

Understanding Trends in Jail Populations, 2014 to 2019: A Multi-Site Analysis

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Table of Contents

Key Findings	3
Introduction	6
Methodology.....	8
Trends in Jail Admissions, Length of Stay (LOS), Cumulative Bed Days, and Average Daily Population (ADP)	9
Jail Trends by Admission Type	11
Jail Trends by Charge Severity and Category	14
Jail Trends by Number of Admission Types and Charges	20
Jail Trends by Bail Amount	23
Jail Trends by Demographics	26
Jail Trends by Release Type.....	30
Predictors of Long Stays and Readmission.....	33
Conclusion.....	36
References.....	38
APPENDIX A: DEFINITIONS.....	40
APPENDIX B: TABLES.....	42

The Data Collaborative for Justice (DCJ) at John Jay College of Criminal Justice houses a group of research initiatives that raise important questions and share critical research about the criminal legal system and its role in creating safe, just, and equitable communities. DCJ conducts data analysis and research on enforcement in the community, the adjudication of cases in the courts, and the use of confinement in jails and prisons. DCJ's work has informed policy reforms, facilitated partnerships between researchers and government agencies across the country, spurred new scholarly research on lower-level enforcement, and has been cited extensively in the press. For more information about the Data Collaborative for Justice please visit: <https://datacollaborativeforjustice.org/>.

Key Findings

The current study examines trends in jails in three U.S. counties: Durham County, NC, Louisville-Jefferson County Metro Government, KY (referred to throughout the report as “Louisville”), and St. Louis County, MO from 2014 to 2019. Below represent some of the major findings of this research.

There was a decline in admissions in all three county jails without a commensurate decline in average daily population (ADP) and number of bed days used, due to an increase in average length of stay (LOS). From 2014 to 2019:

- Jail admissions in all three counties decreased by about a quarter: 22% in Louisville, 25% in Durham, and 28% in St. Louis.
- Average length of stay (LOS) increased by 18% in Louisville, 24% in Durham, and 20% in St. Louis translating to individuals spending between 3.6 and 4.6 days longer in jail in 2019 compared to 2014.
- The number of bed days occupied declined only slightly: 5% in Louisville, 6% in Durham, and 9% in St. Louis.
- The decline in average daily population (ADP) had more variability: in Louisville by 1%, in Durham by 19%, and in St. Louis by 24%.

Racial disparities in jail admissions, LOS, and bed days used existed in all counties and persisted from 2014 to 2019.

- In 2019, in Louisville, Black individuals made up 24% of the county population but represented 39% of the jail admissions and 49% of bed days. In Durham, Black individuals made up 37% of the county population and represented 69% of jail admissions and 78% of bed days. In St. Louis, Black individuals made up 25% of the county population, but 55% of admissions and 67% of bed days.
- In all counties, Black individuals stayed between 3.3 and 12.1 days longer in jail on average than white individuals.
- From 2014-2019, Black individuals also saw larger increases in average LOS than white individuals in Louisville (21%) and St. Louis (34%).

In all counties, males and Black individuals had a higher likelihood of spending over 90 days in jail and being readmitted to jail. Other significant predictors of long jail stays and readmissions to jail varied by county.

- In all counties, the odds of spending more than 90 days in jail were greater for individuals admitted on a single admission type (e.g., pretrial admission for a new charge only) with multiple charges, those admitted for violent felony charges, men, and Black individuals.
- In all counties, over half of those released in the first year of the study period (2010 in Louisville and St. Louis; 2014 in Durham) were readmitted at least once during the study period; 40% or more of those released in all three counties were readmitted two or more times.
- In Louisville and St. Louis, individuals admitted on multiple charges (with either a single admission type or multiple admission types) were more likely than those admitted on a single charge to return to jail at least once during the study period.
- In all counties, the odds of readmission to jail were greater for men, Black individuals, and those with at least one prior jail admission.

People who were charged, but not yet convicted of a crime (pretrial admissions) were the majority of admissions in all three counties in 2014 and 2019. However, LOS and bed day use associated with pretrial admissions varied by jurisdiction.

- In 2014, 64% of people booked into the Durham jail, 63% in St. Louis and 70% in Louisville were pretrial admissions. By 2019, Durham’s pretrial proportion decreased to 56%, while the pretrial proportions in St. Louis increased to 65% and remained the same in Louisville (70%).
- The average LOS for people admitted pretrial for a new charge, as opposed to individuals who are sentenced or under community supervision, increased by approximately one third in all counties.

Further, bed day use declined in Durham (31%) for this admission type but increased in St. Louis (12%) and Louisville (15%).

- In Durham and Louisville, the majority of pretrial admissions in 2019 consisted of individuals being booked on a new charge, while in St. Louis the majority of pretrial admissions were for outstanding warrants.
- Across all counties, admissions for sentenced individuals declined between 2014 and 2019, while average LOS increased. However, bed day use for sentenced admissions increased only in Durham (103%), where the increase in average LOS was substantially larger than in other counties.

Higher bail was associated with longer and growing average LOS and more bed days.

- In 2014, individuals with bail set above \$5,000, on average, stayed in jail more than three times longer than individuals with lower bail amounts. Average LOS for these individuals with bail set above \$5,000 increased between 31% and 54% (10 days and 39 days) in all counties. By 2019, the average LOS for this group was over 13 weeks in Louisville (91.8 days) and St. Louis (92.8 days), and almost 5 weeks in Durham (34.5 days).
- Individuals with bail set above \$5,000 accounted for two thirds or more of cumulative bed days in 2019 (68% in Durham, 82% in Louisville, 89% in St. Louis)

Between 2014 and 2019, in all three counties, admissions for misdemeanors and violations decreased as a number and proportion of all admissions, while the average LOS and bed days used varied across counties.

- The number of admissions for less severe charges (misdemeanors and violations) declined in all counties. Admissions for misdemeanors declined by 25% in Durham, 40% in St. Louis, and 37% in Louisville. Admissions for violations also declined by 40% in Durham, 36% in St. Louis, and 43% in Louisville.
- For misdemeanors, bed day use decreased between 23% (Durham) and 60% (St. Louis); bed days for people charged with violations increased by 21% in Durham where there was a 112% increase in LOS.
- The number of violent felony admissions decreased in Louisville (28%) and Durham (5%) and increased slightly in St. Louis (4%). However, bed day use increased in all three counties from 6% (Louisville) to 39% (Durham).
- Number of admissions for non-violent felonies declined in all three jails from 2% (Louisville) to 23% (Durham).
- Number for admissions for outstanding warrants increased in all counties, between 18% (Louisville) and 88% (St. Louis). While admissions for warrants were a relatively small percentage of total admissions, bed days used increased in all counties.

Except for weapons charges in St. Louis and Louisville, admissions for all charge categories declined – with drug admissions dropping by over half in Durham.

- The number of admissions for drug charges in Durham was halved (56%) from 2014 to 2019, and also decreased in Louisville (20%) and St. Louis (10%). Average LOS for drug charges also decreased in Durham (3%) and St. Louis (8%) but increased in Louisville (19%). In all three counties, bed days used for drug charges declined between 3% and 56%.
- From 2014 to 2019, the only charge category that saw an increase in admissions was weapons charges in both Louisville (9%, from 245 to 268) and St. Louis (16%, from 290 to 337). There was a small decline in admissions for weapons charges in Durham (1%, from 258 to 255). In Louisville and St. Louis, between 2014 and 2019, individuals admitted on weapons charges experienced increases in average LOS (33% increase in St. Louis and 56% increase in Louisville) and cumulative bed days (75% increase in St. Louis and 157% increase in Louisville). Conversely, during the same time period, in Durham, average LOS declined by 21% and cumulative bed days decreased by 25%.

Between 2014 to 2019, in all three counties, the number of admissions for crimes against a person (charges such as assault, homicide, kidnapping) decreased while average LOS and cumulative bed days used by individuals charged with these crimes increased.

- By 2019, individuals admitted on crimes against a person (i.e., person charges) occupied the most bed days in all counties, using 38% of bed days in Louisville (345,146 days) and St. Louis (196,958 days), and 47% of bed days in Durham (77,263 days).
- The average LOS for person charges increased by between 2.4 days and 17.9 days across the counties from 2014 to 2019. Admissions for person charges consistently resulted in longer average LOS than other charge categories.

The proportion of people who were able to secure their release by paying bail did not change for St. Louis and Louisville, while LOS for people who did pay bail increased.¹

- In the two counties for which release data was available (Louisville and St. Louis), the average LOS for individuals released pretrial with bail paid increased by roughly five days in both counties. Cumulative bed days occupied increased by 59% and 18%, respectively.

Young adults saw the largest increase in LOS of any age group.

- In all counties, average LOS increased to the greatest extent for the youngest group of adults.
- By 2019, 18 to 24-year-olds stayed longer in jail than any other adult age group except in St. Louis, where people under 18 had the longest average LOS overall.

Most admissions were for a single type of admission (pretrial or sentenced) but more complex cases - individuals with multiple admission types (e.g., pretrial admission for a new charge and probation violation) - had the longest LOS in all three counties.

- The majority of admissions in all counties involved a single admission type – pretrial - with either a single charge or multiple charges (72% to 87% in 2019).
- Admissions that involved multiple admission types had the longest average LOS in all counties. In 2019, average LOS for admissions with multiple admission types was around 39 days in Durham and St. Louis and 58.9 days in Louisville. In contrast, that same year, admissions with a single admission type and single charge had an average LOS of 6.8 days in Durham, 7.9 days in Louisville, and 13.9 days in St. Louis.
- In Louisville and St. Louis, individuals admitted on multiple admission types occupied the most cumulative bed days (445,989 and 253,618 bed days used in 2019, respectively), while in Durham, those admitted on a single admission type with multiple charges had the most cumulative bed days used (92,904 bed days in 2019).

¹ Release type data is not available for Durham County.

Introduction

Since 2008, the number of individuals admitted to jail in the U.S. each year has decreased substantially. Between 2004 and 2019, annual jail admissions declined from 13.6 to 10.3 million (24%; Zeng & Minton, 2021). This pattern of jail admissions follows similar trends in crime and arrest rates: between 2010 and 2017, national rates of crime and arrests fell by 14% and 20% respectively (Horowitz & Velázquez, 2020a). Despite the marked decrease in the number of individuals entering jail, the number of people being held in jail on a given day has remained relatively constant. Between 2010 and 2019, the national average daily jail population decreased by only 1% (from 748,600 to 741,900; Zeng & Minton, 2021).

Jail facilities are distinct from state prisons in that they are typically operated at a municipal or county level. While prisons almost exclusively house individuals serving state sentences, jail populations are more diverse (Subramanian et al., 2015). The majority of individuals housed in jails are awaiting trial and have not yet been convicted (approximately 65% in 2019; Zeng & Minton, 2021). The remainder of the population includes individuals who violated parole or probation supervision or are awaiting a hearing for violation charges, sentenced to a term of one year or less, or awaiting a transfer to another correctional facility. Many people are admitted to and released from jail each day, and jail facilities are often densely populated (Horowitz & Velázquez, 2020b).

Jails are designed for short-term stays, yet in recent years the average length of stay has steadily increased, causing the daily population rates to stagnate even as admissions drop. The average length of stay in the U.S. increased from 21 days in 2010 to 26 days in 2019 – an increase of 22% (Horowitz & Velázquez, 2020b). The majority of jail beds are occupied by individuals who spend a month or more in jail; 85% of jail space is being occupied by the 21% of the jail population detained for over 30 days. The decrease in admissions occurred predominantly among those individuals who stayed less than a week (Horowitz & Velázquez, 2020a).

The Cost of Long Jail Stays

Maintaining large jail populations has significant financial, social, and health consequences. The average cost of housing one person in jail for one year in the U.S. is approximately \$34,000. Despite the decline in jail admissions nationwide, jail expenditures increased 13% between 2007 and 2017 (from \$22 to 25 billion). By 2017, approximately 1 in 17 county dollars went towards jails (Horowitz, Velázquez, & Clark-Moorman, 2021).

Long jail stays also adversely affect the outcomes of those being detained. Staying in jail for just three days can increase the likelihood that a low-risk individual will engage in criminal activity after being released (Lowenkamp et al, 2013a). Compared to individuals that are released prior to trial, those detained pretrial plead guilty more quickly, are more likely to be sentenced to prison, and receive longer prison sentences, even when controlling for factors such as charge severity and risk level (Lowenkamp et al, 2013b; Petersen, 2020).

Furthermore, the Covid-19 pandemic has shed light on the health risks associated with overcrowding in correctional facilities. In 2019, 15% of jails were operating over capacity and four in five (81%) available jail beds were occupied nationally (Zeng & Minton, 2020). During the pandemic, overcrowding and lack of social distancing led to higher rates of infection and mortality among individuals detained in correctional facilities compared to the general population (National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine, 2021). Further, some of the nation's largest Covid-19 outbreaks occurred in county jails (Burkhalter et al., 2021).

Finally, there are substantial racial disparities in incarceration rates. Black individuals are admitted to jail at three times the rate of white individuals (Zeng, 2021). Black individuals receive bail amounts that are twice as high as those received by white individuals and are less likely than white individuals to be able

to afford to post bail, even when controlling for legally relevant factors (e.g. offense type, prior arrests, etc.; Sawyer, 2019). Because Black individuals are overrepresented in jails, any adverse effects of pretrial detention on individual outcomes will disproportionately affect the Black community.

Given the financial, social, and health costs associated with long jail stays, it is critical to explore factors that are associated with increases in average lengths of stay and to identify populations that are at the highest risk of being detained for extended periods of time. The present report examines jail data from three counties – Durham, NC, Louisville, KY, and St. Louis, MO – to determine how demographic characteristics, case characteristics, and offense characteristics influence rates of admissions, lengths of stay, and bed days occupied.

Jail Populations in the Context of Covid-19

In response to the Covid-19 pandemic, jail facilities around the country attempted to mitigate population density by reducing jail admissions and expediting the release of detained individuals (Minton et al., 2021). At midyear 2020, national jail occupancy was 60%, down from 81% in the previous year (Minton et al., 2021). However, these temporary reductions in jail populations and admission rates are not necessarily indicative of enduring systemic change. Although the national jail population dropped by nearly a quarter early in the pandemic - from 758,400 at midyear 2019 to 573,400 at midyear 2020 - by spring of 2021 the jail population had increased to 647,200, a 13% increase from midyear 2020 (Kang-Brown et al., 2021). Although the pandemic motivated an initial push to keep jail populations down, this trend has since reversed.

The pandemic also exacerbated specific problems with which jails were already struggling. First, although jail populations decreased, those individuals who remained detained faced extended waits for trial due to court closures, further increasing the average length of pretrial detention (Weichselbaum, 2020). Second, there is evidence that decarceration efforts aggravated racial disparities within jails. Between midyear 2019 and midyear 2020, the population of white individuals detained in jails decreased by 28%, while the population of Black individuals decreased by 22% (Minton et al., 2021).

Although the current study occurred prior to Covid-19, the findings can shed light on factors that have driven, and could continue to drive, increases in the length of jail stays. The themes highlighted in this report are especially salient as jail populations approach pre-pandemic levels.

Methodology

The present report is based on jail data from three counties: Durham County, NC, Louisville-Jefferson County Metro Government, KY (referred to throughout the report as “Louisville”), and St. Louis County, MO. The study period covered by the present report is 2014-2019. The full reports for [Durham](#), [Louisville](#) and [St. Louis](#) provide further details.²

Table 1. County Quick Facts			
	Durham County, NC	Louisville, KY	St. Louis County, MO
2019 Population	321,488	617,638	994,205
Demographic breakdown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 54% white • 37% Black • 14% Hispanic/Latinx • 6% Asian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 70% white • 24% Black • 6% Hispanic/Latinx • 3% Asian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 68% white • 25% Black • 3% Hispanic/Latinx • 5% Asian
Jail Capacity	736	1,793	1,232
2019 Average Daily Population (ADP)	423	1,824	941

Note: ADP for Durham County, NC is based on fiscal year, not calendar year.

Jail population is a product of two factors: the number of admissions and the length of stay. The present analyses measure **annual admission rates** at the booking level, such that the number of annual admissions represents unique entries to jail in each county. If an individual was booked into jail multiple times in one year, these bookings were treated as distinct admissions.

Length of stay (LOS) is a continuous measure calculated by subtracting the date and time released from the date and time of admission. This method of calculating LOS is preferable to the date-only approach as it allows for the measurement of partial days for a more accurate estimate of time spent in jail.

The present analyses also examine **cumulative bed days**, or the total number of beds multiplied by days occupied in each release year. Individuals who spent 12 hours or less in jail were excluded from the bed day calculations as they typically are not transferred to the main jail facility or assigned a bed. See Appendix A for more details about variables and measurement.

This report will first outline overall key findings across sites, followed by a discussion of jail trends by admission type, charge severity and category, number of admission types and charges, bail amounts, demographic characteristics, and release type. It will then summarize findings from multivariate analyses that identified statistically significant predictors of long jail stays and readmissions in each county. Finally, the report will present conclusions, discuss the limitations of the data, and propose future research directions.

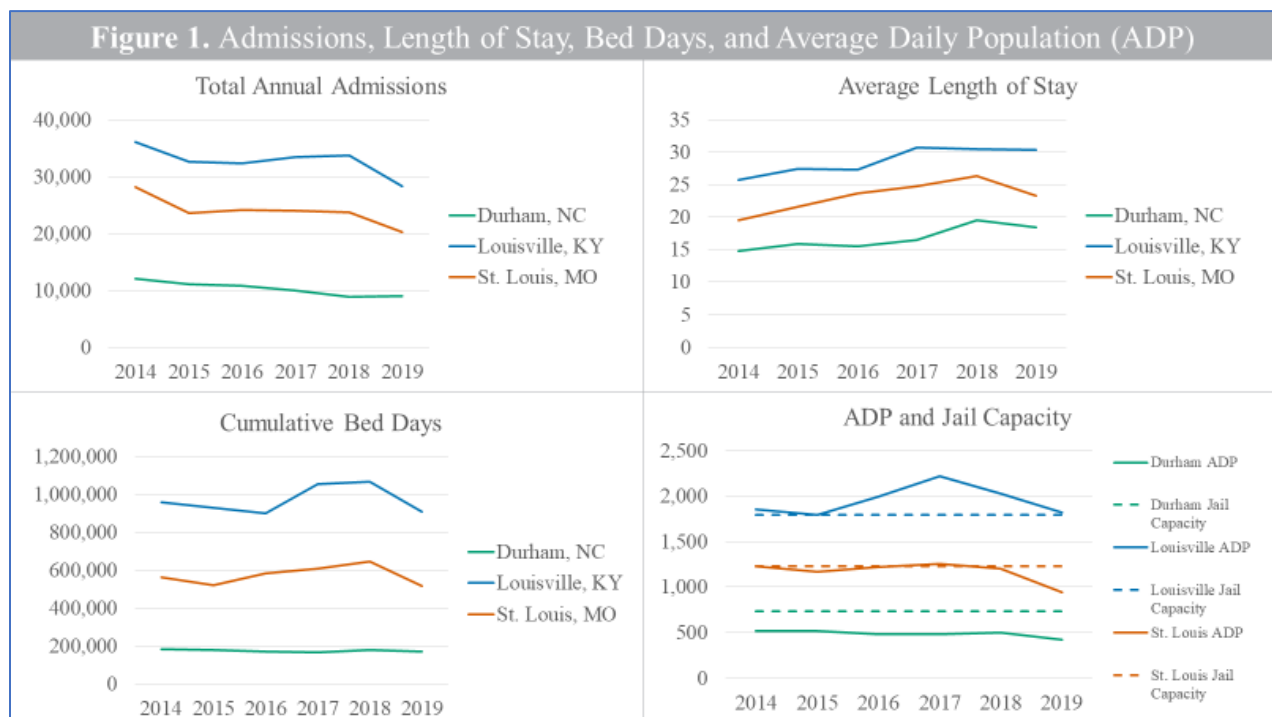
² Louisville and St. Louis report jail data from 2010-2019.

Trends in Jail Admissions, Length of Stay (LOS), Cumulative Bed Days, and Average Daily Population (ADP)

Key Findings

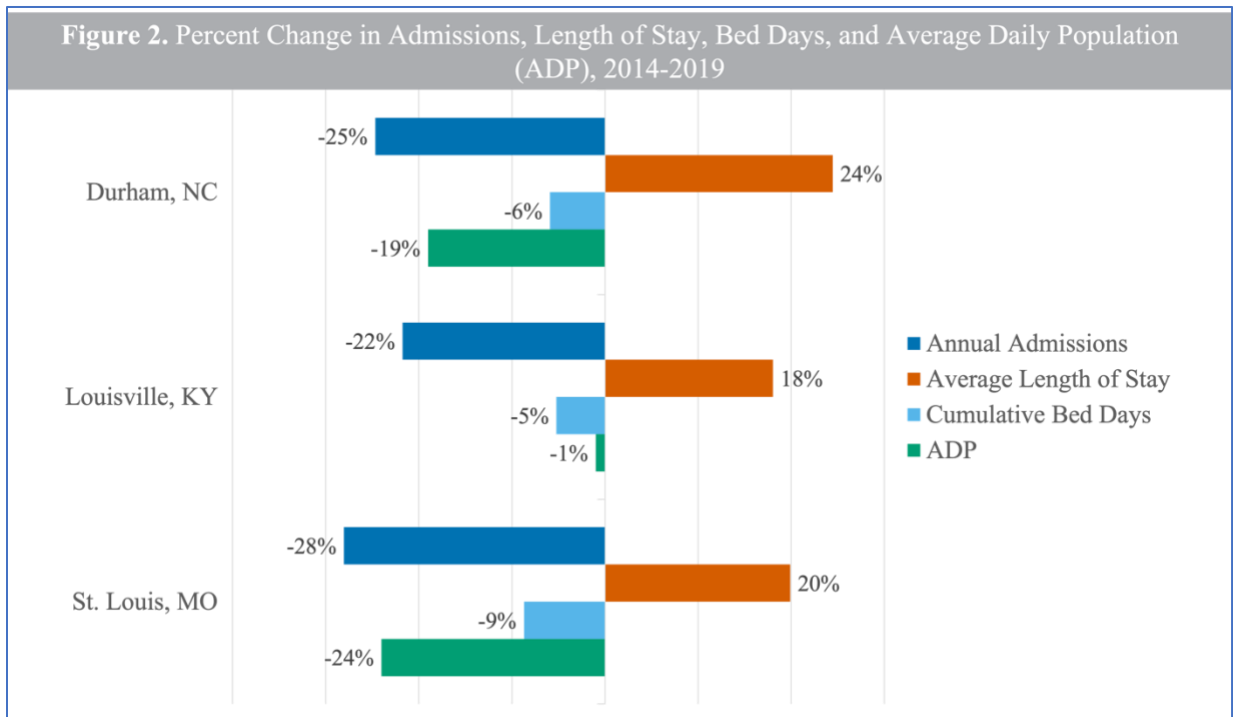
- Jail admissions in all three counties decreased by about a quarter: 22% in Louisville, 25% in Durham, and 28% in St. Louis.
- Average length of stay (LOS) increased by 18% in Louisville, 24% in Durham, and 20% in St. Louis translating to individuals spending between 3.6 and 4.6 days longer in jail in 2019 compared to 2014.
- The number of bed days occupied declined only slightly: 5% in Louisville, 6% in Durham, and 9% in St. Louis.
- The decline in average daily population (ADP) had more variability: in Louisville by 1%, in Durham by 19%, and in St. Louis by 24%.

Across the three counties, admissions steadily declined between 2014 and 2019 (see Figure 1). Admissions declined in St. Louis by 28% (from 28,093 to 20,216), in Durham by 25% (from 11,987 to 9,029), and in Louisville by 22% (from 36,062 to 28,225; see Table 1 in Appendix B for admissions, LOS, bed days, and ADP by year).



Note: ADP for Durham is based on fiscal year; ADP for Louisville and St. Louis is based on calendar year.

The average amount of time that individuals spent in jail increased steadily across the study period. In all counties, the average LOS increased by more than three days between 2014 and 2019 (see Figure 1). In Durham, the average LOS increased by 3.6 days, or 24%, from 14.8 days in 2014 to 18.4 days in 2019. This was the largest proportional increase in LOS of the three counties. In Louisville, the average LOS increased by 4.6 days, or 18%, from 25.7 days in 2014 to 30.4 days in 2019, representing the largest increase in the average number of days spent in jail. In St. Louis, the average LOS increased by 3.9 days, or 20%, from 19.5 days in 2014 and 23.3 days in 2019.



Note: ADP for Durham is based on fiscal year; ADP for Louisville and St. Louis is based on calendar year.

Despite the substantial decline in jail admissions across all counties, the cumulative number of bed days used annually declined only slightly due to the increase in average LOS (see Figure 2). Between 2014 and 2019, cumulative bed days in Durham decreased by 6% (from 180,437 to 169,781). In Louisville and St. Louis, cumulative bed days peaked in 2018 before decreasing in 2019 (see Figure 1). In Louisville, bed days increased 11% between 2014 and 2018 (from 959,824 to 1,066,852) before decreasing by 15% between 2018 and 2019 (to 909,763), an overall 5% decrease in bed day use from 2014 to 2019. In St. Louis, bed days increased 14% between 2014 and 2018 (from 563,168 to 643,875) before decreasing 20% between 2018 and 2019 (to 514,178), an overall 9% decrease in bed day use across the entire study period.

ADP increased or held relatively steady between 2014 and 2017 in all counties. All counties saw a slight drop in ADP in the final two years of the study period (see Figure 1). Between 2014 and 2019, ADP dropped by 19% in Durham (from 521 to 423) and constituted 71% or less of the jail capacity (736) each year. In Louisville, ADP dropped by 1% (from 1,851 to 1,824) from 2014 to 2019 and exceeded the jail capacity (1,793) every year of the study period.³ In St. Louis, the ADP dropped by 24% between 2014 and 2019 (from 1,230 to 941). While the ADP in St. Louis approached the jail capacity limit most years, it only exceeded capacity (1232) in 2017 (with an average ADP of 1,259).

³ In 2015, Louisville's ADP exceeded the jail capacity by one person.

Jail Trends by Admission Type

Key Findings

- In 2014, 64% of people booked into the Durham jail, 63% in St. Louis and 70% in Louisville were pretrial admissions. By 2019, Durham's pretrial proportion decreased to 56%, while the pretrial proportions in St. Louis increased to 65% and remained the same in Louisville (70%).
- The average LOS for people admitted pretrial for a new charge, as opposed to individuals who are sentenced or under community supervision, increased by approximately one third in all counties. Further, bed day use declined in Durham (31%) for this admission type but increased in St. Louis (12%) and Louisville (15%).
- In Durham and Louisville, the majority of pretrial admissions in 2019 consisted of individuals being booked on a new charge, while in St. Louis the majority of pretrial admissions were for outstanding warrants.
- Across all counties, admissions for sentenced individuals declined between 2014 and 2019, while average LOS increased. However, bed day use for sentenced admissions increased only in Durham (103%), where the increase in average LOS was substantially larger than in other counties.

Admission Type Definitions

Pretrial: New Charge: Individuals arrested on new charges and booked into jail (single admission type only). This includes individuals in St. Louis who were processed and released (i.e., booked into jail on a 12- or 24- hour hold, often pending application of a warrant).

Pretrial: Warrant: Individuals arrested on an outstanding warrant (single admission type only).

Pretrial: New Charge and Warrant: Individuals arrested on a new charge who also had an outstanding warrant.

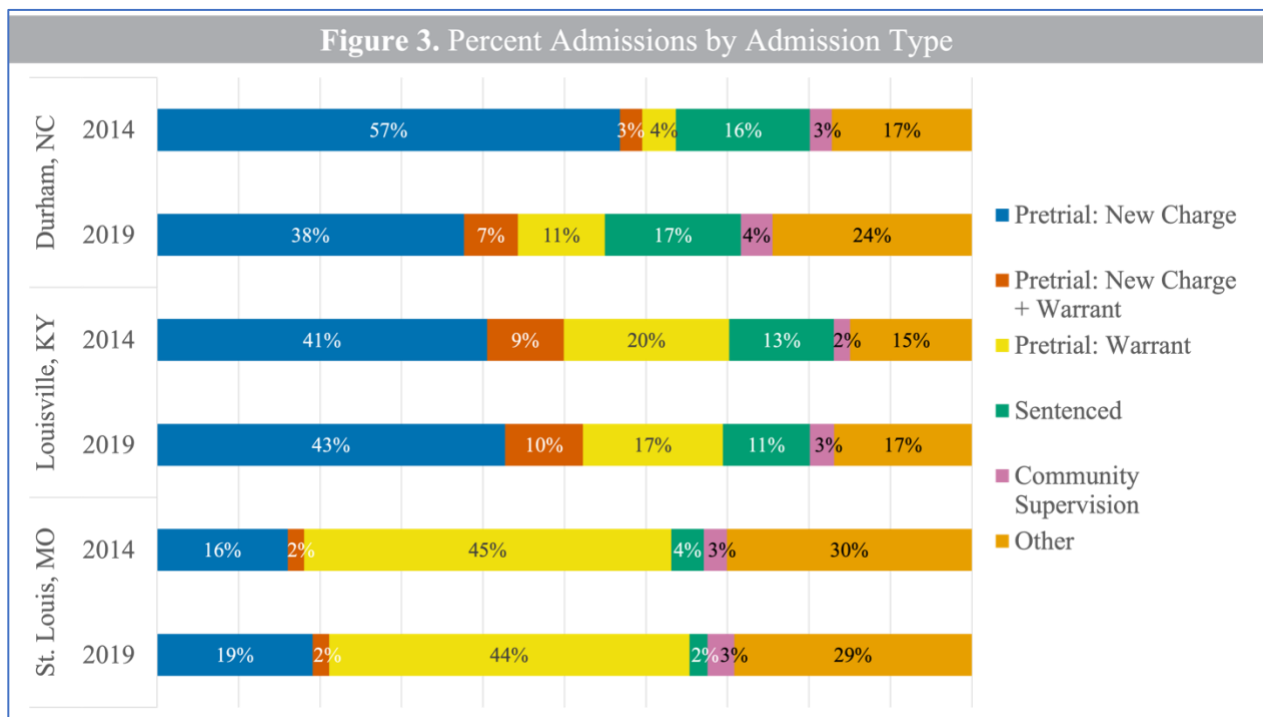
Sentenced: Individuals who were sentenced to serve time in jail; individuals sentenced to serve time in a state prison facility and are awaiting transfer to the state facility (single admission type only).

Community Supervision: Individuals booked for a probation or parole violation, or via a probation or parole warrant (single admission type only).

Other: Individuals booked for any other single charge not listed above (including charges or a hold originating from a different county, city, or federal jurisdiction) and individuals booked on multiple admission types.

In 2014, in all three counties, over 63% of bookings were pretrial admissions. By 2019, Durham's pretrial proportion decreased to 56%, while St. Louis and Louisville remained similar. Pretrial admissions include individuals admitted to jail on a new charge, admitted for an outstanding warrant, or admitted for both a new charge and an outstanding warrant. Pretrial admissions represented approximately two thirds or more of total admissions at the beginning of the study period (64% in Durham, 70% in Louisville, and 63% in St. Louis). **In Durham and Louisville, the majority of pretrial admissions consisted of individuals being booked on a new charge, while in St. Louis the majority of pretrial admissions were for outstanding warrants** (see Figure 3).

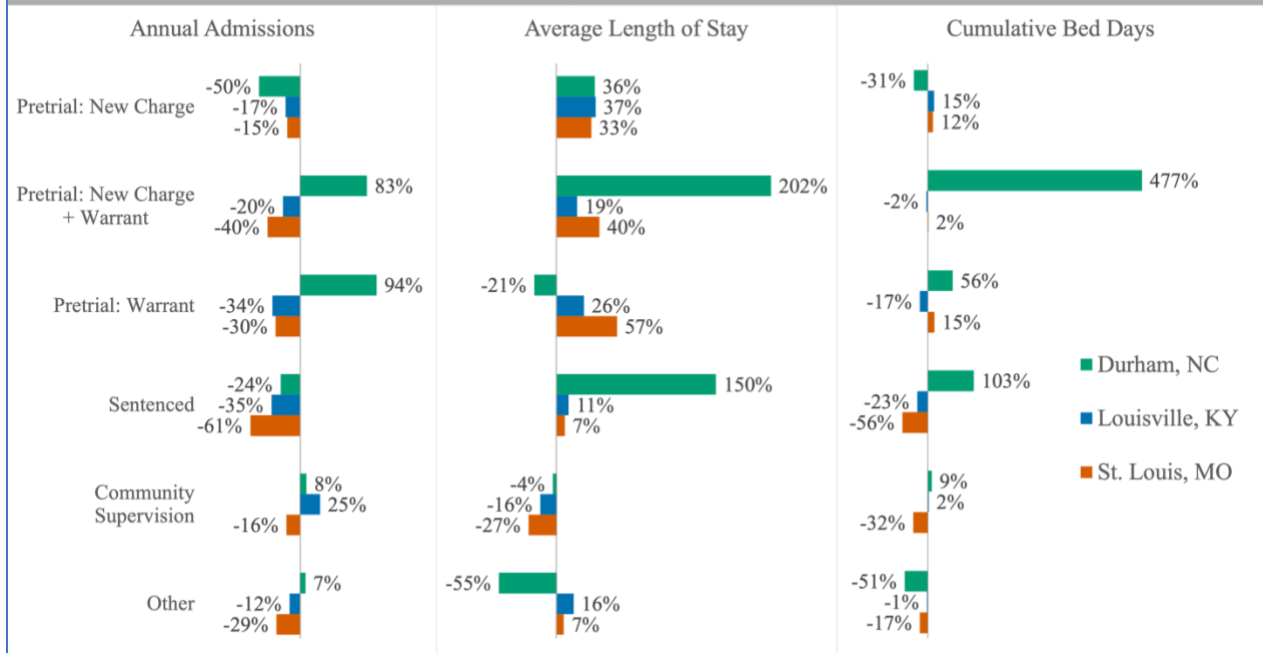
All counties experienced similar trends in pretrial admissions for a new charge. **The number of individuals admitted pretrial for a new charge decreased by between 15% and 50%, while the average LOS for this group increased by approximately one third in all counties** (see Figure 4). Between 2014 and 2019, the average LOS for individuals admitted for a new charge increased by 2.4 days in Durham (from 6.8 to 9.3 days), 3.9 days in Louisville (from 10.6 to 14.4 days), and 1.9 days in St. Louis (from 6 to 7.9 days). In Louisville and St. Louis, this group also occupied more bed days in 2019 than in 2014.



Trends in other pretrial admissions were less consistent across counties. In Louisville and St. Louis, pretrial admissions for an outstanding warrant only or for both a new charge and a warrant declined across the study period, while the average LOS for these groups increased, resulting in relatively steady bed day use. In Durham, pretrial admissions for an outstanding warrant only or for both a new charge and a warrant nearly doubled (increasing by 94% and 83%, respectively). Among those admitted for both a new charge and a warrant in Durham, average LOS increased by over 200%, from 13.8 days to 41.5 days, and cumulative bed days increased by over 400% (see Figure 4).

Across all counties, admissions for sentenced individuals declined between 24% and 40%, while average LOS increased. However, bed day use for sentenced individuals increased only in Durham, where the increase in average LOS for this group was substantially larger than in other counties. The average LOS for sentenced individuals in Durham increased by almost three weeks between 2014 and 2019 (from 17.6 days to 43.9 days), and bed day use doubled (from 33,538 to 68,018). Although average LOS for sentenced individuals increased by 6 days in Louisville (from 54.3 days to 60.3 days) and 1.8 days in St. Louis (from 23.6 days to 25.4 days), the number of bed days occupied by this group decreased by 23% and 56% respectively (see Table 2 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by admission type).

Figure 4. Percent Change in Admissions, Length of Stay, and Bed Days by Admission Type, 2014-2019



Jail Trends by Charge Severity and Category

Key Findings for Charge Severity:

- The number of admissions for less severe charges (misdemeanors and violations) declined in all counties. Admissions for misdemeanors declined by 25% in Durham, 40% in St. Louis, and 37% in Louisville. Admissions for violations also declined by 40% in Durham, 36% in St. Louis, and 43% in Louisville.
- For misdemeanors, bed day use decreased between 23% (Durham) and 60% (St. Louis); bed days for people charged with violations increased by 21% in Durham where there was a 112% increase in LOS.
- The number of violent felony admissions decreased in Louisville (28%) and Durham (5%) and increased slightly in St. Louis (4%). However, bed day use increased in all three counties from 6% (Louisville) to 39% (Durham).
- Number of admissions for non-violent felonies declined in all three jails from 2% (Louisville) to 23% (Durham).
- Number for admissions for outstanding warrants increased in all counties, between 18% (Louisville) and 88% (St. Louis). While admissions for warrants were a relatively small percentage of total admissions, bed days used increased in all counties.

Key Findings for Charge Category:

- The number of admissions for drug charges in Durham was halved (56%) from 2014 to 2019, and also decreased in Louisville (20%) and St. Louis (10%). Average LOS for drug charges also decreased in Durham (3%) and St. Louis (8%) but increased in Louisville (19%). In all three counties, bed days used for drug charges declined between 3% and 56%.
- From 2014 to 2019, the only charge category that saw an increase in admissions was weapons charges in both Louisville (9%, from 245 to 268) and St. Louis (16%, from 290 to 337). There was a small decline in admissions for weapons charges in Durham (1%, from 258 to 255). In Louisville and St. Louis, between 2014 and 2019, individuals admitted on weapons charges experienced increases in average LOS (33% increase in St. Louis and 56% increase in Louisville) and cumulative bed days (75% increase in St. Louis and 157% increase in Louisville). Conversely, during the same time period, in Durham, average LOS declined by 21% and cumulative bed days decreased by 25%.
- By 2019, individuals admitted on crimes against a person (i.e., person charges) occupied the most bed days in all counties, using 38% of bed days in Louisville (345,146 days) and St. Louis (196,958 days), and 47% of bed days in Durham (77,263 days).
- The average LOS for person charges increased by between 2.4 days and 17.9 days across the counties from 2014 to 2019. Admissions for person charges consistently resulted in longer average LOS than other charge categories.

Charge Severity and Category Definitions

Decision on top **charge severity** were based on the respective State's crime codes. This report further distinguishes between violent and non-violent felonies, where violent felonies required the use of physical force or attempted force against a person such as homicide, rape, or robbery. The "other" category includes non-criminal offenses such as holds for other agencies and writ to prosecute or testify.

Decisions on top **charge category** were also based on the State's crime code and linked to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) codes which designates offenses as crime against persons, crime against property, or crimes against society. In addition, the UCR codes identify traffic and "other" offense types.

- **Person:** Any offense maintaining a UCR designation as crime against person (assault, homicide, sexual offenses, and kidnapping).

- **Property:** Any offense maintaining a UCR designation as crime against property (arson, bribery, burglary, forgery, embezzlement, fraud, larceny).
- **Drug:** Any offense maintaining a UCR offense code 35A or 35B drug/narcotic offense (possession, sales, and use of a controlled substance).
- **Crimes Against Society:** Any offense maintaining a UCR designation as a crime against society except if the victim was a person, property was taken, or listed as a 35A, 35B, 90D, or 520 code (loitering, disorderly conduct, trespassing).
- **Weapon:** Any offense maintaining a UCR offense code 520 weapon law violations (carrying concealed or exposed weapon, defacing a firearm, unlawful discharge of a firearm, fraudulent purchase of a firearm, noise violations, unlawful possession or use of a weapon, exhibiting a weapon, armed criminal action, peace disturbances involving a weapon, leaving scene of a shooting).
- **Traffic:** Any offense listed as traffic in UCR codes or listed as a UCR offense code 90D (DUI) (non-moving and moving violations, DUI, driving without proper license or registration).
- **Other:** Primarily non-criminal offenses (holds for other agencies, holds for safekeeping, probation and parole violations, writ to prosecute or testify)

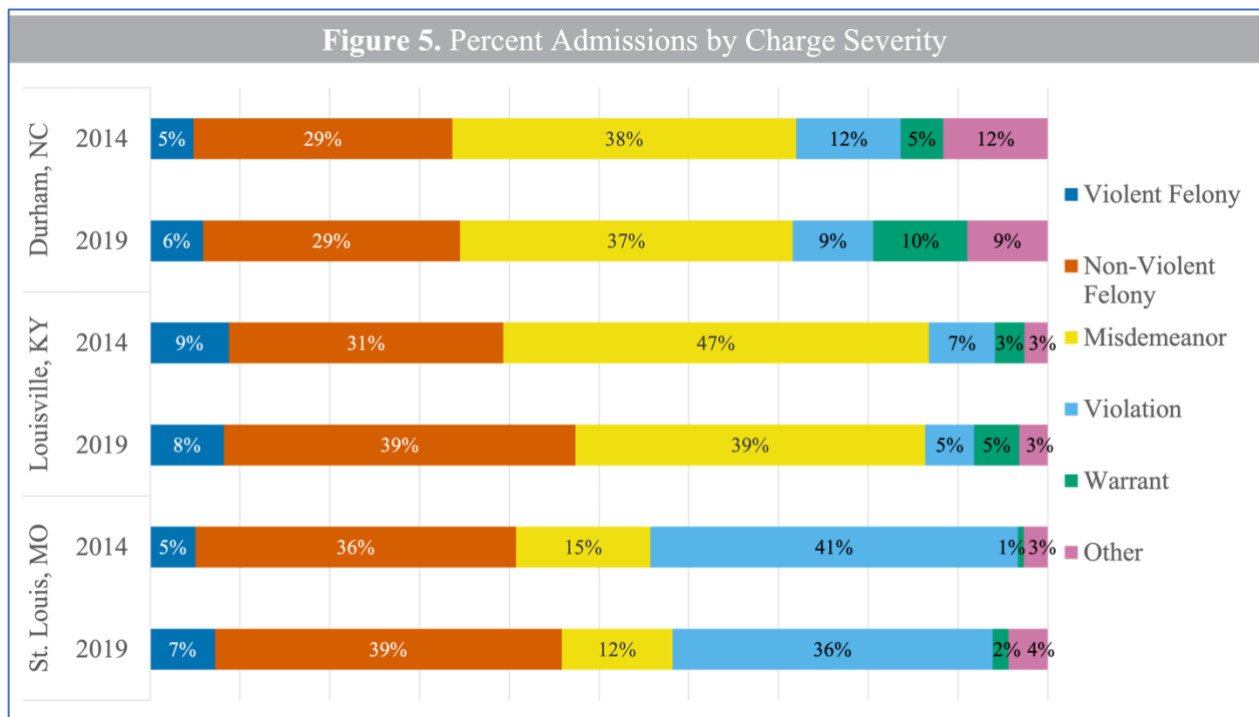
Charge Severity

The present analyses categorize admissions according to the severity of the top charge associated with each booking, ranging from most to least severe: violent felony, non-violent felony, misdemeanor, violation, warrant, and “other.”

In all three counties, the proportion of admissions for misdemeanors and violations decreased, while the changes in the proportion of admissions for violent and non-violent felonies varied (see Figure 5). The decline in the proportion of admissions for misdemeanor charges was small in Durham (1%) and St. Louis (3%) but greater in Louisville (8%). The decline in the proportion of violations ranged from 2% (Louisville) to 5% (St. Louis). The proportion of violent felony admissions decreased in Louisville and increased only slightly in Durham and St. Louis (by 1% and 2%; see Figure 5). Additionally, the proportion of non-violent felony admissions increased in both Louisville (8%) and St. Louis (3%) but remained the same in Durham.

In Durham, misdemeanors were the most common top charge severity, followed by non-violent felonies in both 2014 and 2019. The same pattern held in Louisville with the exception of 2019, at which point non-violent felony admissions and misdemeanor admissions were roughly equivalent at around 39% of total admissions. In St. Louis, violations were the most common top charge severity in 2014, while in 2019, it was non-violent felonies.

Between 2014 and 2019, the number of misdemeanors declined between 25% (Durham) to 40% (St. Louis) while the average LOS for misdemeanors decreased only in Louisville and St. Louis (see Figure 6). Nonetheless, all three counties had reductions in bed day use for misdemeanors between 23% (Durham) to 60% (St. Louis). For violations, reductions in the number of admissions ranged from 36% (St. Louis) to 43% (Louisville) in all three counties, average LOS increased in Durham and Louisville, and bed day use increased in Durham.



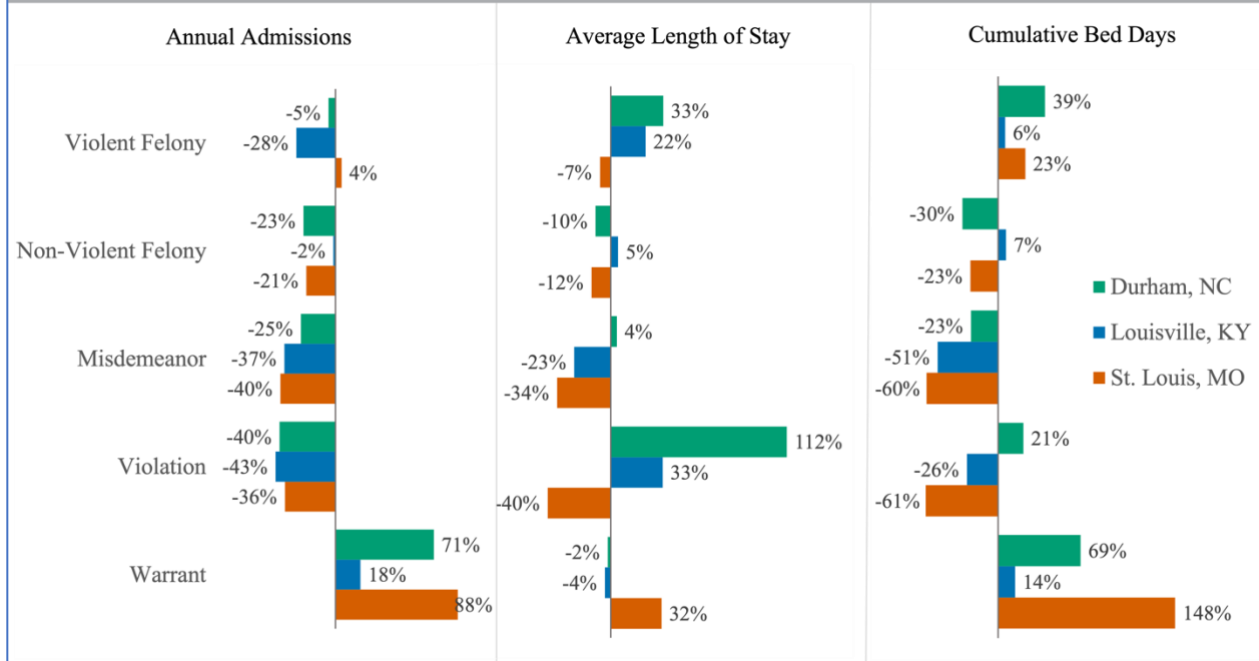
In all counties, the number of admissions for misdemeanors and violations decreased to a greater degree than admissions for felonies (see Figure 6). Admissions for non-violent felonies decreased in both Durham and St. Louis by approximately one fourth (23% and 21% respectively), while admissions for violent felonies in both counties stayed relatively similar but with divergent patterns (a 5% decrease in Durham and a 4% increase in St. Louis). In Louisville, admissions for violent felonies decreased by 28% while admissions for non-violent felonies held relatively steady (decreasing by only 2%).

While admissions for outstanding warrants were a relatively small percentage of total admissions in all counties in all years, admission and bed days used increased in all counties. The number of admissions for warrants increased by 88% in St. Louis, 71% in Durham, and 18% in Louisville. Bed day use among individuals admitted for warrants also increased in all counties (ranging from 14% to 148%).

Admissions for violent felonies resulted in substantially longer average LOS than admissions for less severe charges. In 2019, individuals admitted for a violent felony charge stayed in jail for more than three months on average (108.2 days in Durham; 127.6 days in Louisville; 117.1 days in St. Louis), while individuals admitted on lesser charges stayed for an average of 38 days or less. In two counties, average LOS for violent felonies increased across the study period (22% in Louisville, from 104.5 days to 127.6 days; 33% in Durham, from 81.1 days to 108.2 days). In all counties, the number of bed days occupied by individuals charged with a violent felony increased (from 50,884 days to 70,888 days in Durham; from 318,471 to 336,640 in Louisville; from 178,987 days to 219,610 days in St. Louis).

Patterns in length of stay across other charge severity categories varied by county. Most notably, average LOS for individuals admitted for a violation in Durham more than doubled (from 3.1 days to 6.6 days), resulting in a 21% increase in bed day use. In St. Louis, average LOS for individuals admitted for a warrant increased by 32% (from 6.5 days to 8.7 days), resulting in a 148% increase in bed day use (see Table 3 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by charge severity).

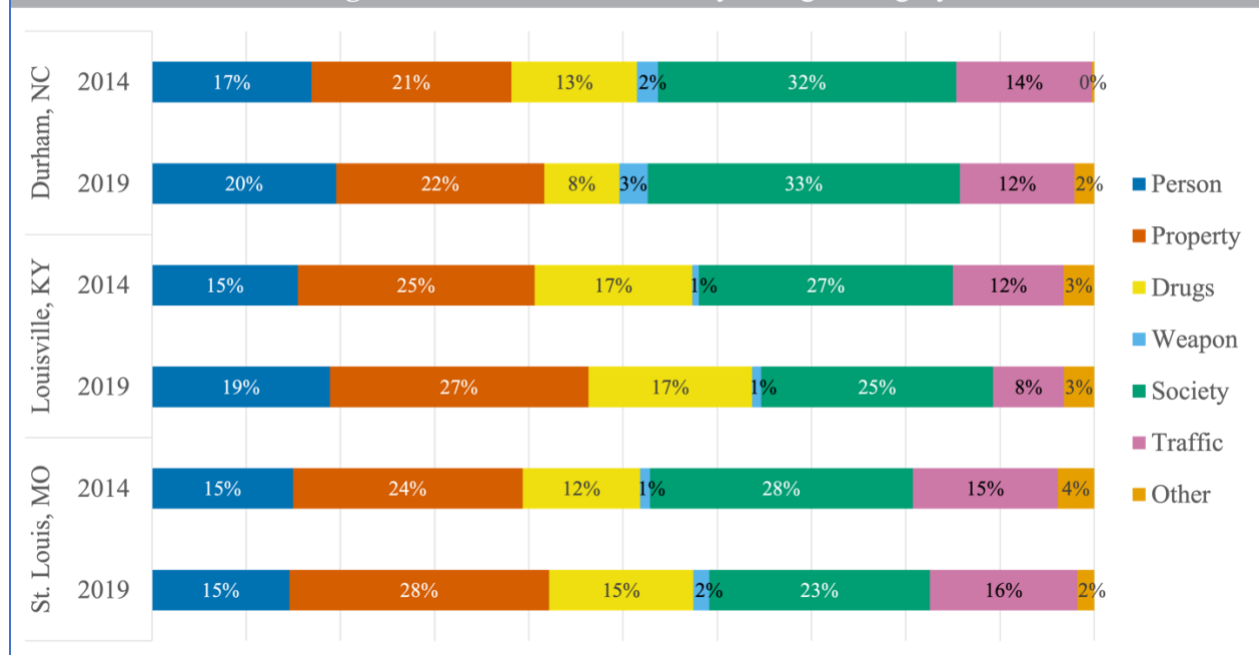
Figure 6. Percent Change in Admissions, Length of Stay, and Bed Days by Charge Severity, 2014-2019



Charge Category

The present analyses further examined patterns of admissions by the type of charge for which an individual was booked. Charge categories include person, property, drug, weapon, crimes against society, and traffic violations. **In 2014, the most common charge category in all counties was crimes against society (e.g., misdemeanor probation violation). By 2019, the most common charge category was property charges (e.g., larceny) in both Louisville and St. Louis, but remained crimes against society for Durham** (see Figure 7; see Table 4 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by charge category).

Figure 7. Percent Admissions by Charge Category



From 2014 to 2019, the number of admissions declined across all charge categories except for weapons charges, for which admissions increased in both Louisville (9%, from 245 to 268) and St. Louis (16%, from 290 to 337; see Figure 8). In Louisville and St. Louis, individuals admitted on a weapons charge faced a longer average LOS (33% increase in St. Louis and 56% increase in Louisville) and occupied more cumulative bed days (75% increase in St. Louis and 157% increase in Louisville; see Figure 8) in 2019 than 2014.

The number of admissions for drug charges in Durham was halved (56%) and decreased to a lesser extent in Louisville (20%) and St. Louis (10%). Average LOS for drug charges also decreased in Durham (3%) and St. Louis (8%) but increased in Louisville (19%). In all three counties, bed days used for the drug charges declined between 3% and 56%.

Between 2014 to 2019, in all three sites, the number of admissions for person charges decreased while average LOS and cumulative bed days used increased. By 2019, individuals charged with person charges occupied the most bed days in all counties, using 38% of bed days in Louisville (345,146 days) and St. Louis (196,958 days) and 47% of bed days in Durham (77,263 days).

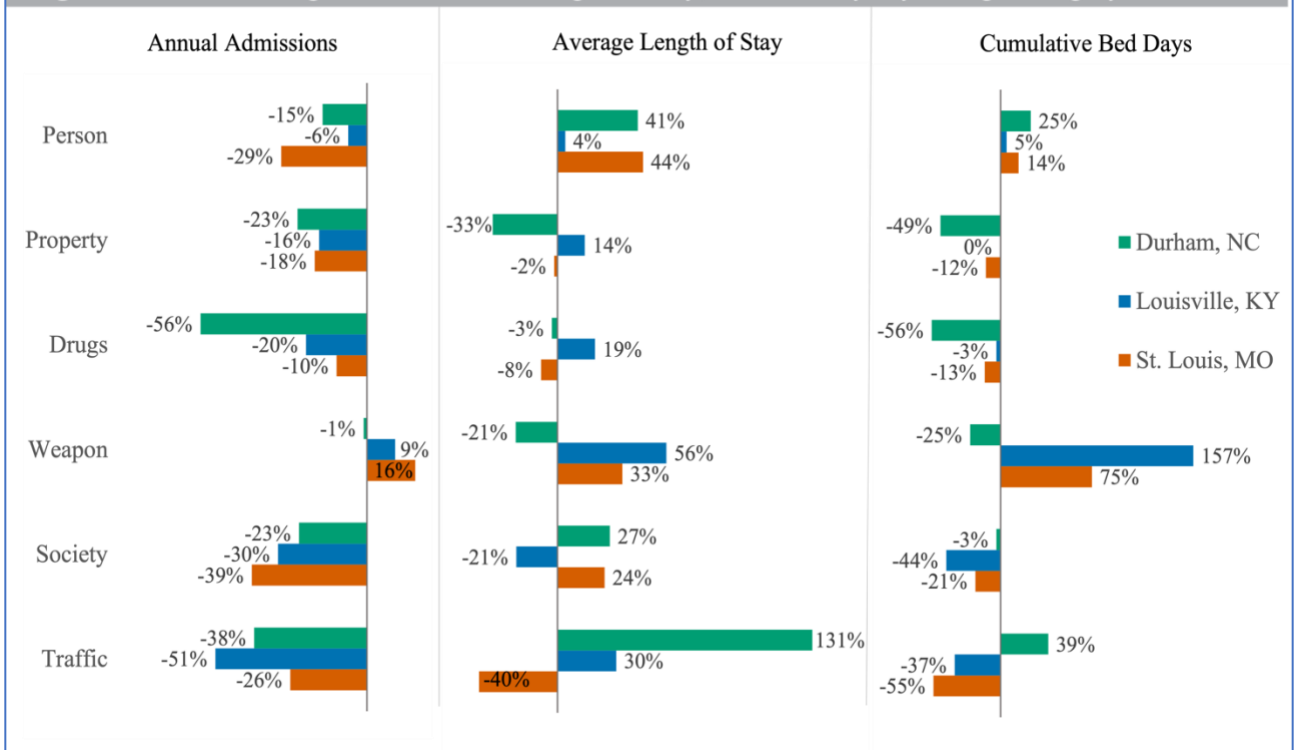
Across the full sample, admissions for person charges consistently resulted in the longest average LOS. In 2014, individuals admitted with a person charge spent more than four weeks in jail on average (30 days in Durham, 59.7 days in Louisville, and 40.8 days in St. Louis). In Durham and St. Louis, the average LOS for person charges increased by roughly 40%, resulting in average lengths of stay exceeding six weeks in all counties in 2019 (42.4 days in Durham, 62 days in Louisville, and 58.7 days in St. Louis).

Patterns in average LOS by charge category varied considerably by county. In Durham, the largest proportional increase in average LOS was among individuals admitted for traffic violations, with the average LOS increasing 131% from 3.7 to 8.6 days. Average LOS decreased in Durham for individuals admitted with property charges by 33% (from 14 to 9.3 days) and weapon charges by 21% (from 22.9 to 18 days).

In Louisville, the largest proportional increase in average LOS was among those admitted on weapons charges, with the average LOS increasing 56% (from 17.7 to 27.6 days). The only charge category for which average LOS decreased in Louisville was crimes against society (by 21%, from 14.7 to 11.5 days).

In St. Louis, the largest proportional increase was among those admitted on person charges, with the average LOS increasing by 44% (from 40.8 to 58.7 days). The only categories for which average LOS decreased in St. Louis were drug charges (by 8%, from 15.7 to 14.4 days) and traffic violations (by 40%, from 5 to 3 days).

Figure 8. Percent Change in Admissions, Length of Stay, and Bed Days by Charge Category, 2014-2019



Jail Trends by Number of Admission Types and Charges

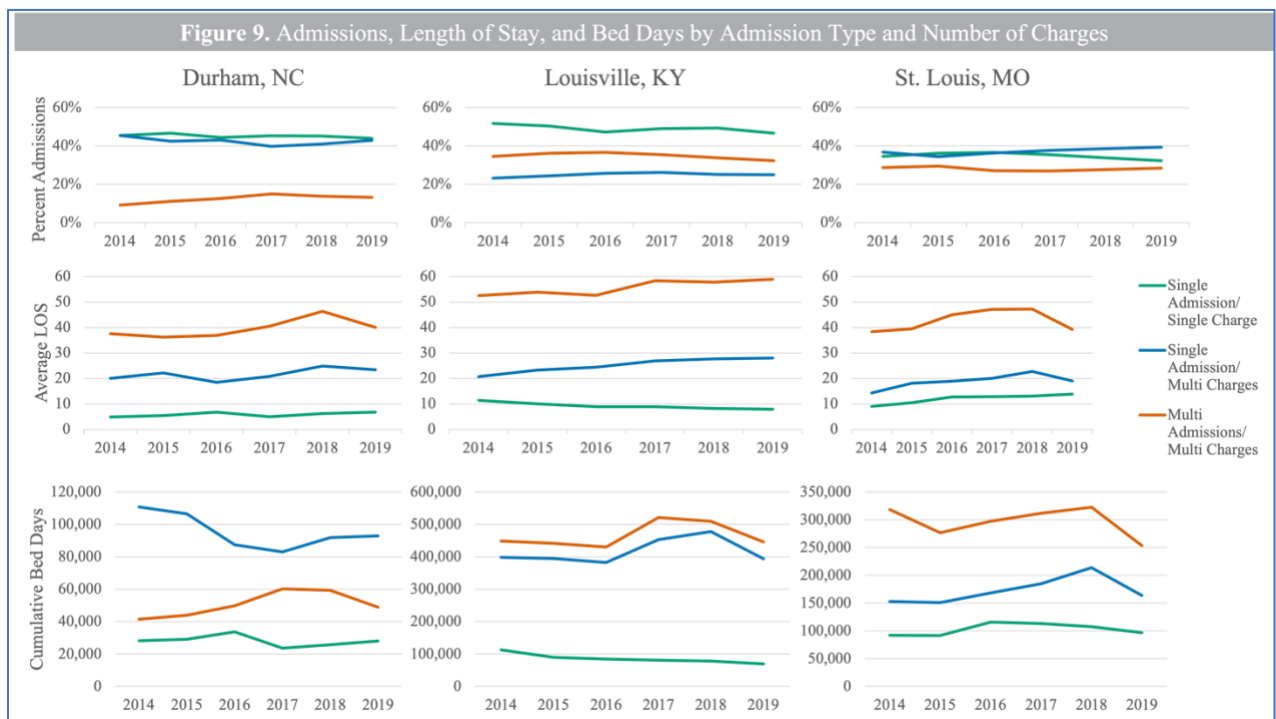
Key Findings

- The majority of admissions in all counties involved a single admission type – pretrial - with either a single charge or multiple charges (72% to 87% in 2019).
- Admissions that involved multiple admission types had the longest average LOS in all counties. In 2019, average LOS for admissions with multiple admission types was around 39 days in Durham and St. Louis and 58.9 days in Louisville. In contrast, that same year, admissions with a single admission type and single charge had an average LOS of 6.8 days in Durham, 7.9 days in Louisville, and 13.9 days in St. Louis.
- In Louisville and St. Louis, individuals admitted on multiple admission types occupied the most cumulative bed days (445,989 and 253,618 bed days used in 2019, respectively), while in Durham, those admitted on a single admission type with multiple charges had the most cumulative bed days used (92,904 bed days in 2019).

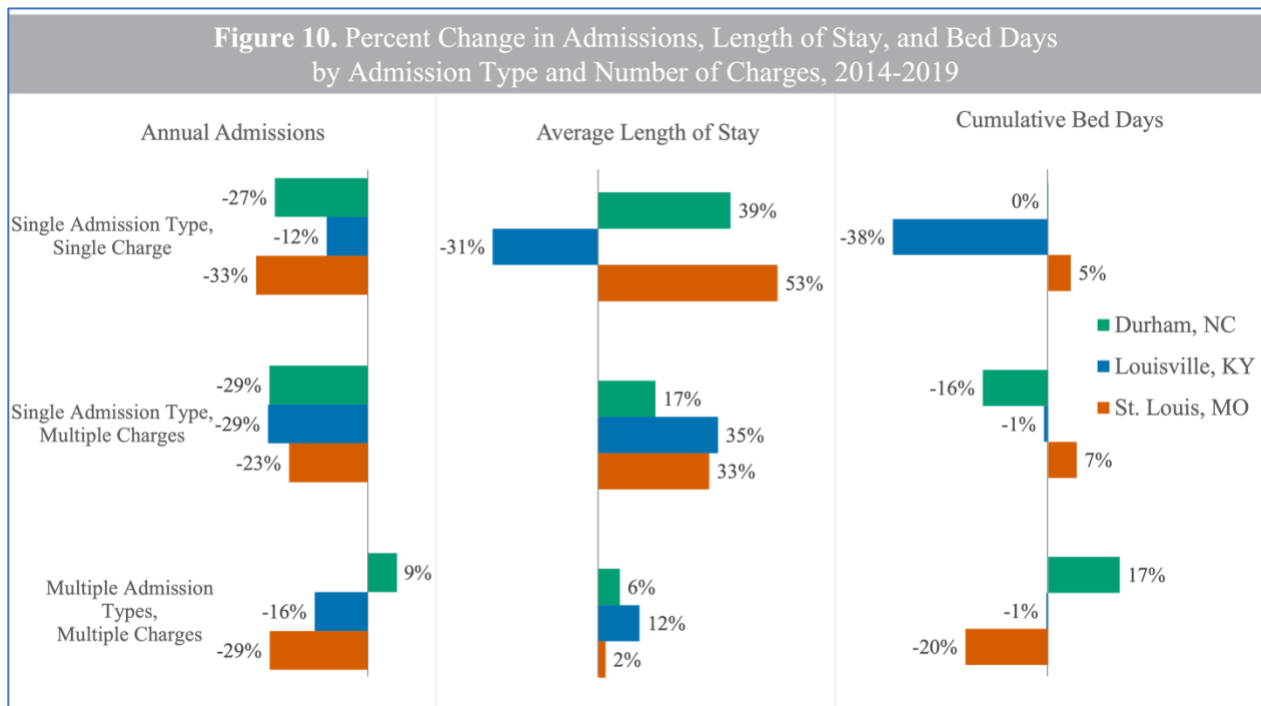
Individuals may enter jail with multiple charges or a combination of admission types discussed above. In this section, admissions were categorized into one of three categories: single admission type with a single charge; single admission type with multiple charges; or multiple admission types with multiple charges (see Table 5 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by admission type and charges).

Admission Type & Number of Charges
Single admission type, single charge: a person enters jail with one charge and one admission type.
Single admission type, multiple charges: a person enters jail with two or more charges and one admission type.
Multiple admission types, multiple charges: a person enters jail with multiple charges and multiple admission types (e.g., pretrial admission for a new charge and probation violation).

The majority of admissions in all counties were single admission types with either a single charge or multiple charges. In 2019, single admission types constituted approximately three fourths of admissions in Louisville and St. Louis in 2014 (75% and 72%, respectively), and nearly nine in ten admissions in Durham (87%). Consistent with overall admission trends, all counties saw a general decline in the number of admissions for single admission types across the study period. Admissions for multiple admission types decreased by 16% in Louisville and by 29% in St. Louis but increased by 9% in Durham between 2014 and 2019 (see Figure 9).



Individuals admitted on multiple admission types with multiple charges spent substantially longer in jail on average compared to those admitted on a single admission type (see Figure 10). In 2019, these individuals spent more than five weeks in jail on average (40 days in Durham, 58.9 days in Louisville, and 39.2 days in St. Louis). Those admitted on a single admission type with multiple charges stayed for approximately three weeks on average in 2019 (23.4 days in Durham, 28 days in Louisville, and 19 days in St. Louis), while those admitted on a single admission type with a single charge stayed less than two weeks on average (6.8 days in Durham, 7.9 days in Louisville, and 13.9 days in St. Louis).



Although individuals admitted on a single admission type and single charge were detained for the shortest amount of time, the average LOS for this group increased by 39% in Durham (1.9 days) and by 53% in St. Louis (4.8 days) from 2014 to 2019. In Louisville, the opposite pattern emerged: the average LOS for individuals admitted on a single admission type with a single charge decreased by 31% (3.5 days). Across all counties, the average LOS increased for individuals admitted on a single admission type and multiple charges (between 17% and 35%) and increased slightly for individuals admitted on multiple admission types with multiple charges (between 2% and 12%).

Bed day use varied by county and admission type and number of charges. In Durham, single admissions with multiple charges occupied 50% or more of cumulative bed days across the study period, while in St. Louis, multiple admissions with multiple charges occupied approximately 50% or more of cumulative bed days. In St. Louis, single admissions with multiple charges and multiple admissions with multiple charges together consistently occupied 80% or more cumulative bed days.

Jail Trends by Bail Amount

Key Findings:

- In 2014, individuals with bail set above \$5,000, on average, stayed in jail more than three times longer than individuals with lower bail amounts. Average LOS for these individuals with bail set above \$5,000 increased between 31% and 54% (10 days and 39 days) in all counties. By 2019, the average LOS for this group was over 13 weeks in Louisville (91.8 days) and St. Louis (92.8 days), and almost 5 weeks in Durham (34.5 days).
- Individuals with bail set above \$5,000 accounted for two thirds or more of cumulative bed days in 2019 (68% in Durham, 82% in Louisville, 89% in St. Louis)

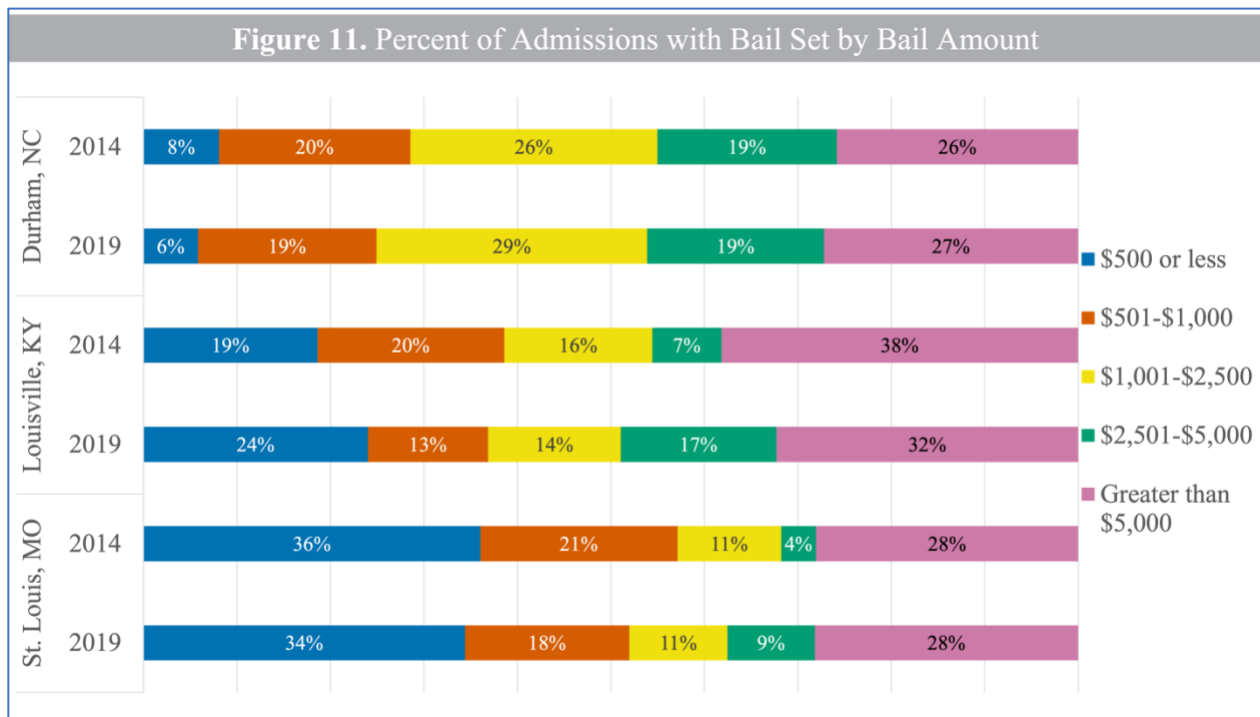
Some individuals admitted to jail pretrial are required to post a financial payment to the court, known as bail, in order to be released. Table 2 presents the number of individuals in each county that had bail set in the first and last years of the study period, as well as the mean and median bail amounts. The bail amounts in the present analyses account for inflation. Bail amounts from 2014 to 2018 were adjusted to the 2019 inflation rate to allow for comparisons across years. For the purpose of the present analyses, bail amounts were categorized into five groups: under \$500, \$501-\$1,000, \$1,001-\$2,500, \$2,501-\$5,000, and over \$5,000 (see Table 6 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by bail amount).

Table 2. Mean and Median Bail by County						
	Durham, NC		Louisville, KY		St. Louis, MO	
	2014	2019	2010	2019	2010	2019
# of individuals with bail set	7,373	5,223	15,152	19,562	16,402	10,379
% total admissions	62%	58%	35%	69%	48%	51%
Mean bail amount	\$7,051	\$9,581	\$12,412	\$14,760	\$8,666	\$8,036
Median bail amount	\$2,000	\$2,500	\$1,172	\$2,500	\$703	\$1,000

Note: Because the Louisville and St. Louis site reports are based on data from 2010 to 2019, the available bail data is from the first and final years of the study period.

Between 2014 and 2019, admissions among all bail categories declined with a few exceptions. In Louisville, the number of individuals with bail set below \$500 or less increased by 11% (from 4,237 to 4,694), and the number of individuals with bail set between \$2501-\$5,000 almost doubled (from 1,681 to 3,259). In St. Louis, the number of individuals with bail set between \$2,501-\$5000 increased by 72% (from 565 to 969; see Figure 11).

In all counties, individuals with a set bail amount above \$5,000 spent considerably longer in jail, and average LOS for this group increased considerably across the study period. In 2014, individuals in this group spent more than three times longer in jail than individuals in any other bail category. The average LOS for these individuals also increased substantially: by 10.3 days in Durham, 32.3 days in Louisville, and 22 days in St. Louis. By 2019, this group spent over 13 weeks in jail on average in Louisville and St. Louis (91.8 and 92.8 days, respectively), over five times as long as individuals in any other bail category. In Durham, this group spent almost 5 weeks in jail on average (34.5 days), over four times as long as individuals in other bail categories.

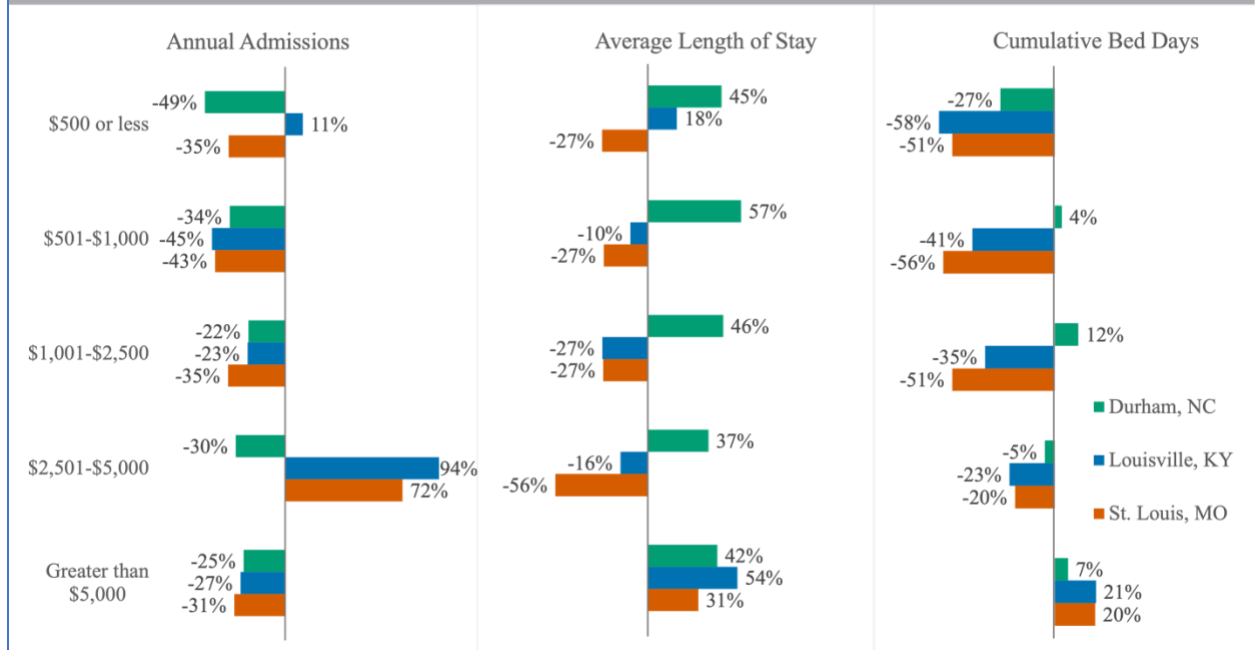


Individuals with bail set above \$5,000 also accounted for substantially more bed days than individuals with bail set below \$5,000. In Durham in 2019, individuals with bail set above \$5,000 accounted for 50,018 cumulative bed days, or 68% of bed days used by those admitted pretrial with bail (or 29% of bed days for all admissions). In Louisville and St. Louis, this proportion was even higher (649,496, or 82%, in Louisville; 361,175, or 89% in St. Louis).

In St. Louis, average LOS and cumulative bed days decreased for all bail categories under \$5,000. In Louisville, average LOS among individuals with bail set below \$500 increased by 0.7 days (from 3.6 to 4.3 days), while average LOS among individuals with bail set between \$501 and \$5,000 decreased (see Figure 12). Cumulative bed days also decreased for all bail amounts below \$5,000 in Louisville.

In Durham, in contrast to the other counties, average LOS also increased for all bail categories below \$5000 (between 37% and 57%). Occupied bed days decreased among those with bail set below \$500 (by 27%) and between \$2501 and \$5000 (5%), while bed days increased among those with bail set between \$510-\$1,000 (4%) and between \$1,001-\$2,500 (12%).

Figure 12. Percent Change in Admissions, Length of Stay, and Bed Days by Bail Amount, 2014-2019



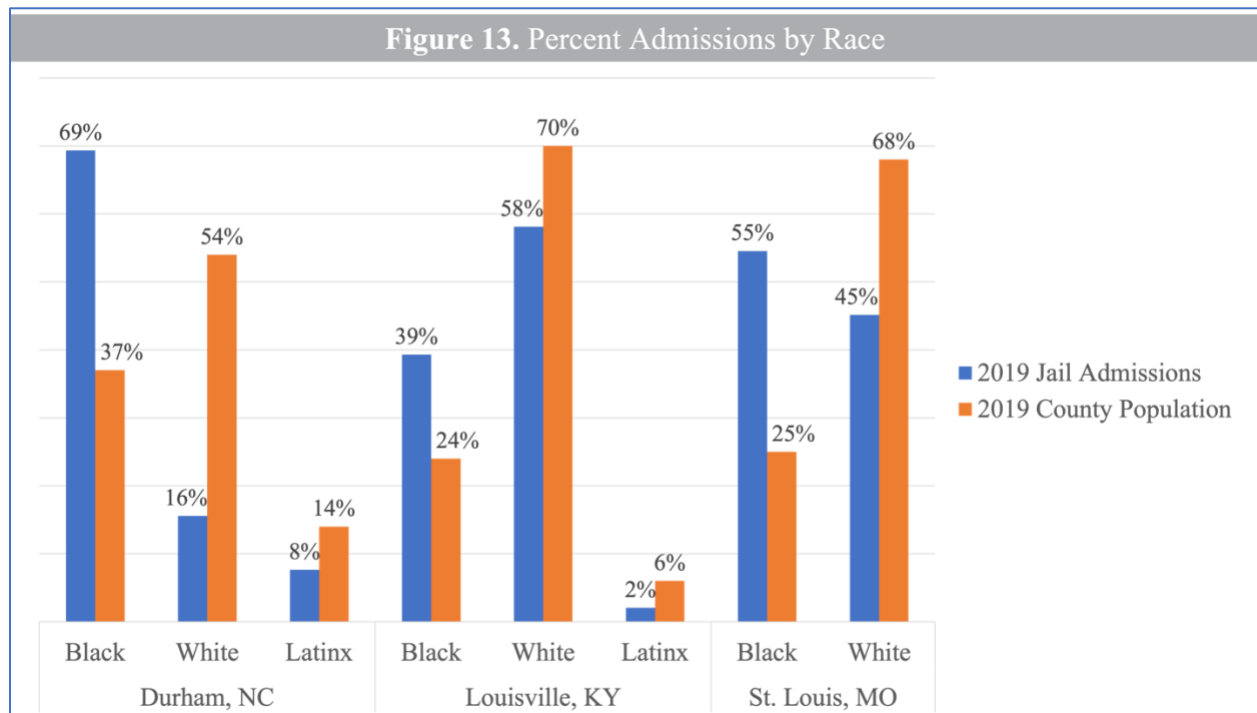
Jail Trends by Demographics

Key Findings:

- In 2019, in Louisville, Black individuals made up 24% of the county population but represented 39% of the jail admissions and 49% of bed days. In Durham, Black individuals made up 37% of the county population and represented 69% of jail admissions and 78% of bed days. In St. Louis, Black individuals made up 25% of the county population, but 55% of admissions and 67% of bed days.
- In all counties, Black individuals stayed between 3.3 and 12.1 days longer in jail on average than white individuals.
- From 2014-2019, Black individuals also saw larger increases in average LOS than white individuals in Louisville (21%) and St. Louis (34%).
- In all counties, average LOS increased to the greatest extent for the youngest group of adults.
- By 2019, 18 to 24-year-olds stayed longer in jail than any other adult age group except in St. Louis, where people under 18 had the longest average LOS overall.

Race

A consistent finding across all counties and all years of the study period is the racial disparity in jail admissions, average LOS, and cumulative bed days. **In all three counties, Black individuals were admitted to jail at a higher rate than white individuals relative to their population in the community** (see Figure 13). Although Black individuals represent the minority of the general population in all three counties, they represent the majority of admissions in both Durham and St. Louis.⁴ Although fewer than half of Louisville admissions in 2019 were Black individuals (39%), they are overrepresented compared to the proportion of Black individuals in the general population (24%). Racial disparities in admission rates decreased slightly in all counties across the study period, but Black individuals remained considerably overrepresented in jail admission rates (see Table 7 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by race).

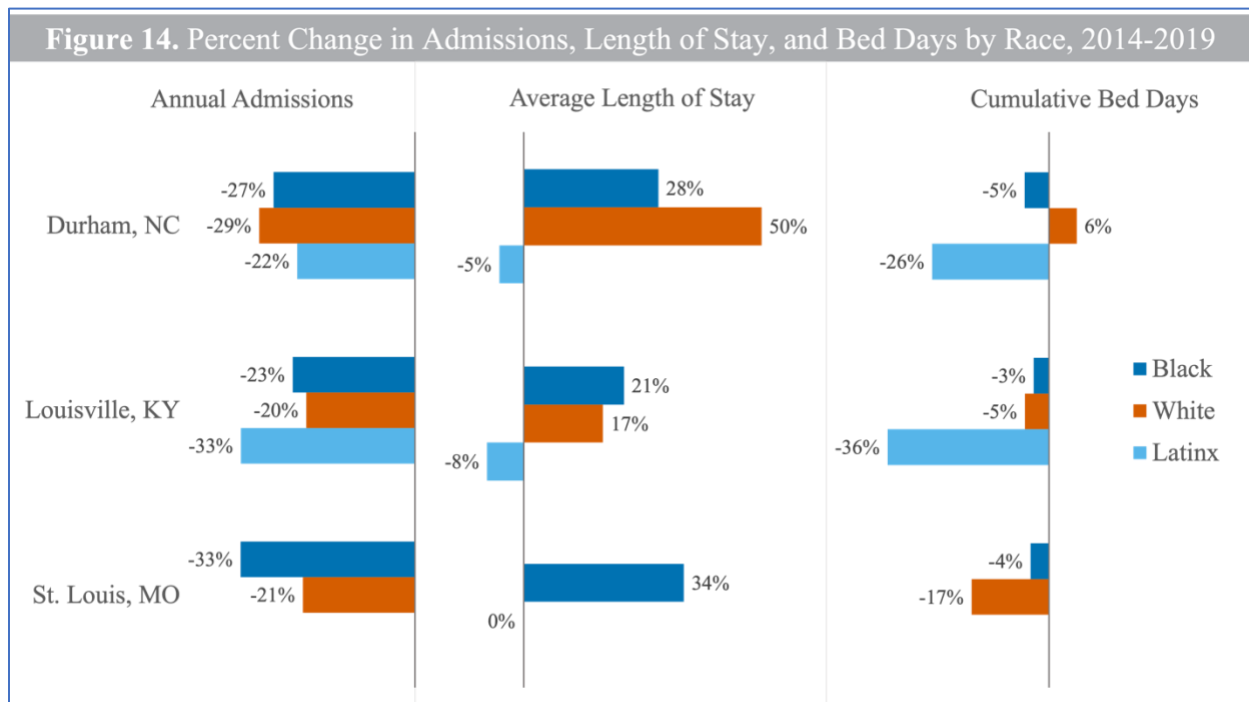


⁴ Notably, Latinx status is not captured in the data from St. Louis.

Between 2014 and 2019, the average LOS increased for Black individuals in all counties by over 4 days (from 16 to 20.6 days in Durham; from 31.2 to 37.7 days in Louisville; from 21.4 to 28.5 days in St. Louis). The average LOS for white individuals increased by 5.7 days in Durham (from 11.5 to 17.2 days), increased by 3.6 days in Louisville (from 22 days to 25.6 days), and held steady in St. Louis (16.9 days).

Black individuals on average spend longer in jail than white individuals. The magnitude of this disparity differs by county. In 2014, Black individuals spent 4.5 days longer in jail on average than white individuals in Durham and St. Louis, and 9.2 days longer on average than white individuals in Louisville. Furthermore, although the disparity in admissions declined slightly across the study period, **racial disparity in average LOS increased in two counties.** In 2019, Black individuals on average spent 12.1 days longer in jail in Louisville and 11.6 days longer in jail in St. Louis compared to white individuals (see Figure 14).

This racial disparity is also reflected in cumulative bed days. Black individuals occupied the majority of 2019 bed days in Durham (132,130 days, or 78% of cumulative bed days) and St. Louis (346,040 days, or 67% of cumulative bed days). In Louisville, Black and white individuals occupied the same proportion of cumulative bed days (445,884 days and 446,724 days, or 49% of cumulative bed days). However, given that only 24% of the general population of Louisville is Black, this still represents a significant overrepresentation of Black individuals in the Louisville jail population.

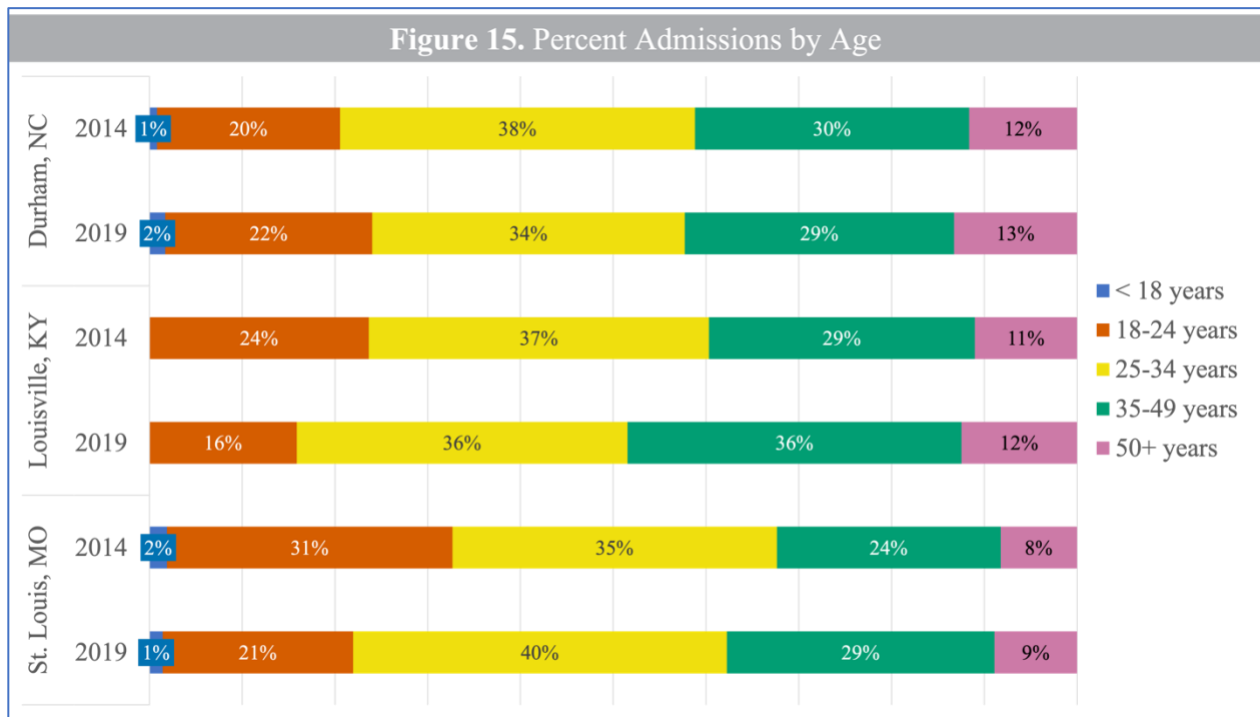


Age

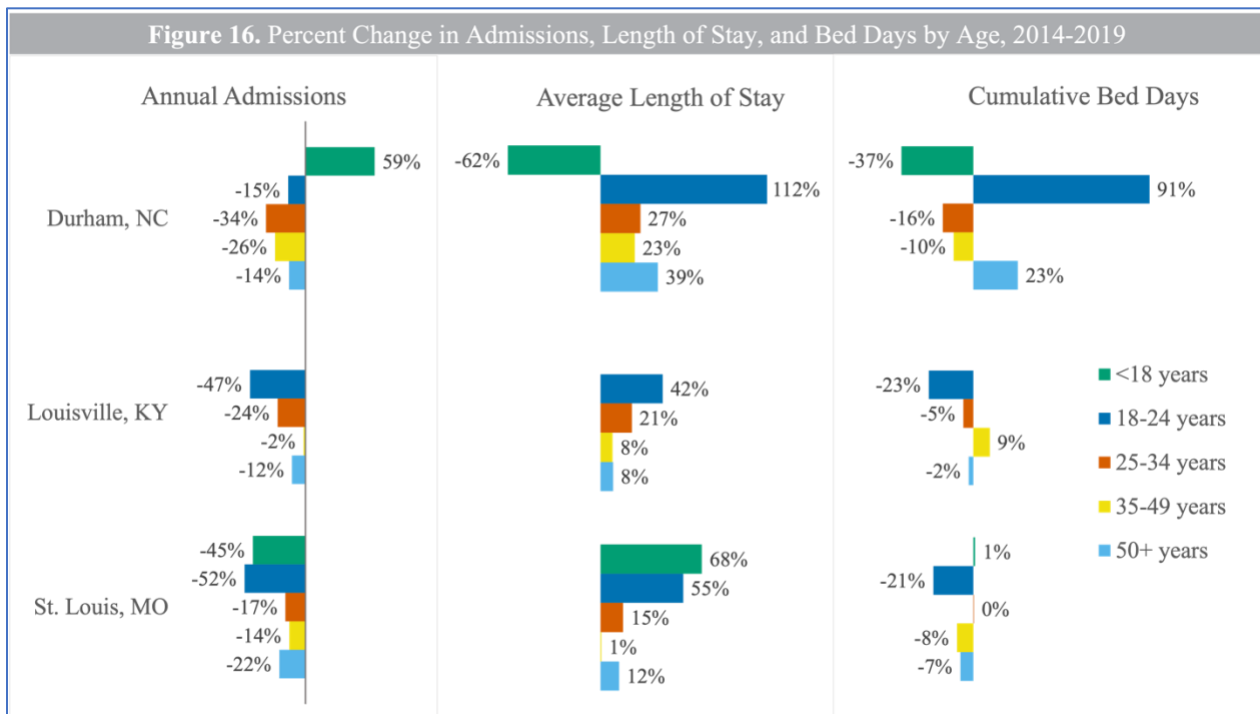
More individuals between the ages of 25 and 34 years were admitted to jail than any other age group in 2014 and 2019 (with the exception of Louisville in 2019, at which point this group was admitted at the same rate as individuals aged 35 to 49 years). The number of admissions among adults over 18 declined for all age ranges in all counties over the study period (see Figure 15; see Table 8 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by age).

In all counties, average LOS increased to the greatest extent for the youngest adult age group. Between 2014 and 2019, average LOS for 18-24-year-olds more than doubled in Durham (from 10.3 to 21.8 days) and increased by 42% in Louisville (from 26.3 to 37.2 days) and by 55% in St. Louis (from 18.1 to 28.2 days). By 2019, 18-24-year-olds were staying longer in jail on average than any other adult age group in

all counties. Despite the increase in average LOS among this group, bed days occupied by 18-24-year-olds increased only in Durham (see Figure 16), where their share of the jail population also increased.



Two counties (Durham and St. Louis) also admitted youth aged 16 to 17 years. The admission rate for minors in Durham, while small, increased 59% between 2014 and 2019 (see Figure 16). This was the only age range for which admissions increased during the study period. In St. Louis, although the admission rate for young people decreased, average LOS for this group increased by 20.7 days (68%).



Sex

Between 73% and 78% of admissions were men (Figure 17). In all counties, average LOS was longer for men than women but grew for both (Figure 18). Consistent with overall trends in admissions and average LOS, rates of admission declined, and average LOS increased for both men and women in all counties; in Louisville and St. Louis, admissions dropped by a higher percentage for men than for women. In Durham and St. Louis, average LOS increased more for women than for men; in Louisville, average LOS increased more for men than for women (see Table 9 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by sex).

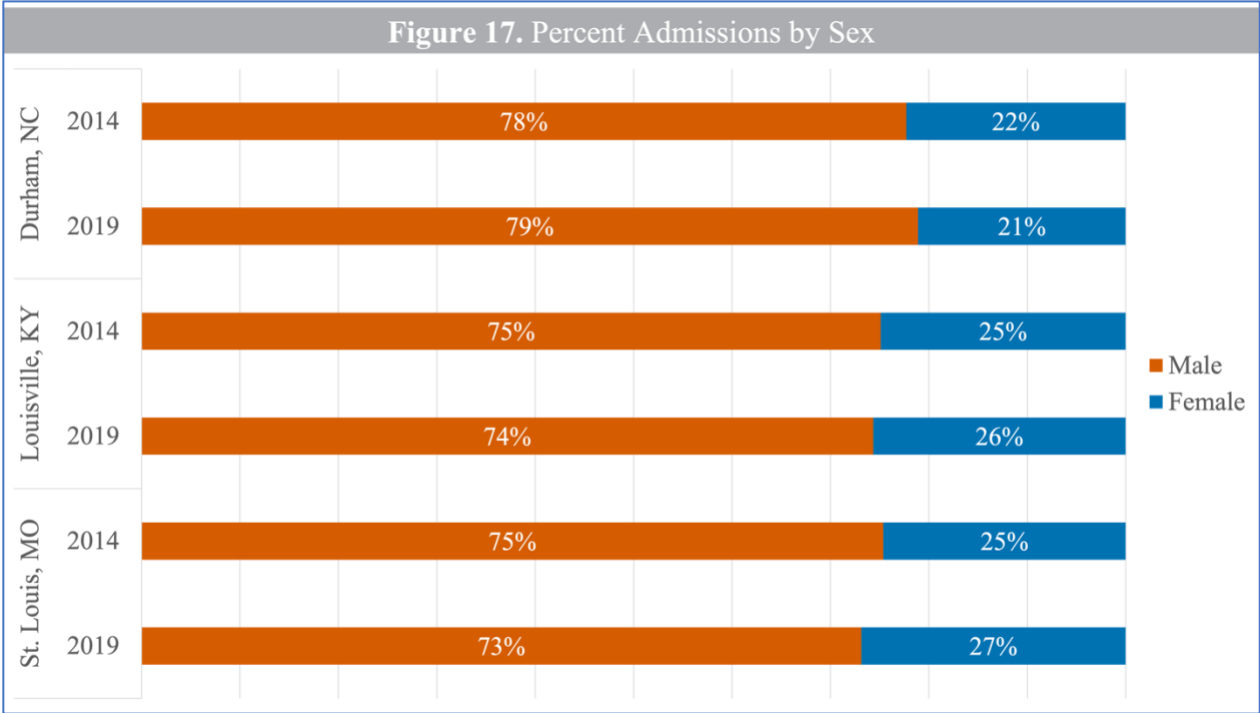
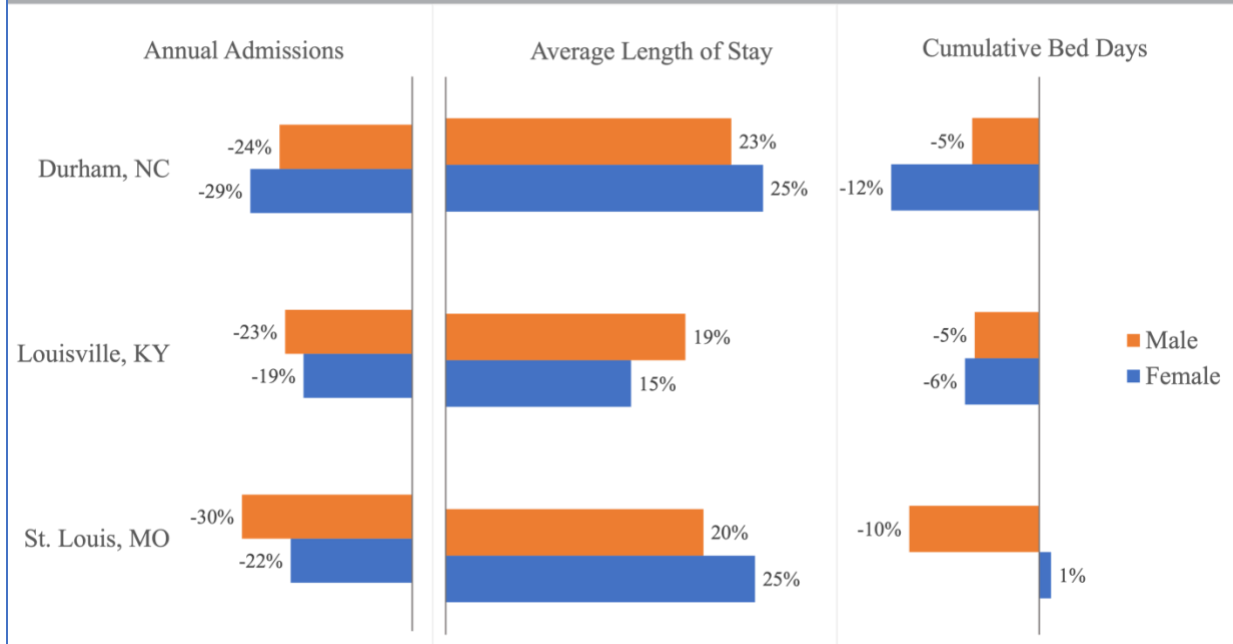


Figure 18. Percent Change in Admissions, Length of Stay, and Bed Days by Sex, 2014-2019



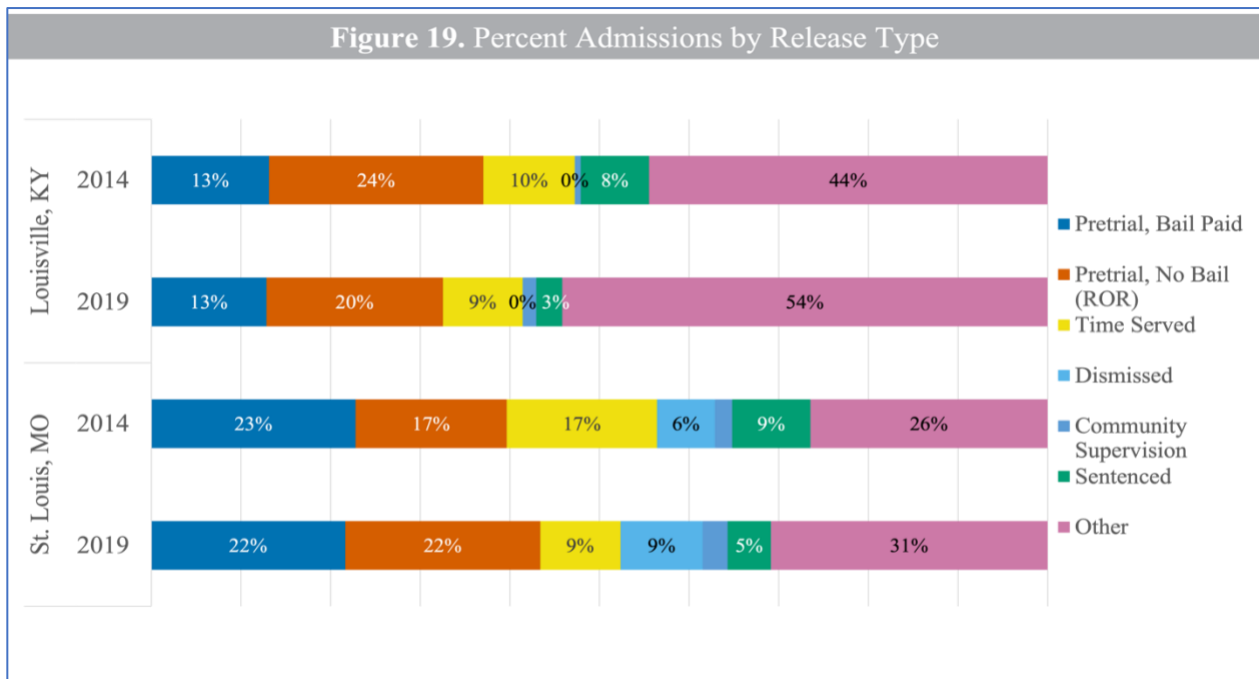
Jail Trends by Release Type

Key Findings

- In the two counties for which release data was available (Louisville and St. Louis), the average LOS for individuals released pretrial with bail paid increased by roughly five days in both counties. Cumulative bed days occupied increased by 59% and 18%, respectively.

Each admission was assigned one release type that describes the discharge status associated with the individual’s final release from custody (see Table 10 in Appendix B for 2014 and 2019 admissions, LOS, and bed days by release type).

Release Type Definitions
Pretrial: Bail Paid: Individuals released pretrial following the posting of bail.
Pretrial: No Bail: Individuals released pretrial on their own recognizance, administrative release, or other non-monetary release.
Time Served: Individuals released for ‘time served’ as designated in the plea agreement.
Dismissed: Case dismissed.
Community Supervision: Individuals released onto probation or parole, or who had their probation warrant or parole warrant/detainer lifted.
Sentenced: Individuals released after serving their jail sentence or transferred to a state prison facility.
Other: A broadly used categorization that includes persons released to other agencies or released into the community after a hold pending application of warrant. There is a lack of consistency in this group across counties. This classification also includes any release reason not covered above including individuals who escaped or died in custody.

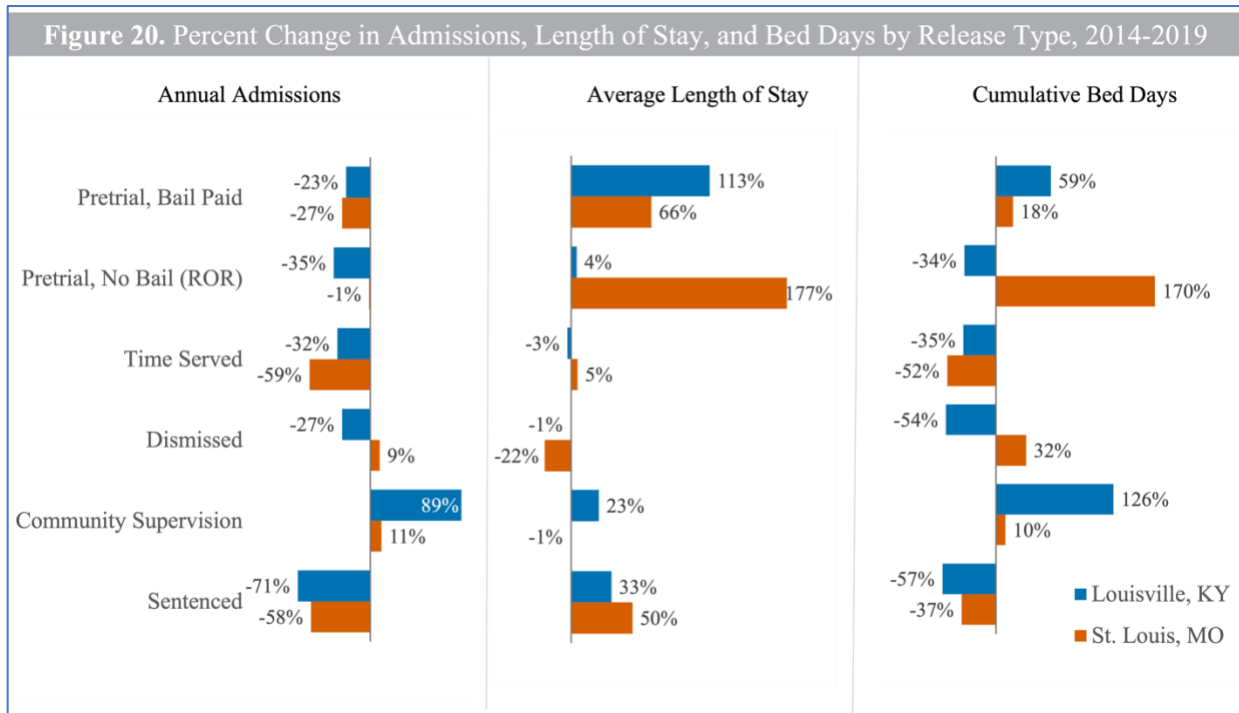


Note: In Louisville, dismissed cases accounted for 0.03% of admissions in 2014 and 2019.

In both Louisville and St. Louis, the most common release type was that defined as “other,” which is a broad categorization that includes persons released to state prison facilities and to other agencies.

Of the remaining releases, **the majority were pretrial releases (either with bail paid or without bail; see Figure 19)**. In both counties, the number of pretrial releases with bail paid decreased from 2014 to 2019 (from 4,732 to 3,621 in Louisville and from 4,797 to 4,659 in St. Louis). However, **in both Louisville and St. Louis, individuals released pretrial after posting bail stayed almost 5 days longer on average in 2019 than in 2014**, and therefore occupied more bed days (see Figure 20).

St. Louis also saw a marked increase in average LOS among individuals released on their own recognizance. Average LOS among this group increased from 10.3 days to over 4 weeks (28.4 days), resulting in a 170% increase in occupied bed days. It should be noted that the data did not identify whether individuals were released after bail was reduced to a smaller amount or zero at some point following booking.



Both counties saw a decrease in the number of individuals released for time served or released after sentencing, and the total cumulative bed days occupied by both groups declined. **Although individuals released after sentencing occupied fewer bed days, they spent considerably longer in jail in 2019 than in 2014.** In Louisville, the average LOS for this group increased by over three weeks (23.3 days), while in St. Louis the average LOS increased by over six weeks (45.2 days)

In Louisville, there was a large proportional increase in individuals released into community supervision. However, this group represented only a small number of releases each year (227 in 2014; 428 in 2019). Bed days occupied by this group more than doubled in Louisville.

Predictors of Long Stays and Readmission

Multivariate analyses were conducted for each site to determine what factors are significant predictors of length of stay and readmission to jail, respectively. Sites conducted binary logistic regression analyses to determine the extent to which admission characteristics, offense characteristics, and demographic characteristics predict:

Key Findings

- In all counties, the odds of spending more than 90 days in jail were greater for individuals admitted on a single admission type (e.g., pretrial admission for a new charge only) with multiple charges, those admitted for violent felony charges, men, and Black individuals.
- In all counties, over half of those released in the first year of the study period (2010 in Louisville and St. Louis; 2014 in Durham) were readmitted at least once during the study period; 40% or more of those released in all three counties were readmitted two or more times.
- In Louisville and St. Louis, individuals admitted on multiple charges (with either a single admission type or multiple admission types) were more likely than those admitted on a single charge to return to jail at least once during the study period.
- In all counties, the odds of readmission to jail were greater for men, Black individuals, and those with at least one prior jail admission.

The logistic regression models allow for the determination of which characteristics predict long stays and readmissions when controlling for the effect of all other variables. Analyses included data for the full period for which data was collected. In Durham, the study period included data from 2014 through 2019. In Louisville and St. Louis, the study period included data from 2010 through 2019.

All effects reported in the present report were significant at the $p < .05$ level. Odds ratios are reported for all effects. The odds ratio (OR) indicates the effect of a given variable on the outcome measurement while controlling for the effect of all other predictor variables included in the model. Odds ratios greater than 1 indicate that a given variable was associated with a greater likelihood of the outcome (i.e., a length of stay greater than 90 days or readmission to jail) compared to the comparison group. Odds ratios below 1 indicate a reduced likelihood of the outcome relative to the comparison group. See individual site reports for complete results from the binary logistic regression analyses ([Durham](#); [Louisville](#); [St. Louis](#)).

Predictors of Long Jail Stays

In all counties, **individuals admitted for a violent felony were more likely than those admitted for other charge categories to have a jail stay that exceeded 90 days**. The odds of spending over 90 days in jail was greater for individuals admitted on a violent felony charge compared to those admitted for a non-violent felony (Durham: OR= 4.55; Louisville: OR = 1.46; St. Louis: OR = 2.78), misdemeanor (Durham: OR = 14.08; Louisville: OR = 2.97; St. Louis: OR = 50.00), violation (Durham: OR = 13.33; Louisville: OR = 2.78; St. Louis: OR = 200.00), or warrant (Durham: OR = 20.00; Louisville: OR = 1.32; St. Louis: OR = 33.33).

Number of admissions and charge types also predicted long lengths of stay. **In all counties, the odds of spending more than 90 days in jail were greater for individuals admitted on a single admission type with multiple charges compared to individuals admitted on a single admission type with single charges**. However, being admitted on a single admission type with multiple charges was a stronger predictor of length of stay in Durham than the other counties (Durham: OR = 6.26; Louisville: OR = 1.52 St. Louis: OR = 1.40). In Durham and Louisville, the odds of spending more than 90 days in jail was also greater for individuals admitted on multiple admission types compared to individuals admitted on a single admission type with a single charge. Again, this was a stronger predictor of length of stay in Durham than in Louisville (Durham: OR = 20.49; Louisville OR = 1.35). In St. Louis, the odds of spending over 90 days

in jail was smaller for those admitted on multiple admission types compared to those admitted on a single admission type with a single charge (OR = 0.68).

Demographic characteristics also predicted lengthy jail stays. In all counties, the odds of staying in jail for over 90 days was greater for men than women (Durham: OR = 2.06; Louisville: OR = 1.17; St. Louis: OR = 1.40). In Louisville and St. Louis, the odds of staying in jail for more than 90 days was greater for Black individuals than white individuals (Louisville: OR = 1.10; St. Louis = 1.09).

Finally, prior involvement in the criminal justice system also predicted long jail stays. In Durham and Louisville, individuals with at least one prior jail admission were more likely to spend more than 90 days in jail than individuals with no prior jail admissions. (Durham: OR=1.29 Louisville: OR = 1.16). In St. Louis, prior jail admissions did not predict longer jail stays.

Predictors of Readmission

In all three counties, over half of those released in the first year of the study period (2010 in Louisville and St. Louis⁵; 2014 in Durham) were readmitted at least once during the study period; 40% or more of those released in all three counties were readmitted two or more times (see Table 3). In two counties, the number of charges predicted the likelihood of readmission: in Louisville and St. Louis, individuals admitted on multiple charges (with either a single admission type or multiple admission types) were more likely than those admitted on a single charge to return to jail at least once during the study period.

Table 3. Readmission Rates Among Individuals Released in First Year of Study Period						
Number of Readmissions	Durham, NC (2014-2019)		Louisville, KY (2010-2019)		St. Louis, MO (2010-2019)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0	2,672	33%	9,413	31%	11,317	42%
1	1,252	16%	4,851	16%	5,069	19%
2-4	1,909	24%	7,513	25%	6,713	25%
5-7	981	12%	3,672	12%	2,308	8.5%
8 or more	1,186	15%	4,682	16%	1,765	7%
Total	8,000	100%	30,131	100%	27,172	100%

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Across all counties, race and gender predicted readmission to jail. The odds of returning to jail at least once during the study period was greater for Black individuals than for white individuals, even when controlling for individual and charge characteristics (Durham: OR = 1.59; Louisville: OR = 1.18; St. Louis: OR = 1.34). The odds of returning to jail during the study period was also greater for men than for women (Durham: OR = 1.64; Louisville: OR = 1.14; St. Louis: OR = 1.73).

Individuals who had a prior admission were more likely than those who had no prior admissions to return to jail at least once during the study period. (Durham: OR = 8.18; Louisville: OR = 1.89; St. Louis: OR = 2.60).

⁵ The data from Louisville and St. Louis allowed for a longer follow-up time, which may be associated with greater odds of readmission independent of other factors.

Length of stay predicted readmission in Louisville and St. Louis. In Louisville, individuals who stayed in jail between one and 90 days were more likely to return to jail than those who stayed for less than one day (1-2 days: OR = 1.07; 3-30 days: OR = 1.06; 31-90 days: OR = 1.06) In St. Louis, an increase in length of stay was associated with an increase in the likelihood of being readmitted to jail at least once during the study period (OR = 1.06).

Conclusion

In recent years, national jail admissions have declined substantially. However, as admissions decreased, the average amount of time that detained individuals spend in jail has increased, resulting in stagnant daily jail populations (Zeng & Minton, 2021). The present analyses reveal that this pattern holds in three diverse counties. Although the present report does not draw conclusions about what is causing individuals to spend increasingly more time in jail, it does identify specific offense, charge, and demographic characteristics that are associated with long jail stays.

Several trends were consistent across all counties. In line with previous research, the majority of admissions were pretrial admissions. Although the average length of stay for pretrial admissions for a new charge was relatively short (roughly two weeks or less), it increased by more than 30% over the study period in all counties. More complicated cases, such as those involving multiple admission types and multiple charges, resulted in considerably longer stays than less complex cases. Admissions for felony charges and for crimes against a person also resulted in longer average LOS compared to other categories of charges.

Bail also appears to be a driver of increases in length of stay. In Louisville and St. Louis, the two counties for which release data was available, the average length of stay for individuals released after posting bail increased by almost 5 days between 2014 and 2019. Among those who had bail set, individuals with bail set above \$5,000 stayed considerably longer in jail than individuals with bail set at \$5,000 or less, and average length of stay for this group increased across the study period. Furthermore, this group used substantially more bed days than those with lower bail.

The present analyses also provided further evidence of the racial disparities that exist within the jail system. Black individuals were consistently overrepresented in the number of jail admissions and the percent of occupied bed days. Black individuals stayed longer in jail on average than white individuals, and the disparity in length of stay widened for most of the study period. Multivariate analyses also revealed that, even when controlling for other factors such as charge category and severity, Black individuals are more likely than white individuals to spend over 90 days in jail (in Louisville and St. Louis) and to be readmitted to jail.

Finally, the analyses on predictors of long stays and readmissions provided further evidence of the adverse effects that even a brief jail stay can have on individual outcomes. In both Louisville and St. Louis, where the majority of individuals released in 2010 returned to jail at least once by the end of 2019, longer lengths of stay increased the likelihood of readmission.

Data Limitations

Although the present analyses provide us with a deeper understanding of factors that may be driving jail populations, there are several limitations to the data. First, because admissions were categorized by top charge, the data does not fully capture the complexity of admissions that involved multiple charges. For example, someone may be admitted on both a property charge (the top charge by which they are categorized) and a weapons charge. Although an auxiliary charge may influence determinations of whether an individual would be a risk if released (and therefore could influence length of stay and bail), the present data does not allow for the identification of these auxiliary charges (Huebner et al., 2021; Schaefer et al., 2021; Taylor et al., 2021).

Furthermore, the data does not provide information on criminal history. Given that criminal history is an important factor in understanding the risk of recidivism, it is critical to examine how criminal history relates to jail admissions and lengths of stay. Relatedly, the data does not contain information on pending charge in other counties (Huebner et al., 2021; Schaefer et al., 2021; Taylor et al., 2021).

Finally, the bail data in some cases reflects the bail paid as a condition of release, and in other cases reflects the original bail set. It is possible that bail paid and bail set are substantively different in some cases (Huebner et al., 2021; Schaefer et al., 2021; Taylor et al., 2021).

Future Directions

The present analyses and synthesis of data provide insights into jail trends in a set of diverse counties in recent years. However, more research is needed to better understand the causes and consequences of trends in length of stay, and to establish a more nuanced understanding of who is staying in jail, for how long, and why. Further, given that the majority of individuals admitted to jail in the first year of the study period returned to jail in subsequent years, future research should examine trends in readmissions. Examination of readmission data could explore the proportion of individuals returning to jail for new offenses compared to those returning to jail on technical violations. Additionally, in light of the recent changes to jail populations as a result of Covid-19, researchers should continue to examine the long-term impact of the pandemic on jail admissions, populations, and length of stay.

Given recent calls for systemic racial justice, more work should be done to gain a better understanding of the stark racial disparities revealed by these analyses. Future research could explore which factors are driving racial disparities in admissions, and the enduring disparity in average length of stay between Black individuals and white individuals during the study period. Researchers should specifically consider how race interacts with other variables to influence length of stay. For example, research shows that Black individuals receive higher bail than white individuals, and are less likely to post bail (Sawyer, 2019). Given that the present analyses reveal that high bail amounts are associated with longer lengths of stay, racial disparities in bail may help explain some of the disparities in length of stay. Further exploring these relationships will aid stakeholders and policymakers in identifying drivers of systemic inequities.

In addition to the trends that were consistent across counties, there were others that were unique to a single county. This suggests that counties looking to understand their jail populations must examine trends within their own jail system in the context of local policies in order to identify potential explanations for changes in admission rates or lengths of stay.

The limitations of the data examined for the present report illuminate the shortcomings of current criminal justice data. Policymakers rely on data to make decisions, and yet much of the available data is incomplete or outdated (Callahan, 2021). To gain a more complete understanding of who is being admitted to jail, for how long they are being detained, and which factors are driving jail admissions and length of stay, it is critical to improve data collection techniques, develop reporting best-practices, and establish data sharing agreements. Expanding capacity for data collection and research at a local level will enable jail administrators to monitor jail populations in real time, and standardizing data collection practices across counties will aid in analysis of jail populations at a national level. Providing stakeholders and policymakers with accurate, detailed, and timely information will aid in the development of policies and practices designed to reduce jail populations and mitigate racial disparities within the jail system.

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APPENDIX A: DEFINITIONS

Data Sources										
<p>Durham: Data was obtained from the Durham County Sheriff's Office. The data pull was obtained on June 6, 2020 and contains charge-level data for all individuals released between January 1, 2010 and December 31, 2019. Since the data pull was based on release date, the data file does contain individuals booked prior to January 1, 2010.</p>										
<p>Louisville: Data was obtained from the Louisville Metro Department of Corrections jail data management system. The data pull was obtained on June 6, 2020 and contains charge-level data for all individuals released between January 1, 2006, and December 31, 2019. Since the data pull was based on release date, the data file does contain individuals booked prior to January 1, 2006.</p>										
<p>St. Louis: Data was obtained from the St. Louis County Jail data management system (IJMS). The data included charge-level data for all persons admitted and released between January 1, 2006 and December 31, 2019. Since the data pull was based on release date, the data file does contain persons booked prior to January 1, 2006.</p>										
<p>The following provides the variables used in this report including the variable name, the type of measure, and how we defined/operationalized the measure. The analyses begin with 2014 to allow for a calculation of prior admissions and to allow for especially long lengths of stay.</p>										
Variable	Measure	Definition/Operationalization								
Release Year	Date/time variable between January 1, 2014, and December 31, 2019 (inclusive)	Only admissions that contained a release year were included in the analyses. Admissions for persons who were still in custody or who were missing release date for any reason were dropped.								
Length of stay	Continuous and categorical variable <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • < 1 day • ≥ 1 day and < 3 days • ≥ 3 days and < 31 days • ≥ 31 days and < 91 days • ≥ 91 days For long lengths of stay. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ≥ 91 and < 180 • ≥ 181 and < 365 • ≥ 366 and < 540 • ≥ 541 and < 730 • ≥ 731 days 	Length of stay is calculated as a continuous measure of date/ time released subtracted from date/time admitted. This length of stay measure uses both date and time, thus is an hourly time period rather than a date-only approach . If an observation does not have time booked and released, then the length of stay was calculated used date only with the time set at midnight. In situations where a negative length of stay was produced, these were coded as <1 day as these indicate administrative errors. See below as an example of how to count length of stay based on hours. <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="padding: 2px 10px;">Hours</th> <th style="padding: 2px 10px;">Length of Stay</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">< 24 hours</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">0 days</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">24 to 47.9</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">1 day</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">48 to 71.9</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">2 days</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Hours	Length of Stay	< 24 hours	0 days	24 to 47.9	1 day	48 to 71.9	2 days
Hours	Length of Stay									
< 24 hours	0 days									
24 to 47.9	1 day									
48 to 71.9	2 days									
Bed Days	Continuous variable	Bed days are calculated using two factors. First, bed days are the number of calendar days spent in jail. Second, persons who are in jail for 12 hours or less are counted as 0 bed days. The bed day variable is based on release year and will include bed days for a								

		<p>booking for the entire span of the stay and not the specific release year. See coding example below.</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Admitted</th> <th>Released</th> <th>Bed Days</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)</td> <td>December 16, 2019 12:00pm (Monday)</td> <td>4 hours, 0 bed days</td> </tr> <tr> <td>December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)</td> <td>December 16, 2019 10:00pm (Monday)</td> <td>14 hours, 1 bed day</td> </tr> <tr> <td>December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)</td> <td>December 18, 2019 8:30am (Wednesday)</td> <td>49.5 hours, 3 bed days</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Admitted	Released	Bed Days	December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 16, 2019 12:00pm (Monday)	4 hours, 0 bed days	December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 16, 2019 10:00pm (Monday)	14 hours, 1 bed day	December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 18, 2019 8:30am (Wednesday)	49.5 hours, 3 bed days
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December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 18, 2019 8:30am (Wednesday)	49.5 hours, 3 bed days												
Number of Charges	Continuous measure	A count indicating the number of charges a person was booked into jail with.												
Three-Year Jail Admission History	Continuous measure	For the logistic regressions, our three-year jail admission variable was created using a rolling-level variable for jail admission history, counting the number of times the person had been admitted within three years prior to any given admission date. We use a three-year benchmark because this is commonly used in recidivism research. Alper, Durose, and Markman (2018) found that 68% of released individuals from prison were rearrested within three years (Alper et al., 2018).												

APPENDIX B: TABLES

Table 1
Yearly Admissions, LOS, Bed Days, and ADP by County

Year	Durham, NC				Louisville, KY				St. Louis, MO			
	Admissions	LOS	Bed Days	ADP	Admissions	LOS	Bed Days	ADP	Admissions	LOS	Bed Days	ADP
2014	11,987	14.75	180,437	521	36,062	25.71	959,824	1,851	28,093	19.46	563,168	1,230
2015	11,056	15.93	179,594	520	32,614	27.41	926,989	1,794	23,564	21.64	519,088	1,171
2016	10,828	15.53	170,828	482	32,302	27.24	898,430	1,991	24,075	23.69	581,507	1,220
2017	9,980	16.52	166,913	480	33,365	30.65	1,055,569	2,221	24,037	24.76	609,578	1,259
2018	8,819	19.56	176,789	498	33,682	30.4	1,066,852	2,032	23,676	26.35	643,875	1,203
2019	9,029	18.36	169,781	423	28,225	30.35	909,763	1,824	20,216	23.33	514,178	941

Note: ADP for Durham is based on fiscal year; ADP for Louisville and St. Louis is based on calendar year.

Table 2
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Admission Type

		Pretrial: New Charge			Pretrial: New Charge and Warrant			Pretrial: Warrant		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	6,809	3,402	-50%	326	595	83%	497	966	94%
	LOS	6.83	9.27	36%	13.75	41.48	202%	3.99	3.14	-21%
	Bed Days	46,759	32,380	-31%	4,373	25,239	477%	2,068	3,225	56%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	14,665	12,131	-17%	3,411	2,715	-20%	7,351	4,875	-34%
	LOS	10.56	14.42	37%	23.86	28.43	19%	7.88	9.90	26%
	Bed Days	161,779	185,523	15%	83,451	81,385	-2%	62,806	52,033	-17%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	4,619	3,916	-15%	638	385	-40%	12,575	8,852	-30%
	LOS	5.95	7.89	33%	49.23	68.95	40%	11.35	17.78	57%
	Bed Days	28,464	31,977	12%	31,172	31,799	2%	148,229	171,063	15%

Table 2 Continued

		Sentenced			Community Supervision			Other		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	1,971	1,507	-24%	324	351	8%	2,060	2,208	7%
	LOS	17.57	43.90	150%	8.69	8.37	-4%	23.35	10.62	-55%
	Bed Days	33,538	68,018	103%	2,864	3,133	9%	48,792	24,077	-51%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	4,649	3,033	-35%	609	762	25%	5,377	4,709	-12%
	LOS	54.26	60.30	11%	29.87	25.18	-16%	66.45	77.04	16%
	Bed Days	262,895	203,021	-23%	19,791	20,280	2%	369,102	364,604	-1%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	1,118	439	-61%	794	663	-16%	8,349	5,961	-29%
	LOS	23.58	25.34	7%	35.67	26.19	-27%	34.65	36.93	7%
	Bed Days	27,746	12,305	-56%	28,539	19,433	-32%	299,018	247,601	-17%

Table 3
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Charge Severity

		Violent Felony			Non-Violent Felony			Misdemeanor			Violation		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	602	572	-5%	3,618	2,780	-23%	4,802	3,601	-25%	1,460	871	-40%
	LOS	81.11	108.16	33%	20.84	18.80	-10%	8.24	8.55	4%	3.13	6.63	112%
	Bed Days	50,884	70,888	39%	75,904	53,209	-30%	41,114	31,765	-23%	4,872	5,901	21%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	3,106	2,231	-28%	10,807	10,643	-2%	16,793	10,590	-37%	2,601	1,478	-43%
	LOS	104.46	127.63	22%	36.27	37.93	5%	9.58	7.34	-23%	4.27	5.70	33%
	Bed Days	318,471	336,640	6%	404,840	431,160	7%	172,495	84,894	-51%	12,553	9,269	-26%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	1,388	1,450	4%	9,843	7,775	-21%	4,130	2,487	-40%	11,284	7,173	-36%
	LOS	125.81	117.07	-7%	31.55	27.66	-12%	4.65	3.06	-34%	2.05	1.23	-40%
	Bed Days	178,987	219,610	23%	316,466	242,922	-23%	21,574	8,612	-60%	28,034	11,024	-61%

Table 3 Continued

		Warrant			Other			Missing		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	594	1,017	71%	N/A	N/A	N/A	911	188	-79%
	LOS	4.30	4.22	-2%	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.03	17.96	257%
	Bed Days	2,652	4,484	69%	N/A	N/A	N/A	4,749	3,534	-26%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	1,157	1,365	18%	925	865	-6%	673	1,059	57%
	LOS	13.38	12.88	-4%	24.13	16.98	-30%	13.46	10.38	-23%
	Bed Days	16,863	19,231	14%	24,345	15,866	-35%	10,257	12,703	24%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	189	356	88%	733	882	20%	526	93	-82%
	LOS	6.54	8.65	32%	17.50	28.50	63%	5.19	5.80	12%
	Bed Days	1,406	3,491	148%	13,464	27,877	107%	3,237	642.00	-80%

Table 4
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Charge Category

		Person			Property			Drugs			Weapon		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	1,958	1,665	-15%	2,449	1,878	-23%	1,539	678	-56%	258	255	-1%
	LOS	30.00	42.39	41%	13.99	9.33	-33%	13.52	13.13	-3%	22.86	17.95	-21%
	Bed Days	62,044	77,263	25%	36,906	18,741	-49%	21,344	9,315	-56%	6,401	4,814	-25%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	5,479	5,132	-6%	8,891	7,457	-16%	5,929	4,716	-20%	245	268	9%
	LOS	59.71	62.08	4%	34.16	38.96	14%	19.99	23.84	19%	17.70	27.61	56%
	Bed Days	329,167	345,146	5%	311,233	310,365	0%	124,291	120,008	-3%	4,422	11,379	157%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	4,127	2,938	-29%	6,720	5,541	-18%	3,437	3,084	-10%	290	337	16%
	LOS	40.76	58.70	44%	25.83	25.40	-2%	15.74	14.40	-8%	19.35	25.80	33%
	Bed Days	172,030	196,958	14%	177,466	156,316	-12%	55,634	48,462	-13%	5,548	9,684	75%

Table 4 Continued

		Society			Traffic			Other			Missing		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	3,655	2,819	-23%	1,666	1,035	-38%	26	178	585%	436	521	19%
	LOS	11.81	14.99	27%	3.72	8.59	131%	24.57	15.11	-39%	8.24	9.70	18%
	Bed Days	45,275	43,702	-3%	6,566	9,111	39%	573	2,789	387%	3,740	5,334	43%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	9,536	6,685	-30%	4,168	2,046	-51%	1,141	868	-24%	673	1,059	57%
	LOS	14.65	11.54	-21%	4.73	6.16	30%	7.81	14.48	85%	13.46	10.38	-23%
	Bed Days	147,970	82,470	-44%	22,077	13,826	-37%	10,407	13,866	33%	10,257	12,703	24%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	7,684	4,713	-39%	4,239	3,148	-26%	1,069	360	-66%	527	95	-82%
	LOS	13.84	17.20	24%	5.03	3.00	-40%	13.25	8.70	-34%	5.18	5.69	10%
	Bed Days	111,300	88,353	-21%	22,787	10,308	-55%	15,162	3,455	-77%	3,241	642.00	-80%

Table 5
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Number of Admission Types and Charges

		Single Admission Type, Single Charge			Single Admission Type, Multiple Charges			Multiple Admission Types, Multiple Charges		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	5,447	3,962	-27%	5,440	3,873	-29%	1,100	1,194	9%
	LOS	4.90	6.81	39%	20.02	23.38	17%	37.58	39.98	6%
	Bed Days	28,150	28,070	0%	110,725	92,904	-16%	41,562	48,807	17%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	9,099	8,003	-12%	18,615	13,174	-29%	8,334	7,041	-16%
	LOS	11.42	7.88	-31%	20.73	28.03	35%	52.50	58.89	12%
	Bed Days	112,711	69,807	-38%	397,955	393,748	-1%	448,410	445,989	-1%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	9,694	6,518	-33%	10,340	7,956	-23%	8,059	5,742	-29%
	LOS	9.07	13.85	53%	14.31	18.98	33%	38.38	39.21	2%
	Bed Days	91,830	96,860	5%	153,080	163,700	7%	318,258	253,618	-20%

Table 6
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Bail Amounts

		\$500 or less			\$501-\$1000			\$1001-2500			\$2501-5000			Over \$5000		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	596	304	-49%	1508	998	-34%	1950	1513	-22%	1414	987	-30%	1905	1421	-25%
	LOS	7.13	10.33	45%	3.16	4.95	57%	3.13	4.56	46%	6.08	8.32	37%	24.28	34.54	42%
	Bed Days	4,378	3,191	-27%	4,954	5,131	4%	6,419	7,175	12%	8,928	8,492	-5%	46,894	50,018	7%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	4,237	4,694	11%	4,548	2,514	-45%	3,609	2,778	-23%	1,681	3,259	94%	8,693	6,317	-27%
	LOS	3.61	4.25	18%	8.51	7.63	-10%	15.60	11.33	-27%	21.99	18.38	-16%	59.48	91.82	54%
	Bed Days	53,323	22,524	-58%	36,271	21,352	-41%	52,672	34,395	-35%	83,995	65,072	-23%	537,860	649,496	21%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	5,450	3,569	-35%	3,194	1,825	-43%	1,677	1,091	-35%	565	969	72%	4,244	2,925	-31%
	LOS	5.14	3.73	-27%	4.90	3.60	-27%	10.20	7.47	-27%	25.17	11.12	-56%	70.99	92.78	31%
	Bed Days	30,901	15,095	-51%	17,547	7,768	-56%	18,551	9,073	-51%	14,644	11,752	-20%	300,208	361,175	20%

Table 7
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Race

		Black			White			Hispanic		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	8,529	6,261	-27%	1,985	1,404	-29%	886	690	-22%
	LOS	16.05	20.57	28%	11.50	17.23	50%	17.77	16.88	-5%
	Bed Days	139,734	132,130	-5%	23,218	24,651	6%	16,122	11,918	-26%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	14,405	11,097	-23%	20,617	16,405	-20%	859	578	-33%
	LOS	31.19	37.74	21%	21.97	25.62	17%	24.37	22.52	-8%
	Bed Days	461,391	445,684	-3%	472,113	446,724	-5%	21,725	13,901	-36%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	16,404	11,028	-33%	11,567	9,128	-21%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	LOS	21.36	28.52	34%	16.91	16.90	0%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Bed Days	360,830	346,040	-4%	201,638	166,838	-17%	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 7 Continued

		Asian			Other			Missing		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	N/A	N/A	N/A	38	34	-11%	549	640	17%
	LOS	N/A	N/A	N/A	11.46	8.47	-26%	1.28	1.11	-13%
	Bed Days	N/A	N/A	N/A	454	295	-35%	783	787	1%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	111	94	-15%	70	51	-27%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	LOS	14.50	21.13	46%	38.74	25.52	-34%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Bed Days	1,705	2,098	23%	2,890	1,356	-53%	N/A	N/A	N/A
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	115	52	-55%	7	8	14%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	LOS	5.34	23.05	332%	6.68	1.85	-72%	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Bed Days	650	1,283	97%	50	17	-66%	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 8
Admission, LOS, and Bed Days by Age

		< 18 years			18-24 years			25-34 years			35-49 years			50+ years		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	96	153	59%	2,366	2,016	-15%	4,589	3,043	-34%	3,543	2,619	-26%	1,393	1,198	-14%
	LOS	21.99	8.35	-62%	10.30	21.81	112%	13.49	17.10	27%	14.56	17.91	23%	10.47	14.51	39%
	Bed Days	2,176	1,376	-37%	23,845	45,513	91%	63,463	53,538	-16%	52,643	47,337	-10%	14,480	17,811	23%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	N/A	N/A	N/A	8,532	4,480	-47%	13,224	10,071	-24%	10,330	10,158	-2%	3,976	3,516	-12%
	LOS	N/A	N/A	N/A	26.25	37.21	42%	26.59	32.18	21%	25.85	27.96	8%	21.28	23.07	8%
	Bed Days	N/A	N/A	N/A	231,065	178,108	-23%	362,945	344,317	-5%	277,756	301,367	9%	88,058	85,971	-2%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	531	291	-45%	8,645	4,147	-52%	9,827	8,145	-17%	6,776	5,836	-14%	2,314	1,797	-22%
	LOS	30.60	51.32	68%	18.11	28.15	55%	17.38	20.03	15%	22.32	22.45	1%	22.34	25.12	12%
	Bed Days	16,263	16,405	1%	160,833	127,687	-21%	176,551	177,182	0%	156,510	143,399	-8%	53,011	49,505	-7%

Table 9
Admission, LOS, and Bed Days by Sex

		Male			Female		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Durham, NC	Admissions	9,316	7,125	-24%	2,671	1,904	-29%
	LOS	17.11	21.00	23%	6.51	8.15	25%
	Bed Days	162,488	153,916	-5%	17,949	15,865	-12%
Louisville, KY	Admissions	27,089	20,983	-23%	8,973	7,242	-19%
	LOS	28.72	34.19	19%	16.58	19.02	15%
	Bed Days	804,686	763,701	-5%	155,138	146,062	-6%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	21,175	14,787	-30%	6,918	5,429	-22%
	LOS	22.33	26.91	20%	10.64	13.26	25%
	Bed Days	486,300	436,637	-10%	76,868	77,541	1%

Table 10
Admissions, LOS, and Bed Days by Release Type

		Pretrial, Bail Paid			Pretrial, No Bail (ROR)			Time Served			Dismissed		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Louisville, KY	Admissions	4,732	3,621	-23%	8,623	5,564	-35%	3,678	2,505	-32%	11	8	-27%
	LOS	4.08	8.71	113%	0.90	0.94	4%	58.96	57.10	-3%	92.29	91.81	-1%
	Bed Days	22,224	35,284	59%	8,145	5,390	-34%	231,066	150,261	-35%	1,408	653	-54%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	6,402	4,659	-27%	4,739	4,688	-1%	4,711	1,927	-59%	1,812	1,979	9%
	LOS	7.53	12.48	66%	10.26	28.40	177%	36.47	38.39	5%	24.80	19.42	-22%
	Bed Days	50,937	60,252	18%	50,517	136,585	170%	157,805	75,465	-52%	30,001	39,676	32%

Table 10 Continued

		Community Supervision			Sentenced			Other		
		2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change	2014	2019	% change
Louisville, KY	Admissions	227	428	89%	2,760	813	-71%	16,031	15,286	-5%
	LOS	11.62	14.26	23%	70.23	93.48	33%	29.97	38.13	27%
	Bed Days	3,027	6,834	126%	199,092	84,877	-57%	494,862	626,464	27%
St. Louis, MO	Admissions	540	598	11%	2,448	1,036	-58%	7,437	6,653	-11%
	LOS	44.85	44.62	-1%	90.17	135.41	50%	3.14	4.81	53%
	Bed Days	24,733	27,232	10%	223,646	141,546	-37%	25,529	33,422	31%