Justice Reinvestment in Idaho

Impact at 30 months

Report to the Legislature
February 1st, 2017
Introduction

In March of 2014, Idaho policymakers enacted Senate Bill (SB) 1357, more commonly known as the Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI). This bill came on the heels of an increasing prison population and above average recidivism rates. The goal of this legislation was to enact policy-changes through a data-driven approach designed to reduce correction spending, and reinvest savings into strategies that can reduce recidivism and decrease crime. In addition, SB 1357 requires the Idaho Department of Correction (IDOC) to produce multiple reports tracking the progress, implementation, as well as the investments and impacts of the JRI legislation.

Prior to the enactment of SB 1357, the State of Idaho requested technical assistance from the Council for State Governments (CSG). Through an in-depth review of records, focus groups, and meetings with stakeholders CSG identified three main challenges contributing to Idaho’s prison growth:

1) A Revolving Door. The state’s supervision and diversion programs are not reducing recidivism

2) Inefficient Use of Prison Space. The majority of the prison population comprises people whose community supervision was revoked, people sentenced to a “Rider”, and people convicted of non-violent crime who are eligible for parole but have not yet been released.

3) Insufficient Oversight. Idaho lacks a system to track outcomes, measure quality, and assure reliability of recidivism-reduction strategies, so policymakers are unsure whether their investments are yielding intended outcomes.

This report analyzes the progress made on these three areas since the JRI legislation went into effect July 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2014.

2. A Rider is an offender committed to Retained Jurisdiction under the courts for up to 365 days. Upon completion, the courts will subsequently determine whether to place the offender on probation or send them to prison.
Idaho’s Investments

**FY 2015**

In order to support JRI implementation, the Idaho legislature created a trailer bill SB 1433\(^3\), which dedicated approximately $2.5 million to IDOC for fiscal year (FY) 2015. This money was designed to support:

1) Hiring five new Probation and Parole Officers (PPO)
2) Shifting additional positions to Information Technology (IT)
3) Training officers
4) Development of a web-based reporting program (WBOR) for the Limited Supervision Unit (LSU)

In addition to SB 1433, SB 1421\(^4\) included $3 million to expand community-based substance abuse treatment services and support other additional IT and Pre-Sentence Investigator positions. Other miscellaneous costs associated with JRI legislation in FY 2015 included the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) validation study ($21,569) and an annual contractor cost for the Web-Based Offender Reporting System (WBOR) of $27,000. All told, the initial investment in JRI in FY 2015 totaled approximately $6 million.

**FY 2016**

Fiscal Year 2016 did not include the large upfront investments that occurred in FY 2015. There were however, a few small on-going investments made to support JRI mandates. This included $295,000 for additional training for PPO’s and Correctional Officers (CO’s). Another investment for FY 2016 was the recurring $27,000 paid to an outside contractor for maintaining the WBOR system. Additionally, nearly $500,000 was spent on training staff on new programming for offenders. IDOC worked with CSG to revamp its programming in Fall 2015, and is moving towards more evidence-based practices both within the facilities and the community.

<table>
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<th>Appropriated Funds</th>
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<td>SB 1421</td>
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<td>PPO Training</td>
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<td>Programs Training</td>
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<td>Misc.</td>
<td>$27,000</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$6,451,969</strong></td>
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After a thorough analysis of systems maintained by a myriad of criminal justice agencies throughout Idaho (IDOC, Parole Commission, Idaho Supreme Court and Idaho State Police), “CSG concluded that Idaho's supervision and diversion programs are not reducing recidivism.” The next few sections of this report determine what if any progress has been made since 2014 on improving these challenges.

**Findings and Analysis**

A) Since the inception of JRI in Idaho, 33% of offenders sentenced to a Rider or Probation fail and are returned to prison.

- These percentages are even higher for alcohol and drug offenses.
- 70% of current alcohol offenders incarcerated started on probation, while 26% started on a Rider.
- Likewise, 65% of current drug offenders in prison started on probation, with an additional 24% starting on a Rider (figure 1).

Figure 1. Percent of term population by crime group and the legal status on which they started.

5. All figures and data analysis included in this report were done using IDOC data.
Of new felony convictions, probationers (65.5%) and Riders (22.5%) make up approximately 88.0% of the IDOC supervised population (figure 2). This equates to an average of 3,830 offenders per year.

**Figure 2. New Felony Commitments.**

With approximately one-third of these offenders revoking annually, there are nearly 1,280 offenders who were initially diverted from a term prison stay, who are now occupying a prison bed.

**Impact:** Ultimately Idaho is struggling with diverting offenders away from a prison stay. About 27% of probationers were revoked and returned to prison within a three year period, whereas nearly 40% of riders failed during that same period. These findings indicate that more resources are needed to support offenders from returning to incarceration.

B) **The average length of a probation sentence is nearly 5 years in Idaho. Yet, most revocations from probation occur within the first 2 years of supervision.**

- Since 2014, the average length of stay on probation is 1.7 years prior to being revoked.
- Meanwhile, those who are successful on probation serve an average of 3.8 years.
- Nearly 85% of probationers who are revoked do so within the first three years of probation.

**Impact:** Absent changes in sentencing practices, these findings indicate that targeted resources on the front end of probation are needed to stabilize protective factors. This could in turn reduce recidivism among this group of offenders. Once the protective factors are stabilized and after a sufficient amount of time, Limited Supervision (LSU) or early discharge from probation could be applied to free up supervision resources for high-risk populations.
C) The number of incarcerated offenders convicted of a drug offense has continued to increase in Idaho. These offenders are also more likely to have higher LSI scores and return to incarceration.

- The number of offenders sentenced to prison for a drug offense has increased approximately 12% since FY 2012.
- Drug offenders constituted 36% of prison term sentences in 2016.
- A similar pattern has emerged for probationers (36% in 2012; 49.5% in 2016) and Riders (34% in 2012; 42% in 2016) (figure 3).

**Figure 3. Proportion of New Felony Sentences for Drug Crimes by legal status.**

**Impact:** As Idaho’s drug population has increased, this has continued to have an impact on IDOC facility and community populations. Most drug offenders have higher LSI scores, which makes them more at risk to recidivate. Although not all individuals are amenable to treatment, additional community-based services could potentially divert offenders from prison beds and provide a higher likelihood of successful completion of community supervision.
D) **Much more funding is given to institutional-based programs (in-patient) than to community-based programming (out-patient).** Further, many offenders in the community do not receive the treatment they need.

- Between FY 2014-2016 an average of 2,400 offenders, who stayed an average of six months were admitted to the Rider program.
- The average cost to incarcerate an offender at an IDOC facility is $61 per day. Therefore, an average Rider cohort during this time period cost approximately $26 million.
- Conversely, IDOC spent about $7 million per year (FY 2014-2016) in Substance Use Disorder Services (SUDS) funding to provide treatment for about 4,500 offenders annually.

**Impact:** This ultimately aligns with what CSG had found previously. IDOC is currently reaching more offenders in the community each year, but still a gap in services persists. More emphasis needs to be placed on supporting substance abuse and mental health needs in the community where it can reach more individuals.

E) **Part of the JRI legislation mandated a victim restitution collection process.**

- According to IDOC’s inmate funds policy, restitution is garnished from an offender’s inmate account. The only item which can be garnished prior to restitution is child support.

**Impact:** Over the past two years IDOC has collected nearly $400,000 in restitution payments. They have also closed over 200 restitution accounts across multiple counties in Idaho. Ultimately, the state of Idaho has put a much higher premium on collecting restitution dollars for victims. Although, there is still a large gap in the amount of restitution owed (nearly $13 million outstanding).

Overall, progress has been made in reducing the number of offenders returning to prison in Idaho. However, more emphasis needs to be placed on re-entry practices, and additional resources are needed for offenders in the community. With that being said, there have been gains in the area of restitution in Idaho. There is now legislation in place that allows IDOC to garnish inmate banking accounts so offenders who are incarcerated are still working towards paying off at least a portion of their restitution.

6. Based on figures and calculations from IDOC’s Budget and Payroll department.
9. IDOC SUD Funding Utilization Report
10. IDOC Funds: Inmate; Policy: [https://www.idoc.idaho.gov/content/policy/4178](https://www.idoc.idaho.gov/content/policy/4178)
The second major challenge outlined by CSG was Idaho’s “prison population comprised of offenders whose community supervision was revoked, people sentenced to a “Rider” and offenders convicted of a non-violent crime who are parole eligible but have not yet been released.”

**Findings and Analysis**

A) **Currently, 41.5% of Idaho’s monthly admissions to term or rider come from offenders whose probation or parole has been revoked.**

- It should be noted however, that this does not include offenders who have violated parole and have not yet had a hearing regarding their parole violator (PV) status, nor does it include failed Riders. When those populations are included the number rises to about 75% of the monthly prison admissions (see figure 4).

*Figure 4. Admissions to Term Breakdown*
**Impact:** This aligns with the previous challenge. Currently, Idaho uses a large percentage of its facilities to house returning offenders. Until more emphasis is placed on supporting offenders upon release and giving them the treatment, supporting and mentoring needed, Idaho will continue to see a large portion of their prison population as returning offenders.

**B) Offenders in Idaho receive an average length of indeterminate sentences that are nearly three times longer than their determinate or fixed portion.**

- These findings are congruent with CSG’s findings in 2012. From 2005-2016 the average fixed sentence was approximately two years with an indeterminate portion of almost six years (figure 5).

**Figure 5. Length of New Felony Sentences by Offense Type**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense Type</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Drug</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>288%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>293%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>257%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Impact:** Lengthy unified sentences can create large discretionary periods for parole consideration. However, they also allow for more time and discussion to make sure offenders are ready for release back into the community.
C) Starting in 2010 IDOC saw an increase in Rider dispositions, due to the expansion of the Rider program in Idaho’s facilities. During this time about 26% of sentences were to a Rider.

- Starting in 2015 IDOC saw a decreased reliance on this program and more offenders placed onto probation (21% Rider vs. 68% probation) for new commitments.
- There has, however, been an increasing number of Riders in Idaho’s prison population makeup (figure 6).

**Figure 6. Rider Population 2012-2016**

Impact: This trend towards an increased use of probation should result in fewer probation revocations among low-risk offenders as well as potential cost-savings as probationers are much cheaper to supervise than Riders ($4.25 per day vs. $65.35 per day\(^\text{11}\)).

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\(^{11}\) Based on figures and calculations from IDOC’s Budget and Payroll department.
D) Idaho previously had a very complicated Pathway/programming system in place that resulted in delays for offenders receiving programming.

- To combat this issue, IDOC in the Fall of 2015, partnered with CSG to revamp the programming at IDOC.
- Some of the major programming changes that resulted was the removal of therapeutic communities in Idaho facilities and a more streamlined programming process for case managers and facilities to operate within.
- These changes in part have resulted in more releases from Idaho facilities especially in FY2016.

**Impact:** Idaho’s prison population has since leveled off and even rebounded a little bit, but the data suggests these changes had an impact. These modifications played a role in reducing IDOC’s prison population, which had a high of 8,221 offenders in June 2013 and a low of 7,678 in May 2016 (figure 7).

*Figure 7. Total incarcerated population 2012-2016.*
E) Using 2012 data, CSG calculated that IDOC “was releasing offenders to parole after serving an average of 207% of their fixed term”. After the initial analysis, it was determined a revised methodology should be used which resulted in a much lower percentage.

- In actuality, first-time parole releases from prison were serving closer to 145% of the fixed portion of their sentence (median of 120%), much lower than previously calculated.
- Since JRI legislation was implemented, first time parole releases from prison were serving an average of 142% (median 118%) of the fixed portion of their sentence.
- When looking solely at property and drug offenders in 2016, nearly 81% (75% prior to JRI) of offenders were released prior to serving 150% of their fixed term (figure 8).

Figure 8. Releases prior to 150% of their fixed term

80.8% (N=756) of property and drug offenders released to parole between January 1, 2016 and December 31, 2016 were released at or prior to 150% of the fixed portion of their term sentence.

19.2% (N=180) of property and drug offenders were released after 150% of their fixed term.

Impact: Although IDOC has not seen dramatic decreases in the percent portion of the fixed term served, even minor decreases result in additional bed space. This allows Idaho to make sure the proper offenders are housed in IDOC facilities.

Pros
- Less reliance on Rider sentences
- More offenders given probation
- Less likely to recidivate
- More cost-effective
- Decrease in the percent of offenders serving past 150% of their fixed term
- These decreases in stay lead to additional bed space

Cons
- IDOC currently has a notable number of offenders who have been incarcerated previously.
- More efforts and resources need to be aimed at reducing recidivism.
- Additional correctional resources are needed to combat these challenges.

Overall, this challenge has some pros and cons.
The third and final challenge brought forth by CSG was a “lack of a system to track outcomes, measure quality, and assure reliability of recidivism-reduction strategies, so policymakers are unsure whether their investments are yielding intended outcomes”.

**Findings and Analysis**

**A) Since CSG’s original evaluation of Idaho’s practices, Idaho had not validated the LSI-R since 2002. Since the passage of SB 1357, IDOC is now mandated to validate the LSI-R every five years.**

**Impact:** This has created a more reliable and valid risk assessment tool, which is used in many facets by the Idaho Department of Correction and the Parole Commission, including treatment and programming, as well as placement on community supervision. The regularly validated LSI-R provides IDOC and Parole Commission a better idea of which offenders require higher levels of supervision as well as which programming they receive (substance abuse, criminal thinking, etc.).

**B) Since the implementation of SB 1357 additional changes have been made to both IDOC and the Commission of Pardons and Parole (COPP or Parole Commission).**

- Aside from additional efficiencies in data collection and analysis, the most prominent addition is the creation of the Parole Commission’s own dedicated data management system that allows parole hearing officers and other staff to enter data that can be used by parole board members to inform their decision making process.

**Impact:** As part of SB 1357 the Parole Commission was required to implement a new set of parole guidelines. This new data system allows tracking of offender’s behavior, programing, etc. and using an algorithm determines if an offender meets the point criteria for release.
Additionally, IDOC has tracked progress internally towards JRI implementation using a spreadsheet and reported quarterly to CSG their findings. Furthermore, IDOC research analysts calculate and report to leadership the timely release (or 150%) numbers, as well as other pertinent information related to JRI. This area of need in particular has seen substantial improvement during the JRI early implementation period.

### Idaho JRI Tracking Sheet

**Data Elements for Tracking Big Picture JRI Objectives - Idaho**

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<td>85</td>
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14
Impact of Justice Reinvestment
Cost Avoidance/Savings

Without changes to IDOC current practices, the prison population was expected to reach approximately 9,400 offenders by FY 2019. CSG estimated that up to $150 million could be averted by reducing the state’s prison population and avoiding the construction of an additional prison. Using our average yearly population we can calculate an estimated cost-avoidance. Using methodology pioneered by the Results First model (Washington State Institute for Public Policy) which focuses only on operating expenses directly associated with inmates (this excludes such items as: employee development, maintenance, administrative costs, etc.) IDOC can estimate our cost-avoidance on an annual basis.

Using the formula described above, the cost per day for an offender under IDOC supervision is approximately $28.66 (FY2016), if there is no change in personnel. If there is a significant enough reduction in offenders, and a personnel change is required, then the cost-avoidance could be up to $53 (FY2016) per offender per day. Using these figures IDOC has averted approximately $22 million in costs since JRI was implemented 30 months ago (figure 9).

Figure 9. Forecasted prison population to actual 2005-2019

Estimated averted savings between FY2015-FY2016 plus partial year to January 2017 is: $21,890,000. As of January 1st, 2017 there were approximately 800 fewer offenders than CSG projected.

Current savings estimate $36.00 per day for 2014, $29.96 for 2015, cost of offender per day in 2016 is $28.66

12. Idaho Results First (2012) - Definitions, Methodology, Results
13. Based on figures and calculations from IDOC’s Budget and Payroll department.
This cost-savings is based on IDOC’s own projection of bed needs. As indicated in figure 9, the current reduction in beds since the implementation of JRI has been dramatic. However, one must keep in mind that although there has been a substantial reduction in the number of inmates being housed at IDOC facilities, this is not an actual savings. IDOC did not request funding for the additional projected beds in 2016. These costs have thus far merely been averted. Further, these numbers do not reflect the money “saved” from not constructing an additional prison. Finally, these numbers will seem lower than the estimates given by CSG and IDOC last year. This is because a new calculation is being used to better reflect actual cost-savings or avoidance. The new calculation does not include the cost of security in the savings because, as of today, IDOC has not reduced their beds by enough offenders to decrease their staff size.

**LSU**

One of the most commonly used facets of SB 1357 is the Limited Supervision Unit (LSU). This allows PPO’s the ability to promote lower-risk or well-behaved offenders to a less supervision intensive caseload, where the offenders are responsible for checking in online. LSU is managed by three full-time staff at IDOC and at year end 2016 had a population of 2,276 offenders. Not only does LSU allow PPO’s to get offenders off their caseload, thereby potentially reducing caseload sizes since it has fewer staff for a large population, the cost of supervision is much less than normal supervision.

In FY 2016 the average cost per day of supervision for an average offender was $4.25, whereas the average cost per day for an LSU offender was $.25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average (2016)</th>
<th>Costs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Avg. Total on probation/parole</td>
<td>14,891</td>
<td>$23,100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avg. without LSU</td>
<td>13,448</td>
<td>$20,860,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amount not spent</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>$2,240,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Budget for LSU (2016)</td>
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<td>$211,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs Avoided</td>
<td></td>
<td>$2,028,070</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Based on figures and calculations from IDOC’s Fiscal department.
Currently, Idaho still has a large percentage of offenders in their facilities who have been incarcerated before. Even more telling is the fact that 67.5% of IDOC’s total term population has been incarcerated in their facilities two or more times (figure 10). More commitment is needed to ensure offenders are ready for re-entry prior to release and that offenders once in the community are receiving the support and resources they need to be successful.

Figure 10. Number of times incarcerated by legal status.

A second area of concern is the gap in funding available for community substance abuse treatment. As mentioned previously, there is a significant gap in the amount of offenders receiving services and the amount of offenders who need services. More attention on this area will also help reduce the number of offenders returning to IDOC facilities.

Impact of Justice Reinvestment

Improvements

Although there are still significant concerns with returning offenders, there has however been many improvements made during this process as well. First and foremost, Idaho’s overall prison population is down, and much lower than CSG originally projected. IDOC has averted a significant amount of costs already. LSU has also shown to be a very valuable asset to the Probation and Parole division (figure 11).

Figure 11. LSU Caseload Size by Month (July 2014-December 2016).

Limited Supervision Caseload

Next, prior to JRI there was little to no emphasis on collecting restitution. Further, it was a very arduous process for victims and their families. There is now legislation in place to streamline this process for offenders incarcerated in IDOC facilities. The amount of restitution collected and cases closed will continue to grow over the coming years.
There have been other improvements in IDOC practices as well. Idaho is relying less on Rider sentences which increased after the Rider expansion in 2010. The number of new Rider versus probation sentences have dropped back to pre-2010 levels. Additionally, there has been improvement in the number of non-violent offenders who are held past 150% of the fixed portion of their sentence. Furthermore, IDOC is seeing less delays in offenders getting into programming which results in fewer tentative parole date misses by the offenders\(^{17}\).

Lastly, some of the biggest improvements within IDOC have come in the form of improvements in tracking outcomes and efficiencies. IDOC has recently validated its risk assessment tool (LSI-R) and now has legislation in place to do so every five years. Likewise, the Idaho Commission of Pardons and Parole has implemented a new data collection system as well as new parole guidelines that make the process more standardized. Finally, on a purely anecdotal level, efficiencies within IDOC’s data collection and analysis process have improved substantially.

Questions concerning this report may be directed to:
Idaho Department of Correction
Director Henry Atencio
hatencio@idoc.idaho.gov

Photo taken at Old Idaho Penitentiary—closed December 1973