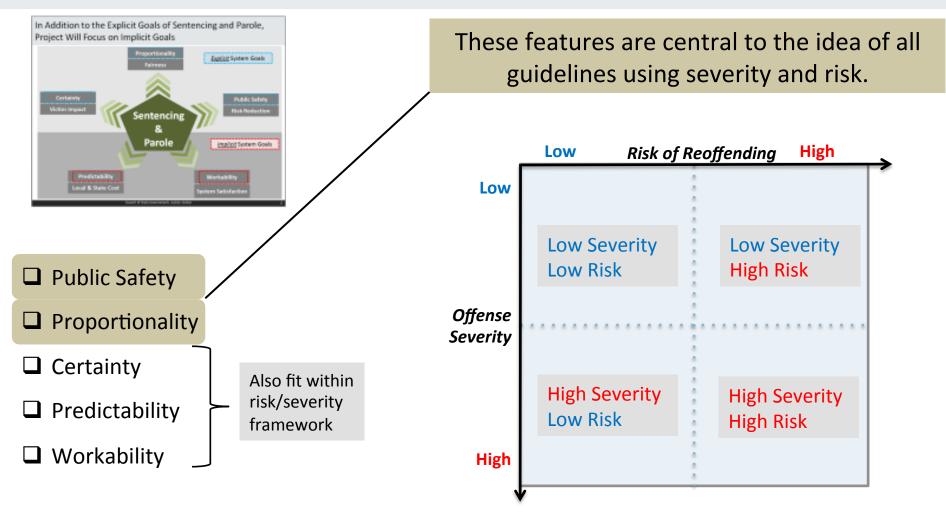
Source: Latessa, Lovins, and Smith, "Follow-up Evaluation of Ohio's Community Based Correctional Facilities, Outcome Study, February 2010

Stakeholder Perspectives

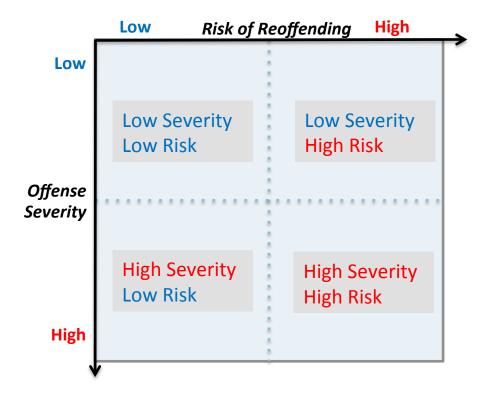
Reducing Criminal Behavior

**Sentencing Analyses** 

# Addressing Risk of Recidivism and Severity of Offense Are Critical Components of Effective Sentencing (and Parole)



# Michigan Sentencing Guidelines Attempt to Classify by Offense Severity and Risk of Recidivism



Sentencing Grid for Class F Offenses—MCL 777.67
Includes Ranges Calculated for Habitual Offenders (MCL 777.21(3)(a)–(c))

						PRV	Level						
OV Level A 0 Points			B 1-9 Points		C 10-24 Points		D 25-49 Points		E 50-74 Points		F 75+ Points		Offender Status
		3*		6*		9*		17*		23		23	
I	0	3*	0	7*	0	11*	2	21	5	28	10	28	HO2
0-9 Points	U	4*	U	9*	U	13*	2	25	3	34	10	34	HO3
Louis		6*		12*		18*		34		46		46	HO4
		6*		9*		17*		23		23		24	
II 10-34 O Points	7*	_	11*	0	21	5	28	10	28	12	30	HO2	
	9*	0	13*		25		34		34		36	HO3	
	12*		18*		34		46		46		48	HO4	
		9*		17*	2	17*	10	23	12	24	14	29	
Ш	0	11*	0	21		21		28		30		36	HO2
35-74 Points	U	13*	U	25	2	25	10	34	12	36	14	43	HO3
r omis		18*		34	L	34		46		48		58	HO4
		17*		17*		23		24		29		30	
IV	0	21	2	21	_	28	12	30	1.4	36	17	37	HO2
75+ Points	U	25	2	25	5	34	12	36	14	43	17	45	HO3
		34		34		46		48		58		60	HO4

#### For all grids, defendants are:

- Moved along a 'left to right' scale based on prior criminal activity, AND
- Moved along a 'top to bottom' scale based on aggravating factors.

The intersection of the horizontal and vertical scores indicates a cell-type into which the defendant falls for sentencing.

There are 3 cell-types (Intermediate, Straddle, and Prison).

Source: Sentencing Guidelines Manual, Michigan Judicial Institute, June 2012.

### Sentencing Begins with Crime

# Crime and Arrest Statistics are Down, but...

➤ 17% and 11% declines in crime and arrests since 2008, respectively

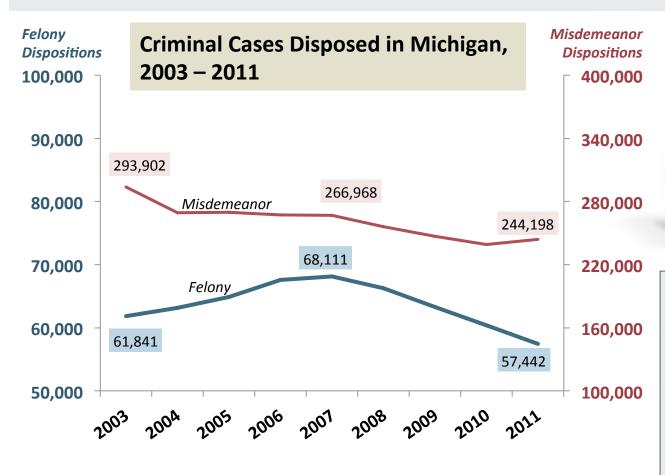
### **High Crime Remains a Problem**

- Four of nation's 10 most violent cities
- Very low clearance rates in high crime areas

### **Resources Limited**

- > Loss of sworn officers
- > Loss of entire police departments

# With Arrests Declining, Felony and Misdemeanor Case Dispositions Declined 7% and 17% from 2003 to 2011



Arrests falling during this period.

## Change in Arrests from 2008-2011

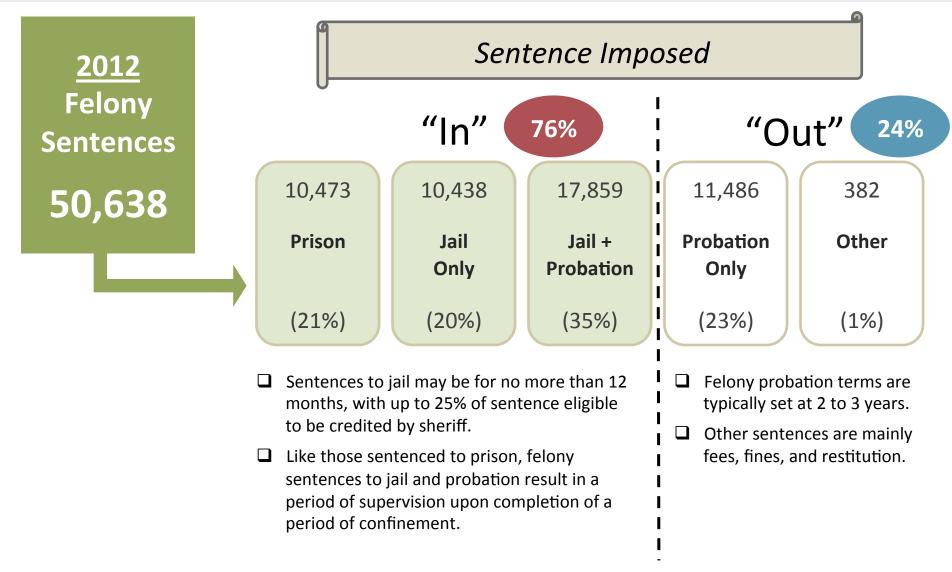
- ☐ Index Violent: 11%
- ☐ Index Property: -9%
- Simple Assault: 2%
- ☐ Weapons: 18%
- ☐ Drug: 4%
- □ OUI: 23%

Source: Annual Statistical Supplemental Reports on Statewide Filing and Disposition Trends, Michigan Supreme Court, State Court Administrator Office; *Michigan Incident Crime Reporting*, 2008-11, Michigan State Police.

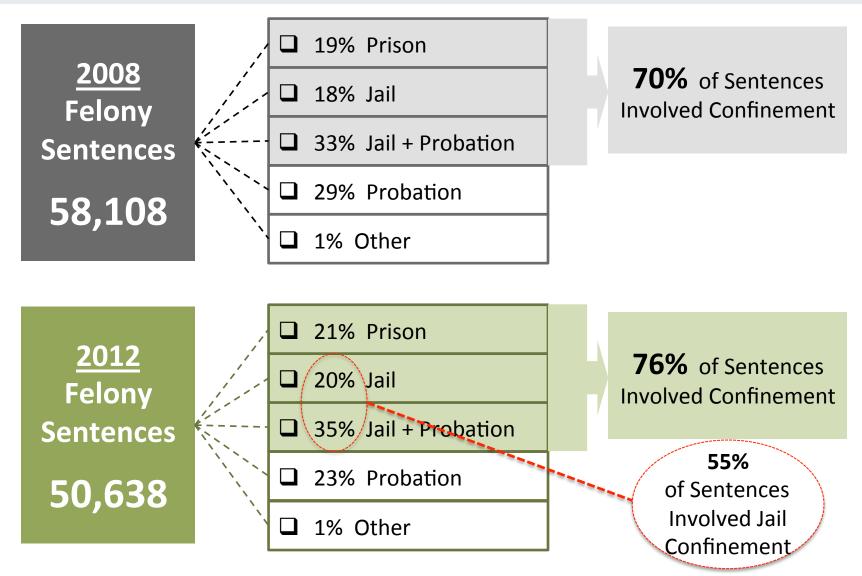
# Number of Felons Sentenced Declined 15% from 2007 to 2011, but the Decline Slowed Considerably in 2012



### Most Felony Sentences Include Jail/Prison Time

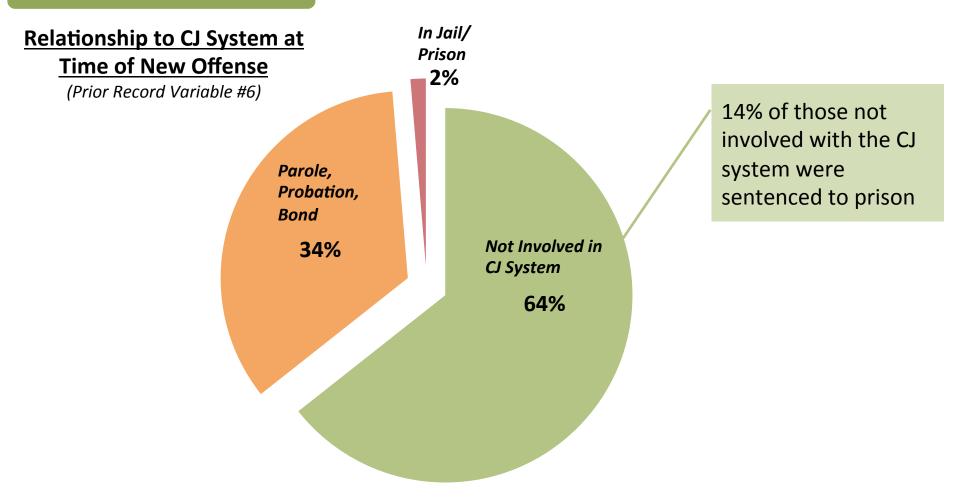


## 10% Increase in Share of Sentences to Jail or Prison, and 21% Decrease in Share of Sentences to Probation, 2008-2012



# 64% of Felons Sentenced in 2012 Were not Involved with the Criminal Justice System at the Time of Their Offense

#### **2012 Felony Sentences**



# All Offense Grids Show Increase in Share of Sentences Involving Jail or Prison Incarceration

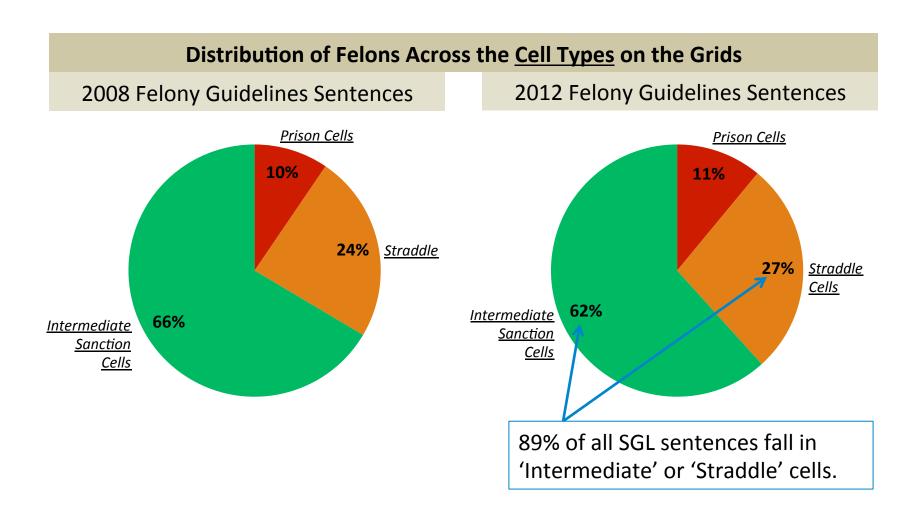
Offense Class	20	08	2012		
Offerise Class	# Sent	% Incarc.	# Sent	% Incarc.	
All Felony Sentences	58,108	70%	50,638	76%	
Class H	2,217	61%	1,630	<b>&gt;</b> 74%	
Class G	13,316	66%	11,367	<b>&gt;</b> 74%	
Class F	7,571	63%	6,326	> 69%	
Class E	15,661	72%	13,176	77%	
Class D	7,060	72%	5,874	79%	
Class C	2,844	81%	2,844	85%	
Class B	1,828	84%	1,647	90%	
Class A	1,103	97%	1,035	99%	
2 <sup>nd</sup> Deg. Murder	168	100%	150	100%	
Subtotal SGL	51,768	70%	44,049	77%	
Non SGL	6,340	72%	6,589	75%	

The least serious offense grids have experienced the largest increase in sentences involving confinement.

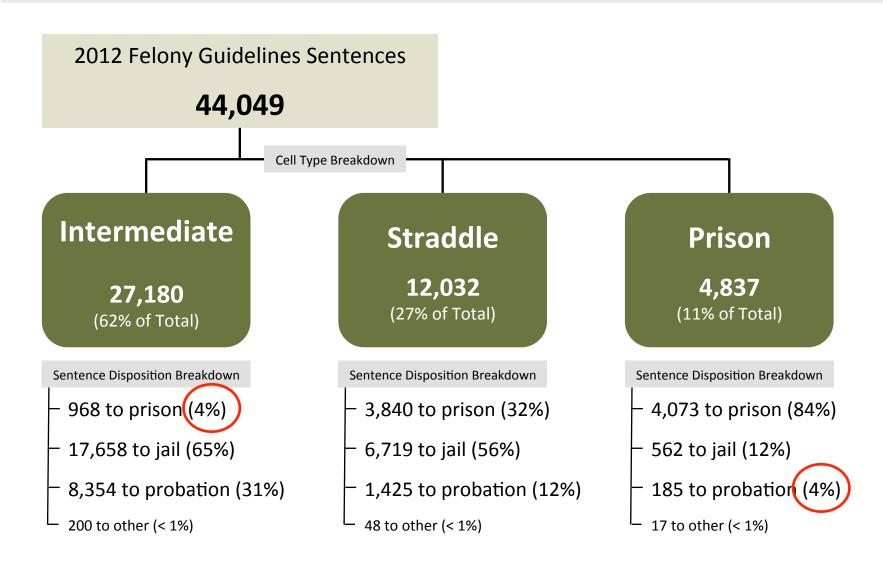
Sentencing outside of the guidelines:

- Offenses of 1<sup>st</sup> Degree Murder or Felony Firearm
- Term of years sentences
- Filed as felony but reduced to misdemeanor
- Offense date preceding effective date of SGL.

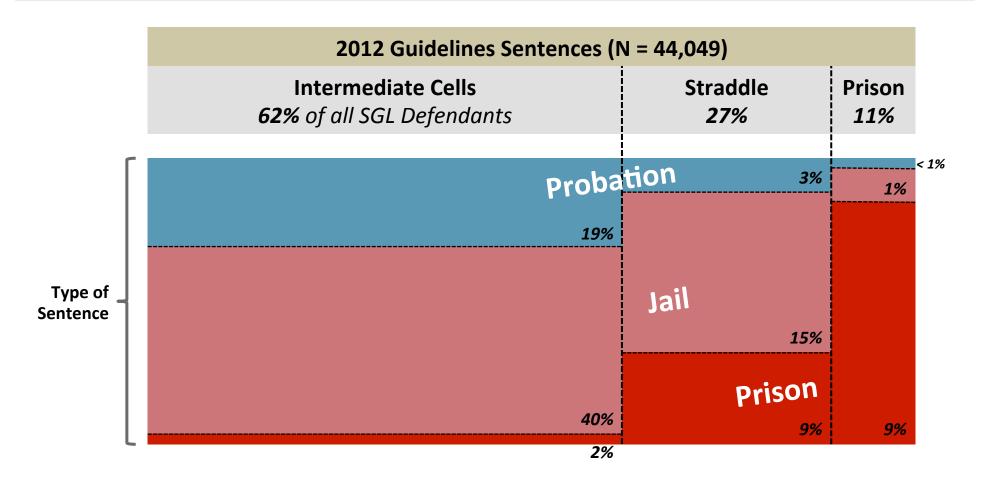
### Share of Felons Falling in Prison Cells Is Virtually Unchanged



## Jail Is the Most Common Sentence for Intermediate and Straddle Cell Felons

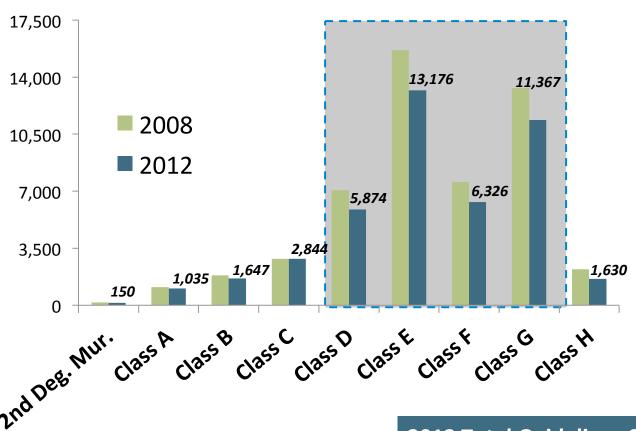


## Intermediate Cell Felons Sentenced to Jail Confinement Account for 40% of all Guidelines Sentences



## Almost 85% of All Guidelines Sentences Fall in Four Grids, D - G

#### 2008 and 2012 Guidelines Sentences by Offense Class



**2012 Total Guidelines Sentences = 44,049** 

Classes D – G total sentences = 36,743

## Workability: 84% of Class D-G Sentences Only Utilize the First Two Rows of the Grids

2012							
Sentenc	es	А	В	С	D	E	F
Class G	ı	12.7%	10.1%	15.1%	12.0%	6.3%	5.1%
11,367	Ш	2.9%	2.3%	5.3%	4.8%	3.1%	2.2%
	Ш	2.3%	2.0%	4.3%	4.5%	3.0%	2.0%
Class F	ı	11.7%	8.4%	13.4%	10.3%	4.7%	3.1%
6,326	=	6.8%	5.0%	7.9%	8.0%	4.2%	2.9%
	≡	2.4%	2.0%	2.9%	2.6%	1.2%	1.0%
	IV	0.3%	0.1%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
Class E	_	9.6%	7.0%	10.2%	9.0%	4.3%	3.5%
13,176	=	5.6%	6.0%	10.5%	9.2%	5.7%	4.0%
	≡	1.1%	0.9%	2.1%	2.1%	1.5%	1.8%
	IV	0.5%	0.4%	0.9%	1.0%	0.6%	0.6%
	V	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%
	VI	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Class D	_	8.6%	6.4%	13.4%	11.6%	7.0%	7.6%
5,874	=	3.6%	3.0%	6.5%	7.3%	4.3%	4.6%
	=	0.6%	0.7%	1.4%	1.4%	0.7%	0.7%
	IV	0.8%	0.4%	1.0%	0.8%	0.7%	0.6%
	V	0.6%	0.4%	1.1%	0.8%	0.4%	0.6%
	VI	0.4%	0.1%	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%

82%

86%

85%

84%

How much value is added with the effort of scoring OVs, plus litigating and legislating over their interpretation?

# Proportionality: Within Narrowly Defined Cell Types, Considerable Variation in Sentencing

Breakdown of most common offense for the  $\underline{'G'}$  grid, **Possession of less than 25g of Certain Controlled Substance Schedule I or II** (*MCL 333.7403(2)(a)(v)*).

#### **2012 Sentences = 3,409**

	A	В	С	D	Е	F
	14.3%	13.6%	20.4%	17.6%	10.2%	9.2%
II	1.1%	1.1%	2.5%	2.9%	2.2%	1.8%
III	0.4%	0.2%	0.5%	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%

Note: Shaded cells account for 66% of all sentences.

Regardless of Prior Record (PRV) score, similar odds for getting:

- ☐ Probation term in lieu of confinement, or
- ☐ Jail term of varying length which may/may not include supervision afterward

Prior A	(489)
Pris:	2
<b>Jail:</b> Range Avg	<b>246</b> 1-365 days 52 days
<b>Prob:</b> Range Avg	238 1-60 mos 18 mos

Prior B	(462)
Pris:	0
<b>Jail:</b> Range Avg	<b>283</b> 1-365 days 75 days
<b>Prob:</b> Range Avg	177 1-48 mos 19 mos

Prior C	(696)
Pris:	5
Jail:	435
Range	1-365 days
Avg	116 days
Prob:	251
Range	1-60 mos
Avg	21 mos

<b>Prior D</b> (601)					
Pris:	27				
Jail:	399				
Range	1-365 days				
Avg	152 days				
Prob:	172				
Range	1-60 mos				
Avg	23 mos				

<b>4 PRV Groups</b> (2,248)					
Pris:	34				
Jail:	1,363				
Range	1-365 days				
Avg	106 days				
Prob:	838				
Range	1-60 mos				
Avg	20 mos				

## Proportionality: Within a Single Cell Type, Considerable Variation in Sentencing

Breakdown of most common offense for the  $\underline{'G'}$  grid, Possession of less than 25g of Certain Controlled Substance Schedule I or II ( $MCL\ 333.7403(2)(a)(v)$ ).

#### **2012 Sentences = 3,409**

**PRV Level A** (489)

246

238

Pris:

Jail:

Prob:

	Α	В	С	D	Е	F
ı	14.3%	13.6%	20.4%	17.6%	10.2%	9.2%
Ш	1.1%	1.1%	2.5%	2.9%	2.2%	1.8%
Ш	0.4%	0.2%	0.5%	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%

į	58		
Jail	Only		

Jail terms ranging from3 days to 365 days

## 188 Jail & Probation

Jail termsranging from1 day to 365 days

Probation termsranging from30 days to 3 years

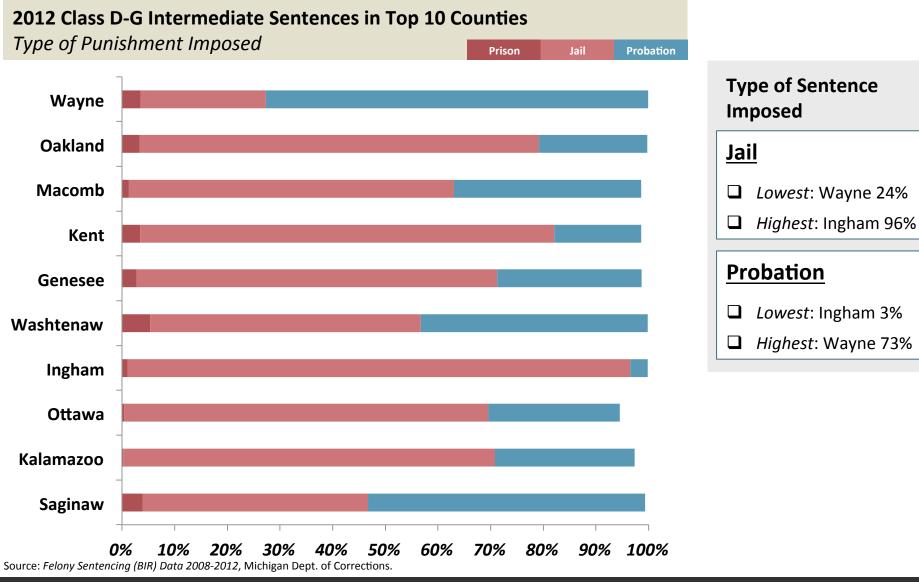
## 238 **Probation Only**

Probation termsranging from30 days to 5 years

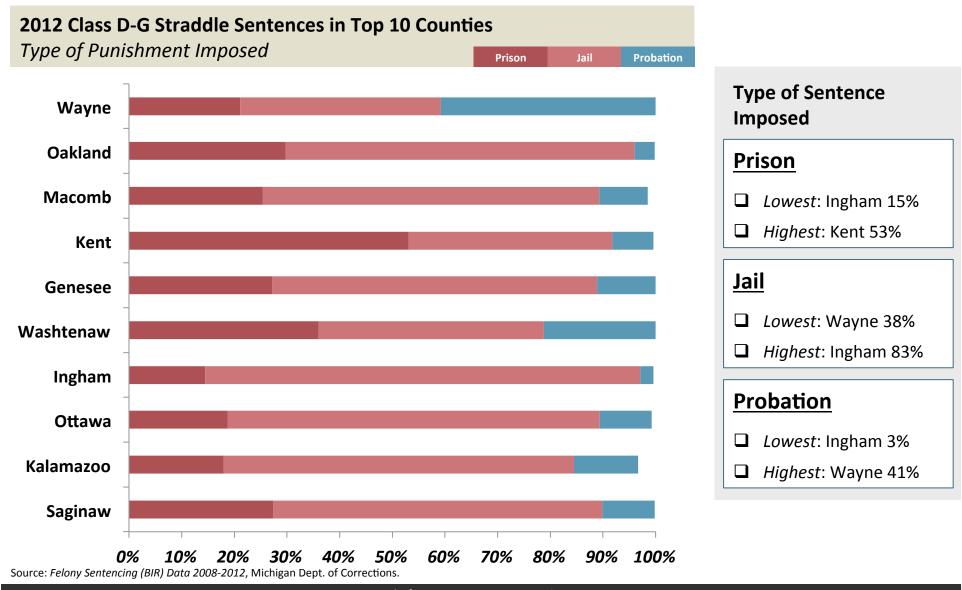
Despite falling in the same cell on the same grid for the same offense, defendants faced a wide range of possible punishments:

- As little as 3 days in jail,
- As much as 5 years on probation, or
- A combination of the two, with widely ranging lengths of jail and probation time.

## Proportionality: Top 10 Counties Show Wide Variance in *Intermediate* Cell Sentences



## Proportionality: Top 10 Counties Show Wide Variance in *Straddle* Cell Sentences



## Public Safety & Risk Reduction: Guidelines Do Not Effectively Direct Who Should Receive Jail

No prior criminal history

Significant criminal history

Class	Α	В	С	D	E	F
Class H	345	217	406	347	-176	139
Class G	2,039	1,626	2,814	2,421	1,411	1,056
Class F	1,334	983	1,555	1,343	658	453
Class E	2,264	1,909	3,169	2,847	1,634	1,353
Class D	860	648	1,411	1,313	800	842
Class C	609	405	797	529	257	247
Class B	363	201	390	315	197	181
Class A	140	111	319	209	148	108
Mur-2	31	10	43	36	21	9

55% received a jail sentence

- These felons should be the lowest risk of recidivism based on their lack of criminal history
- 3,556 sentenced to an average of 78 days at \$45 per day =

\$12.5M cost to counties

# Public Safety & Risk Reduction: Guidelines Do Not Effectively Direct Who Should Receive Supervision

No prior criminal history

Significant criminal history

Class	Α	В	С	D	Е	F
Class H	345	217	406	347	176	139
Class G	2,039	1,626	2,814	2,421	1,411	1,056
Class F	1,334	983	1,555	1,343	658	453
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Class C	609	405	797	529	257	247
Class B	363	201	390	315	197	181
Class A	140	111	319	209	148	108
Mur-2	31	10	43	36	21	9

33% received a jail sentence without probation supervision

These felons should be a higher recidivism risk by virtue of their criminal history (PRV) scores.

### Public Safety: Indications Are that Guidelines Do Not Maximize Effectiveness of Scarce Resources

Breakdown of most common offense for the 'G' grid, Possession of less than 25g of Certain Controlled Substance Schedule I or II ( $MCL\ 333.7403(2)(a)(v)$ ).



**\$6.4M** in local county costs for jail confinement (assuming average cost/day of \$45)

\$3.5M in state costs for supervision
(assuming average cost/day of \$7)

#### **Recidivism Reduction Potential**

Up to <u>5% reduction</u> if programs provided. Potential increase.

Up to <u>20% Reduction</u> in Re-Arrests.



More cost-effective path towards better public safety outcomes.

## Does System Achieve Goals?

Goal	Questions	Current Knowledge
Public Safety	Do the sentencing and parole decisions promote risk reduction?	Probation recidivism is increasing Guidelines do not effectively direct jail and supervision sentencing
Proportionality	Is there disparity in sentencing and time served for similar cases? If so, what are the causes?	Considerable variation within a narrowly defined cell type or individual cell; top 10 counties show wide variation
Certainty	Are victims satisfied or frustrated with the uncertain portion of a sentence?	Unknown but under study
Predictability	To what degree are sentencing and parole decisions driving population trends?	Sentencing contributes, but parole is major driver
Workability	Is the complexity of the sentencing system sufficiently advancing other goals to be worth the effort?	Lots of appellate activity but not much user dissatisfaction  OV scoring adds low value

### Summary of Sentencing Analyses

### **High Odds of Doing Time**

- √ 88% of Straddle sentences involve confinement in jail or prison
- √ 69% of Intermediate sentences involve confinement in jail or prison

### Illusory Precision of Guidelines

- ✓ OV scoring adds little precision
- ✓ Wide variance on type of sentence imposed within narrowly defined offense ranges

## Sentencing Poorly Aligned with Goals of Public Safety

✓ Guidelines direct low risk to jail and high risk away from potentially effective supervision

### Recap of Key Points For the Day

- 1.
- ✓ Distinct stakeholder perspectives make consensus difficult
- ✓ Divergent views reinforce the value of data analysis
- 2.
- ✓ Identify and focus on high-risk offenders
- ✓ Target the factors that most influence criminal behavior
- ✓ Ensure programs are high quality and properly implemented

- 3.
- ✓ Crime is a serious problem, particularly in four cities
- ✓ Felons typically, increasingly sentenced to do time, most often in jail
- ✓ Wide discretion in sentencing and observable disparity
- ✓ Sentencing is not well aligned with public safety objectives

### Forthcoming Analyses and Engagement

### **More Sentencing**

- ✓ Predictive validity of PRV scoring
- ✓ Sentence length imposed
- ✓ Use of jails at original sentencing and for detaining supervision violators

#### **Parole and LOS**

- ✓ Interplay of recidivism risk and denial of parole
- ✓ Factors contributing to denial of parole

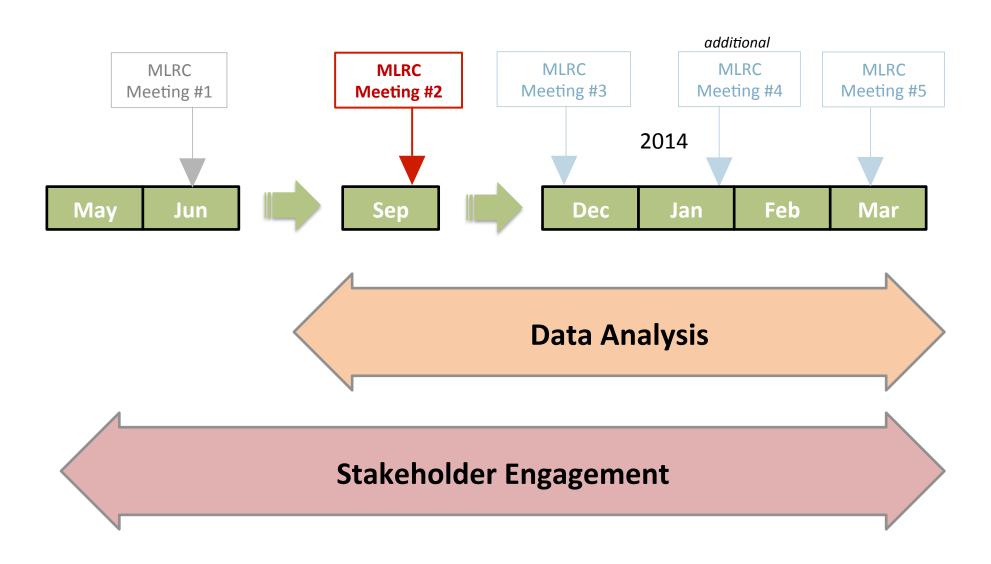
#### **Effectiveness**

- ✓ Re-arrest rates for jail, probation, community corrections and parole populations
- ✓ Qualitative analysis of programs and policy

### **Stakeholder Perspectives**

- ✓ Victim perceptions of certainty, restitution satisfaction, and realization of victims' rights
- ✓ Faith community and business community engagement
- ✓ Further surveys of practitioners

## Project Timeline – We Need an Additional Meeting



## **Thank You**



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