Understanding Trends in Jail Population in St. Louis County, Missouri: 2010 – 2019

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INTRODUCTION

Over 10.7 million people cycle through jail each year, and nationwide 738,400 were held in jail in 2018.[i] Local governments spent substantially more on jail costs in recent decades, increasing from $22 to $25 billion from 2007 to 2017, a 13% increase.[ii] Annually, it costs local governments approximately $34,000 per year to house someone in jail, and jails continue to account for a considerable amount of local expenditures.[iii] The exponential rise of COVID-19 in jails has further highlighted the need for a better understanding of factors that drive population growth in these facilities.[iv]

Jails are unique from prisons in that they can be operated at the municipal or county levels by local law enforcement or correctional agencies. Jails house a diverse population that includes individuals who are detained while awaiting trial or a probation or parole violation hearing, those sentenced to a term of less than one year, or those waiting to be transferred to another facility. Nationally, over 60% of individuals detained in jail have not been convicted but are waiting for the court to act.[v] The growth in jail populations can be tied, in part, to rising bail amounts.[vi]

Jails were originally designed for short stays, yet, the average length of stay has grown substantially in recent years.[vii] The average length of a jail stay has increased from 14 days in 1983 to 23 days as of 2013.[viii] Long stays in jail can influence criminal case processing. Individuals held pretrial are more likely to plead guilty, and even three days served on pretrial detention can have deleterious consequences including an increased likelihood of conviction and recidivism.[ix]

There is also evidence of substantial racial disparities in incarceration. Black people are disproportionately held in jail and, in 2018, had incarceration rates over three times that of White persons.[x] People of color are also less likely to be given non-monetary bail and are substantially less likely to be able to post bond, which has contributed to disproportionate minority confinement.[xi]

This report provides important context on key factors driving jail populations and its findings can be underscored in broader discussions on policy reform. There is little oversight or systemization of local jails.[xii] Hence, this report provides an insight into the unique jail trends in one metropolitan community. A key step in managing jail populations is understanding the characteristics of persons admitted to jail and how long they stay. This report first begins by providing background on St. Louis County, Missouri, its challenges, and policy efforts to manage jail populations. Next, we provide information on admission trends from 2010 to 2019. Then, the following research questions are addressed.

Research Questions

- How have the average lengths of stay in jail changed from 2010 to 2019?
- During each year from 2010 to 2019, how many cumulative bed days are used by individuals with different admission types, charges, and demographics?
- What factors differentiate who is released after short lengths of stay versus longer lengths of stay?
- For the cohort released in 2010, what are the characteristics of individuals who are readmitted (once or multiple times), compared to those who are not readmitted?

We end with a discussion of how these findings can be used by local agencies as they consider how to efficiently and effectively use scarce resources and institute potential reform.

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this report is to understand the jail population and lengths of stay in the St. Louis County, Missouri Department of Justice Services between 2010 and 2019. Jails are unique institutions in that they can be operated at the municipal or county levels by local law enforcement or correctional agencies. Jails house a diverse population that includes individuals who are detained while awaiting trial or a probation or parole violation hearing, those sentenced to a term of less than one year, or those waiting to be transferred to another facility. Moreover, jail populations are driven largely by other criminal justice actors, including the police and courts. This report provides important context on key factors driving jail populations and its findings can be underscored in broader discussions on policy reform. While the report provides a great deal of detail on jail trends, several high-level findings emerge from the analysis.

Length of stay is a key determinant of the jail population

Admissions to the St. Louis County jail declined by 40% over the study period, from 33,976 in 2010 to a low of 20,216 in 2019. Although there was a decline in admissions over the study period, the reduction in the average daily population (ADP) was smaller, just 21%.

Moreover, the ADP remained stable or increasing until 2018, after which there was a substantial decline in 2019. Although there was a reduction in admissions over the study period, the average daily population did not decline at the same rate. **The average length of stay gradually increased from 14.9 days in 2010 to a high of 26.4 days in 2018, an increase of 77%.** The average length of stay then declined to 23.3 days in 2019. **This result suggests that length of stay may be a stronger driver of the increased jail population than growth in bookings**, which is consistent with national trends.[xiii]

Further, between 2010 and 2019, **the number of people who spent over a year in jail more than doubled.** Although this group of individuals is relatively small, they utilize a large share of jail resources.

The average length of stay varied based on the nature of the charge, release type, and bail amount. Individuals booked on violent charges had longer average length of stays than individuals booked on other types of charges, and the average number of days this group spent in jail slowly increased across the study period. Individuals who were released and transferred to prison had among the longest lengths of stay, and in 2019, this group spent, on average, 138 days in jail.

In addition, **individuals who were released after time served accounted for the largest cumulative number of bed days.** More information on this population is needed. This group largely includes individuals who were admitted to jail on pretrial detention and had their case disposed of as time served.

Bail is a key driver of jail populations

Most individuals booked into jail are awaiting trial. **Pretrial admissions for a warrant, either for a new charge or a failure to appear, were the most frequent admission type** representing approximately 45% of admissions in any given year. Throughout the study period, persons booked on a pretrial admission with a warrant also accounted for the largest proportion of jail bed days, utilizing 33.3% of bed days in 2019. Most individuals admitted to jail (69.8% in 2019) had bail set; hence, modifications to bail policy would influence the lengths of stay for most individuals who enter jail and could reduce the use of scarce resources.

Higher bond amounts were associated with longer lengths of stay, and there was a general increase in the median bond amounts over the study period, although the mean amount increased for the first half of the study and then declined. **Individuals admitted pretrial and required to post a bail/bond amount above $5,000 had mean lengths of stay four times longer than those with bail/bond amounts of $5,000 or less**, a trend that remained stable across the study period. Among persons with a bail/bond set, with few exceptions, **individuals with more than a $5,000 bail/bond were the only persons who spent 180 days or more in jail.**

Individuals with high bail/bond amounts also were the greatest utilizers of jail resources. **Individuals admitted to jail with a bail/bond amount over $5,000 used the largest proportion of jail bed days, and there was substantial growth in the number of bed days used by this group over the study period.** In 2010, 259,751 bed days were occupied by individuals with bond amounts over $5,000, which is 49% of all bed days used in that year. In 2019, this number rose to 361,175, or 70% of all bed days.

As the number of people who were released pretrial with bail paid declined by 47%, there was an increase in the proportion of pretrial releases without bond paid, typically a release on recognizance, from 9% to 22%.

There are substantial racial disparities in jail admissions, length of stay, and bed days used.

Black persons represented 55% of the jail population in 2019, but just over 25% of the population of St. Louis County. **The average length of stay for Black persons increased 75% over the study period growing from 16.3 days in 2010 to 28.5 days in 2019, while the mean length of stay for White individuals increased by 30%, from 13.0 to 16.9.** Black persons accounted for 67.3% of the bed days utilized in 2019. In multivariate models, Black persons were more likely to spend more than 90 days in jail compared to White persons even after controlling for the nature of the charge, admission type, gender, and age.

Individuals under probation supervision are key elements of the jail population.

Individuals who entered jail for only a probation violation had the second-longest length of stay for most of the study period. Evidence from the multivariate models suggests being admitted to jail for a probation violation tripled the odds an individual had a long length of stay compared to those who are not admitted for this reason. However, there was a 25% decline in this population from 2018 to 2019. The origin of the decline is unclear, but recent policy efforts at the jail have targeted enhanced case processing for this group.[xiv]

Understanding frequent utilizers of jail services may help reduce jail populations.

Finally, we consider readmission to jail as a driver of the population. Using a cohort of individuals released from jail in 2010, **almost 60% of individuals were returned to jail at least one time** and 7% were re-admitted 8 or more times. The strongest correlate of return to jail was whether the individual had been admitted to jail in the three years before their 2010 incarceration. The type and number of charges also were strong correlates of readmission to jail.

Launching efforts to reduce the length of stay of individuals booked into jail is a key policy lever, which could further reduce jail populations.

There was a substantial decrease in the average daily population and cumulative bed days used in 2019. The true drivers of these changes were not explored in the current study. There is evidence that the program deemed the Population Review Team (PRT), and funded by the MacArthur Safety + Justice Challenge, could be one potential driver of the change. The PRT, which began operating in 2018, systematically reviews cases of jailed persons to expedite case resolution and pinpoint avenues for systems reform. In particular, the PRT is targeted towards reducing the number of individuals held on non-violent felonies. The project is a cooperative effort and includes representatives from the jail, courts, pretrial services, prosecutors, community corrections, public defenders, and the private bar. The program has led to a reduction in the overall jail population, with the greatest declines coming from the release of individuals initially detained for non-violent crimes. A recent evaluation of the program found that, following implementation, the average daily population of the jail declined by 44%, which represents a decline of 406 individuals. Further, the population of individuals held for a non-violent charge declined by 72%.[xv] This collaborative program, coupled with the election of Wesley Bell in 2019, a progressive prosecutor, and the launch of the Bail Project in St. Louis in the summer of 2018 are likely key factors in the population change.

CAVEATS

Although the results provide important insights into the jail trends, several important caveats should be noted. First, the description of the top charge does not capture the nuanced nature of behaviors that may underlie criminal charges. For example, an individual could be booked into jail for a property offense as the top charge but also have auxiliary charges, like weapons offenses or domestic violence, which may condition the perceived risk of release. The work also does not capture the criminal history of individuals booked into jail, which is a key determinant of recidivism in work of this type.[xvi] Relatedly, the presence and nature of pending charges in other jurisdictions cannot be captured in a trend analysis. There is evidence that there are a substantial number of outstanding warrants in the region that may complicate processing for many and particularly for persons of color.[xvii]

In addition, considering trends by year does not allow for a careful examination of the range of factors that might contribute to changes in jail populations, especially changes that are not linked to policies. There is a substantial research literature that suggests that court actors can have considerable influence on case outcomes; therefore, changes in trends may reflect personnel and management changes and may not be directly tied to a formal policy change.[xviii] For example, the jail population review team was launched in the summer of 2018 and lead to a significant decline in the jail population.

COVID-19 AND JAILS

Rates of COVID-19 infection have been much higher in correctional agencies than in the community.[xix] Jails are amplifiers of disease due to unsanitary conditions (independent of global pandemics), an inability to social distance due to close living quarters, and a near-constant churn of individuals entering and leaving the facility. Although there has been a decline in some jail populations during the early parts of the COVID-19 pandemic, jails are responsible for some of the largest outbreaks in the country.[xx]

Individuals with less economic means and people of color are most likely to be held in jail pretrial; therefore, this group is among the highest for risk of infection. Black people have incarceration rates over three times that of White persons.[xxi] Further, many who are being held in jail lack the money to post bail.[xxii] In documenting the trends in jail populations, we provide some insight into the disproportionate risk faced by some members of the jail population.

Because there is little oversight or systemization of local jails, very little was known about how to reduce the jail population at the onset of COVID-19. A key step in managing jail populations is understanding the characteristics of persons admitted to jail and how long they stay. Lawmakers and other leaders must center their efforts on system-level reforms of local jails, particularly during a global pandemic. To this end, this report can inform stakeholder decisions regarding how to best achieve decarceration.

ADDITIONAL KEY FINDINGS

Admissions

- The number of admissions declined by 40% over the study period from 33,976 in 2010 to a low of 20,216 in 2019. On average, there were 27,842 admissions each year.
- Although there was a decline in admissions over the study period, the reduction in the average daily population (ADP) was smaller. The ADP was 1,186 in 2010 and 941 in 2019, a decline of 21%. The ADP remained stable or increasing until 2018, after which there was a substantial decline in 2019.
- Pretrial admissions for a warrant, either for a new charge or a failure to appear, were the most frequent admission type representing approximately 45% of admissions. In total, 16,221 individuals entered the jail for a pretrial warrant in 2010 and 8,852 in 2019.
- When considering the most serious charge type for which a person was admitted, violations were the most prevalent charge type from 2010-2014 and included 13,839 admissions in 2010 and 7,173 in 2019.
    - The proportion of admissions for non-violent felonies increased after 2014 to surpass violations. In total, there were 11,287 admissions for non-violent felonies in 2010 and 7,775 in 2019.
- In 2019, approximately, 21% of individuals were released on pretrial detention with bond paid; however, the number of individuals released with bond paid declined from 8,784 in 2010 to 4,659 in 2019, a 47% decline.
    - Over the study period, there was an increase in the proportion of pretrial releases on recognizance from 9% to 22%. The number of people released on recognizance increased 57% from 2,988 to 4,688 from 2010 to 2019.
- The proportion of admissions was largest for individuals between the ages 25-34 or 35-49 years old.
    - The number of individuals admitted to jail who were between the ages of 18 and 20 declined by half over the study period.
- In 2019, Black persons represented 25% of the general population in St. Louis County but represented 55% of the jail population.

Length of Stay

- ***Research Question:*** *How have the average lengths of stay in jail changed from 2010 to 2019*?
- The average length of stay gradually increased from 14.9 days in 2010 to a high of 26.4 days in 2018, an increase of 77%. It then declined in 2019, when it was 56% longer than in 2010.
    - Between 2010 and 2019, the number of people who spent more than a year in jail almost doubled from 90 to 163.
- The average length of stay was the longest for someone admitted to serve a county/city sentence, but this group represents less than 5% of admissions. The processed and released group had the shortest length of stay with most people in this group released within two days. This processed and released group represents approximately 15% of admissions.
- Individuals booked on violent charges had the longest length of stays, and the number of days spent in jail slowly increased for this group across the study period. A similar pattern was observed for persons admitted to jail for crimes against persons.
- Individuals who were transferred to prison had among the longest lengths of stay, and the time spent in jail among this group slowly increased over the study period. In 2019, individuals released to prison spent, on average, 138 days in jail.

- Individuals admitted pretrial and required to post a bail amount above $5,000 had mean lengths of stay four times longer than those with bail amounts of $5,000 or less, a trend that remained stable across the study period.
- There is a substantial disparity in the average length of stay among Blacks and White persons. The average length of stay for Black persons increased 75% over the study period growing from 16.3 days in 2010 to 28.5 days in 2019.

Cumulative Bed Days

- ***Research Question:*** *During each year 2010 to 2019, how many cumulative bed days are used by individuals with different admission types, charges, and demographics?*
- From 2010 to 2018, cumulative bed days increased almost 23%, before dropping to the 2010 level in 2019.
- Persons booked on a pretrial admission with a warrant accounted for the largest proportion of jail days. This group represented 33% of all cumulative bed days used.
- Admissions for a non-violent felony, accounted for the most cumulative bed days, followed by admission for a violent felony.
- Misdemeanor admissions saw a sharp decrease in bed day use across the study. For top charge categories, person and property offenses accounted for the most bed days.
- Individuals who were released after time served accounted for the largest cumulative number of bed days.
- Bond amounts above $5,000 accounted for the majority of bed days across the study.
- Black persons represented 67.3% of cumulative bed days in 2019. Individuals in the 25- to 34-year-old age group accounted for the most cumulative bed days, and the majority of bed days were occupied by men.

Predictors of Length of Stay

- ***Research Question:*** *What differentiates releases for short lengths of stay versus longer length of stay?*
- Factors related to whether someone is likely to spend over 90 days in jail include age, race/ethnicity, sex, admission type, release type, charge severity, and charge category.
- Being released on a city or county sentenced admission had the strongest relationship with long lengths of stay.

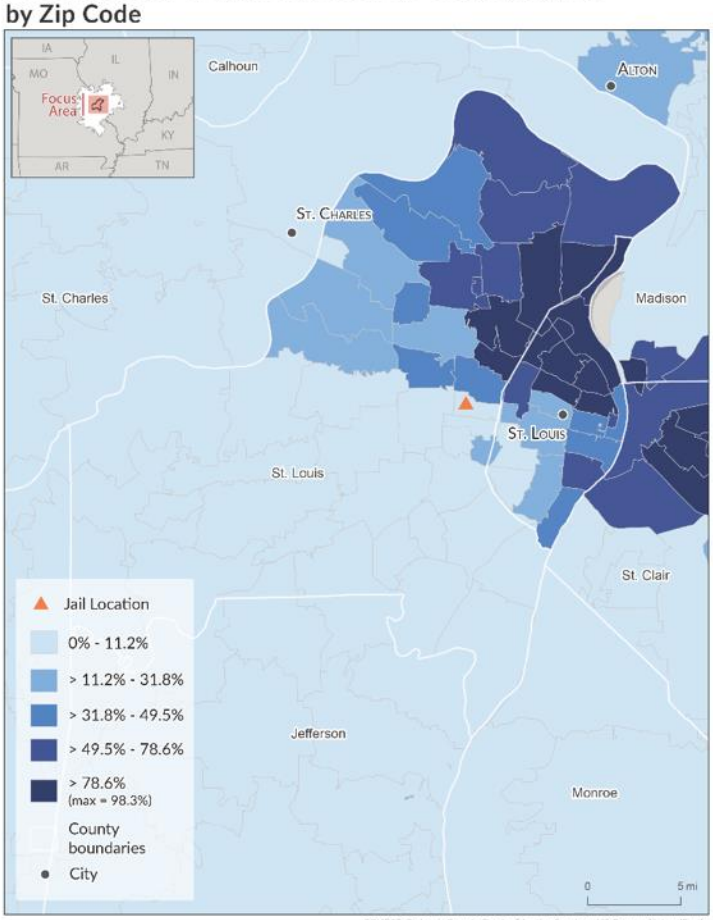
Predictors of Readmission

- ***Research Question:*** *For the cohort released in 2010, what are the characteristics of individuals who are readmitted (once or multiple times), compared to those who are not readmitted?*
- Of persons released in 2010, almost 60% of individuals returned to jail at least once by 2019, and 15% of individuals returned 5 or more times.
- The strongest correlate of return to jail was whether the individual had been admitted to jail in the three years prior to their 2010 incarceration.
- Younger individuals and individuals admitted to jail for pretrial detention or a parole violation had among the greatest chances of readmission. Individuals charged with a non-violent felony were also more likely to return to jail.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

With 996,919 residents, St. Louis County is the largest county in Missouri by population and ranks in the top 2% of all counties nationwide. It is part of a large Metropolitan Statistical Area, ranked 21st-largest in the country as of 2017, with a population of 2,807,338. St. Louis County is a separate county from St. Louis City. The county is racially diverse. Sixty-eight percent of the population is White and 25% Black, with a small (less than 3%) Hispanic and Latino population.[xxiii] Figure 1 describes the variation by race across zip codes for 2019. The five categories were created using the Jenks Natural Breaks classification system. The zip codes with the highest percent Black populations are in the Northern part of St. Louis County, in most of St. Louis City, and the East St. Louis region of Illinois. In contrast, the western part of St. Louis County is predominantly White.

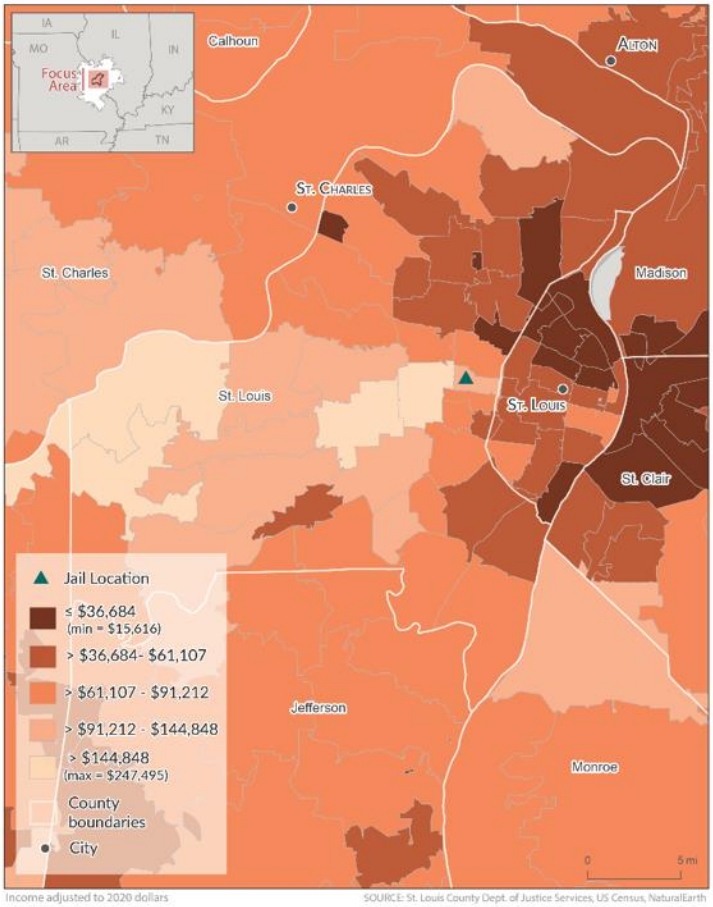
Figure 1.
Percent Black Population in St. Louis County Region by Zip Code



SOURCE: St. Louis County Dept. of Justice Services, US Census, NaturalEarth

The county poverty rate of 9.7% is slightly lower than the national average. Figure 2 displays the variation in median income in 2019 by zip code. The lowest median income zip codes are clustered in the Northeast region of St. Louis City and County. There is also a cluster of communities in Illinois that border Missouri that are in the lowest quartiles of median income. The variation in median incomes, which range from $15,616 to $247,495, highlights the levels of inequality in the region. In addition, 22% of the population is under 18 and 53% of the population is female.

Figure 2.
St. Louis County Region Median Income by Zip Code



Missouri courts are divided into three levels: circuit courts, appeals courts, and the Supreme Court. Circuit courts adjudicate misdemeanor and felony criminal cases as well as civil matters, and municipal courts, which often focus on traffic and city ordinance violations, are divisions of the circuit courts and are subject to local rules. There are 88 municipalities in St. Louis County and 83 have independent courts to enforce municipal codes and local ordinances, and over 50 independent police agencies or policing collaboratives.[xxiv]

The St. Louis County Department of Justice Services (DJS) is the primary jail for all courts and law enforcement agencies in St. Louis County. The St. Louis County DJS employs 360 staff, and the jail has a maximum capacity of 1,232 beds. Many municipal law enforcement agencies contract with DJS to hold individuals in lieu of local lockups.[xxv] Further, the jail manages an in-house ninety-day substance abuse treatment program (CHOICES).[xxvi] Approximately 45 individuals enter the jail every 90 days as part of this program. Over 75% of the jail population on any given day have not been convicted and are waiting for the court to act on their case.

There is substantial geographic variation in where individuals admitted to jail resided at the time of their admission. In 2019, there were 20,216 admissions to the St. Louis County Jail. Figure 3 shows 2019 admissions by zip code. In total, 67.8%, of admissions (13,711) were for individuals living in St. Louis County while 26.7% (5,398) were for individuals who resided in the City of St. Louis. The northern part of St. Louis County accounted for the greatest number of admissions. Zip codes 63136, 63125, 63033,

63114, and 63138 each had over 700 admissions to the jail, making up about one quarter (23.8%) of the admissions within the St. Louis-St. Charles-Farmington, MO-IL Combined Statistical Area.

Figure 3.
St. Louis County Region Jail Admissions in 2019 by Zip Code

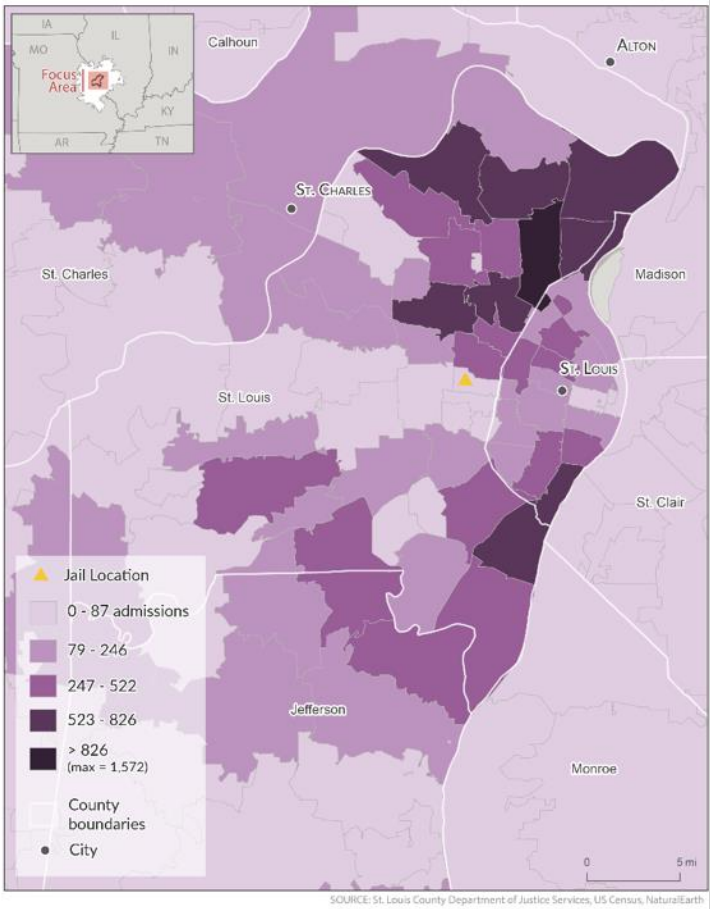
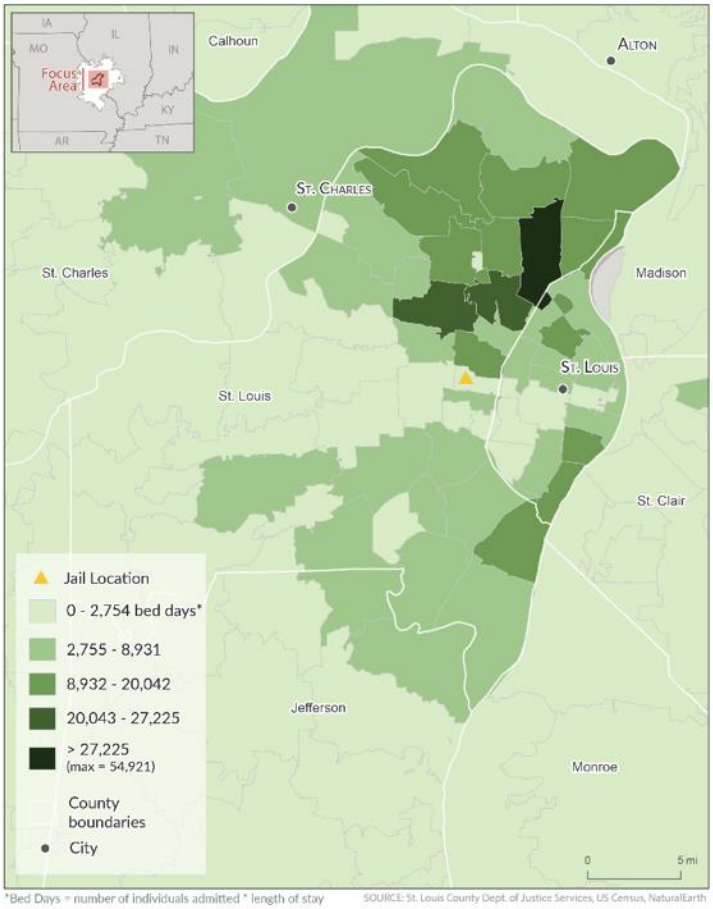


Figure 4 presents the number of bed days used based on the zip code in which people resided at the time of their admission for 2019 (see Appendix A for more information on bed day calculations). In total 514,178 bed days were used by individuals released from the jail in 2019, and 69.8% of the total bed days (359,123) were utilized by individuals living in St. Louis County, while 25.8% (132,486) of bed days were occupied by individuals living in the City of St. Louis. Similar to Figure 3, individuals living in the northern portion of the county utilized most of the bed days. Zip codes 63136, 63114, 63121, 63138, and 63135 each accounted for over 15,000 bed days, representing a little less than one-third (29.1%) of bed days used by residents of the St. Louis-St. Charles-Farmington, MO-IL Combined Statistical Area.

Figure 4.
St. Louis County Region Jail Bed Consumption by Zip Code



There is a substantial overlap between poverty, median household income, and jail population. As expected, zip codes where there are a high number of admissions also use a disproportionate number of bed days, and the correlation coefficient (r) of 0.93 further highlights this fact. There is also a moderately strong correlation between the percent Black population and the percent living under the poverty level in a community (r=.55). There is also a modest correlation between the percent Black population in a zip code and jail admissions (0.50) and bed days used (0.53). There is a much smaller correlation between the percent of the population living under the poverty line and jail admissions (0.13) and bed days used (0.15).

POLICY CONTEXT

There were substantial legislative and policy changes made during the study period. The most substantial changes were made following the killing of Michael Brown by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014 and the resulting investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice.[xxvii] Senate Bill 5 (SB5), enacted in 2015, provides several changes that could potentially impact the use of jails in the region. One of the most significant changes was restricting the maximum amount for a fine and reducing the percent of the city's budget that could be derived from fines and fees from 30 percent to 20 percent (RSMO 479.359).[xxviii] In addition, the bill barred individuals from being sentenced to jail for not being able to pay a fine.

In 2015, the Department of Justice Services was awarded funding from the MacArthur Foundation to participate in the Safety + Justice Challenge.[xxix] The goal of the grant award was to develop interventions that reduce the jail population as well as narrow racial and ethnic disparities. St. Louis County implemented several strategies to reduce its jail population safely, including expanding its pretrial release program, providing early representation to individuals at first appearance, expediting cases for probation violations, and expanding the use of treatment courts. Local justice system partners recently launched an interdepartmental jail population review team that has contributed to some of the declines in the jail population, particularly among individuals who enter the jail for non-violent felonies and those with long lengths of stay.[xxx]

In 2019, County residents elected Wesley Bell as the new Prosecuting Attorney. He unseated the 28-year incumbent. He has been touted by many as a progressive prosecutor[xxxi] and he ran on a platform to reduce mass incarceration.[xxxii]

The "Bail Project St. Louis" began operations in St. Louis County in the summer of 2018. The Bail Project provides free bail assistance and pretrial support to the St. Louis community. This organization typically will post bail up to $5,000. Although the criterion to select cases can change and is made based on individual circumstances, individuals must only have a bond in St. Louis County and no holds from other agencies to be considered.

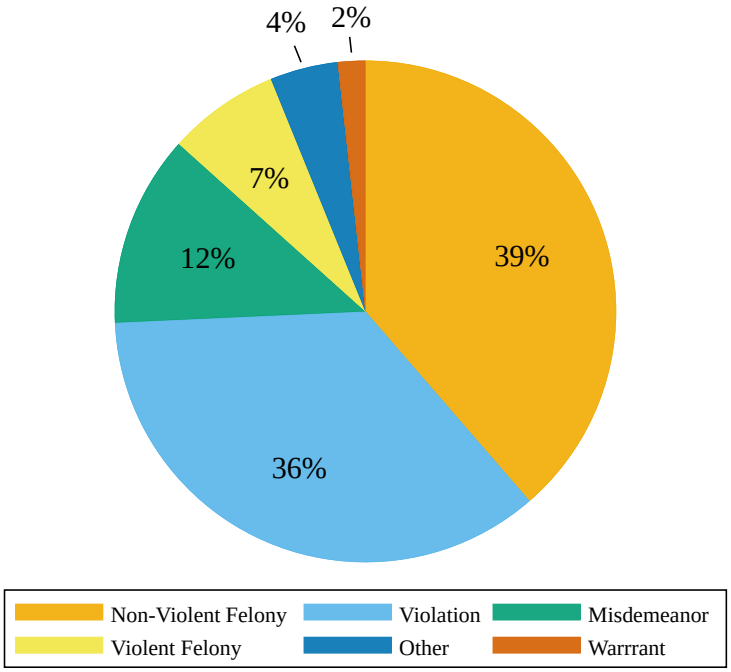
The Missouri Supreme Court set new bail rules, deemed Rule 33, which were implemented on July 1, 2019, and further revised on January 1, 2020, that made changes to pretrial detention.[xxxiii] Under the new rules, when considering conditions of release to set and impose, courts must consider non-monetary conditions prior to monetary conditions of release. Courts may impose monetary conditions or a combination of non-monetary and monetary conditions only if the applicable court determines that non-monetary conditions alone will not secure (i) the appearance of the individual at trial or any other stage of the criminal proceedings or (ii) the safety of the community or other person (including but not limited to the crime victims and witnesses), and only in an amount not exceeding that necessary to ensure the defendant's appearance or the safety of those persons mentioned in the foregoing clause (ii). The court may not order an individual to pay any portion of the costs of any conditions of release without first considering how to minimize these costs or whether to waive them altogether.[xxxiv]

In January 2020, St. Louis County began utilizing the Public Safety Assessment (PSA) for all individuals held on pretrial detention. Before using the PSA, the jail used the Montgomery County Maryland pretrial risk assessment tool.[xxxv] Both tools are an actuarial assessment of new criminal arrest on release, and the PSA also considers failure to appear.

DATA AT A GLANCE, 2019

The following graphics provide insight into the nature of the admissions to the St. Louis County jail in 2019. In 2019, there were 20,216 admissions to the St. Louis County Jail, and non-violent felonies (39%), violations (36%), and misdemeanors (12%) were the most common top admissions charges (see Figure 5). Comparatively few individuals entered the jail with top charges of violent felonies (7%), other charges (4%), and warrants (2%).

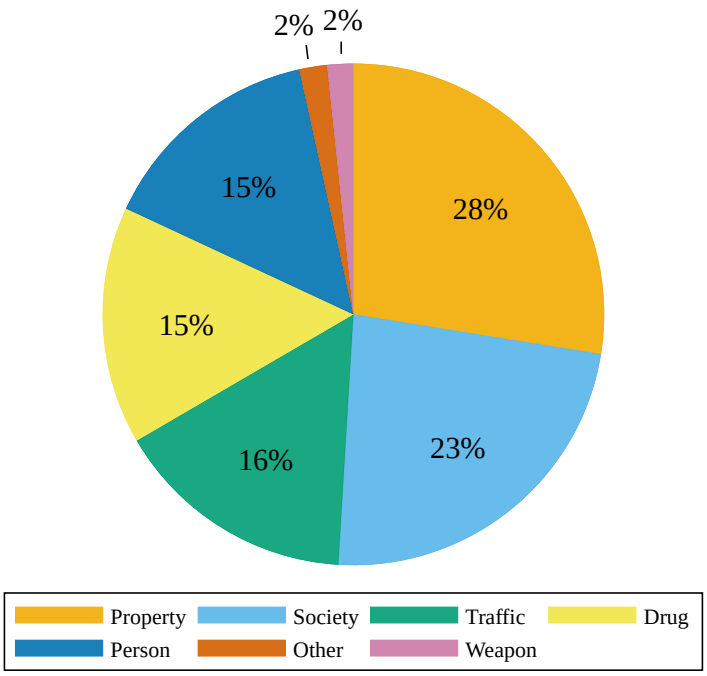
Figure 5. Percent of Admissions by Top Charge Severity, 2019



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

When further considered admissions by top charge category (see Figure 6), almost one-third of the admissions (28%) in 2019 were for property offenses, and offenses against society were the second most common top charge category (23%). In addition, traffic (16%), drug (15%), and person (15%) offenses each comprised approximately 15% of the admissions that year.

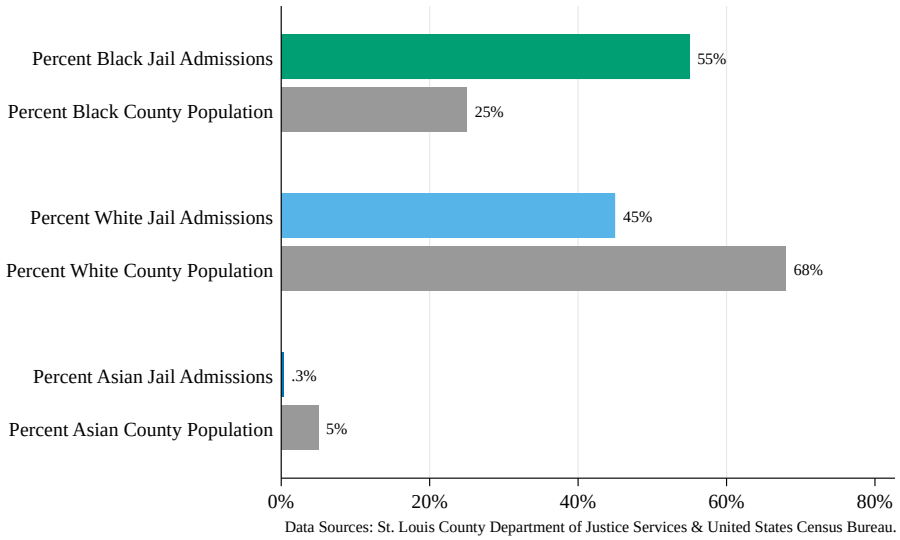
Figure 6. Percent of Admissions by Top Charge Category, 2019



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Racial disparities persist in jail admissions. Though the population of St. Louis County is 25% Black, more than half (55%) of the jail admissions in the year 2019 were made up by Black people (see Figure 7). In comparison, about 68% of the county population is White, yet White people only made up 45% of the jail admissions for 2019. Similarly, 5% of the county population is estimated to be Asian, but Asian individuals only accounted for 0.3% of the jail admissions that year.

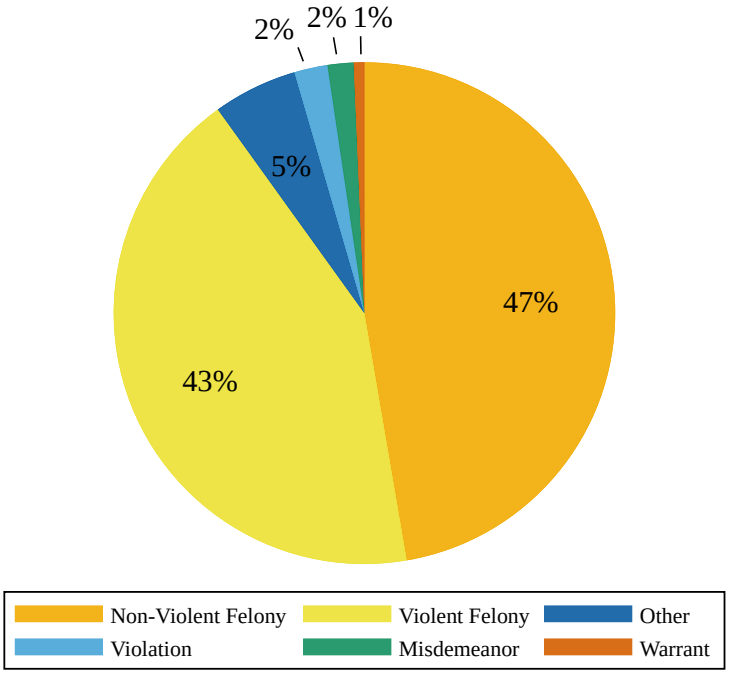
Figure 7. Percent Admissions and Population by Race, 2019



Data Sources: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services & United States Census Bureau.

People with a non-violent felony as their top charge utilized the largest proportion of total bed days (47%) in 2019, even though they were a small proportion of the number of admissions (see Figure 8). However, individuals with violent felony charges also used a large proportion of total bed days (43%) Other charges, violations, misdemeanors, and warrants only made up about 10% of the total bed days utilized in 2019.

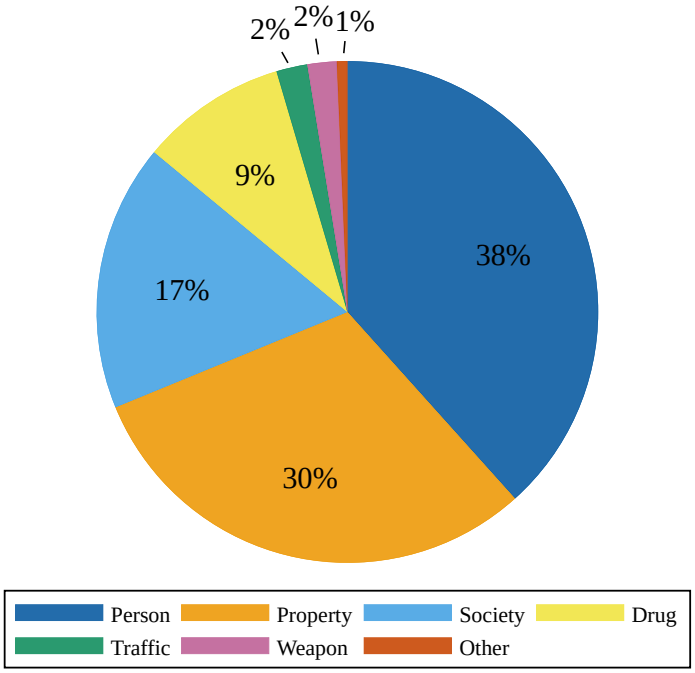
Figure 8. Percent of Bed Days by Top Charge Severity, 2019



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Though individuals with top charges that were offenses against persons made up only 15% of admissions, they utilized the greatest number of total bed days at 38% (see Figure 9). People whose top charge was a property offense utilized the second greatest percentage of bed days (30%). People with top charges that were crimes against society utilized 17% of the bed days, while individuals with drug top charges utilized 9%. Combined, traffic, weapon, and other charges made up about 5% of the total bed days utilized.

Figure 9. Percent of Bed Days by Top Charge Category, 2019



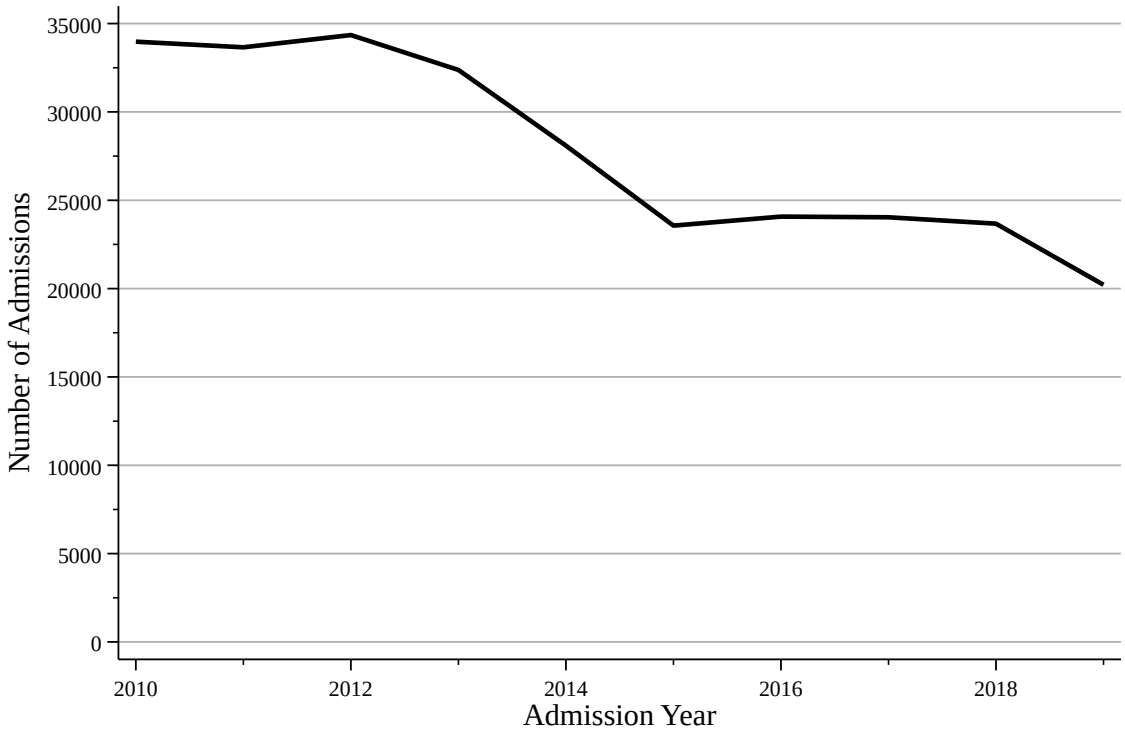
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

ADMISSIONS

The jail population is a product of two factors, the number of admissions and the length of stay. The analyses start by examining the number of bookings to jail. Figure 10 presents the number of annual admissions into the St. Louis County Jail. These analyses are at the booking level; therefore, the numbers represent unique entrances to the jail and not people. Individuals can be booked multiple times into jail per year. On average, there were 27,802 bookings each year, and the median number for the study period was 26,084. **The number of admissions has declined by 40% over the study period, from 33,976 in 2010 to a low of 20,216 in 2019.**

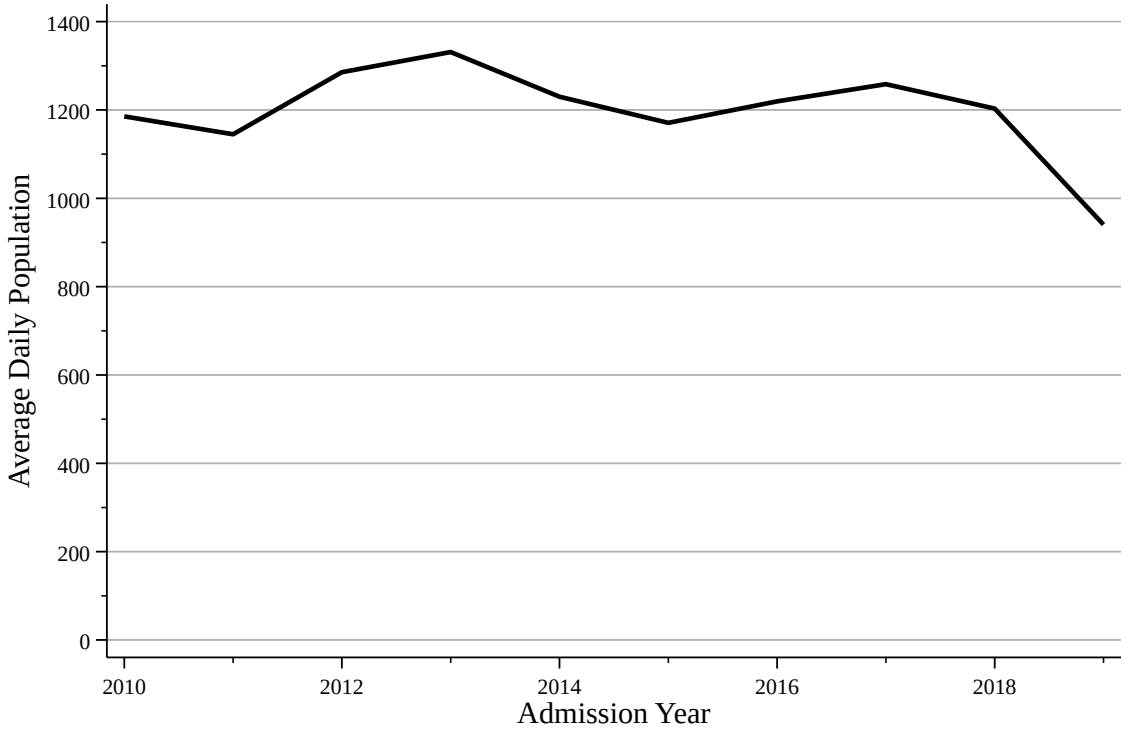
Figure 10a describes the average daily population (ADP), which represents the total population incarcerated divided by the number of days in the year. The ADP over the study period was 1,197 (1,211 median). The ADP gradually increased from 1,186 in 2010 to a peak population of 1,311 in 2013 and then declined to a low of 941 in 2019. **The ADP was relatively flat or rising until 2018, after which it declined substantially. In total, the ADP declined 21% over the study period.**

Figure 10. Number of Admissions



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 10a. Average Daily Population



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figures 10 and 10a show the relationship between the number of admissions and length of stay. **Although there was a reduction in admissions over the study period, the average daily population did not decline at the same rate. This result suggests that length of stay may be a stronger driver of the increased jail population and not growth in the number of bookings.** Much of the decline in the ADP occurred in one year (2019). The results also indicate that the jail was at or above maximum capacity (1,232 ADP) for most of the study period.

ADMISSION TYPES AND CHARGE CHARACTERISTICS

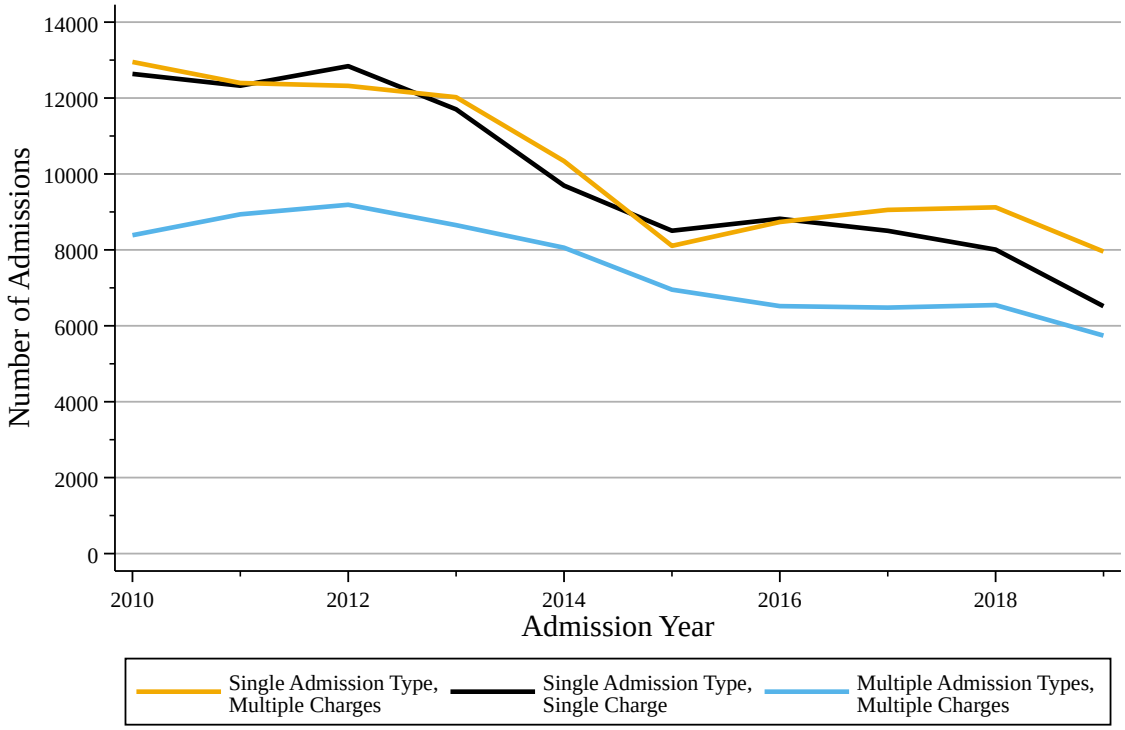
Individuals enter the jail with a multitude of charges and admission types. The next group of figures examines the types of admissions and charges associated with bookings from 2010 to 2019. Data were obtained on each charge and admission type associated with the jail booking. The following admissions categories were created: **Single admission type, single charge**: A person enters with one charge and one admission type. **Single admission type, multiple charges**: An individual comes into jail with two or more charges and one admission type. **Multiple admission types, multiple charges**: A person enters the jail with multiple charges and multiple admission types (e.g., pretrial admission for a new charge and probation violation).

Figure 11 depicts admission trends by admission types and charges from 2010 to 2019, while Figure 11a displays the percentage of total admissions that are accounted for by the three admission groups examined. During the study period, **single admission types with either single or multiple charges were more frequent than multiple admission types**. Consistent with the overall admission trends, there was a

general decline in the number of admissions in each group, but the proportion of admission types stayed relatively stable over the study period. As shown in Table 1, **the largest decline (48%) was among individuals admitted to jail on a single admission type and single charge.**

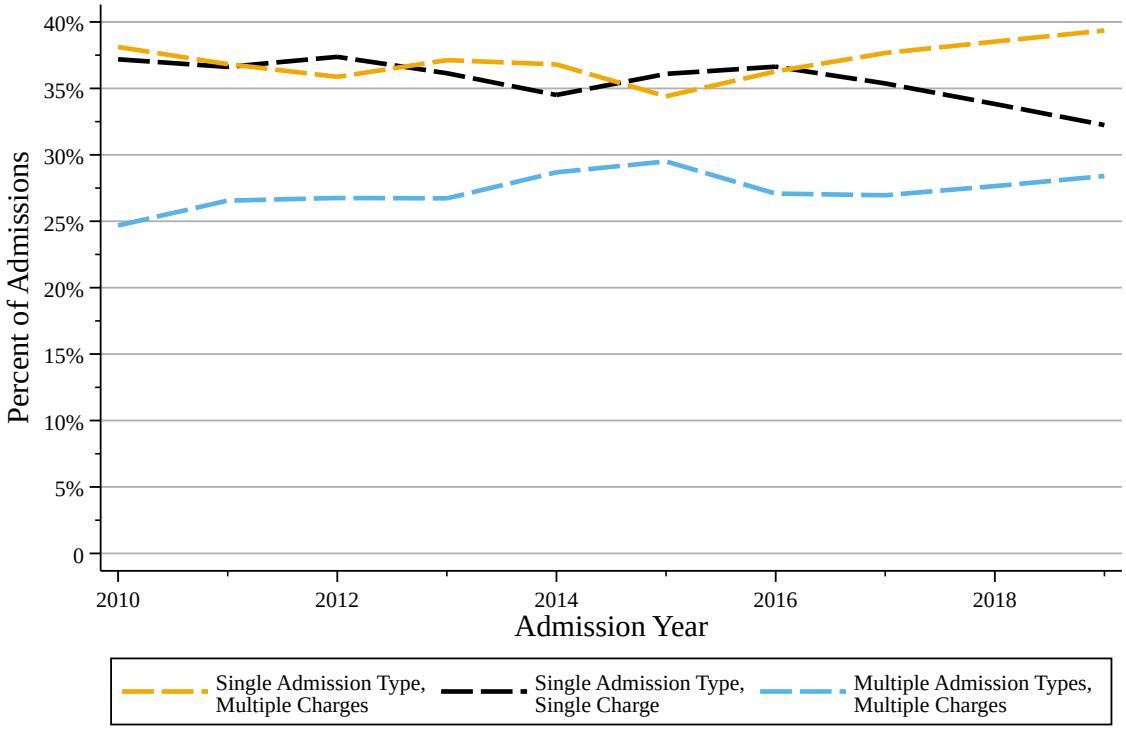
We also examined the mean and median number of charges and admission types for those booked into jail during the study period. **The median number of charges per admission was two.** Most individuals were booked on one admission type. **The median number of admission types is one and the mean was approximately 1.3**. There was little substantive variation across the study period.

Figure 11. Number of Admissions by Types and Charges



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 11a. Percent of Admissions by Types and Charges



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 1. Number of Admissions by Admission Type and Charge in 2010 and 2019

Admission Types and Charges	2010	2019	2010-2019 % Change
Number of Single Admission Type, Multiple Charges	12,951	7,956	-39%
Number of Single Admission Type, Single Charge	12,637	6,518	-48%
Number of Multiple Admission Type, Multiple Charges	8,388	5,742	-32%
Total	33,976	20,216	-40%

Single and Multiple Admission Types

The following graphs further contextualize the admission trends by admission type. The admission types include pretrial admission for new charges, pretrial admission for a warrant, processed and released, hold, city or county transfer, prison transfer, probation admission, parole admission, or "other" admission.

Admission Type Definitions

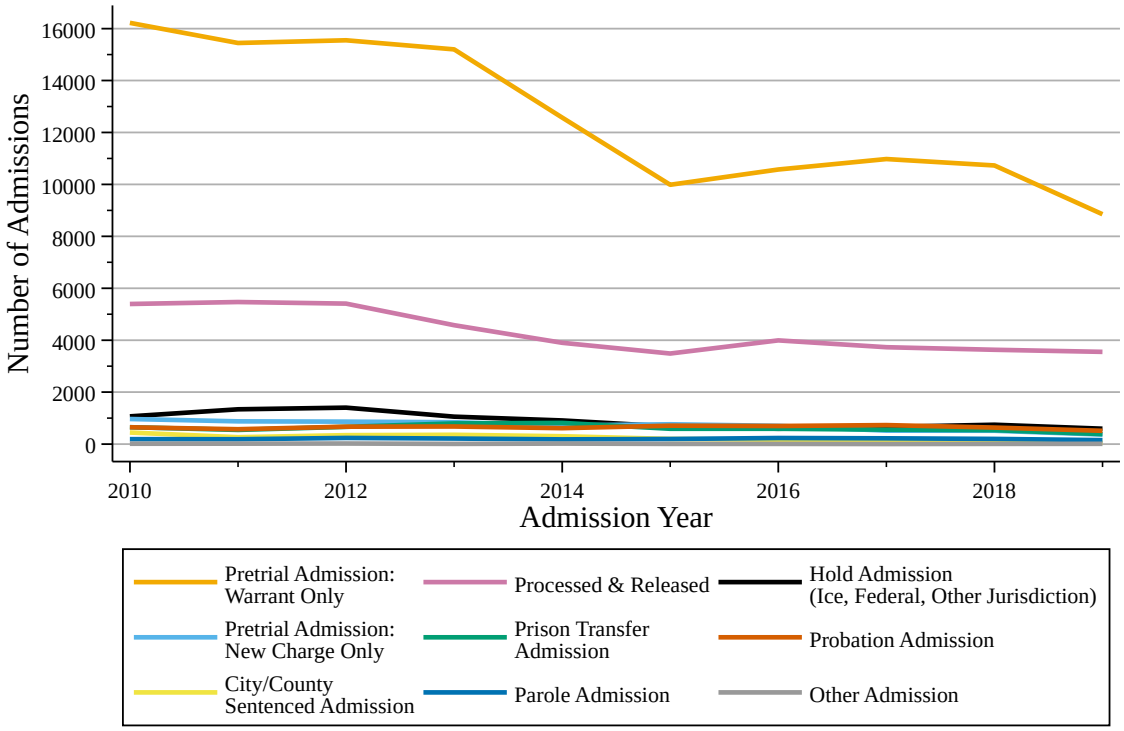
- **Pretrial Admission: New Charge(s) only:** Individual arrested on new charges and booked into jail.
- **Pretrial Admission: Warrant only:** Individuals arrested on an outstanding warrant.
- **Processed and Released:** Individual booked into jail on a 12- or 24-hour hold, often pending application of warrant.
- **Hold (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction):** Individual who was booked into jail on charges or a hold originating from a different county, city, or federal jurisdiction.
- **Probation Admission:** Individual booked for a probation violation or via a probation warrant.
- **Parole Admission:** Individual booked for a parole violation or via a parole warrant.
- **Prison Transfer Admission:** Individual sentenced to serve time in a state prison facility and is waiting for transfer to the Missouri Department of Corrections.
- **County/City Sentence Admission:** Individual sentenced to serve time in jail.
- **Other admission:** Individual is awaiting transfer to another agency.

Figure 12 describes the trends in the number of admissions for bookings with a single admission type, while Figure 13 displays the most common multiple admission types. Figure 12a depicts the percent of admission for bookings with a single admission type and Figure 13a displays the percent of admission for multiple admission types. The seven admission type combinations selected for this analysis include the admission type combinations with the longest length of stay from the year 2019 and had at least 30 cases. We used the same combinations across the study period to maintain consistency.

Table 2 shows that from 2010 to 2019 the number of admissions for a single admission type declined by 43%. **Pretrial admissions with a warrant had the highest volume of admissions and accounted for 45% of admissions for most years of the study period.** In 2010, 16,221 admissions were pretrial with a warrant, and in 2019, this number was 8,852. Individuals who were processed and released, usually pending application of warrant, were the second-largest admission group with 5,394 admissions in 2010 and 3,550 in 2019, a 34% decline.

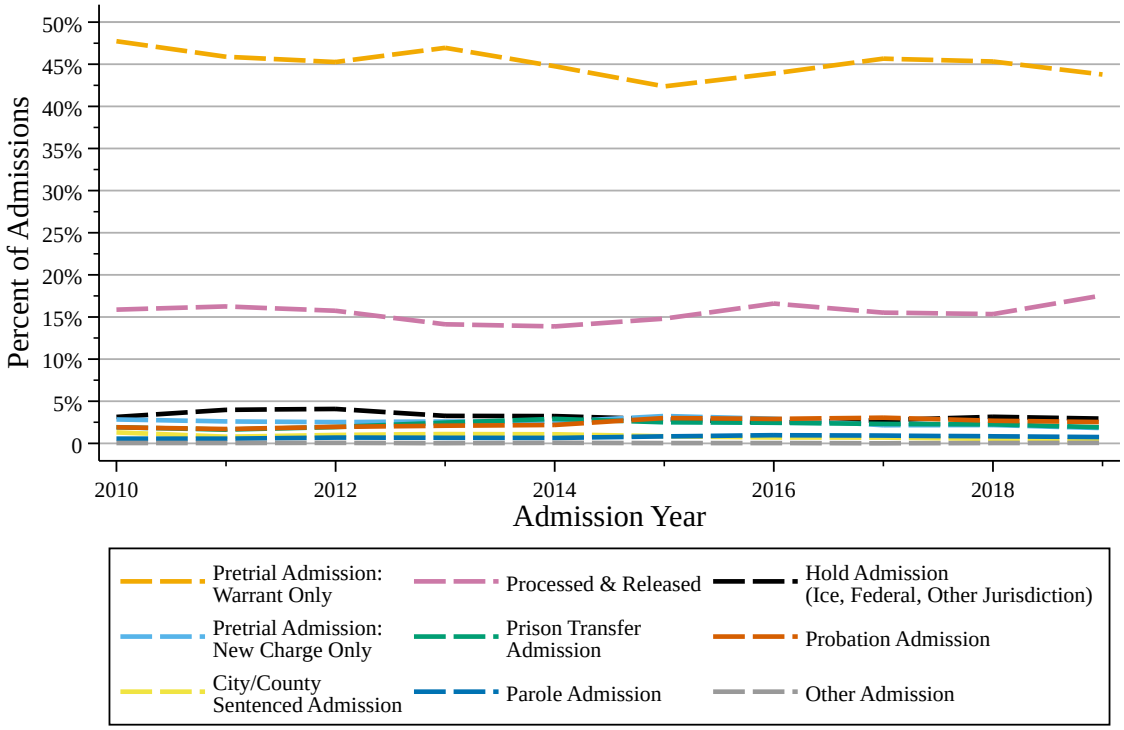
For single admission types, those who entered the jail for a city or county sentence decreased the most (88%) over the study period. For individuals with multiple admission types, those with a warrant and city or county sentenced experienced the greatest decline (87%). With one exception, admission for all admission types decreased. The group including Individuals admitted for a hold, warrant, and a probation violation increased by 21%, from 94 in 2010 to 114 in 2019. This slight increase may reflect the small number of people in this group during the study period.

Figure 12. Number of Admissions for Single Admission Types



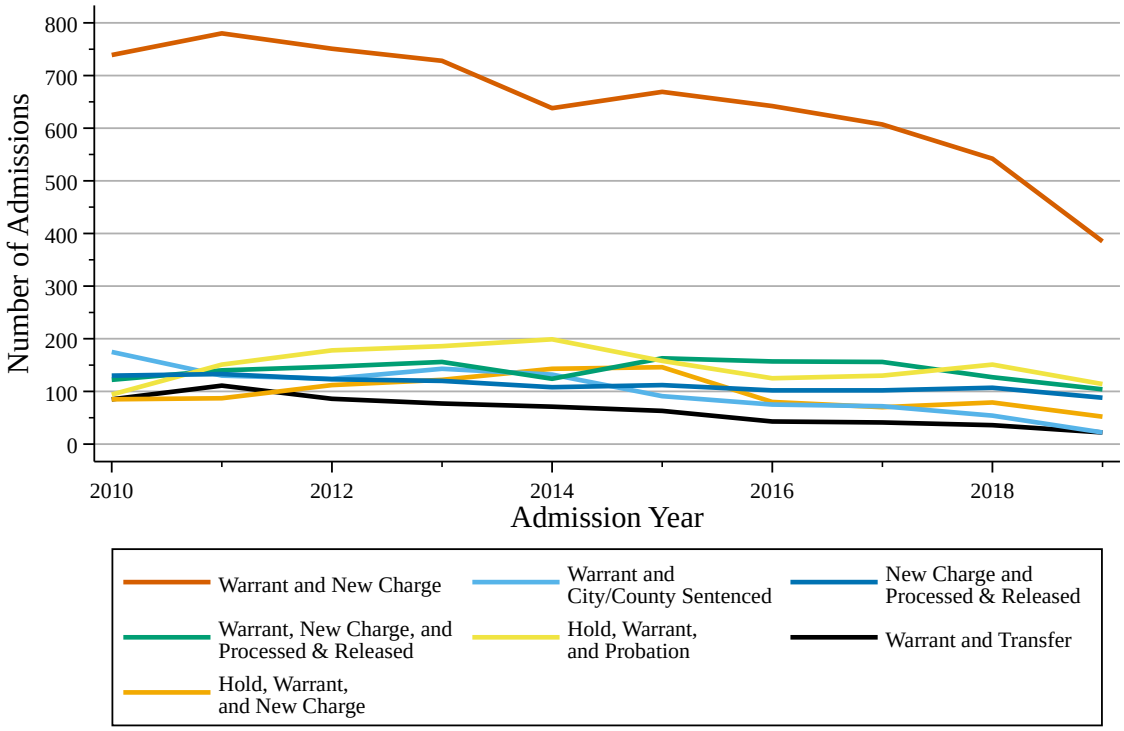
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 12a. Percent of Admissions for Single Admission Types



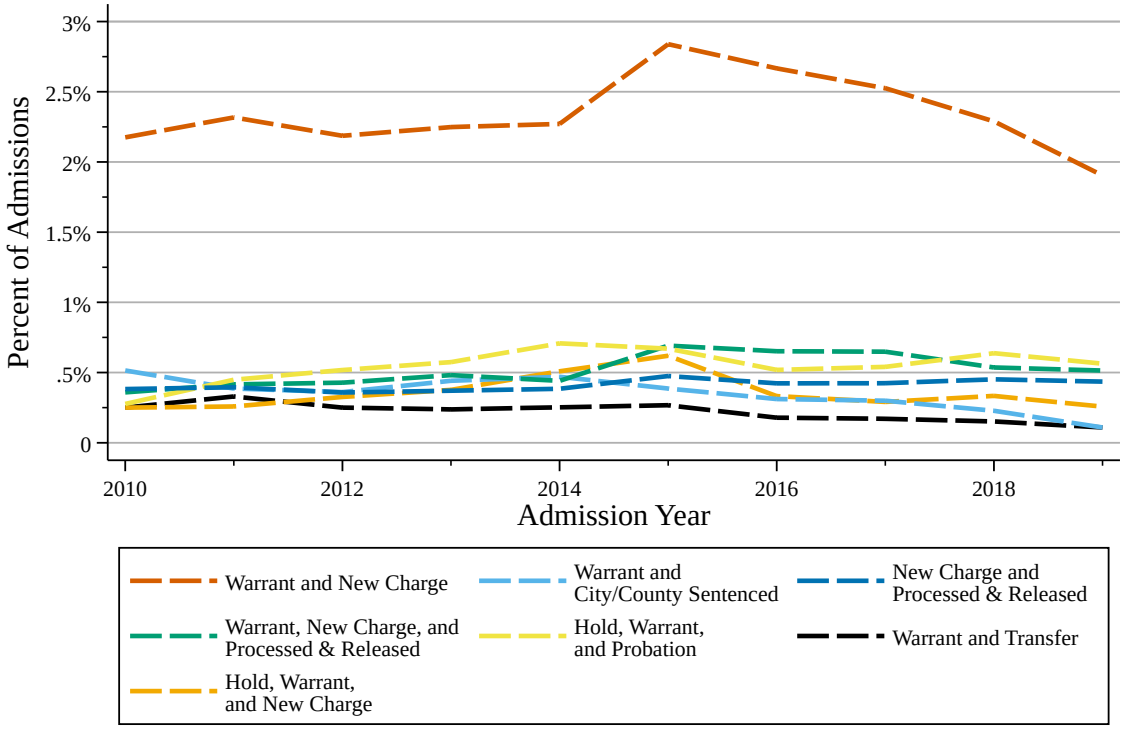
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 13. Number of Admissions for Multiple Admission Types



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 13a. Percent of Admissions for Multiple Admission Types



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 2. Number of Admissions for Single and Multiple Admission Types in 2010 and 2019

Single Admission Types (Single and Multiple Charges)	2010	2019	2010-2019 % Change
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	16,221	8,852	-45%
Processed & Released	5,394	3,550	-34%
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	1,067	593	-44%
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	964	366	-62%
Prison Transfer Admission	649	384	-41%
Probation Admission	647	511	-21%
City/County Sentenced Admission	443	55	-88%
Parole Admission	189	152	-20%
Other Admission	14	11	-21%
Total Single Admission Types	**25,588**	**14,474**	**-43%**
Multiple Admission Types			
Warrant and New Charge	739	385	-48%
Warrant and City/County Sentenced	175	22	-87%
New Charge and Processed & Released	130	88	-32%
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	122	104	-15%
Hold, Warrant, and Probation	94	114	21%
Warrant and Prison Transfer	85	22	-74%
Hold, Warrant, and New Charge	85	52	-39%
All Other Multiple Admission Types	**6,958**	**4,955**	**-29%**
Total Multiple Admission Types	**8,388**	**5,742**	**-32%**

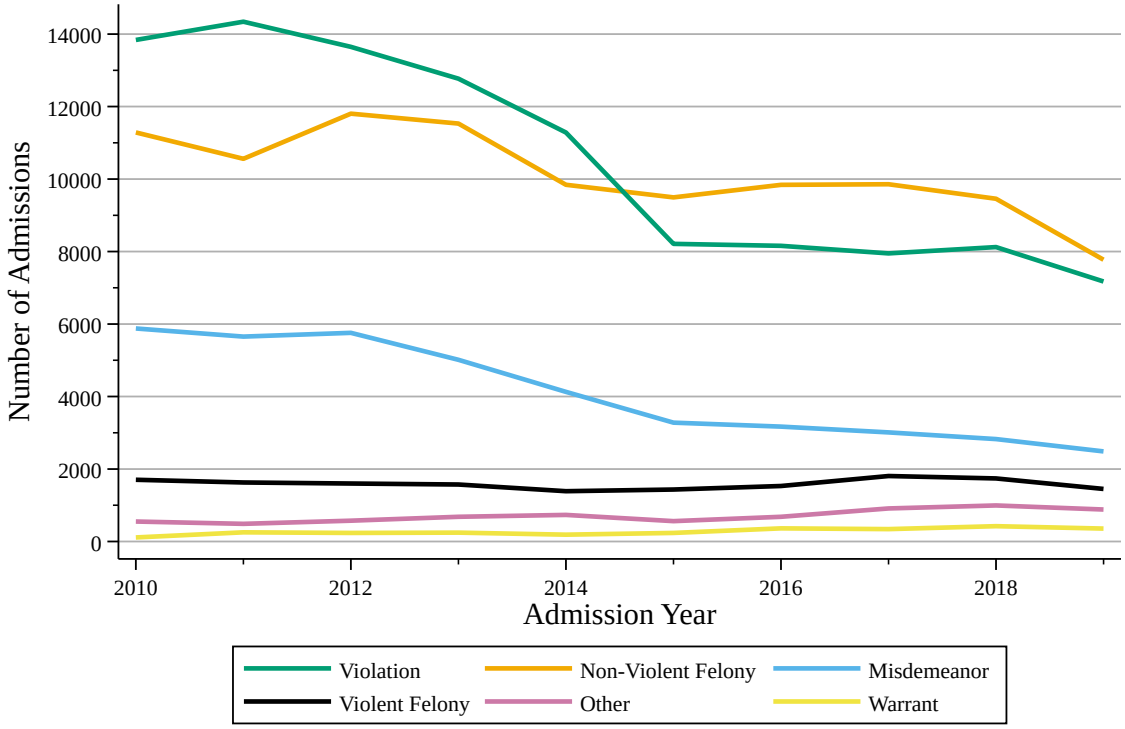
Top Charge Severity and Category

The following analyses examine charge severity and charge categories. As noted, an individual can come into custody with single or multiple charges. The **"top charge,"** presented below, indicates the most serious charge associated with an admission. Charges range in severity from most to least severe: violent felony, non-violent felony, misdemeanor, violation, warrant, and "other." Decisions on the top charge were made using standardized definitions obtained from the Missouri Highway Patrol Uniform Crime Report (UCR) codes and are consistent with the Missouri Charge Code Manual.[xxxvi] Violent felonies are distinguished from non-violent felonies in that violent felonies require the use of physical force or attempted force against a person such as assault, homicide, rape. The most prevalent violent offense admission in 2019 was for domestic assault in the 2nd degree. The most common admission for the non-violent felony group was possession of a controlled substance, DWI for misdemeanors, and petty larceny for the violation group, and out of state fugitive for the warrant group. The "other" category includes non-criminal offenses such as holds for other agencies and writ to prosecute or testify, and the most prevalent reason for admission among people in this group was a hold for safe keeping.

Figures 14 and 14a display the number and proportion of admissions for the most serious charge associated with a jail booking, respectively. **From 2010-2014, individuals were most often booked into jail for a**

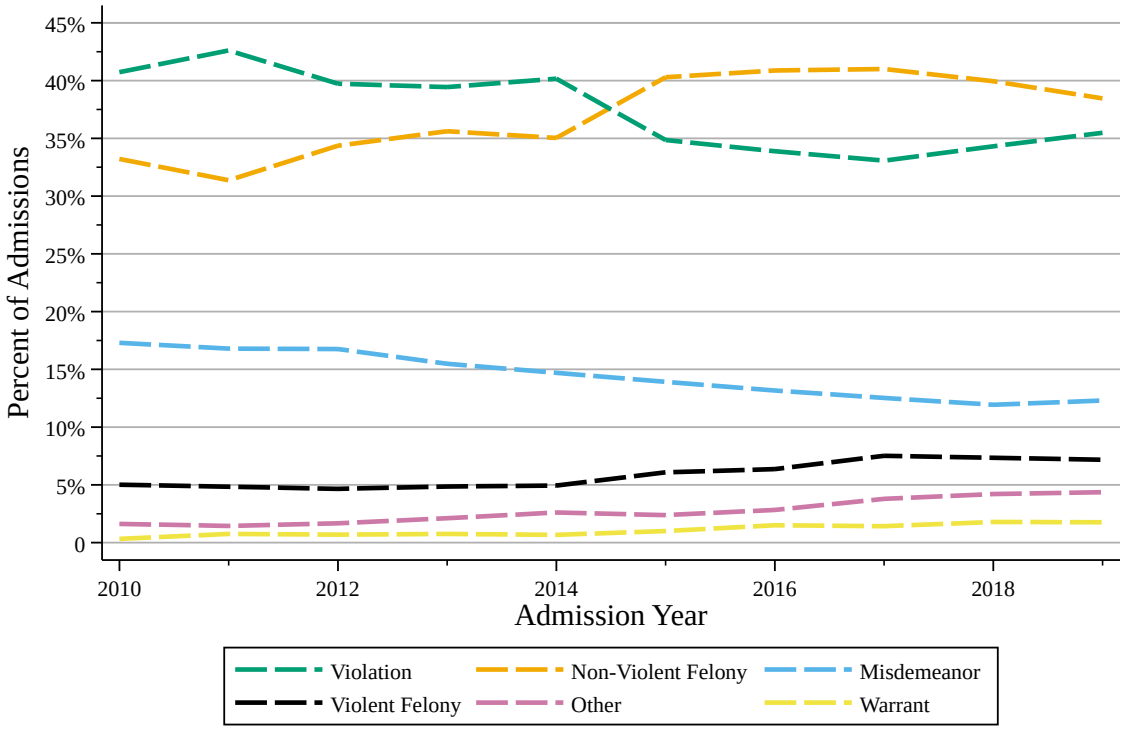
violation, but after 2014, non-violent felonies represented the most common charge. In total, 13,839 individuals were booked into jail in 2010 for a violation compared to 7,173 in 2019, a 48% decline. Although there was a decline in violation admissions, the large volume of arrests throughout the study period is worthy of note. Admissions for non-violent felonies also declined, from 11,287 in 2010 to 7,775 in 2019. Table 3 shows that from 2010 to 2019, **admissions for violations and non-violent crimes decreased by 58% and 31%, respectively.** As shown in Figure 14a, non-violent felonies represented 33% of the total admissions in 2010 and increased to 38% in 2019. Of the most serious charges examined, admissions for violent felonies declined the least (15%). Admissions for warrants increased by 218% during the study period, but this group is relatively small.

Figure 14. Number of Admissions by Top Charge Severity



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 14a. Percent of Admissions by Top Charge Severity



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

We further consider the patterns in admission by the harm of the offense. In these analyses, we ranked the charge categories (most severe to least) as person crimes, property crimes, drug crimes, weapon crimes, crimes against society, traffic offenses, and "other." The most common admission type for person crimes is domestic assault, petty larceny for property offenses, possession of a controlled substance among drug crimes, unlawful passion of a firearm for weapons offenses, probation violation for society offenses, violation of financial responsibility for traffic offenses, insurance not valid for ordinance offenses, and writ to prosecute for the Missouri Department of Corrections for the other group. Decisions on the top charge category were made using standardized definitions based on definitions provided by the Missouri State Highway Patrol and presented in the Missouri UCR. Codes that are not presented did not have traditional UCR accountings definitions were categorized using classifications from the Missouri Highway Patrol (see also Appendix A). Figure 15 highlights the number of admissions in each top charge category. Figure 15a provides the percentage of total admission for each top charge category.

Charge Categories

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).

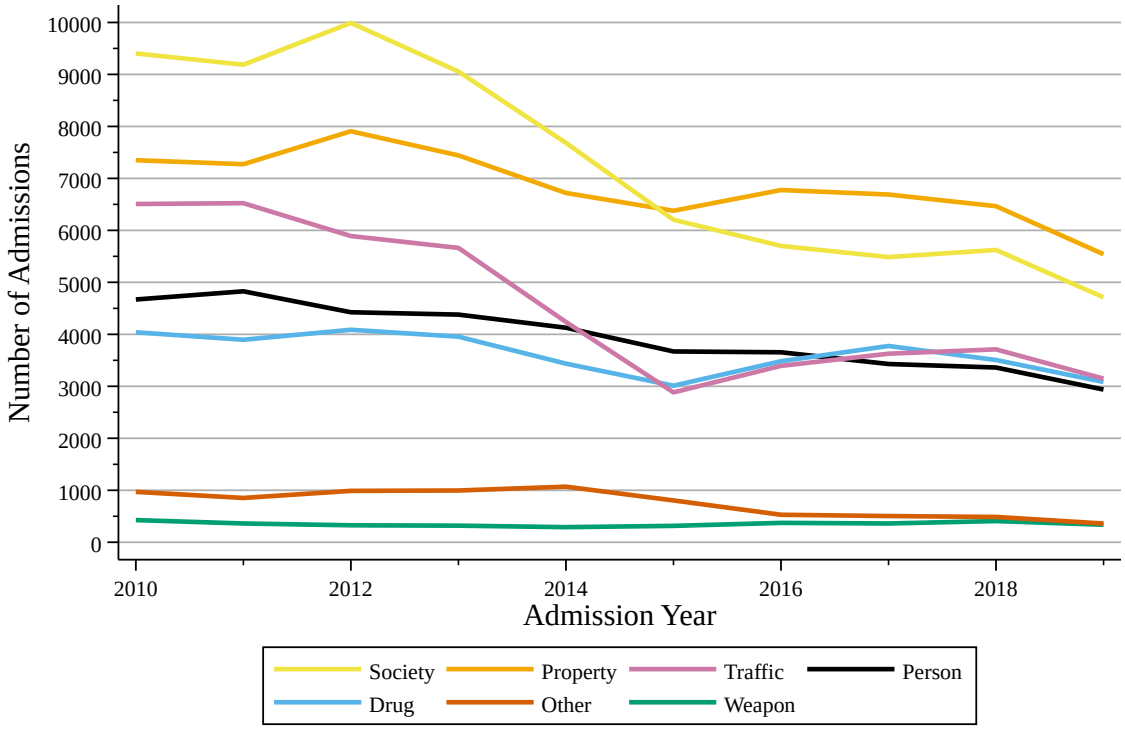
Crimes Against Society: Any offense maintaining a UCR designation as a crime against society except if the victim was a person, property was taken, or listed as a 35A, 35B, 90D, or 520 code (loitering, disorderly conduct, trespassing).

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).

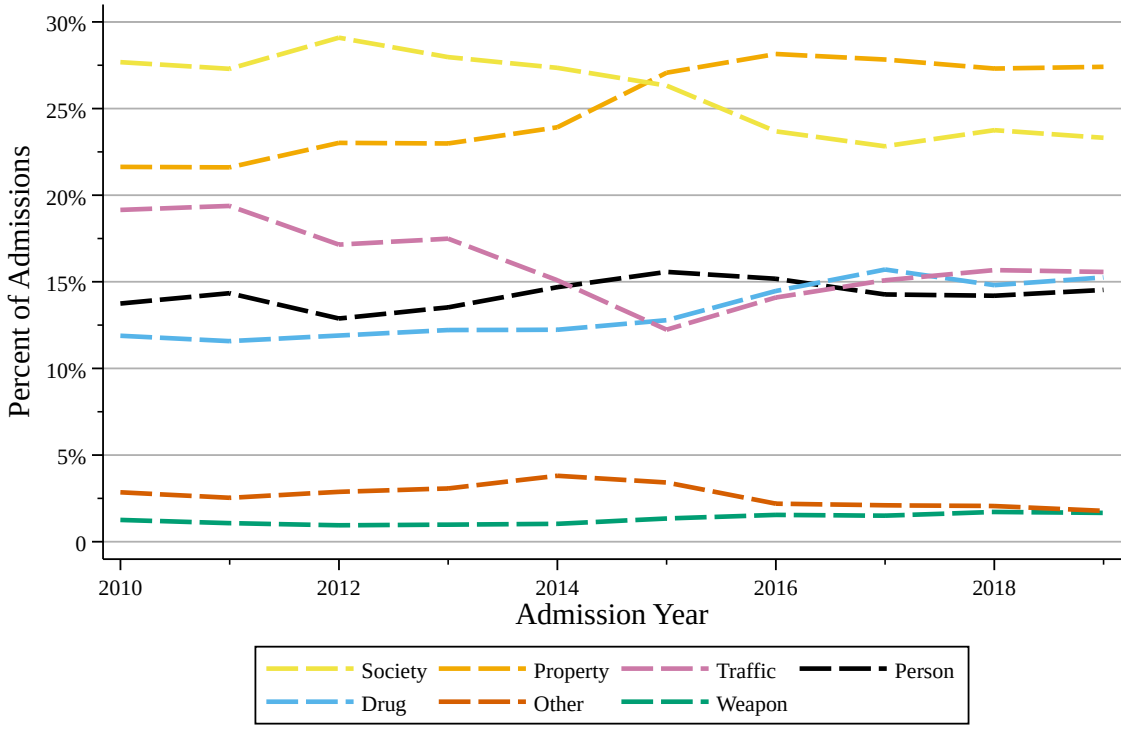
Other: Primarily non-criminal offenses (holds for other agencies, holds for safekeeping, probation and parole violations, writ to prosecute or testify).

Figure 15. Number of Admissions by Top Charge Category



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 15a. Percent of Admissions by Top Charge Category



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

During the initial phase of the study period (2010-2014), individuals were most often admitted to jail for offenses that involved harm to society, but in 2015, property crime emerged as the top charge category. **The number of admissions for society offenses declined by half** from 9,404 in 2010 to 4,713 in 2019, and the proportion of individuals admitted for society offenses declined from 28% in 2010 to 23% in 2019. The percentage of persons admitted for a property crime increased from 22% in 2010 to a high of 27% in 2019, but the number of admissions declined by 25% from 7,350 in 2010 to 5,541 in 2019. The number of admissions for person crimes declined from 4,671 in 2010 to 2,938 in 2019. **Traffic-related charges decreased the most (52%) from 2010 to 2019**. Notably, admissions for drug charges also declined by almost 24% during the study period. Charge categories that involved a person or property decreased the least at 37% and 25%, respectively, from 2010-2019.

Table 3. Top Charge Severity and Top Charge Category in 2010 and 2019

Charge Severity	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 % Change**
Violation	13,839	7,173	-58%
Non-Violent Felony	11,287	7,775	-31%
Misdemeanor	5,877	2,487	-58%
Violent Felony	1,704	1,450	-15%
Other	551	882	60%
Warrant	112	356	218%
Charge Category			
Society	9,404	4,713	-50%
Property	7,350	5,541	-25%
Traffic	6,507	3,148	-52%
Person	4,671	2,938	-37%
Drug	4,039	3,084	-24%
Other	969	360	-63%
Weapon	427	337	-21%
Total	**33,367**	**20,121**	**-40%**

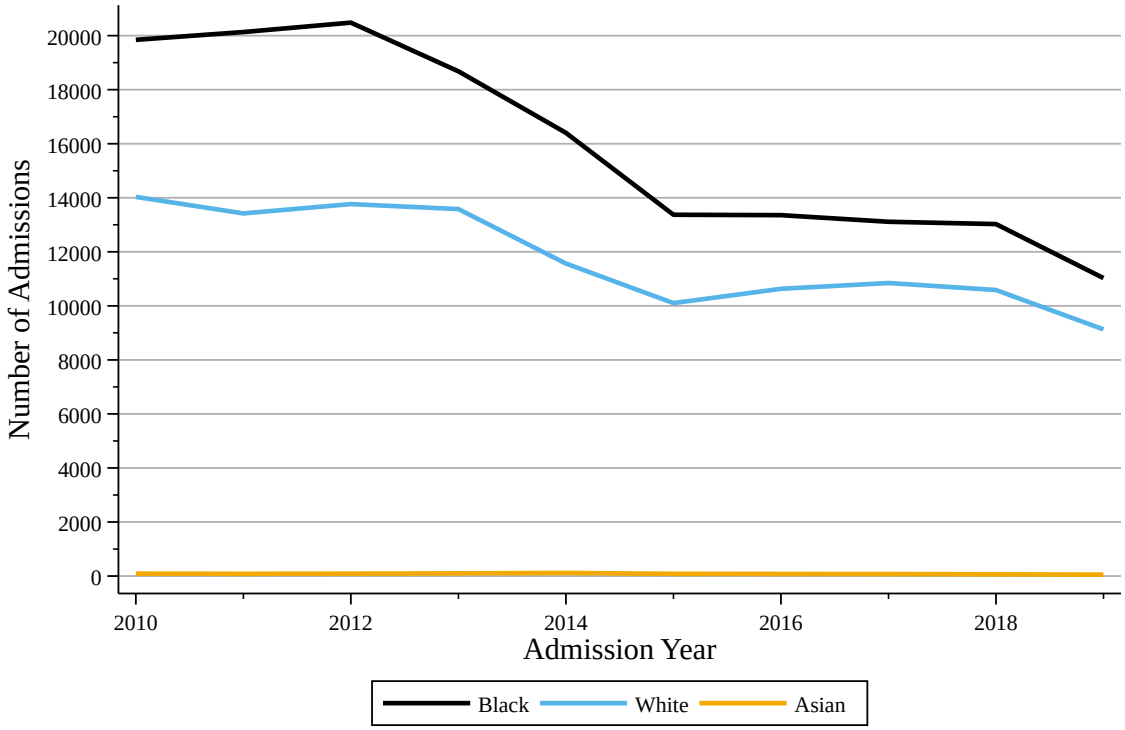
ADMISSIONS BY DEMOGRAPHICS

Our next group of figures examines the demographic characteristics of persons who were admitted into the St. Louis County jail from 2010 to 2019.

Race

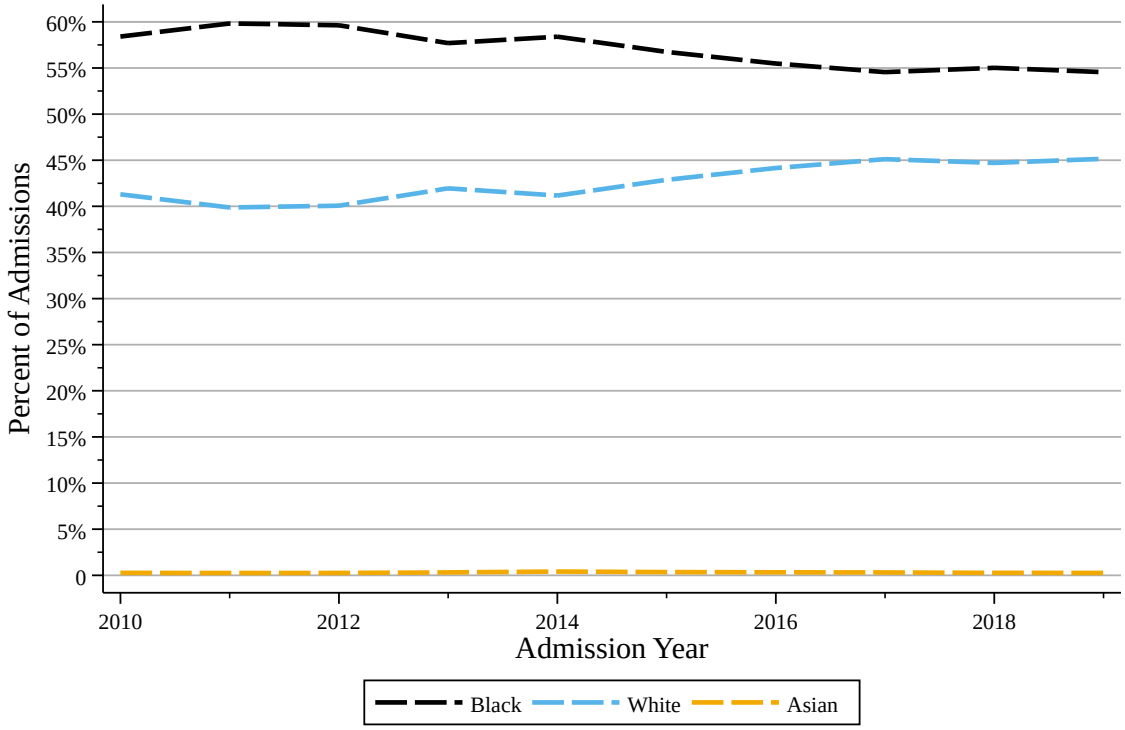
Figures 16 and 16a display the number and percentage of individuals admitted to the jail by race, respectively. **There are substantial racial disparities in the booking trends**. The percentage of Black persons varied little over the study period ranging from 58% at the outset of the study period to 55% at the end. The proportion of White persons in the jail varied between 40% in 2011 to 45% in 2019. Figure 16b displays the percent of the population of St. Louis County and the percent of jail admissions by race. **The incarceration rate for Black persons remained more than twice that of the racial composition of St. Louis County throughout the study period.** In the year 2019, 55% of individuals admitted to jail were Black, while 25% of the population identified their race as Black. In comparison, 45% of the jail population identified as White in 2019, but 68% of the county population identified as White. However, the number of admissions for Black persons declined 44%, while the decline for White persons was more modest at 35% (see Table 4). The number of Asian persons admitted was very low and averaged 83 per year from 2010-2019. Information on ethnicity was not collected in the jail management system during the study period.

Figure 16. Number of Admissions by Race



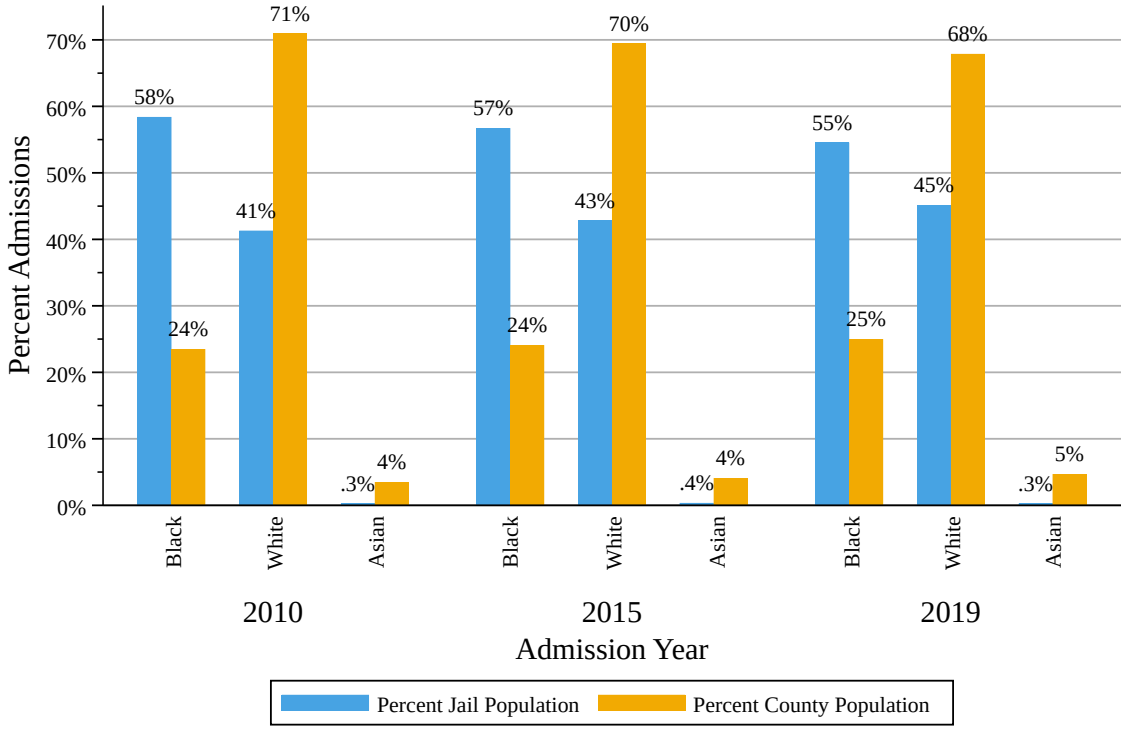
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 16a. Percent of Admissions by Race



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 16b. Percent of Population and Admissions by Race: 2010, 2015, and 2019

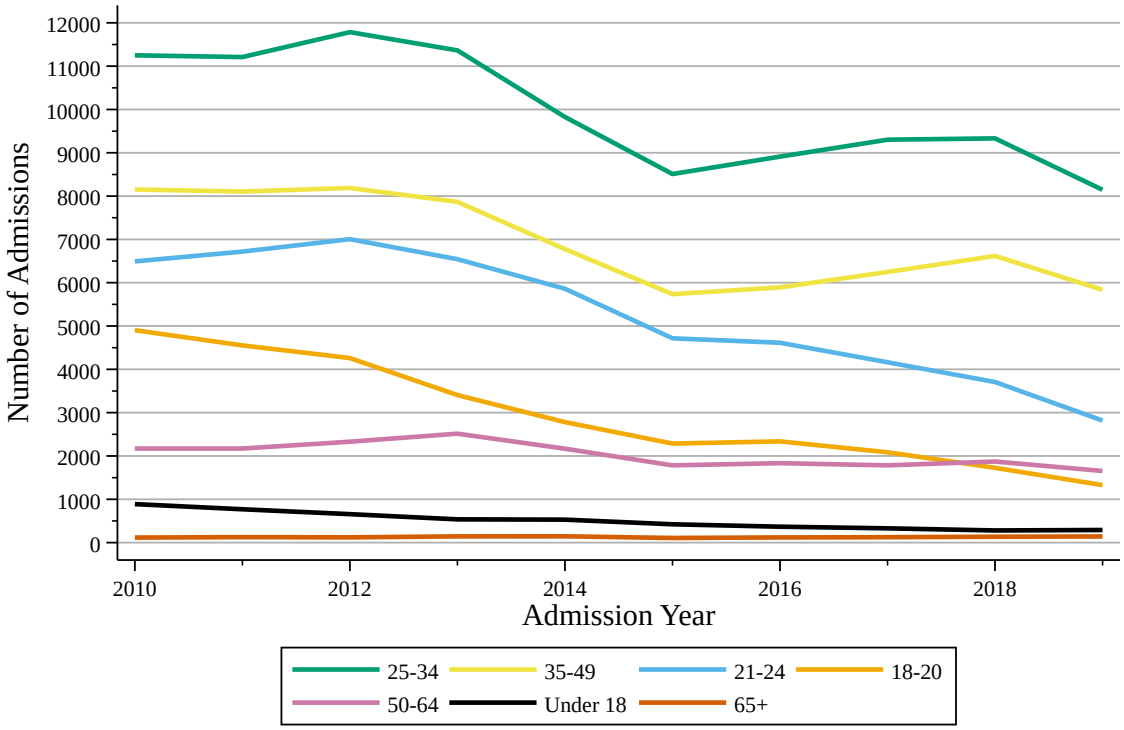


Data Sources: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services & United States Census Bureau.

Age

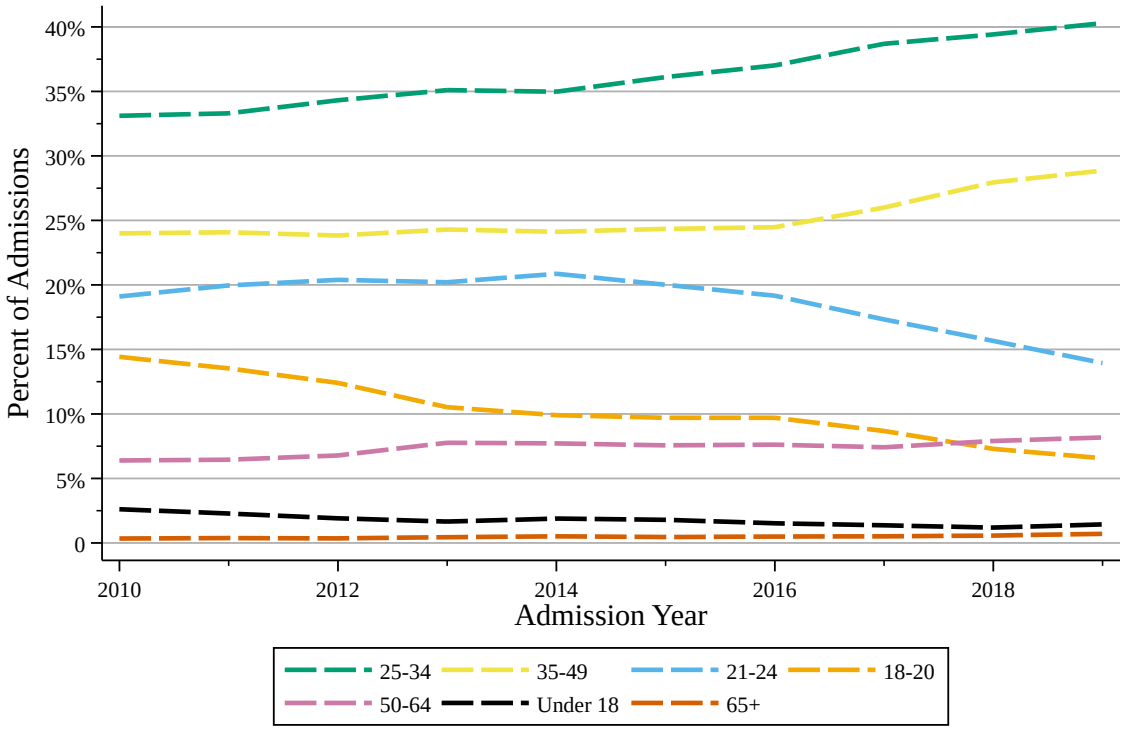
Figure 17 describes the number of persons admitted to jail in each age group examined, while Figure 17a shows the percentage of total admissions represented. There were substantive declines in all age groups, but the relative composition of the jail admission by age stayed relatively stable during the study period. **Individuals between the ages of 25-34 had the highest number of admissions, followed by people between the ages of 35-49.** Together, both groups increased as a proportion of the population and accounted for more than 50% of jail admissions during the study period. **The number of individuals admitted to jail who were between the ages of 18-20 declined substantially (73%) over time from a high of 4,903 in 2010 to a low of 1,328 in 2019** (see Table 4). The under age 18 group also declined substantially over the study period (67%). Although small in number, only individuals 65 and older had an increase in jail admissions.

Figure 17. Number of Admissions by Age Group



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 17a. Percent of Admissions by Age Group

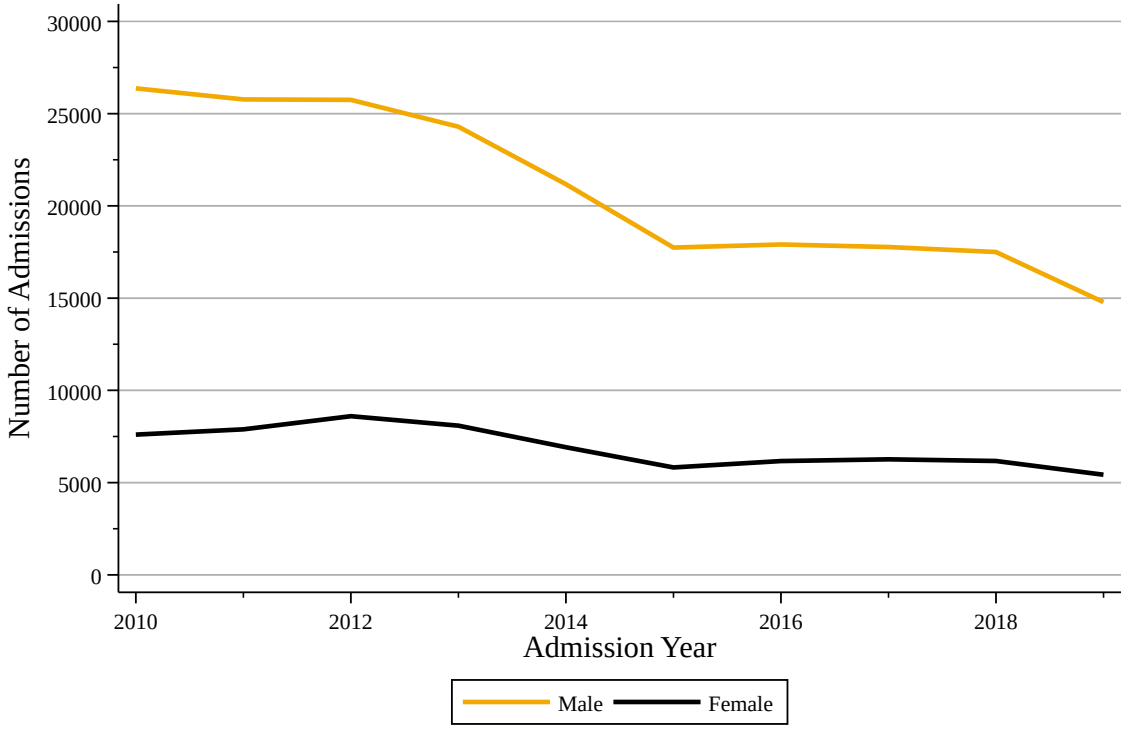


Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Sex

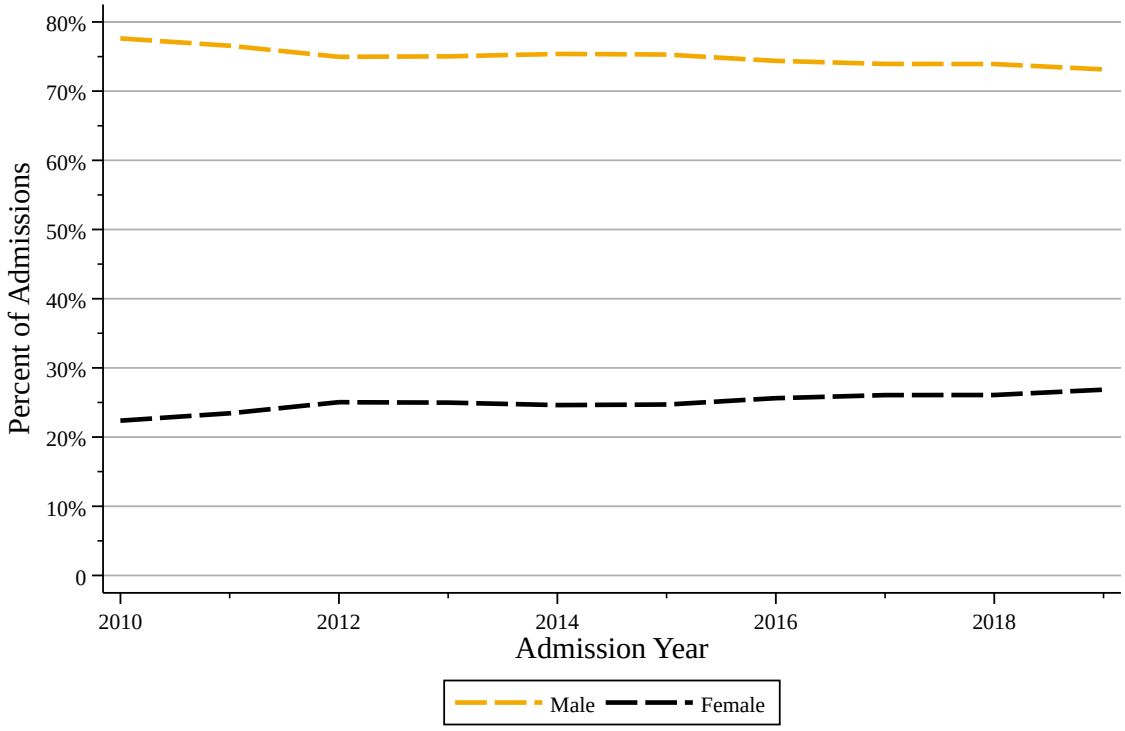
From 2010 to 2019, males had the highest number and proportion of admissions compared to females (see Figure 18 and 18a). Both groups decreased in number of admissions during the study period, with female admissions declining (29%) less than male admissions (44%) (See Table 4).

Figure 18. Number of Admissions by Sex



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 18a. Percent of Admissions by Sex



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 4. Race, Age, and Sex in 2010 and 2019

	2010	2019	2010-2019% Change
Race			
Black	19,846	11,028	-44%
White	14,034	9,128	-35%
Asian	90	52	-42%
Other	6	8	33%
Age			
25-34	11,250	8,145	-28%
35-49	8,153	5,836	-28%
21-24	6,492	2,819	-57%
18-20	4,903	1,328	-73%
50-64	2,172	1,654	-24%
Under 18	889	291	-67%
65+	117	143	22%
Sex			
Male	26,374	14,787	-44%
Female	7,602	5,429	-29%
Total	**33,976**	**20,216**	**-40%**

RELEASE TYPES

We conclude our analysis by considering nine release types for persons released each year (see Appendix A). Figure 19 describes trends in the number of releases for each release type, and Figure 19a breaks down the percentage of releases from the jail that were constituted by each release type. Every charge can carry its own discharge status, and, as such, a charge may be "discharged" without the individual leaving custody. Since we are interested in measuring the total length of time in custody, each admission is given one release type, which describes the discharge status associated with the individual's final release from custody. We conclude our analysis by considering nine release types for persons released each year (see Appendix A). Figure 19 describes trends in the number of releases for each release type, and Figure 19a breaks down the percentage of releases from the jail that were constituted by each release type. Every charge can carry its own discharge status, and, as such, a charge may be "discharged" without the individual leaving custody. Since we are interested in measuring the total length of time in custody, each admission is given one release type, which describes the discharge status associated with the individual's final release from custody.

Release Types

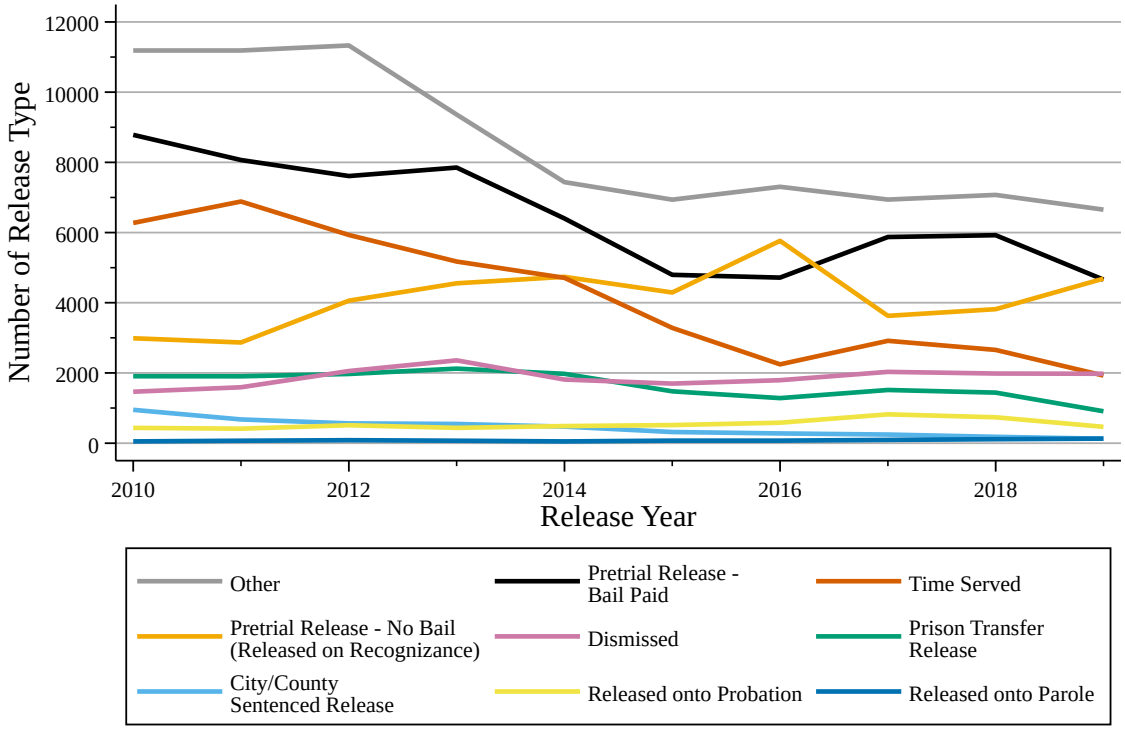
Time Served: Individual was released for 'time served' as designated in the plea agreement.
City/County Sentenced Release: Individual released after serving their jail sentence.
Released onto Probation: Individual released onto probation or who had their probation warrant lifted.
Released onto Parole: Individual released onto parole or who had their parole warrant/detainer lifted.
Pretrial Release: Bail Paid: Individual released on pretrial following the posting of bail.
Pretrial Release: No Bail: Individual released pretrial on their own recognizance, administrative release, or other non-monetary release.
Dismissed: Case dismissed
Prison Transfer: Individual released or transferred to a state prison facility.
Other: A broadly used categorization that includes persons released to other agencies or released after a hold into the community pending application of warrant. There is a lack of consistency in this high volume group. This classification also includes any release reason not covered above including those who escaped or died in custody.

The number of releases from jail declined over the study period, which is consistent with the reduction in admissions. **Individuals released for "other" release types were the most common across the study period, and this group represented approximately one-third of the released population.** The other category is comprised largely of people who were released to another authority (39%), for a citation (22%), and on a 24-hour hold or pending application of warrant (31%).

Individuals released pretrial also represented a large number and percentage of people released from jail. Individuals released on pretrial with bail represented 26% of all releases in 2010 and 22% in 2019, a 4% decline. **The number of people released on pretrial with no bail paid (i.e., released on recognizance) more than doubled over the study period, from 9% to 22%.**

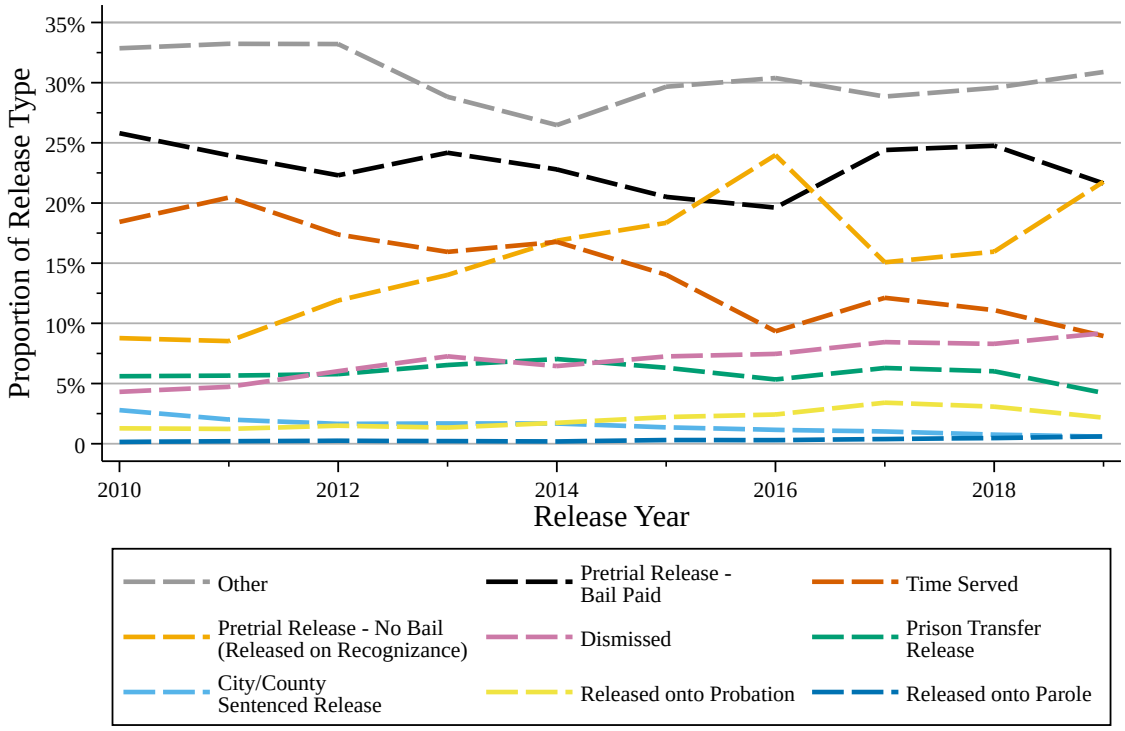
The number of people who were released after their case was dismissed increased (35%) over the study period, as did the number of individuals released on probation (7%) and parole (157%), although the group released on parole is relatively small (see Table 5).

Figure 19. Number of Releases by Release Type



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 19a. Percent of Releases by Release Type



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 5. Release Type in 2010 and 2019

Release Type	2010	2019	2010-2019 % Change
Other	11,186	6,653	-41%
Pretrial Release – Bail Paid	8,784	4,659	-47%
Time Served	6,275	1,927	-69%
Pretrial Release – No Bail	2,988	4,688	57%
Dismissed	1,467	1,979	35%
Prison Transfer Release	1,908	909	-52%
City/County Sentenced Release	951	127	-87%
Released onto Probation	435	467	7%
Released onto Parole	51	131	157%
Total	**34,045**	**21,540**	**-37%**

BAIL/BOND

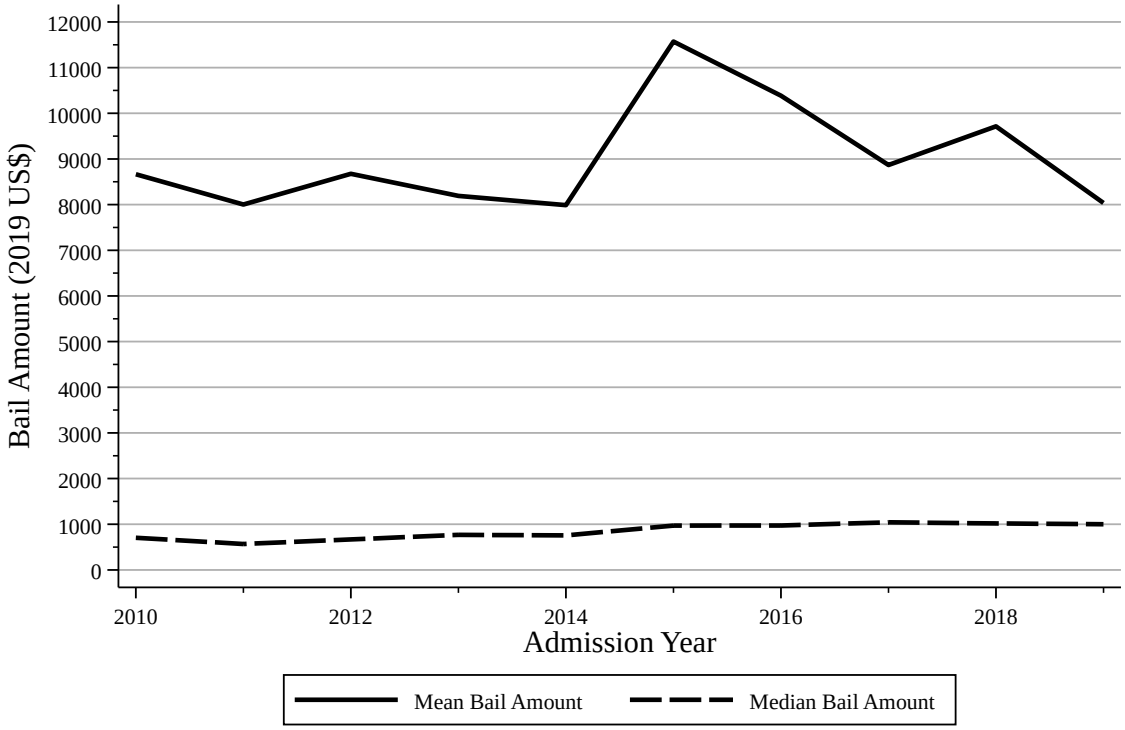
The following analysis describes trends in bail and bond amounts. Bail generally refers to the monetary amount assessed by the judiciary as a condition of release and bond reflects the amount paid as a condition of release.

In the current study, the terms bail and bond are used interchangeably for several reasons. First, bail data are fluid and can change over the life course of a case, as judges may make adjustments to the initial bail. The data system often overrides any bail changes. Second, in some cases, the data only reflect the bond amount paid; therefore, the original bail amount might have been substantively different or no bail might have been set on the initial warrant. It is also not always noted when an individual is eligible for a 10% bond. In addition, bail is traditionally only set on warrants, new crimes, and some probation violations. A bail amount is typically not set for holds, processed/released, sentenced admissions, or other admission types. **In 2019, 69.8% of the individuals admitted to DJS had bail set.**

Figure 20 describes the mean and median bail/bond amount by year, adjusted for 2019 dollars. The mean bail amount began the study period at $8,666, increased to $11,571 in 2015, and then declined to $8,036 in 2019. The median bond amount was $703 in 2010 and increased to $1,000 in 2019.

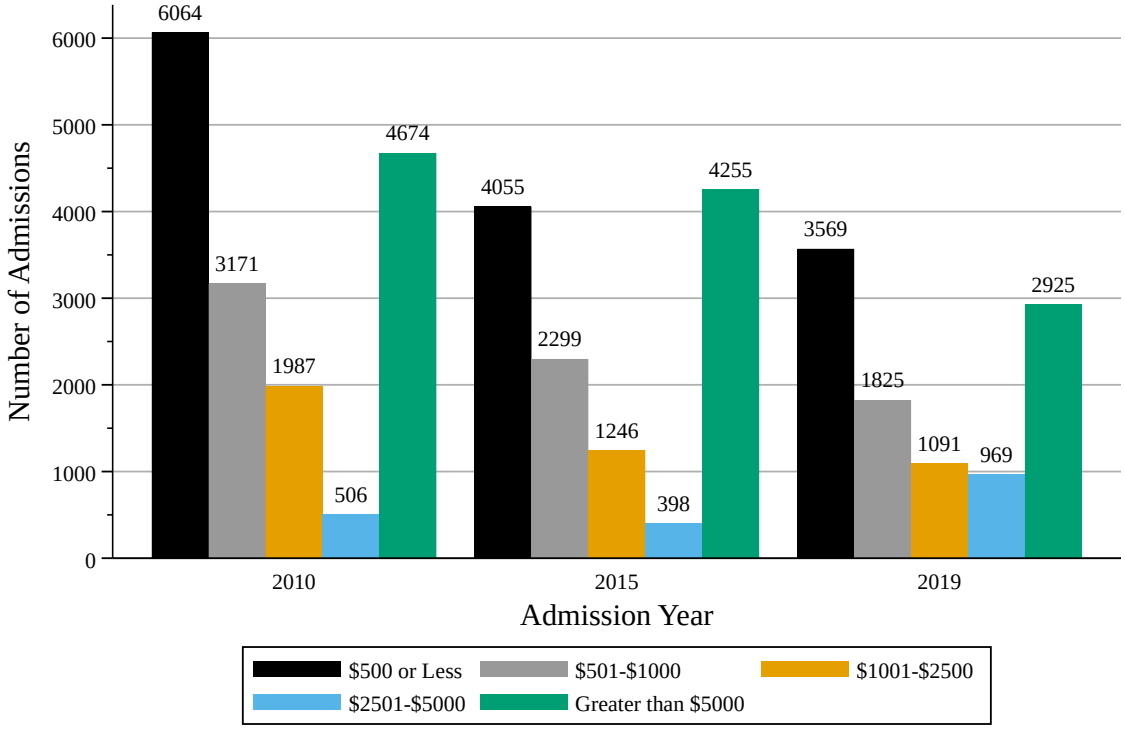
Figure 20a considers the number of admissions by bail amount in 2010, 2015, and 2019. In 2010 and 2019, individuals were most likely to enter jail with a bond of under $500. The second most common group is bonds set at above $5,000, which was the common bond group in 2015. Consistent with the overall reductions in the population, the number of people in each of the bond groups declined over the study period.

Figure 20. Annual Mean and Median Bail/Bond Amount



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 20a. Annual Admissions by Bail/Bond Amount: 2010, 2015, and 2019



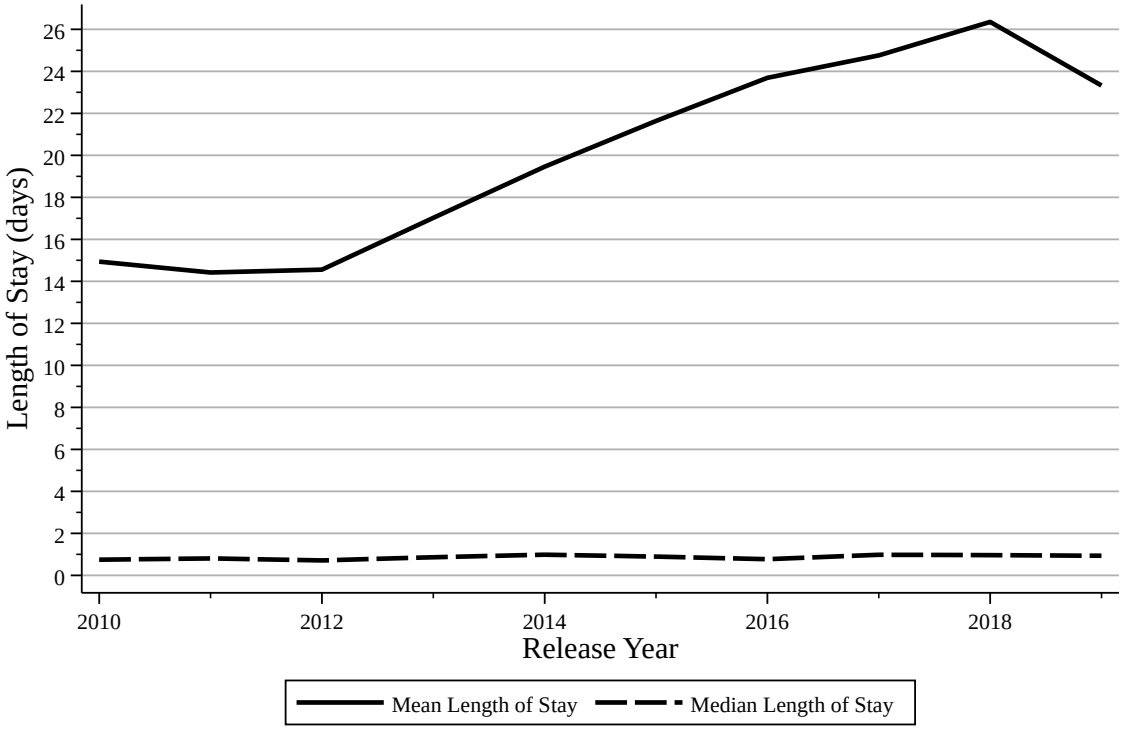
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

LENGTH OF STAY

The following section of the report considers trends and patterns in the length of stay. Length of stay (date and time released - date and time admitted) was conceptualized as a continuous measure. This computation allows for partial days in contrast to the date-only approach (see Appendix A for additional information). Means and medians are presented for each group. In several figures, there are large discrepancies between means and medians which generally indicates that there are a number of cases with particularly long lengths of stay (i.e., outliers), which can distort the means. As such, we present a series of tables that further document the distribution in lengths of stay to provide more insight into those cases with particularly long lengths of stay. The following figures and tables examine the length of stay by the year a person was released instead of when they were admitted.

The average length of stay increased steadily over the study period, albeit there was a small decline in 2019. As depicted in Figure 21, **the average length of stay for a person booked in jail slowly increased from a low of 14.4 days in 2011 to a high of 26.4 days in 2018, after which there was a small decline to 23.3 days. The average length of stay increased 77% from 2010 to 2018, which represents an increase in the length of stay of approximately twelve days**. From 2010 to 2019, length of stay increased from 14.9 days to 23.3 days, a change of 56.4%. The median length of stay remained consistently under one day. Similar to the average length of stay, there was a general increase in median length of stay from a low of 0.71 days in 2012 to a high of 1 day in 2017, which was followed by a slight decline in 2019.

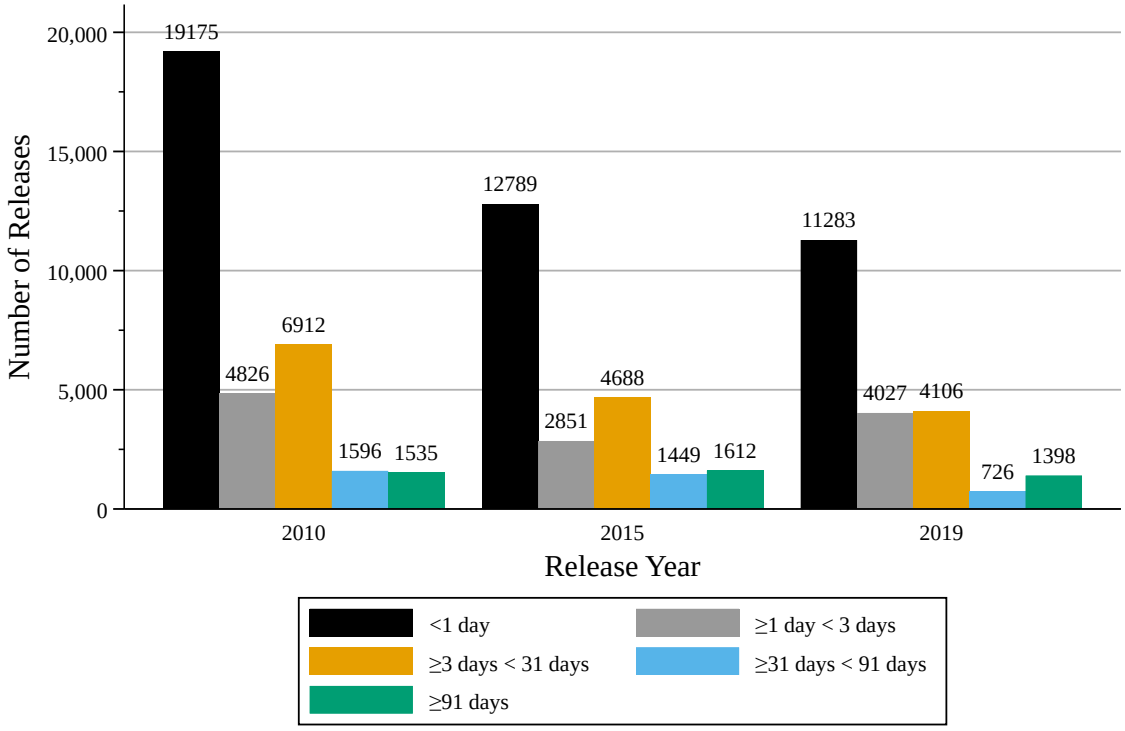
Figure 21. Mean and Median Length of Stay



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

A second way of understanding the length of stay is to document the distribution of persons admitted. Figure 22 further disaggregates the length of stay for three study periods, 2010, 2015, and 2019, and Table 6 documents the number of individuals detained with long lengths of stay (i.e., more than 90 days).

Figure 22. Length of Stay by Year: 2010, 2015, and 2019



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

In 2010, 2015, and 2019 the majority of individuals admitted into jail stayed less than 24 hours. Individuals who had a length of stay between 3 and 30 days were the second largest group. The number of individuals who had a length of stay of one to three days was relatively consistent across the study period. Also, 1,596 individuals spent between 31 and 90 days in jail in 2010, but this group decreased by over half to 726 in 2019. Finally, the number of individuals who spent more than 90 days in jail was relatively stable over time. The results suggest that at least part of the decline in the jail population came from individuals who spent less than one day in jail, but there remains a relatively stable group of individuals with long lengths of stay, operationalized as over 90 days.

Table 6 further disaggregates the length of stay for individuals who spent more than 90 days in jail. Although the number of people with long stays was relatively stable over time, there were slight changes in the distribution of these individuals across the length of stay categories. The number of people in each group declined as the length of stay increased. The most common length of stay was the 91-180 days group, and the percentage of admissions with lengths of stay that fell in this category peaked in 2015. 2015 also saw the greatest percentage of cases in the net highest group, 180 to 365 days. **The number of people who were incarcerated for more than a year more than doubled between 2010 and 2019. Notable also is the increase in the number of people detained in the 540+ group, which doubled between 2015 and 2019**. It is important to note that while the frequencies for people staying in jail 91 or more days is relatively low compared to the total number of individuals who enter the jail daily, these individuals use a significant amount of resources due to their long lengths of stay. We explore this issue in greater detail in Part II of this report where we examine bed days.

Table 6. Individuals who spent more than 90 days in jail

	Release Year Frequency (Percent)		
Length of Stay Categories (days)	2010	2015	2019
91-<180	812 (2.4)	833 (3.6)	563 (2.6)
180-<365	564 (1.7)	600 (2.6)	503 (2.3)
365-<540	90 (0.3)	100 (0.4)	163 (0.8)
540-<730	41 (0.1)	41 (0.2)	90 (0.4)
730+	28 (0.1)	38 (0.2)	79 (0.4)

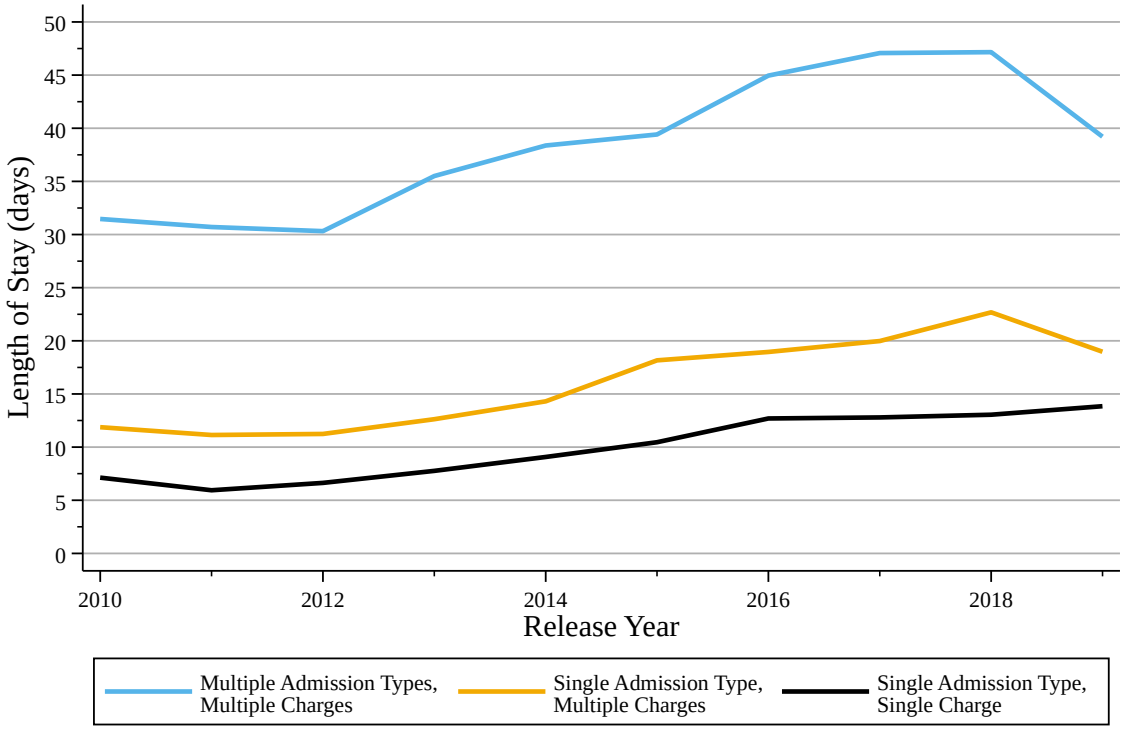
ADMISSION TYPES AND CHARGE CHARACTERISTICS

The next set of analyses looks at the intersection of admission types, charge characteristics, and length of stay. As noted, local jails house individuals for different admission types, many of which have unique case processing requirements or are governed by specific case processing rules. The following analyses consider these unique patterns and processes. Figures 23 and 23a divide admissions into three groups: admissions with a single admission type, single charge; admissions with a single admission type, multiple charges; and admissions with multiple admission types, multiple charges (see Appendix A).

In 2019, individuals with multiple charges and admission types had the longest length of stay (39.2 days), and the difference in length of stay was nearly double that of other groups.

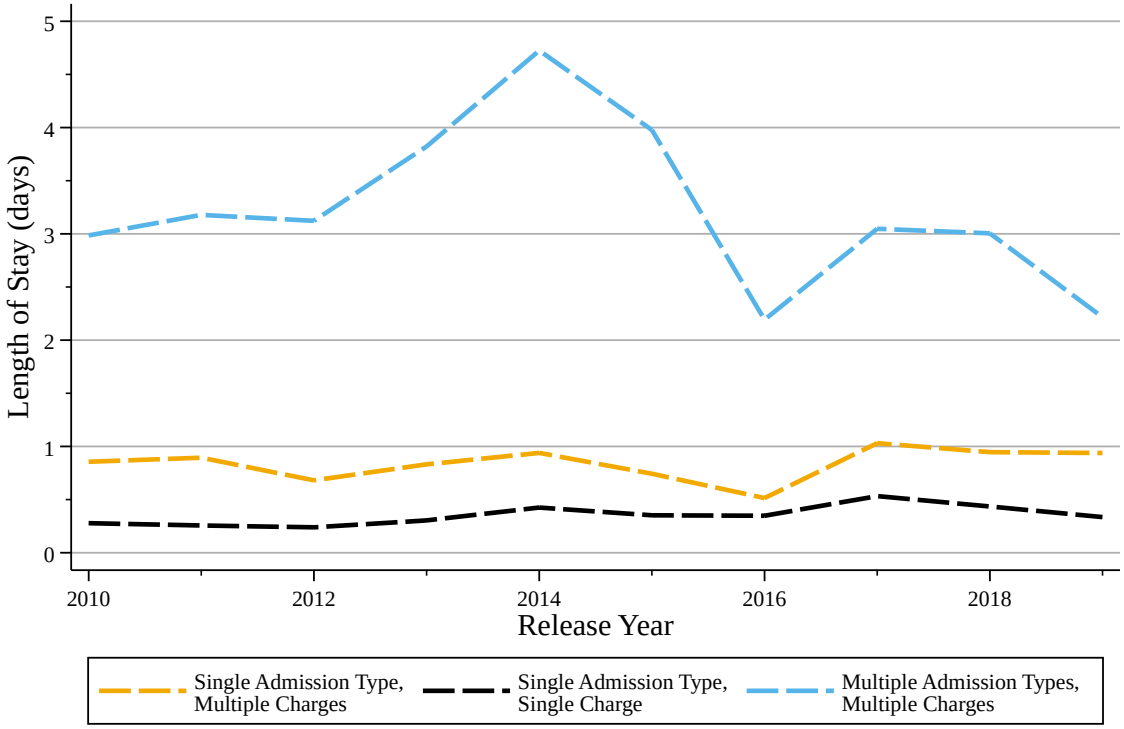
The mean and median length of stay increased for all groups except the median length of stay for multiple admissions with multiple charges. **From 2010 to 2019, for people with multiple admissions types for multiple charges, the mean length of stay increased by 25%, approximately 7 days (see Table 7). Further, the mean length of stay for single admissions with multiple charges increased by 7 days. The single admission type, single charge group increased, on average, by 6 days.** The change in the median lengths of stay from 2010 to 2019 was not substantively large, although it fluctuated between approximately 2 to 5 days for the multiple admission type, multiple charge group.

Figure 23. Mean Length of Stay by Admission Types and Charges



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 23a. Median Length of Stay by Admission Types and Charges



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 7. Mean and Median Length of Stay for Admission Types and Charges

	Mean			Median		
Admission Types and Charges	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Percent Change in Days**	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Percent Change in Days**
Multiple Admission Types, Multiple Charges	31.5	39.2	25%	3.0	2.2	-26%
Single Admission Type, Multiple Charges	11.9	19.0	60%	0.9	0.9	10%
Single Admission Type, Single Charge	7.1	13.8	94%	0.3	0.3	21%

Table 8 further considers the length of stay by the number of admission and charge types in 2019 using a categorical length of stay variable. As the number of admission types and charges increases, the length of stay also increases. For the single admission and charge type group, 67% of individuals admitted to jail were released in less than 24 hours. A little over half (52%) of admissions for a single admission type and multiple charges were released in less than one day, and 37% of the multiple admission and charge group was released within one day. **Overall, the vast majority of all individuals were released in less than 31 days for all groups** (94%, 93%, and 83%, respectively). Individuals with multiple admission types and multiple charges were more likely to experience a longer length of stay than any other admission or charge category.

Table 8. Number of Admissions by Length of Stay Categories and Admission and Charge Types, Release Year 2019

	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Admission and Charge Type	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
Single Admission Type, Single	4,543	711	1,101	180	104	104	38	15	6,796
Single Admission Type, Multiple Charges	4,374	2,197	1,215	179	155	152	61	58	8,391
Multiple Admission Types, Multiple Charges	2,366	1,119	1,790	367	304	247	64	96	6,353
Total	11,283	4,027	4,106	726	563	503	163	169	21,540

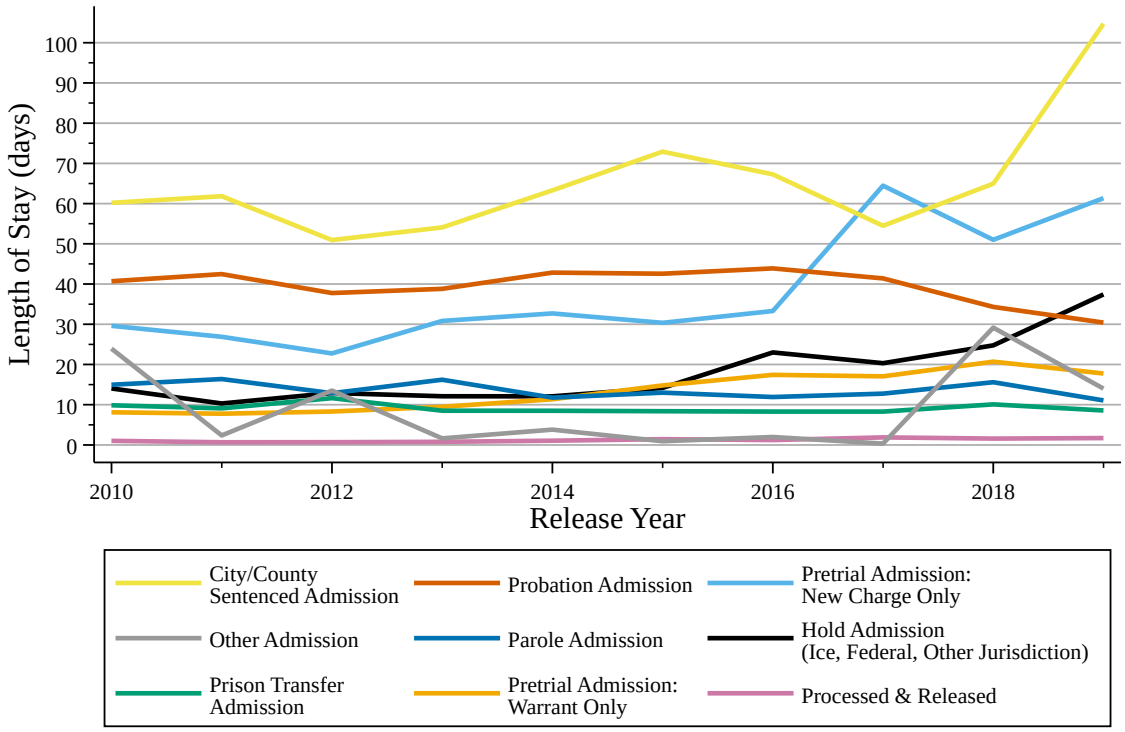
Single and Multiple Admission Types

Next, we explore the average length of stay for persons booked on a single admission type by their release year (see Appendix A). Figures 24 and 24a display the length of stay by admission type for bookings with only one admission type from 2010 to 2019. Figures 25 and 25a display the top six combinations of admission types that resulted in the longest lengths of stay. Only individuals who were booked on multiple admission types are included in this graphical display (see Appendix A).

For individuals with a single admission type, those who were booked into jail for a city or county sentence had the longest average length of stay. The average length of stay for this group increased by 45 days (75%) over the study period from 60.2 to 104.7 (See Table 9)**.** The median length of stay also increased 193% from 28.5 to 83.3 days. Individuals who entered jail for a probation violation (single

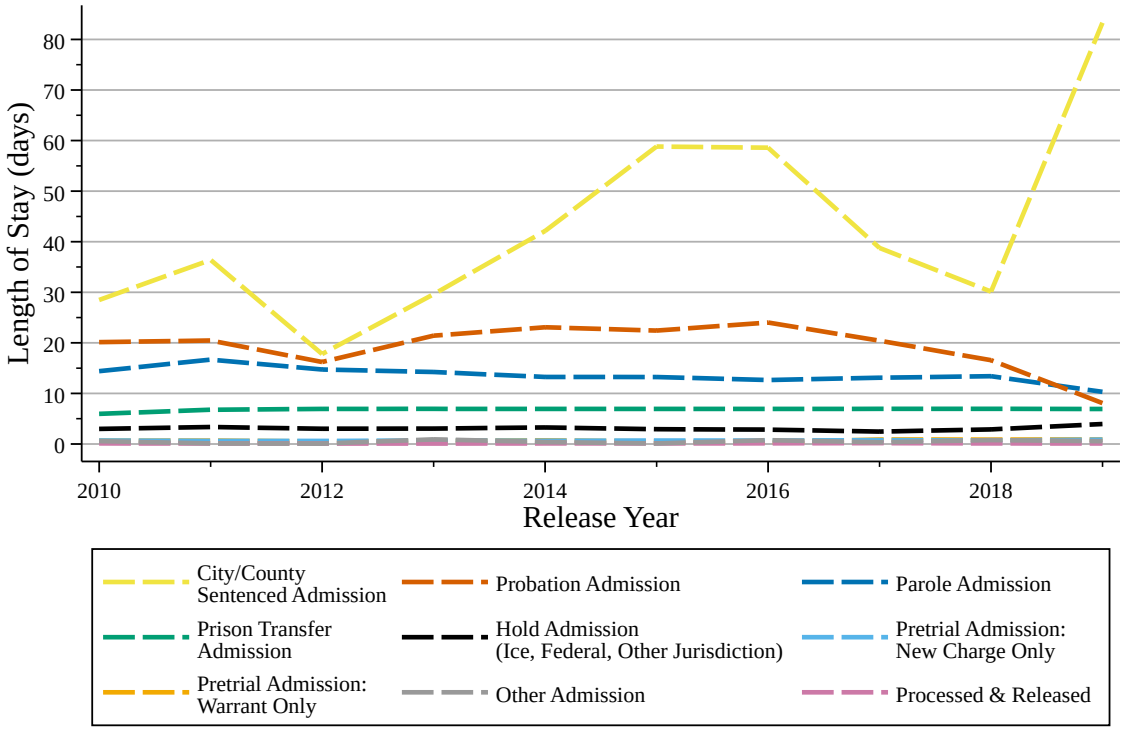
admission type) had the second-longest length of stay until 2017 when the parole violation group surpassed this group. **The average length of stay for the probation group declined by 25% over the study period.** Among admissions with single admission types, the average length of stay for the pretrial admission group with a new charge also increased 107% from 29.6 to 61.3 days. Of note, the average length of stay for pretrial admissions with a warrant doubled from 8.1 to 17.8 days.

Figure 24. Mean Length of Stay for Single Admission Types



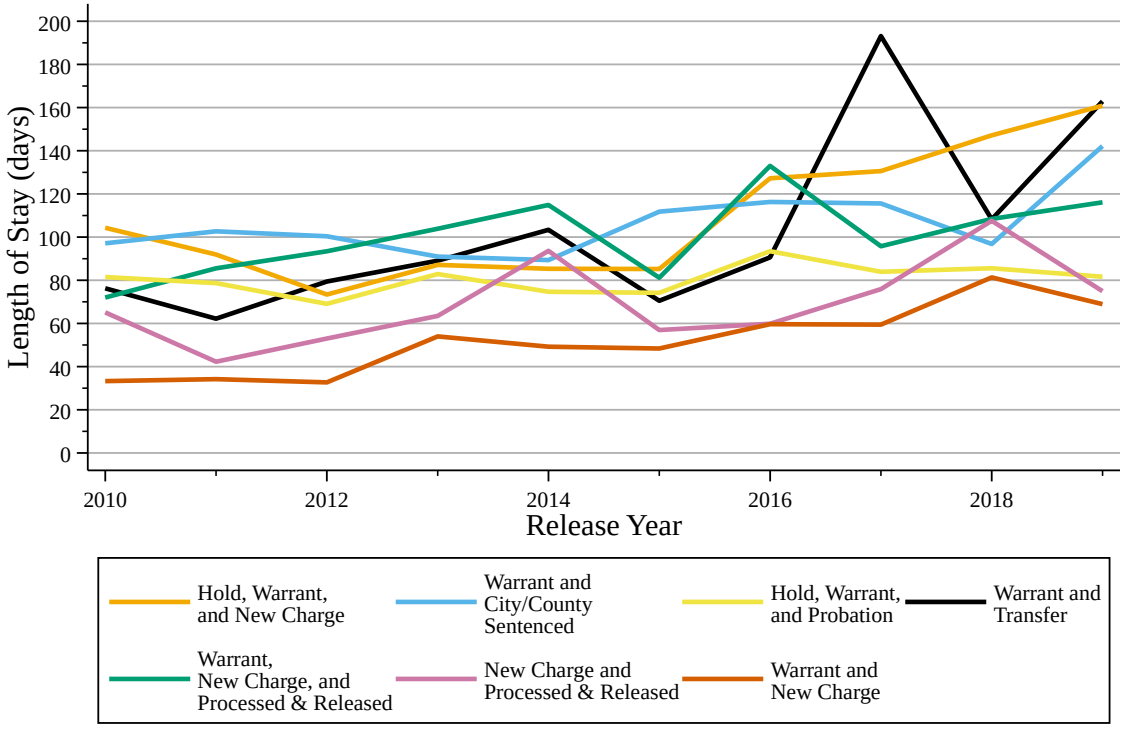
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 24a. Median Length of Stay for Single Admission Types



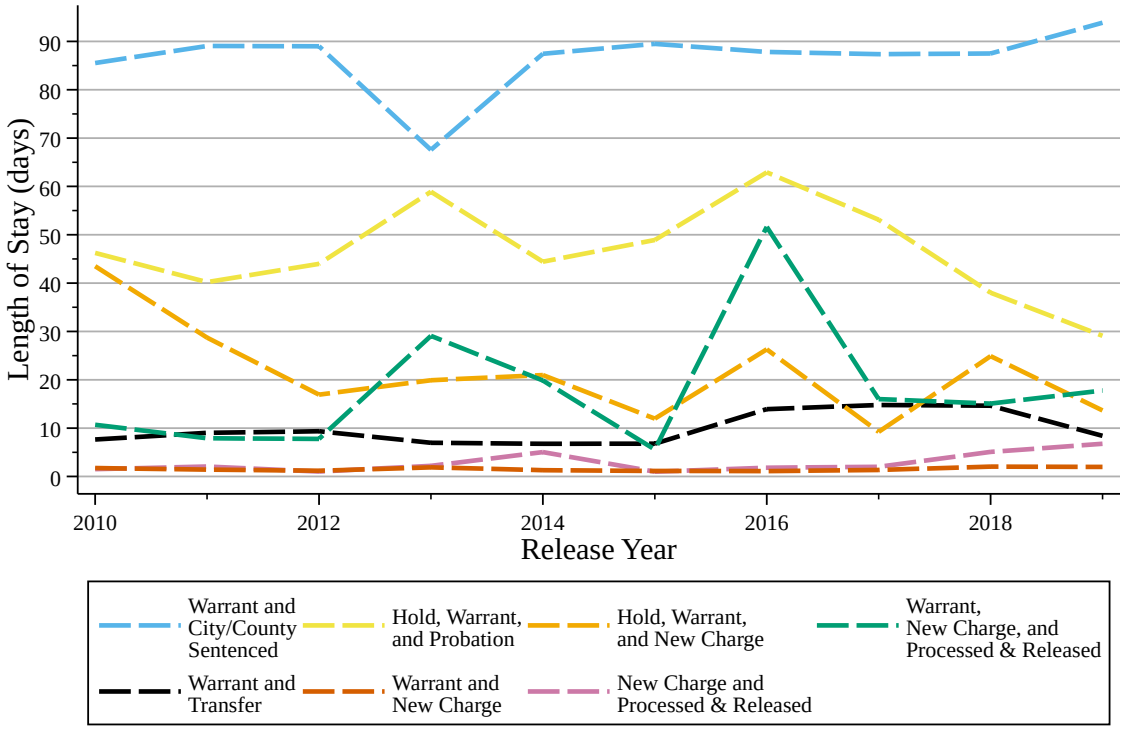
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 25. Mean Length of Stay for Multiple Admission Types



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 25a. Median Length of Stay for Multiple Admission Types



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 9. Mean and Median Length of Stay for Admission Types, 2010 and 2019

	Mean			Median		
	2010	**2019**	**Change in Days**	**2010**	**2019**	**Change in Days**
Single Admission Types						
City/County Sentenced	60.2	104.7	74%	28.5	83.3	193%
Probation Admission	40.7	30.4	-25%	20.1	8.1	-60%
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	29.6	61.3	107%	0.7	0.8	26%
Other Admission	23.9	14.0	-42%	0.6	0.6	-2%
Parole Admission	15.0	11.1	-26%	14.4	10.3	-28%
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	14.0	37.4	167%	3.0	3.9	33%
Prison Transfer Admission	9.9	8.6	-13%	6.0	6.9	16%
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	8.1	17.8	119%	0.6	0.9	39%
Processed & Released	1.0	1.7	70%	0.1	0.1	-14%
Multiple Admission Types						
Hold, Warrant, and New Charge	104.3	160.9	54%	43.5	13.7	-69%
Warrant and City/County Sentenced	97.1	142.2	46%	85.5	93.9	10%
Hold, Warrant, and Probation	81.5	81.6	0%	46.2	29.1	-37%
Warrant and Transfer	76.3	162.9	114%	7.7	8.4	10%
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	72.0	116.1	61%	10.7	17.8	66%
New Charge and Processed & Released	65.1	75.0	15%	1.5	6.8	348%
Warrant and New Charge	33.3	69.0	107%	1.7	2.0	13%

Table 10 includes categorical information on the length of stay for individuals with a single or multiple admission type. **In total, 59% of individuals admitted to jail in 2019 were released within 24 hours, and 93% of all individuals admitted for a single admission type were released within 31 days of admission.** Very few people (less than 2%) with one charge type spent more than 180 days in jail.

As anticipated, individuals who were admitted under the processed and released category, which primarily includes 24-hour holds, had the shortest lengths of stay. Almost all (92%) of processed and released individuals have a length of stay of less than one day. Individuals who are transferred to prison mostly (98%) stay for 31 days or less.

Individuals who are held for transfer to another jurisdiction (such as ICE or a federal agency) have a generally longer length of stay. Only 25% of these individuals have a length of stay of less than a day. There is considerable variation in the length of stay among individuals admitted on pretrial detention with a warrant. In total, 54% of this group was released within a day, but 6% spent more than 180 days in jail.

Table 10. Length of stay by Single and Multiple Admission Types, Release Year 2019

	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Single Admission Type	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	5,033	2,451	1,221	166	174	178	74	51	9,348
Processed & Released	3,280	164	89	14	10	3	1	1	3,562
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	166	134	255	38	16	44	14	0	667
Probation Admission	77	87	274	74	32	14	1	2	561
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	244	27	73	22	11	11	7	16	411
Parole Admission	18	10	127	1	0	1	0	0	157
Prison Transfer Admission	84	30	262	11	1	0	0	0	388
City/County Sentenced Admission	7	5	13	33	14	5	2	3	82
Other Admission	8	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	11
Total Single Admission Types	**8,917**	**2,908**	**2,316**	**359**	**259**	**256**	**99**	**73**	**15,187**
Multiple Admission Types									
Hold, warrant, and New Charge	9	13	23	6	8	11	2	8	80
Warrant and City/Count Sentenced	0	0	3	14	10	6	1	1	35
Hold, Warrant, & Probation	2	8	70	27	24	10	2	4	147
Warrant Transfer	0	1	19	0	2	3	2	4	31
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	19	18	44	13	15	14	5	10	138
New Charge and Processed & Released	42	6	35	5	4	5	3	5	105
Warrant & New Charge	164	93	101	24	21	27	6	20	456
All Other Multiple Admission Types	2,130	980	1,495	278	220	171	43	44	5,361

Top Charge Severity and Category

Figures 26 and 26a display the mean length of stay trends for the top charge type. Figures 27 and 27a display the trends for median and mean length of stay by the most serious charge associated with each person released from jail. Table 11 displays the overall reductions in length of stay for both groups.

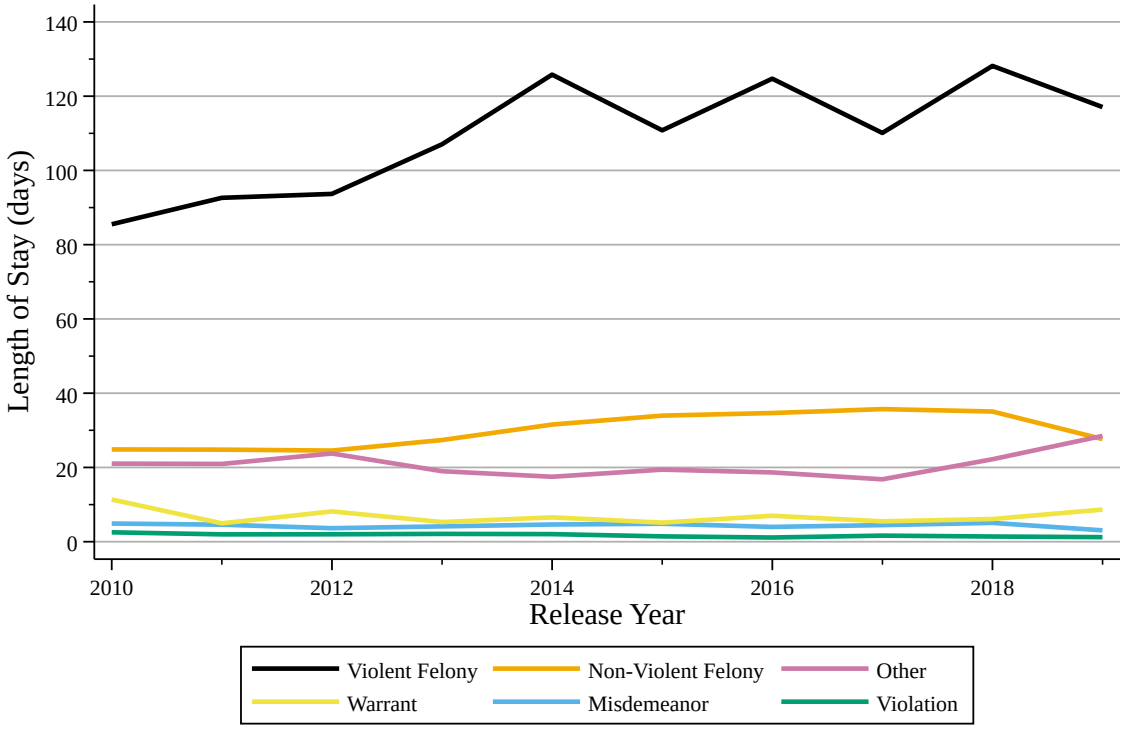
Individuals booked on violent charges had the longest length of stays, and the number of days spent in jail increased by 37% over the study period. The mean length of stay for individuals with a violent charge was 85.5 days in 2010 and 117.1 in 2019. The median length of stay for this group more than doubled (115% increase) from 4.3 to 9.3 days.

Individuals who had a non-violent crime as their top charge also spent considerable amounts of time in jail. On average, individuals with a non-violent felony charge spent 24.9 days in jail in 2010 and 27.7 days in 2019, an 11% increase. There were smaller decreases in the average length of stay for the warrant, misdemeanor, and violation groups.

Individuals booked into jail for a person-related offense had among the longest lengths of stay. Individuals with a person-related charge spent an average of 33.0 days in jail in 2010 and 58.7 days in 2019, representing a 78% increase.

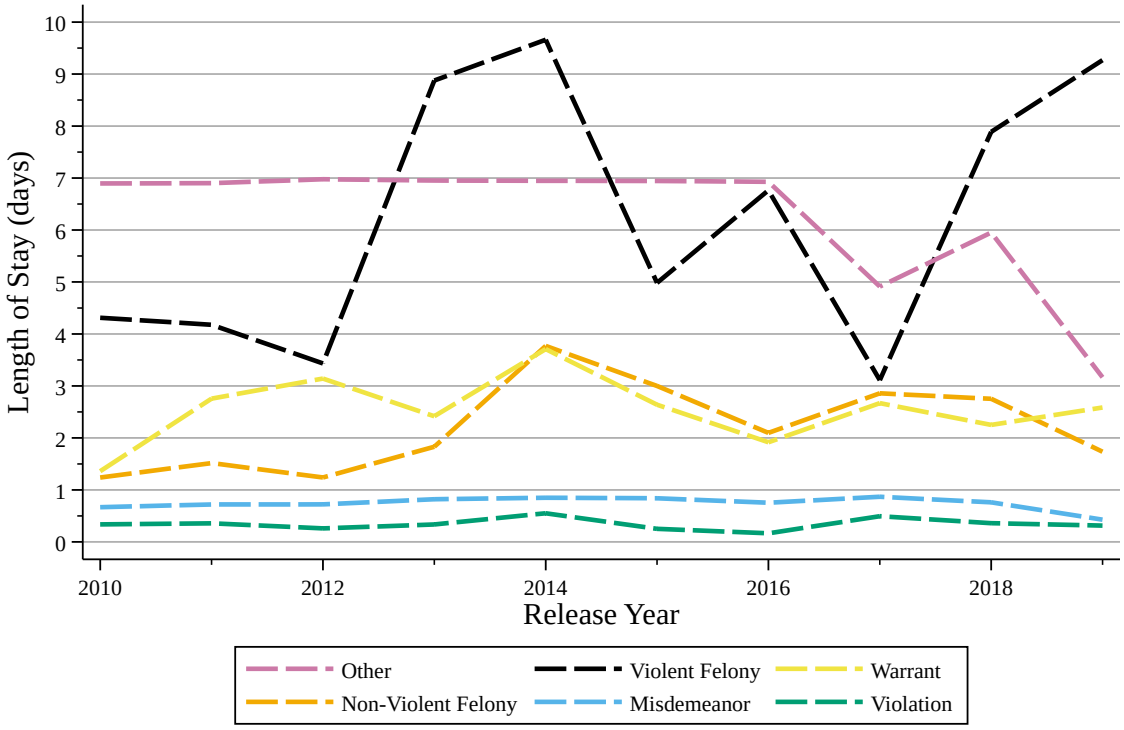
There were smaller increases (19%) in the average length of stay among persons charged for a property crime. The average length of stay for weapons-related offenses increased the most over the study period (79%) from 14.4 days in 2010 to 25.8 in 2019. The median length of stay for weapons offenses more than doubled, from 0.4 days to 1 day.

Figure 26. Mean Length of Stay by Top Charge Severity



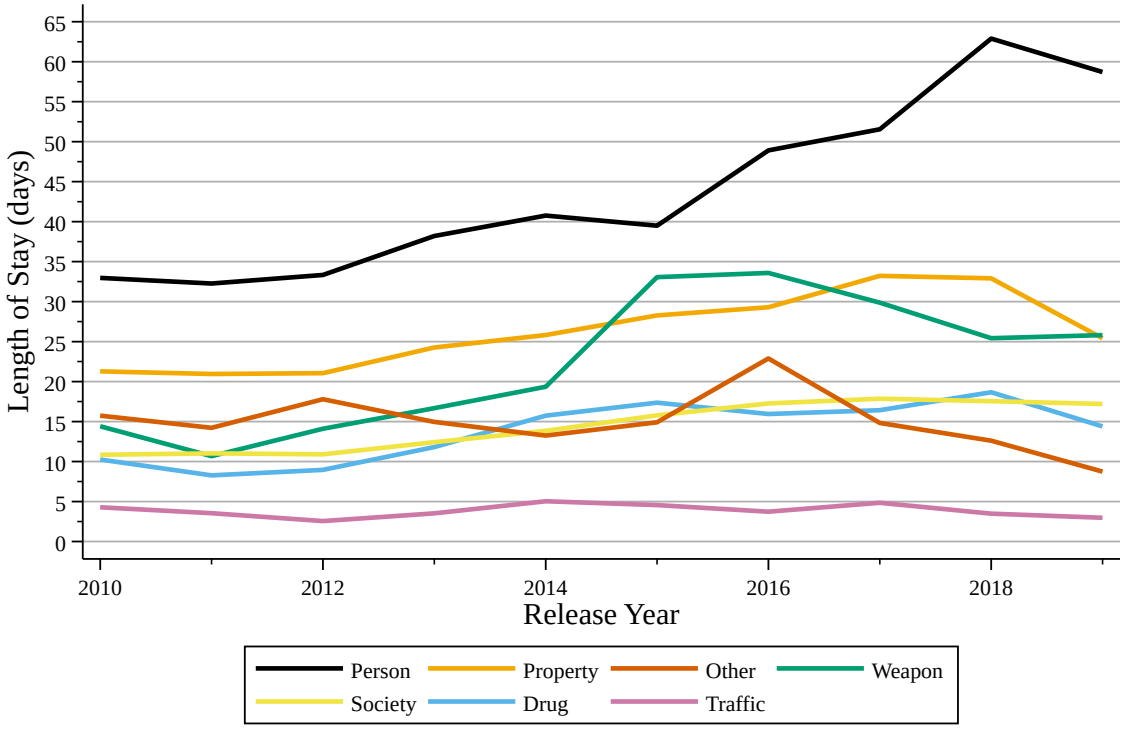
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 26a. Median Length of Stay by Top Charge Severity



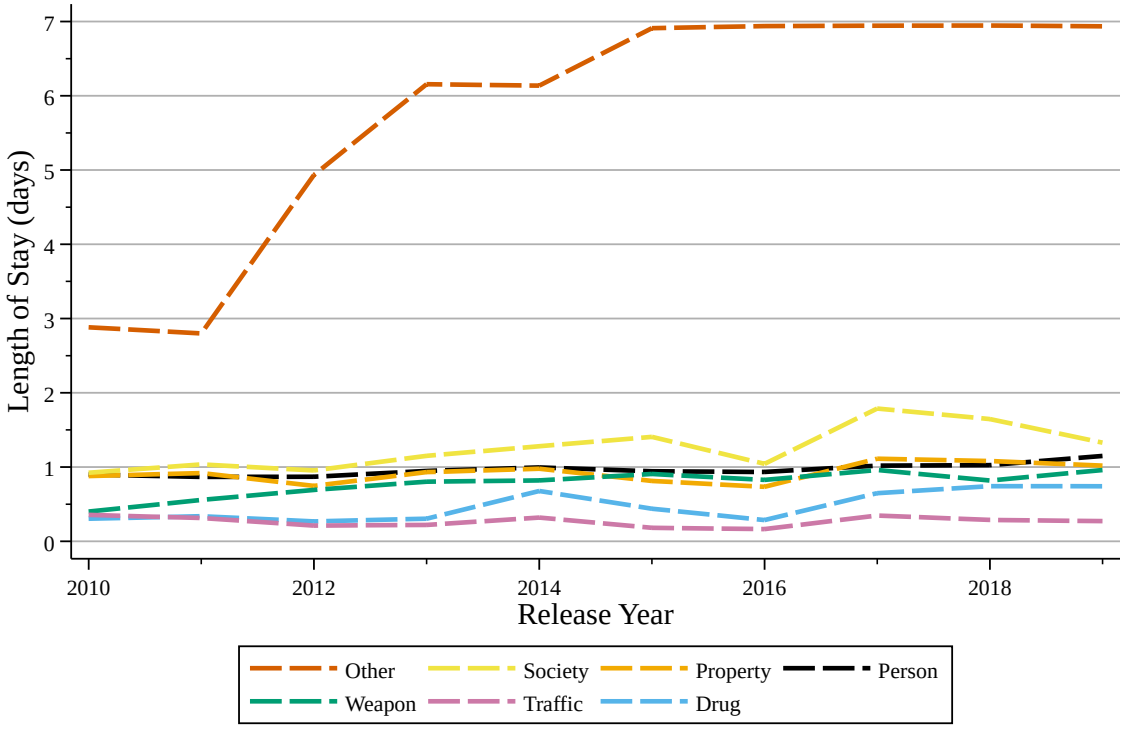
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 27. Mean Length of Stay by Top Charge Category



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 27a. Median Length of Stay by Top Charge Category



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 11. Length of Stay by Top Charge Severity and Category, 2010 and 2019

	Mean			Median		
Top Charge Severity	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Day**	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Day**
Violent Felony	85.5	117.1	37%	4.3	9.3	115%
Non-Violent Felony	24.9	27.7	11%	1.2	1.7	40%
Other	21.0	28.5	35%	6.9	3.2	-54%
Warrant	11.4	8.7	-24%	1.4	2.6	90%
Misdemeanor	4.9	3.1	-38%	0.7	0.4	-36%
Violation	2.5	1.2	-51%	0.3	0.3	-7%
Top Charge Category						
Person	33.0	58.7	78%	0.9	1.2	28%
Property	21.3	25.4	19%	0.9	1.0	16%
Other	15.7	8.7	-44%	2.9	6.9	141%
Weapon	14.4	25.8	79%	0.4	1.0	140%
Society	10.8	17.2	59%	0.9	1.3	44%
Drug	10.3	14.4	40%	0.3	0.7	144%
Traffic	4.3	3.0	-31%	0.4	0.3	-24%

Table 12 further considers the length of stay by top charge severity and offense category in 2019. **Individuals charged with violent felonies had the longest lengths of stay with 19% of this group spending more than 180 days in jail. With few exceptions, individuals with felony charges were the only individuals held for over one year, and 7% of this group spent more than 540 days in jail.** In contrast, 93% of individuals admitted to jail for a violation and 89% of individuals admitted for a misdemeanor were released in less than three days. Individuals with a violent felony charge were released before 1 day for 29% of cases; compared with 42% for a non-violent felony, 68% for a misdemeanor, 70% for a violation, 33% for a warrant, and 30% for an "other" charge severity who were released in under one day.

In addition, **individuals with person-related offense charges had some of the longest lengths of stay with 9.6% of this group detained for more than 180 days.** Individuals charged with traffic offenses were the most likely to be released in less than one day with 72% in this group, compared with 47% of individuals charged with crimes against persons. In total, 69% of individuals admitted with a property charge were released before three days, while almost one quarter (24%) stayed between 31 and 91 days. In total 77% of people admitted to jail for drug crimes and 65% of people admitted for crimes against society had a length of stay of fewer than 3 days. For "other" designations, most (66%) individuals had a length of stay between 3 and 31 days.

Table 12. Length of Stay by Top Charge Severity and Category, Release Year 2019[xxxvii]

	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Top Charge Severity	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
Violent Felony	546	192	458	150	161	135	88	133	1,863
Non-Violent Felony	3,590	1,357	2,353	491	376	314	61	34	8,576
Misdemeanor	1,700	525	251	17	3	8	0	1	2,505
Violation	5,019	1,657	492	10	3	3	0	0	7,184
Warrant	121	79	160	5	0	5	0	0	370
Other	283	188	351	52	19	38	14	1	946
Total	**11,259**	**3,998**	**4,065**	**725**	**562**	**503**	**163**	**169**	**21,444**
Top Charge Category									
Person	1,580	478	627	159	158	140	71	108	3,321
Property	2,969	1,173	1,190	212	197	183	45	44	6,013
Drug	1,876	623	505	89	82	71	8	4	3,258
Weapons	189	50	71	28	10	15	4	0	367
Society	2,246	988	1,270	209	107	87	32	11	4,950
Traffic	2,312	660	161	17	7	7	3	2	3,169
Other	85	26	241	11	1	0	0	0	364
Total	**11,257**	**3,998**	**4,065**	**725**	**562**	**503**	**163**	**169**	**21,442**

RELEASE TYPES

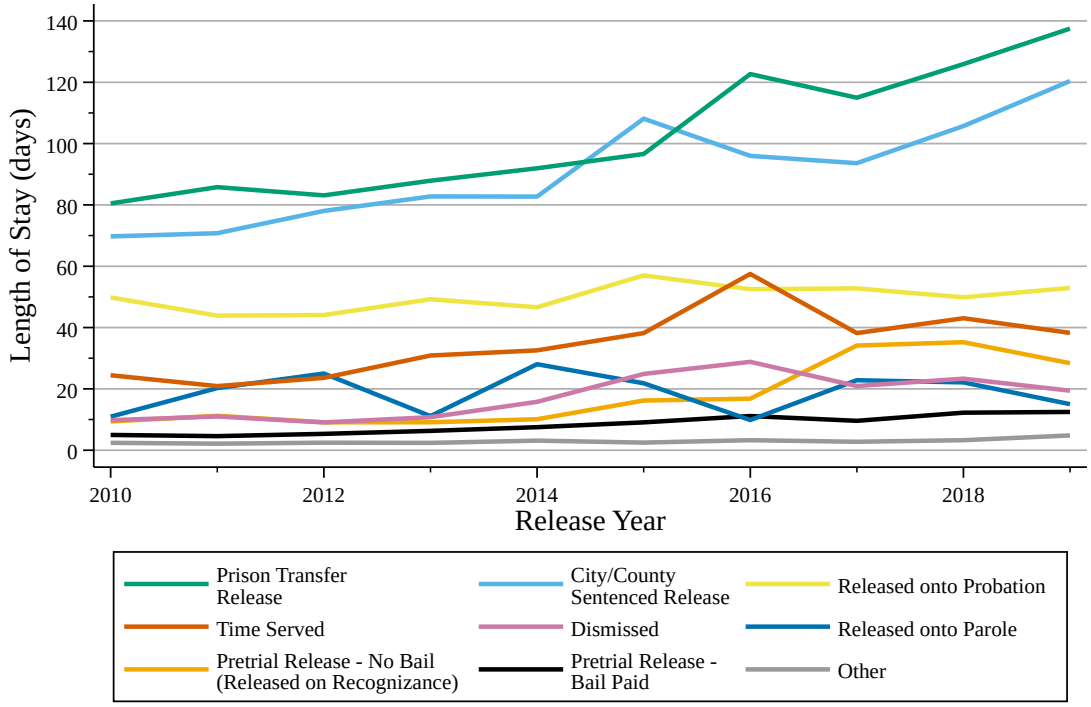
The final section examines how release type is associated with lengths of stay. Figure 28 describes the mean length of stay by the type of release and Figure 28a displays the median length of stay by type of release. **Individuals who were transferred to prison had among the longest lengths of stay**, and the time spent in jail among this group slowly increased over the study period. In 2010, individuals discharged to prison spent 80.8 days in jail and this same group spent 137.5 days in jail at the end of the study period, a 70% increase in the length of stay (see also Table 13). Conversely, the median length of stay for the prison transfer group declined 27% from 22.9 days in 2010 to 16.6 days, although there was substantial variation in the length of stays among this group.

The sentenced jail population also spent a considerable and increasing amount of time in jail during the study period. The average length of stay for this group was 69.7 days in 2010 and 123.6 days in 2019, a 77% increase. The median length of stay also grew steadily, an almost three-fold increase from 29.9 to 87.1 days, which represents an increase of 191%.

The length of stay for the probation release group varied little over the study period. The mean length of stay varied from 51.4 days in 2010 to 52.9 in 2019. The median length of stay in 2010 was 26.7 days and declined to 17.0 days in 2019.

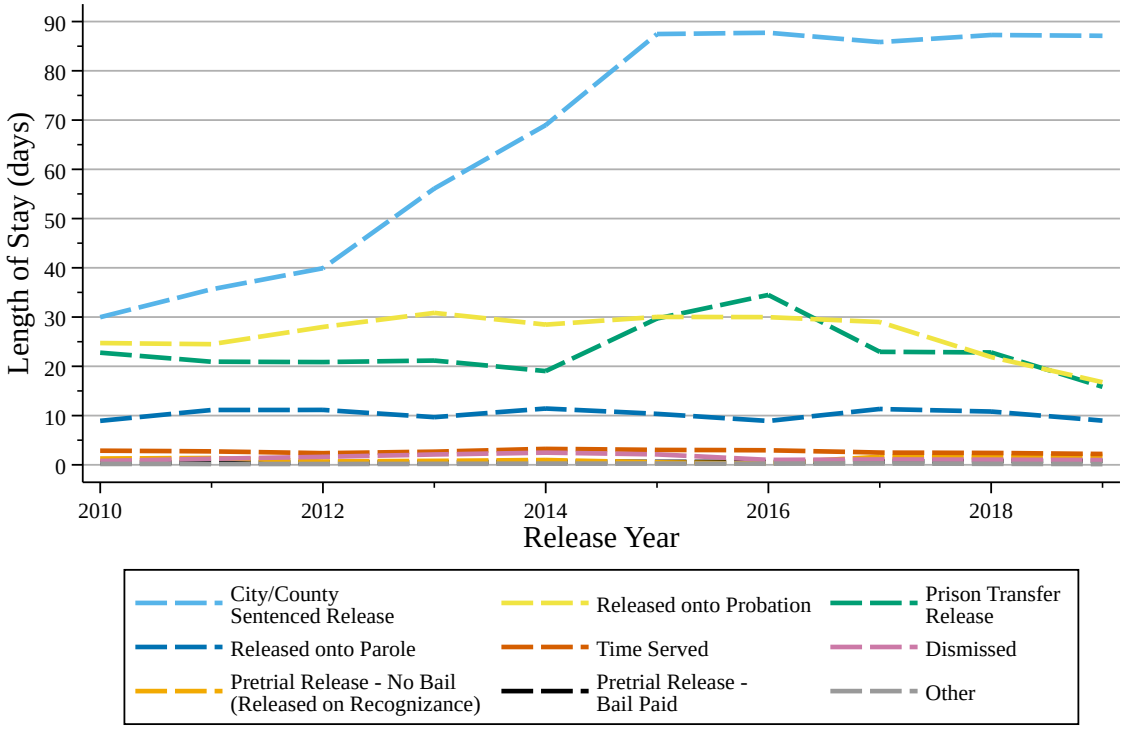
The length of stay for individuals released on pretrial increased over the study period. Individuals who were released without bail, often on their recognizance, spent 9.3 days, on average, in 2010 and 28.3 days in 2019, a 203% increase (see table 13). **Individuals released on pretrial with bail spent less time incarcerated than those who did not pay bail.** The average length of stay for this group increased by 151% over the study period from 5.0 days in 2010 to 12.5 days in 2019. The median was consistently under one day, but varied between 0.5 days in 2010 to 0.8 days in 2019, a 75% increase.

Figure 28. Mean Length of Stay by Release Type



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 28a. Median Length of Stay by Release Type



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 13. Length of Stay by Release Type, 2010 and 2019

	Mean			Median		
Release Type	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Days**	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Days**
Prison Transfer Release	80.8	137.5	70%	22.9	16.6	-27%
City/County Sentenced Release	69.7	123.6	77%	29.9	87.1	191%
Released onto Probation	51.4	52.7	3%	26.7	17.0	-36%
Time Served	28.5	42.6	49%	3.2	2.7	-14%
Dismissed	23.1	28.5	23%	2.3	1.4	-41%
Released onto Parole	19.0	16.1	-15%	9.2	9.0	-1%
Pretrial Release – No Bail	9.3	28.3	203%	1.3	1.8	39%
Pretrial Release – Bail Paid	5.0	12.5	151%	0.5	0.8	75%
Other	3.9	7.5	94%	0.2	0.2	14%

Several important themes emerged for 2019, which are highlighted in Table 14. In total, 93% of individuals released pretrial with bond paid, and 87% of individuals released pretrial without bail were released in 30 days. Conversely, 1.5% of individuals who paid bond spent more than 180 days in jail; 5% of individuals released on recognizance were in this group. Individuals with city or county sentences are released after longer periods; most (60%) stay between 31 and 180 days, and 20% stay for longer than 180 days.

Table 14. Length of Stay by Release Type, Release Year 2019

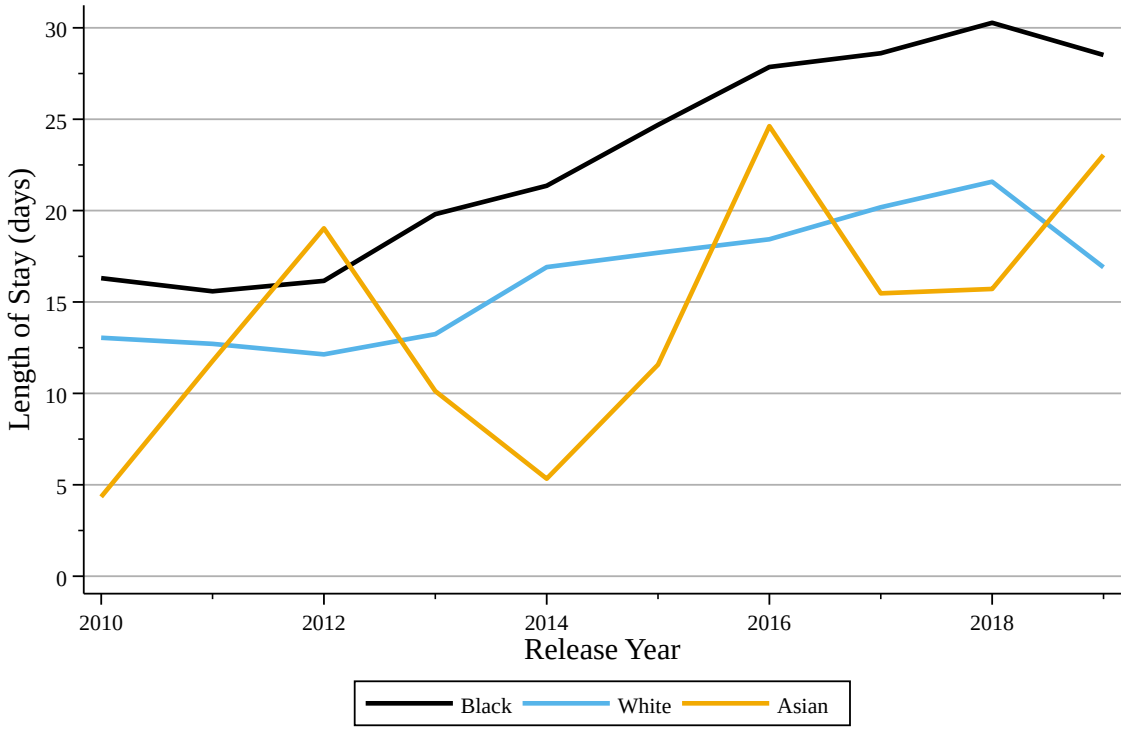
	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Release Type	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
Pretrial Release, Bail Paid	2,503	798	1,063	154	73	37	15	16	4,659
Pretrial Release, No Bail	1,567	1,448	1,061	195	169	180	33	35	4,688
City/county sentenced release	7	4	15	48	28	19	5	1	127
Prison transfer release	6	17	536	103	48	60	62	77	909
Released onto Probation	9	24	285	70	44	27	4	4	467
Release onto Parole	1	7	119	1	1	2	0	0	131
Time served	463	739	392	68	135	95	17	18	1,927
Dismissed	1,056	538	234	41	46	39	10	15	1,979
Other	5,671	452	401	46	19	44	17	3	6,652
Total	**11,283**	**4,027**	**4,106**	**725**	**563**	**503**	**163**	**169**	**21,540**

DEMOGRAPHICS

Race

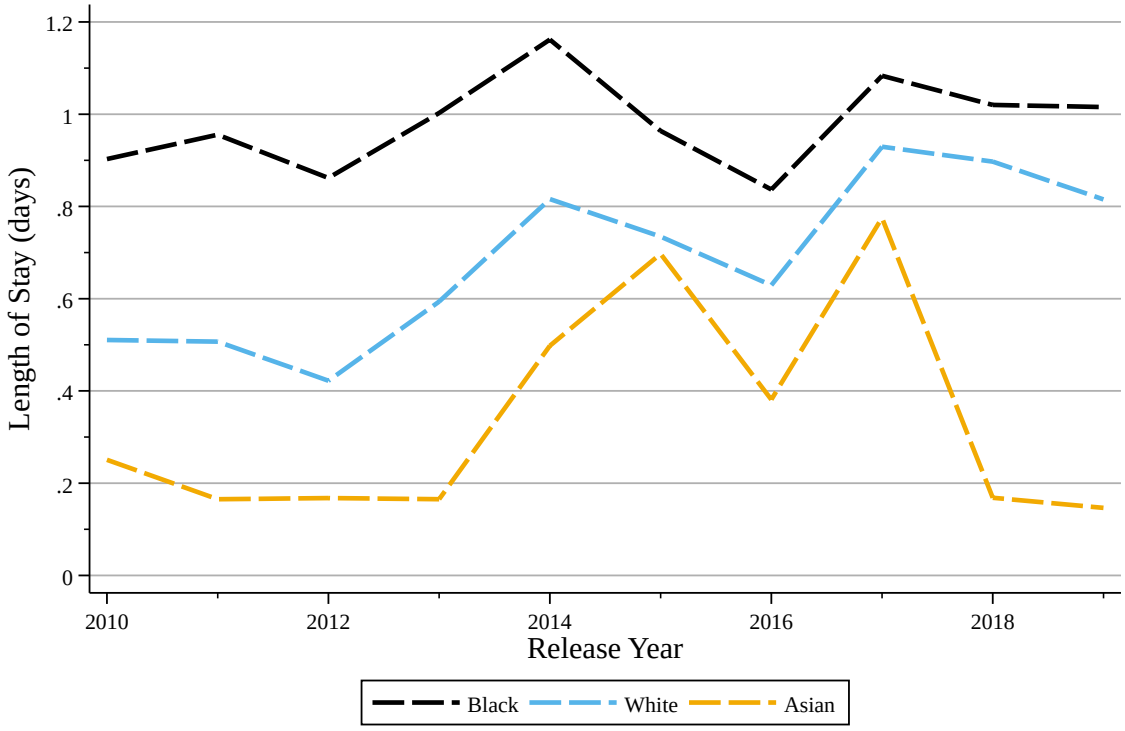
Figure 23 represents the mean length of stay by race over the study period, while Figure 23a presents the median. **There is a substantial disparity in the average length of stay among Black and White persons. The average length of stay for Black persons increased 75% over the study period growing from 16.3 days in 2010 to 28.5 days in 2019.** In comparison, the average length of stay for White persons increased by 30% during the same period. The median length of stay was also higher for Black persons and ranged between 0.9 and 1.2 days; the median length of stay for White persons varied between 0.5 and 0.9 days during the same time. The number of non-Hispanic Asian people booked into the jail is relatively small, which helps explain the large fluctuations in the mean and median for this group.

Figure 29. Mean Length of Stay by Race



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 29a. Median Length of Stay by Race



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 15 provides further context into the length of stay analysis. In 2019, 57% of White persons were released within 1 day, compared to 50% of Black persons. In addition, 5% of Black persons spent 180 days or more in jail compared to 2.5% of White persons. Asian individuals mostly (71%) left within 1 day; 7% stayed between 1 and 3 days, 9% stayed between 3 and 31 days, and 13% stayed for 31 days or more.

Table 15. Length of Stay by Race, Release Year 2019

	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Race	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
White	5,530	1,590	1,853	308	230	172	39	41	9,583
Black	5,888	2,433	2,246	416	330	330	123	128	11,894
Asian	39	4	5	2	3	1	1	0	55
Other	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
Total	11,283	4,027	4,106	726	563	503	163	169	21,540

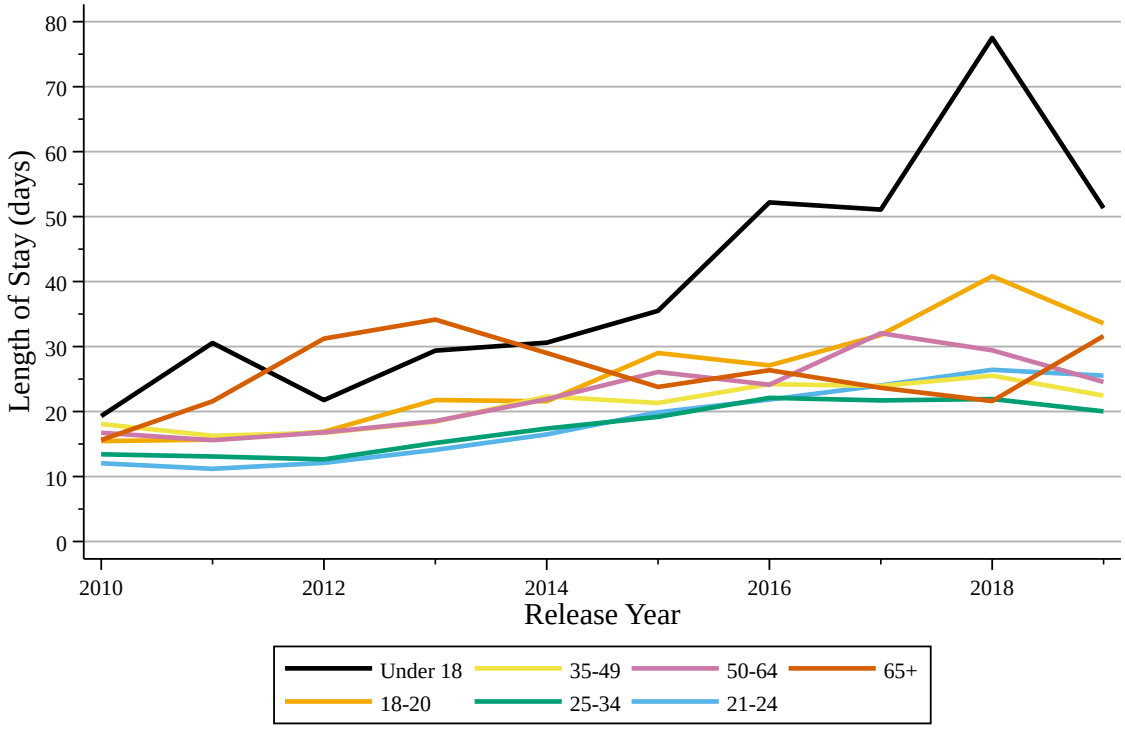
Age

Figure 30 highlights the mean length of stay by age group, and Figure 30a displays the median. **Individuals booked into jail who were under the age of 18 had among the longest average lengths of stay.** In Missouri, the age of majority is 17; therefore, this group includes persons who are considered adults and those who are considered by the courts as juveniles but charged in adult courts. **Individuals under the age of 18, had a mean length of stay of 19.3 days in 2010 and 51.3 days in 2019, a 166% increase** (see Table 18). The median length of stay for this group ranged between 0.2 and 0.4 days.

The average length of stay for individuals in the 18-20 and 21-24 year-old group doubled over the study period. For the 18-20 year-old group, the length of stay increased from 15.5 days in 2010 to 33.6 days in 2019, and the median length of stay was relatively stable ranging between 0.6 and 0.8 days. For individuals in the 21-24 age group, the mean length of stay was 12.0 days in 2010 and increased to 25.5 in 2019, and the median increased from 0.7 days to 0.9 days during this period.

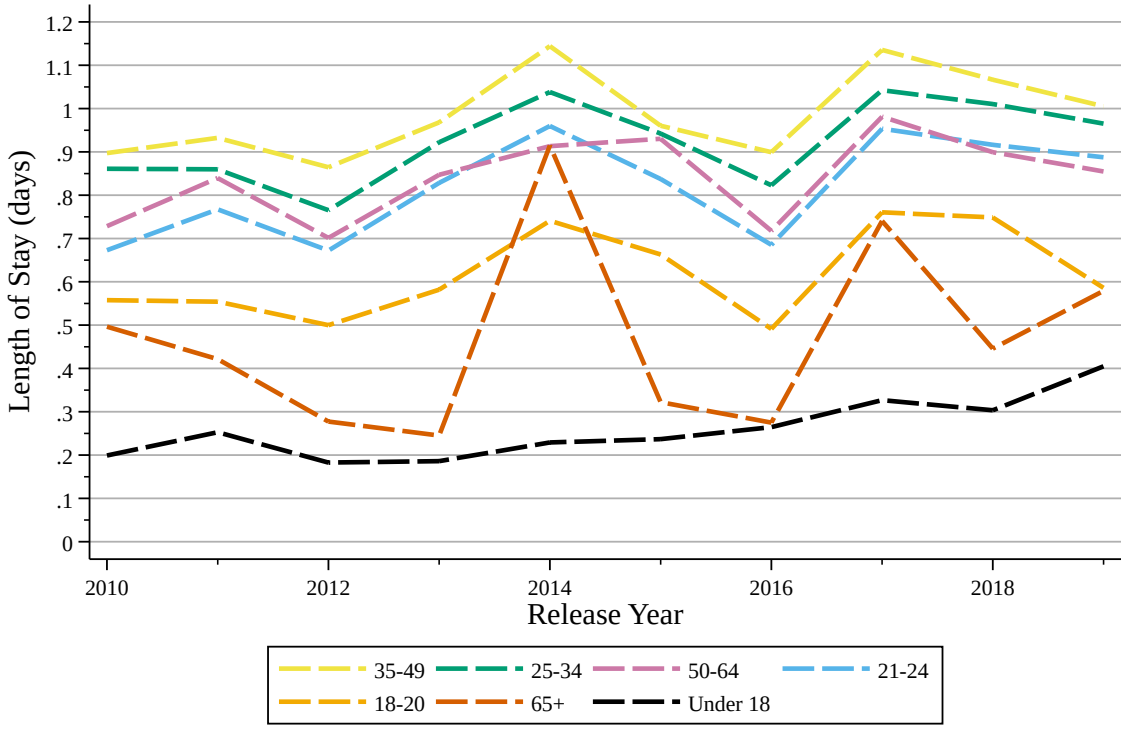
The increase in the length of stay over the study period was smaller for the 25-34 age group at 49%. The mean length of stay for the 50-64 age group increased at a similar rate (47%). Individuals in the 35-49 age group only had moderate growth in the average length of stay, increasing 24% over the study period. The median length of stay for these groups started and ended the study period at less than one day.

Figure 30. Mean Length of Stay by Age Group



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 30a. Median Length of Stay by Age Group



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

As displayed in Table 16, the patterns in the length of stay by age in 2019 were similar for most age groups, with some small differences between the older and younger age groups. In all age groups, at least half of individuals stayed for less than 1 day. For all individuals over 20 years old, 15-20% stayed 1-3 days, 16-21% stayed between 3 and 31 days, and 10-12% stayed longer than 31 days. For those under 18 years old, 66% stayed for less than one day, 8% between 1 and 3 days, 13% between 3 and 31 days, and 13% greater than 31 days. Length of stay values are similar for those 18-20 years old.

Table 16. Length of Stay by Age Groups, Release Year 2019

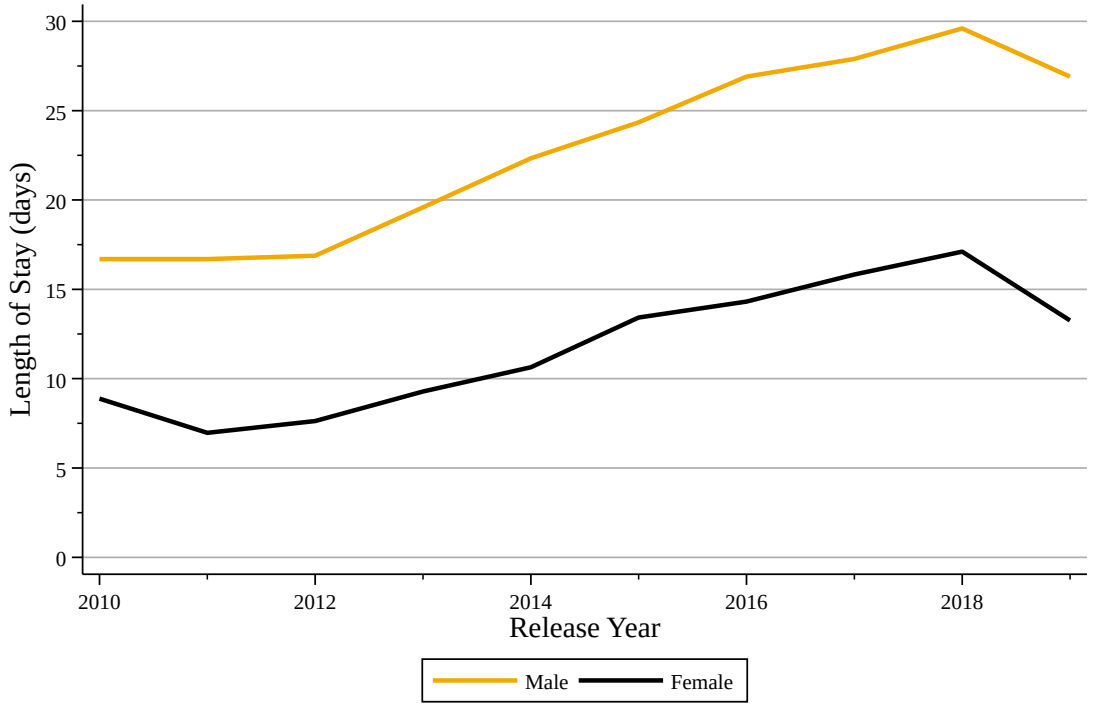
	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Age	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
Under 18	208	24	41	10	8	11	2	13	317
18-20	888	194	197	43	47	40	19	23	1,451
21-24	1,629	592	485	87	92	60	29	33	3,007
25-34	4,400	1,724	1,708	281	208	182	53	48	8,604
35-49	3,103	1,163	1,332	234	158	159	43	38	6,230
50-64	967	307	318	67	46	45	15	12	1,777
65+	88	23	25	4	4	6	2	2	154
Total	**11,283**	**4,027**	**4,106**	**726**	**563**	**503**	**163**	**169**	**21,540**

Sex

Figures 31 and 31a show the trends for length of stay by mean and median, respectively. **Males had longer average lengths of stay than their female counterparts.** Males had a mean length of stay of 16.7 days in 2010 that increased 26.9 days in 2019. The average length of stay for females increased from 8.9

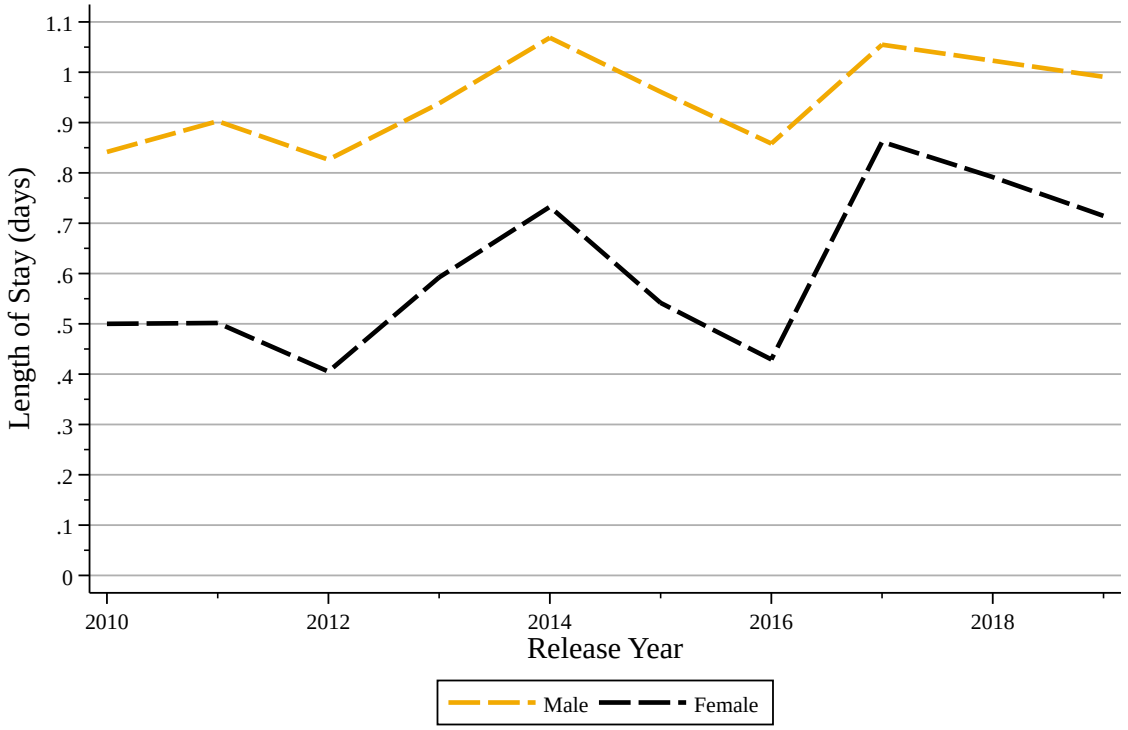
to 13.3 days during this time. The average length of stay increased by 49% for males and 61% for females. The median lengths of stay for both groups were less variable and were generally under one day.

Figure 31. Mean Length of Stay by Sex



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 31a. Median Length of Stay by Sex



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 17 extends the consideration of the length of stay by sex. In total, 50% of males were released in one day compared with 58% of females. In contrast, 4.5% of men were detained for 180 days or more compared to 2% of females.

Table 17. Length of Stay by Sex, Release Year 2019

	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Sex	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
Male	7,989	2,944	3,188	590	458	427	148	147	15,891
Female	3,294	1,083	918	136	105	76	15	22	5,649
Total	11,283	4,027	4,106	726	563	503	163	169	21,540

Table 18. Length of Stay by Race, Age, and Sex, 2010 and 2019

	Mean			Median		
	2010	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Days**	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Days**
Race						
Black	16.3	28.5	75%	0.9	1.0	12%
White	13.0	16.9	30%	0.5	0.8	60%
Asian	4.3	23.0	431%	0.3	0.1	-42%
Age						
Under 18	19.3	51.3	166%	0.2	0.4	103%
35-49	18.1	22.5	24%	0.9	1.0	12%
50-64	16.7	24.6	47%	0.7	0.9	17%
65+	15.6	31.6	102%	0.5	0.6	17%
18-20	15.5	33.6	117%	0.6	0.6	5%
25-34	13.4	20.0	49%	0.9	1.0	12%
21-24	12.0	25.5	112%	0.7	0.9	32%
Sex						
Male	16.7	26.9	61%	0.8	1.0	18%
Female	8.9	13.3	49%	0.5	0.7	43%

BAIL/BOND

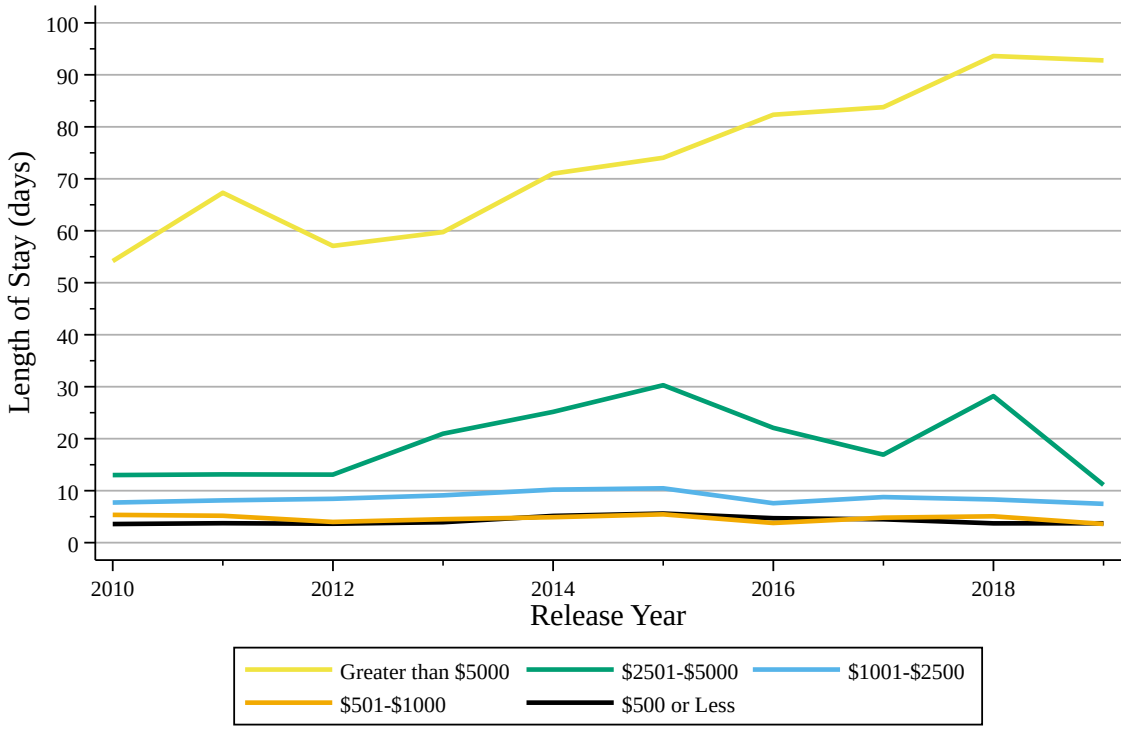
The following figures and tables present information on the length of stay for individuals who entered the jail and had a bail set at some point in the criminal proceedings. In 2019, 69.8% of the individuals admitted had bail set. For individuals with a bail set, Figure 32 highlights the mean length of stay and Figure 32a highlights the median length of stay. As noted, in the current study, the terms bail and bond are used interchangeably because the current data system does not differentiate between bail set by the judge and bond paid. Bail/bond was subdivided into the following categories: $500 or less, $501-1,000, $1,001 to $2,500, $2,501-$5,000, and more than $5,000.

Individuals who had higher bail amounts had the longest lengths of stay and, as in the previous analysis, the average length of stay for most groups increased over time. **Individuals with a bail amount of more than $5,000 had the longest lengths of stay. There was a 71% increase in the average length of stay among this group from 54.2 days in 2010 to 92.8 days in 2019** (see Table 19)**.** The median length of stay increased from 3.5 days in 2010 to 11.8 in 2019.

Persons with a bail set at between $2,501 and $5,000 had lengths of stay that varied from year-to-year, but were shorter in 2019 (mean = 11.1 days, median = 1.9 days) compared to 2010 (mean = 13.0 days, median = 2.9). The average length of stay for individuals with bail set at between $1,000 and $2,500 was relatively steady, and a similar pattern emerged for persons with bail between $500 and 1,000.

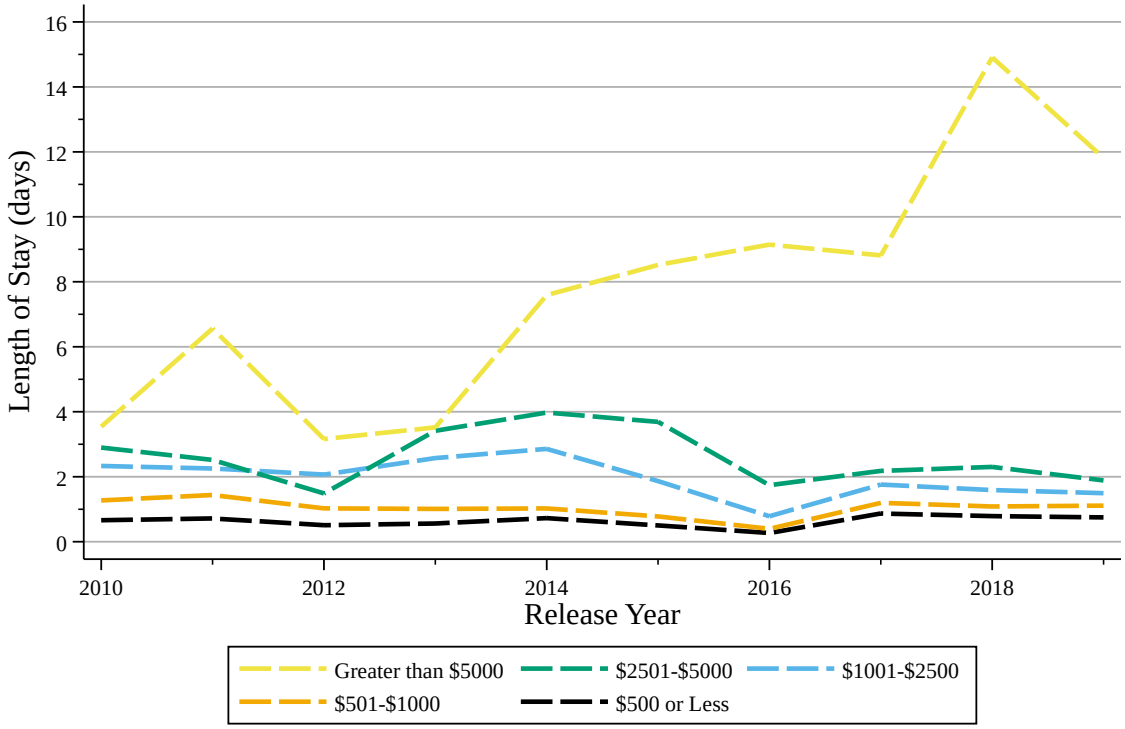
Individuals with a bail set at $500 or less had the shortest lengths of stay, and their average length of stay remained almost unchanged, beginning the study at 3.6 days and ending at 3.7 days. The median length of stay for this group was consistently under one day.

Figure 32. Mean Length of Stay by Bail/Bond Amount



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 32a. Median Length of Stay by Bail/Bond Amount



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 19. Length of Stay by Bail/Bond Amount, 2010 and 2019

	Mean			Median		
Bail Amount	**201 0**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Days**	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Change in Days**
$500 or less	3.6	3.7	4%	0.7	0.7	13%
$501-$1,000	5.3	3.6	-33%	1.3	1.1	-13%
$1,001-$2,500	7.7	7.5	-3%	2.3	1.5	-36%
$2,501-$5,000	13.0	11.1	-15%	2.9	1.9	-35%
Greater than $5,000	54.2	92.8	71%	3.5	11.8	234%

Table 20 describes the categorical length of stay by bail/bond amount. **In total, 59% of individuals with $500 or less in bail/bond were released within one day, compared with 17% of individuals with more than $5,000 bail/bond. Among persons with a bail/bond set, with few exceptions, individuals with more than a $5,000 bail/bond were the only persons who spent 180 days or more in jail.**

Table 20. Length of Stay by Bail/Bond Amount, Release Year 2019

	Length of Stay Categories (days)								
Bail Amount	<1	1-<3	3-<31	31-<91	91-<180	180-<365	365-<540	540+	Total
$500 or less	2,109	1,033	407	24	19	16	1	0	3,609
501–$1,000	833	751	231	16	8	4	0	1	1,844
$1,001–$2,500	382	494	204	13	6	8	1	2	1,110
2,501–$5,000	332	266	320	51	14	4	3	0	990
≥$5,000	605	503	1,348	381	381	358	128	152	3,856
Total	4,261	3,047	2,510	485	428	390	133	155	11,409

LENGTH OF STAY AND THE INTERSECTION OF CHARGE CATEGORIES AND ADMISSION TYPES

The last exploration of length of stay looks at the intersection of admission types and charge characteristics. The following tables consider the mean and median length of stay for admission types and charges for the year 2019 only. In several of the tables, there are large discrepancies between means and medians which generally indicates that there are several cases with particularly long lengths of stay (i.e., outliers), which can distort the means. In addition, a number of the comparisons are based on small sample sizes that may further skew the numbers presented.

Table 21 examines the mean and median length of stay for persons booked into jail with single and multiple admission types by the top charge severity. **For cases with a single admission, individuals with violent felonies consistently have a longer median length of stay regardless of admission type. Within violent felony cases, prison transfers have the longest median length of stay (209 days), followed by "other" admission types (146 days) and probation admissions (128 days); however, very few people (11 in 2019) were in the "other' admission type group.** A similar pattern emerges for admissions with multiple admission types: Individuals with a violent felony as their top charge have the longest median lengths of stay.

Non-violent felonies are generally associated with the next-longest median length of stay after violent felonies, although for some admission types (processed & released, hold for federal or other jurisdiction, pretrial admission with a new charge) "other" charge severity is related to longer median lengths of stay.

Table 21: Average and Median Length of Stay by Single Admission Types, Multiple Admission Types, and Top Charge Severity, *Release Year 2019*

	Top Charge Severity					
Single Admission Type	Violent Felony	Non-Violent Felony	Misdemeanor	Violations	Warrant	Other
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	128.4(11.5)	31.2(2.3)	3.0(0.8)	1.4(0.6)	1.5(.7)	-
Processed & Released	85.6(1.2)	12.0(0.2)	1.0(0.1)	.7(0.1)	2.7(2.0)	7.9(1.8)
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	203.6(86.5)	41.6(5.2)	5.6(2.2)	5.2(2.6)	11.4(4.1)	118.5(40.2)
Probation Admission	169.5(128.3)	41.0(12.3)	36.2(1.5)	18.0(4.5)	-	-
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	161.4(20.8)	35.1(1.1)	13.1(0.9)	.7(0.4)	-	10.8(10.8)
Parole Admission	66.9(18.5)	23.0(11.9)	9.4(2.2)	-	-	-
Prison Transfer Admission	310.6(208.9)	43.4(7.2)	11.9(12.3)	8.4(8.4)	27.0(27.0)	8.7(6.9)
City/County Sentenced Admission	146.4(119.3)	151.7(88.3)	83.6(28.5)	22.5(4.0)	-	1.9(1.0)
Other Admission	184.0(146.4)	70.6(29.2)	4.8(0.5)	49.6(1.8)	-	7.6(0.9)
Multiple Admission Types						
Hold, warrant, and New Charge	252.9(112.6)	55.3(4.7)	-	3.7(3.7)	-	-
Warrant and City/County Sentenced	115.9(118.8)	160.8(88.2)	26.0(26.0)	3.2(3.2)	-	-
Hold, Warrant, & Probation	268.9(173.6)	61.9(24.4)	-	62.7(62.7)	-	-
Warrant Transfer	299.1(208.9)	19.3(6.3)	12.3(12.3)	8.4(8.4)	-	-
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	169.8(44.9)	49.2(3.7)	-	0.6(.6)	-	-
New Charge and Processed & Released	110.3(12.9)	43.2(0.9)	6.6(.2)	0.2(0.2)	-	-
Warrant & New Charge	130.7(12.7)	27.7(1.1)	36.2(1.5)	0.7(0.4)	-	-

Note: Mean followed by median length of stay in parenthesis

In Table 22, we again look at single and multiple admission types but instead explore the top charge category. **Person charges are consistently associated with longer lengths of stay (generally both median and mean) for all single type admissions, with the notable exception of weapons charges for parole admissions.** The length of stay for city or county sentenced admissions is relatively long across groups except for individuals with a top charge for a society offense, and across almost all charge types, this group had the longest length of stay. **Across all offense categories, individuals with probation admissions also had some of the longest lengths of stay.**

Table 22. Average and Median Length of Stay Length of Stay by Single Admission Types, Multiple Admission Types, and Top Charge Category, *Release Year 2019*

	Top Charge Category						
Single Admission type	Person	Property	Drug	Weapons	Society	Traffic	Other
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	65.3 (2.1)	28.5(1.4)	16.8(1.1)	27.7(1.4)	12.6(1.0)	5.4 (0.4)	-
Processed & Released	32.0 (0.3)	12.4(0.2)	4.4(0.1)	9.9(0.1)	4.9(0.3)	.7 (0.1)	6.9(6.9)
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	127.3 (11.3)	42.8(4.9)	33.0(3.5)	90.2(10.1)	33.4(3.9)	4.6 (1.6)	6.3(4.9)
Probation Admission	111.5 (45.0)	52.8(17.0)	48.8(13.2)	71.2(32.4)	34.8(9.6)	64.7 (2.9)	-
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	148.4 (15.4)	51.1(1.2)	12.8(0.8)	12.9(0.9)	25.5(.7)	5.7 (0.7)	-
Parole Admission	57.1 (17.0)	25.0(12.0)	21.3(12.4)	98.8(46.3)	15.9(10.6)	-	-
Prison Transfer Admission	309.7 (164.8)	88.8(8.4)	53.2(7.6)	9.6(5.3)	15.0(7.0)	8.3 (6.3)	8.8(6.9)
City/County Sentenced Admission	154.3 (118.8)	143.9(119.3)	149.6(87.8)	158.3(110.8)	59.5(28.5)	109.2 (59.4)	-
Other Admission	166.8 (100.7)	104.5(51.4)	4.5(0.9)	-	33.8(2.4)	0.2(0.2)	0.3(0.3)
Multiple Admission Types							
Hold, warrant, and New Charge	230.3 (111.3)	92.5(10.1)	1.6(1.6)	1.9(1.9)	-	-	-
Warrant and City/Count Sentenced	141.9 (118.8)	184.8(120.0)	83.3(87.8)	134.2(87.3)	102.4(66.7)	0	0
Hold, Warrant, & Probation	191.6 (100.7)	72.7(27.0)	63.9(22.4)	125.9(69.5)	67.8(26.9)	-	-
Warrant Transfer	276.0 (161.1)	112.1(7.7)	10.4(7.4)	2.0(2.0)	-	10.4 (10.4)	-
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	153.2 (30.2)	68.3(5.6)	4.8(2.6)	23.9(3.9)	-	93.0 (93.0)	-
New Charge and Processed & Released	125.6 (13.7)	39.8(1.7)	2.6(.3)	.5(.5)	.2(.2)	10.7 (10.7)	-
Warrant & New Charge	113.5 (9.2)	41.5(1.1)	12.7(.8)	3.7(1.1)	35.6(.9)	1.1(1.0)	-

Note: Mean followed by median length of stay in parenthesis

CUMULATIVE BED DAYS

The preceding section described the length of stay for different groups released from jail. In this section, we provide the cumulative bed days occupied by different groups for each release year. Only individuals who spent more than 12 hours in jail are included in these calculations. We exclude people who spend less than 12 hours because typically they are not transferred to the main jail facility and are not assigned a bed; instead, they remain in the booking area while awaiting processing and release. Bed day calculations are based on the date of admission and release and any contact with the jail counts as a bed day.

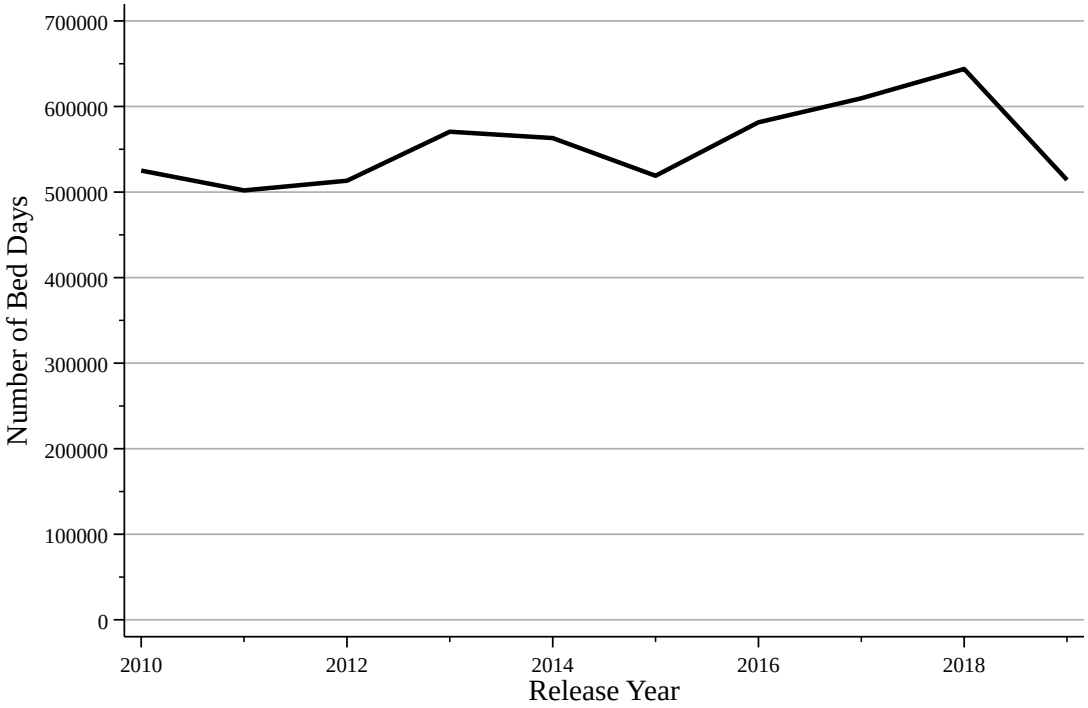
As illustrated below, being booked on December 16, 2020, and released on December 18, 2020, counts as three bed days, whereas being booked on December 16, 2020 at 8:00 a.m. and released the same day at 12:00 p.m. would not be counted as consuming a bed day. This analysis aims to look at the cumulative resources that are dedicated to admissions with vary characteristics (e.g., offense types, admission types, demographic characteristics).

Illustration of Bed Day Calculations

Admitted	Released	Bed Days
December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 16, 2019 12:00pm (Monday)	0 bed days
December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 16, 2019 10:00pm (Monday)	1 bed day
December 16, 2019, 8:00am (Monday)	December 18, 2019 8:30am (Wednesday)	3 bed days

Figure 33 provides the cumulative bed days for each year. Again, in these analyses, we look at the year someone was released, rather than their admission year.

Figure 33. Cumulative Number of Bed Days



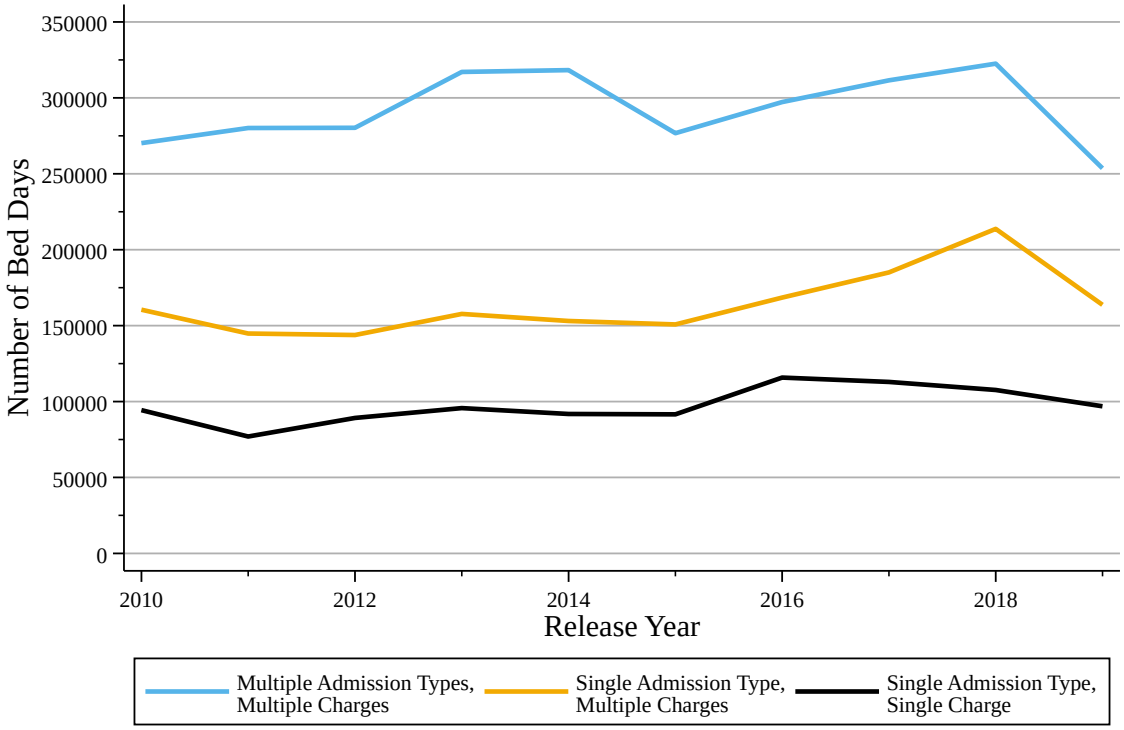
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

The cumulative number of bed days used was stable or increasing until 2018, then declined in 2019. In 2010, 525,073 bed days were used. The trend increased to the peak in 2018 at 643,875, a 22.6% increase, and declined sharply in 2019 to end the study period at 514,178 bed days. From 2010 to 2019, the cumulative number of bed days declined by 2%.

ADMISSION TYPES AND CHARGE CHARACTERISTICS

Figure 34 presents the cumulative number of bed days used by individuals with varying numbers of admission types and charges, and Table 23 presents the cumulative number of bed days used by these groups in 2010 and 2019, as well as how the number of bed days used changed over the study period. **Individuals who were booked into jail for multiple admission types and multiple charges accounted more cumulative bed days than those with single admission types.** The trend line for this group vacillated over the study period beginning at 270,214 bed days in 2010 and declining to 253,618 cumulative bed days in 2019. The cumulative number of bed days for the single admission type with multiple charges remained relatively stable until 2015, but like the multiple admission type group, peaked in 2018 before declining in 2019. Releases with a single admission type with a single charge used the least bed days, and the number of bed days used changed little from year-to-year.

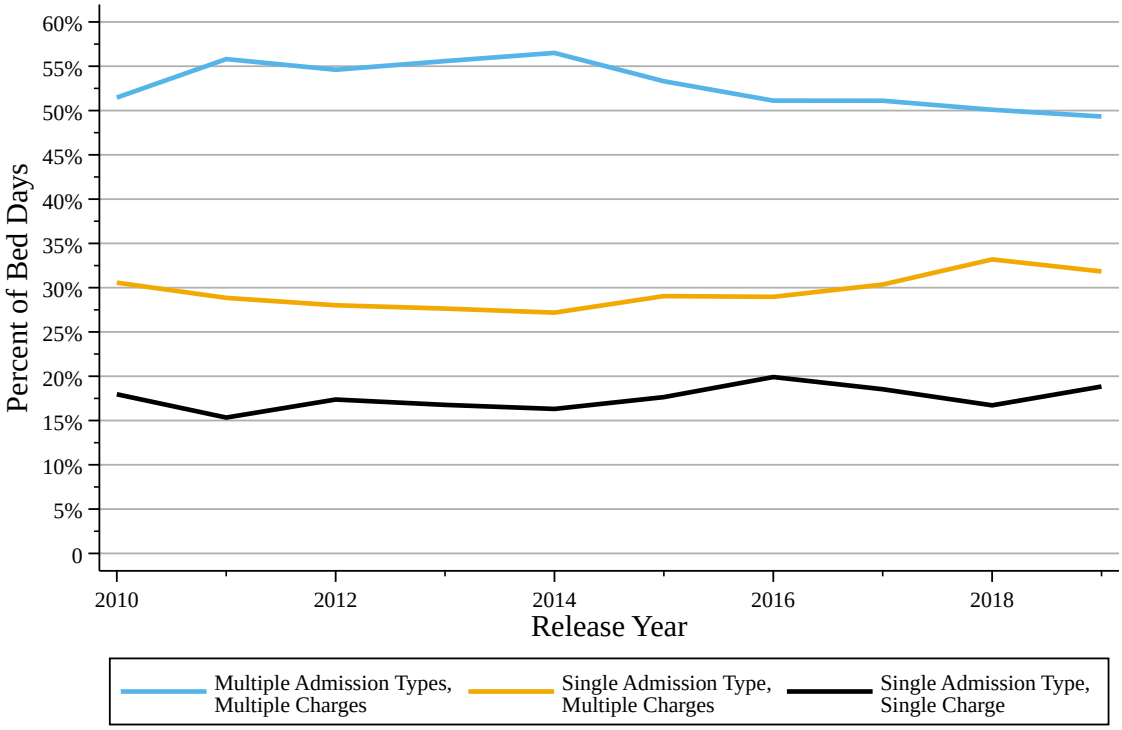
Figure 34. Cumulative Bed Days by Admission Types and Charges



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 35 highlights the percent of all bed days that were used by individuals with varying numbers of admission types and charges. **Individuals booked into jail on multiple admission types and multiple charges accounted for the largest proportion of jail bed days.** Individuals in this group represented approximately half of all bed days over the study period. Individuals who were booked into jail for a single admission type and multiple charges represented between 31% and 32% of the jail population in 2010 and 2019, respectively. The trend line for the single admission type, single charge was relatively stable over the study period at approximately 18%.

Figure 35. Percent of Bed Days by Admission Types and Charges



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 23. Cumulative Bed Days by Admission Types and Charges, 2010 and 2019

Admission Types and Charges	2010	2019	2010-2019 Bed Day Change	2010-2019 % Change
Single Admission Type, Single Charge	94,357	96,860	2,503	3%
Single Admission Type, Multiple Charges	160,502	163,700	3,198	2%
Multiple Admission Types, Multiple Charges	270,214	253,618	-16,596	-6%
Cumulative Bed Days	525,073	514,178	-10,895	-2%

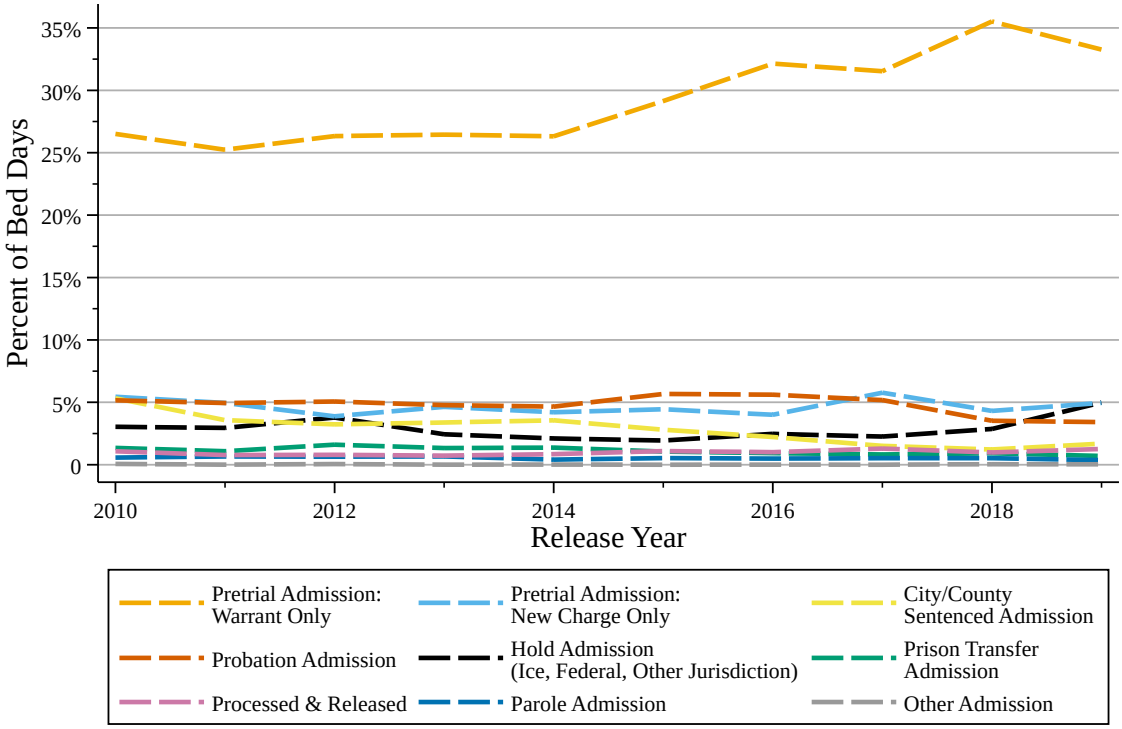
Single and Multiple Admission Types

For admission with a single admission type, Figure 36 provides the percentage of bed days used by persons with varying admission types, while Figure 37 describes the percent of cumulative bed days utilized by individuals with multiple admission types. Table 24 provides the number of bed days used by admission type for persons booked on single admission types as well as cumulative bed days accounted for by individuals with multiple admission types (see Appendix A for selection criterion). This table also presents changes in cumulative bed days for these groups from 2010 to 2019.

Bookings for a pretrial admission with a warrant accounted for the largest proportion of bed days. This group represented 27% of admissions in 2010 and 33% in 2019, a 25% increase over the study period, and the trend for this group reached a high point of 36% in 2018. The number of cumulative bed days used by this group was 139,190 days in 2010, increased to 228,697 in 2018, and declined to 171,063 in 2019, a 23% overall increase (see Table 24). **Admissions for a pretrial admission with a new charge**

accounted for the second-highest number of bed days, and the trend for this group was relatively stable. This group accounted for 28,576 bed days in 2010 and 25,487 days in 2019. This group represented approximately 5% of total cumulative bed days over the study period. The remaining groups generally represented less than 5% of the total population over the study period, although in some years, the percent of bed days used by people admitted for probation violations crossed this threshold and exceeded the number used by those admitted pretrial with a new charge.

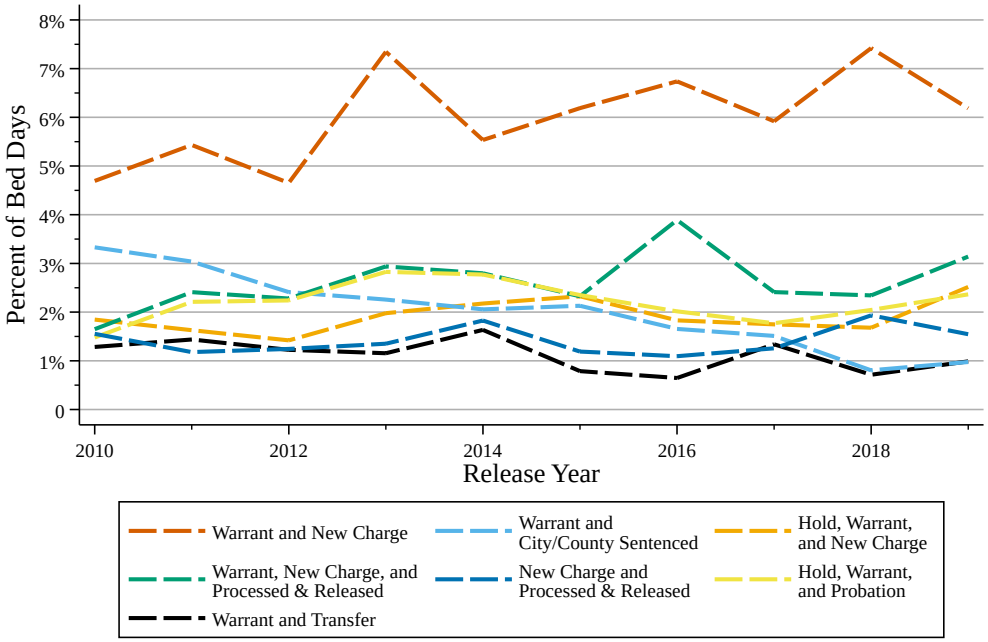
Figure 36. Percent of Bed Days for Single Admission Types



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Next, the analyses examine the cumulative bed days used by individuals booked on multiple admission types. **Individuals booked into jail with a warrant and a new charge occupied the largest proportion of jail beds**, and this proportion increased slightly over time from 5% in 2010 to 6% in 2019. This group occupied 24,648 beds in 2010, increasing to a high of 47,780 beds in 2018, and declining to 31,799 beds in 2019.

Figure 37. Percent of Bed Days for Multiple Admission Types



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 24. Cumulative Bed Days for Single and Multiple Admission Types, 2010 and 2019

Single Admission Type	**2010**	**2019**	**2010-2019 Bed Day Change**	**2010-2019 % Change**
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	139,190	171,063	31,873	23%
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	28,576	25,487	-3,089	-11%
City/County Sentenced Admission	27,957	8,678	-19,279	-69%
Probation Admission	27,107	17,540	-9,567	-35%
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	15,954	25,622	9,668	61%
Prison Transfer Admission	7,071	3,627	-3,444	-49%
Processed & Released	5,660	6,490	830	15%
Parole Admission	3,002	1,893	-1,109	-37%
Other Admission	342	160	-182	-53%
Total Single Admission Types	**254,859**	**260,560**	**5,701**	**2%**
Multiple Admission Types				
Warrant and New Charge	24,648	31,799	7,151	29%
Warrant and City/County Sentenced	17,487	5,013	-12,474	-71%
Hold, Warrant, and New Charge	9,695	12,940	3,245	33%
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	8,662	16,148	7,486	86%
New Charge and Processed & Released	8,165	7,949	-216	-3%
Hold, Warrant, and Probation	7,766	12,160	4,394	57%
Warrant and Transfer	6,745	5,088	-1,657	-25%
All Other Multiple Admission Types	187,046	162,521	-24,525	-13%
Total Multiple Admission Types	**270,214**	**253,168**	**17,046**	**-6%**

Top Charge Severity and Category

Figure 38 highlights the percent of cumulative bed days associated with the most serious charge type. Figure 39 presents the percent of cumulative bed days associated with varying top charge categories over time. For each charge severity and top charge category, Table 25 shows the change in cumulative bed days used by people in these charge groups.

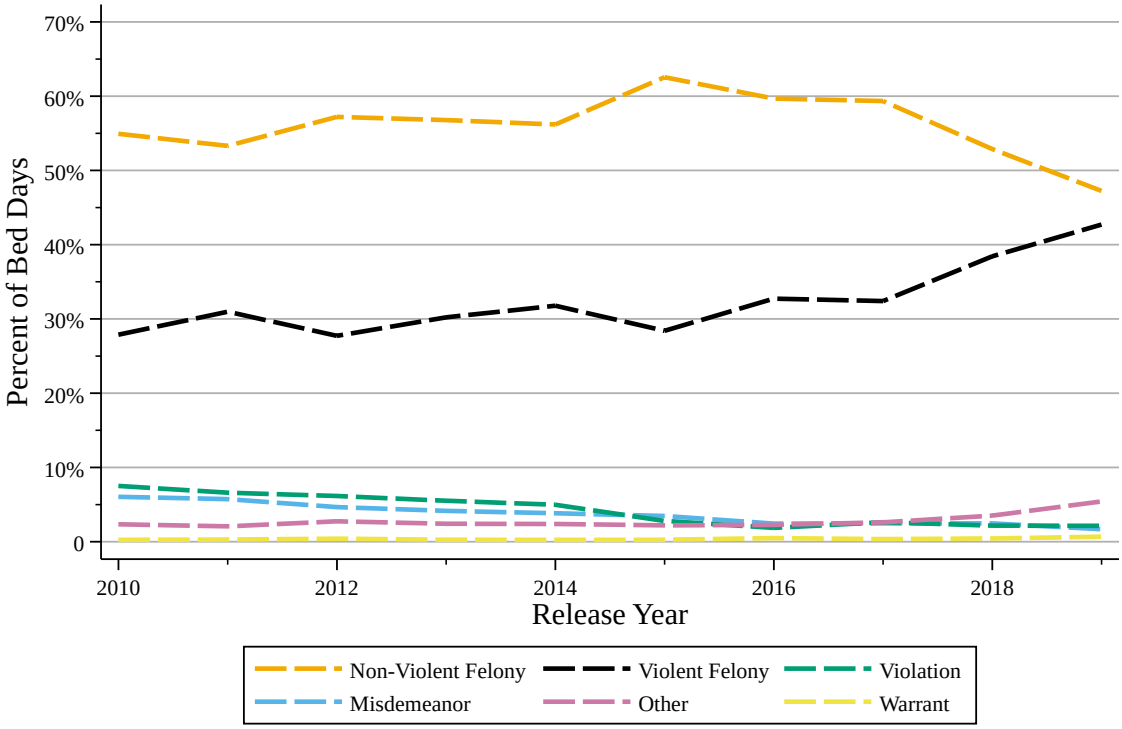
Felony charges, combined, represent the largest number and proportion of bed days. The single largest proportion of bed days are used for individuals booked on non-violent felonies, but the percentage accounted for by this group declined over the study period from 55% of total bed days in 2010 to 47% in 2019, a 16% decrease. The number of beds accounted for by this group is quite substantial at 288,493 in 2010 and 242,922 beds in 2019.

Conversely, the trend for the proportion of bed days used by bookings for violent felonies increased 53% from 28% in 2010 to 43% in 2019, and the number of beds this group occupied increased 50% over the study period from 146,931 to 219,610 (see Table 25). Bed days for violations also declined 72% from 39,467 total bed days in 2010 to 11,024 in 2019. The number of beds used for misdemeanors decreased 73% over the study period. The other charge type, which primarily includes individuals held for other agencies, did increase substantially over the project period. Warrants (only) accounted for less than 1% of total beds for the entirety of the study period.

For most of the study period, the largest proportion of bed days were occupied by individuals booked on property charges, but admissions for person offenses became the greatest utilizers of bed days in 2019.

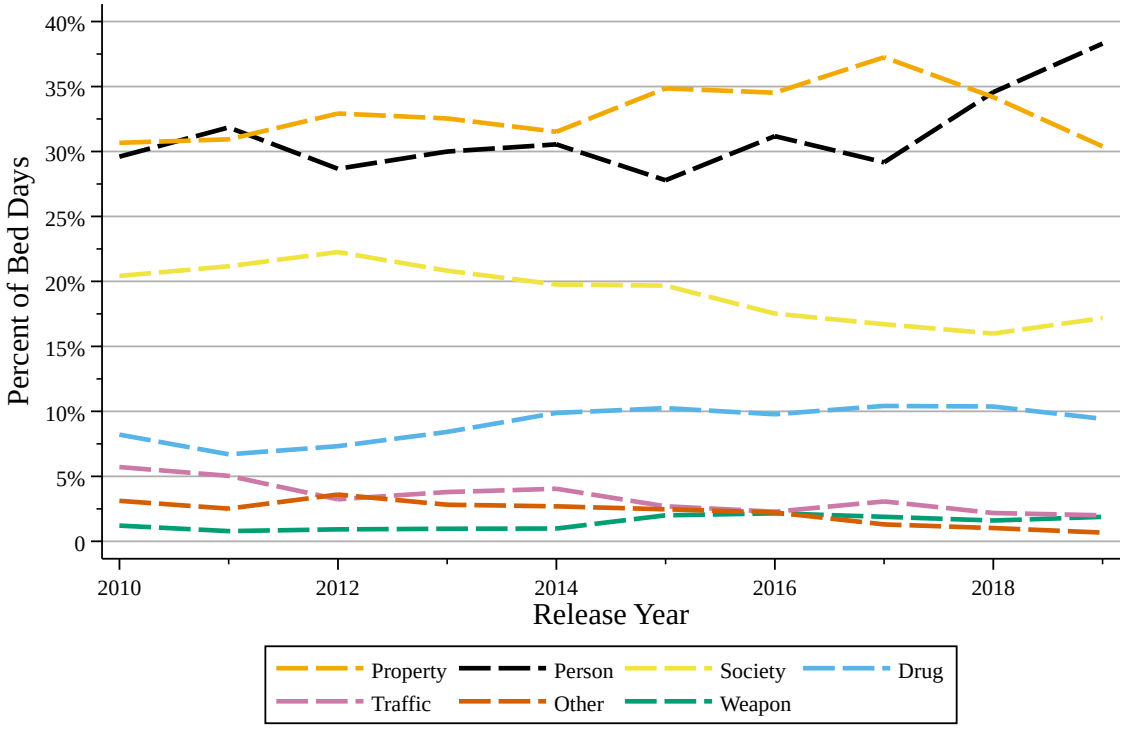
Property charges represented approximately 31% of cumulative bed days in 2010 and peaked at 37% in 2017 and then declined. The proportion of bed days for person-related charges was stable for the first part of the study period and was at 30% for 2010 and increased to 38% in 2019, a 30% increase. This group represented 155,426 bed days in 2010 and 196,958 in 2019. The number of bed days for individuals with property crimes decreased by 3%, while bed days used by admissions booked on person charges increased by 27%. The largest declines in bed days used were for the traffic (66%) and other groups (79%), while the greatest increase (52%) was for weapons charges.

Figure 38. Percent of Bed Days by Top Charge Severity



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 39. Percent of Bed Days by Top Charge Category



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 25. Cumulative Bed Days by Top Charge Severity and Category, 2010 and 2019[xxxviii]

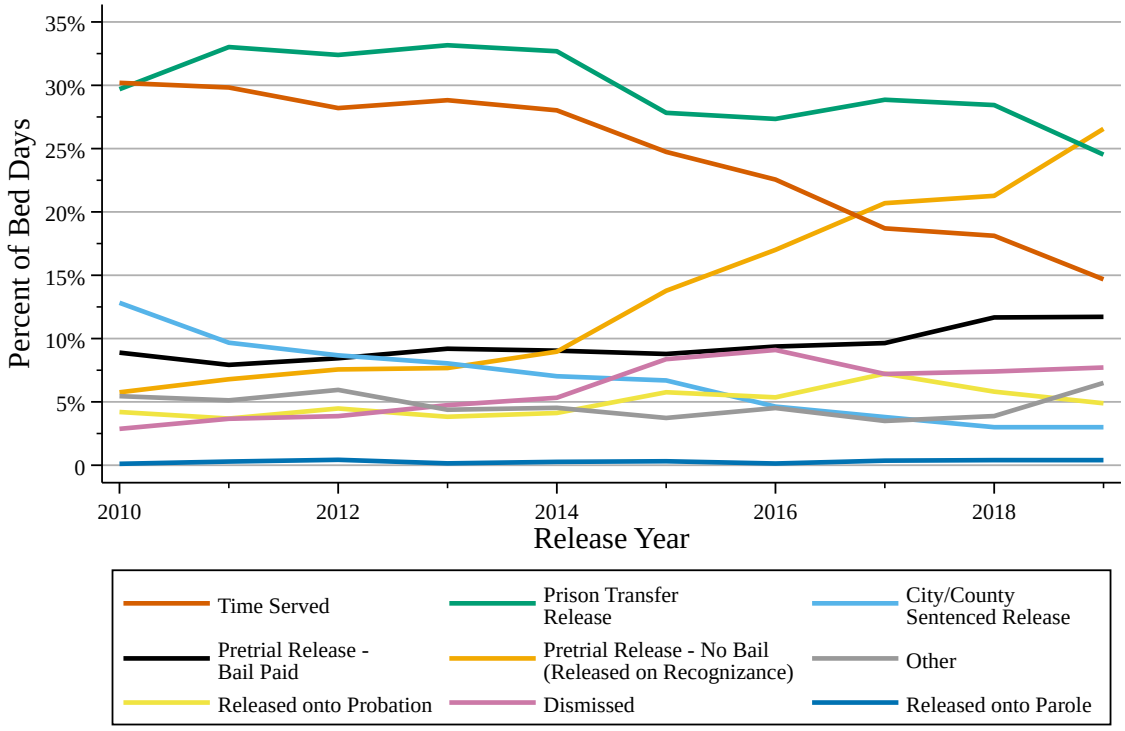
Top Charge Severity	2010	2019	2010-2019 Bed Day Change	2010-2019 % Change
Non-Violent Felony	288,493	242,922	-45,571	-16%
Violent Felony	146,391	219,610	73,219	50%
Violation	39,467	11,024	-28,443	-72%
Misdemeanor	31,766	8,612	-23,154	-73%
Other	12,326	27,877	15,551	126%
Warrant	1,317	3,491	2,174	165%
Total	**519,760**	**487,678**	**-32,082**	**-6%**
Top Charge Category				
Property	161,026	156,316	-4,710	-3%
Person	155,426	196,958	41,532	27%
Society	107,253	88,353	-18,900	-18%
Drug	43,116	48,462	5,346	12%
Traffic	30,009	10,308	-19,701	-66%
Other	16,360	3,455	-12,905	-79%
Weapon	6,359	9,684	3,325	52%
Total	**519,549**	**513,536**	**-6,013**	**-1%**

RELEASE TYPES

Figure 40 and the subsequent table (Table 26) consider the percent of and cumulative bed days by release type, respectively. For most of the study period, **individuals who were transferred to prison upon release accounted for the largest cumulative number of bed days and the greatest percentage of bed days. Prison transfers accounted for at least a quarter of all bed days most years.** The number of bed days used by this release group declined 19%, from 155,891 in 2010 to 126,114 in 2019. Individuals **released after time served** also utilized a large number and proportion of bed days. People in this group used 158,534 bed days in 2010, and this number declined to 75,465 in 2019. This group represented 30% of all jail bed days in 2010, and this percentage declined by over half to 15% in 2019.

The number of beds accounted for by people on pretrial detention increased over time. Individuals who were released with bail paid accounted for 46,691 beds in 2010 and 60,252 in 2019, a 29% increase. This group represented 9% of all bed days in 2010 and 12% in 2019. **The number of bed days used for individuals who were released on pretrial without bail increased considerably (352%) from 30,242 in 2010 to 136,585 in 2019.** The proportion of beds occupied by this group increased nearly fivefold, from 6% in 2010 to 27% in 2019.

Figure 40. Percent of Bed Days by Release Type



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 26. Cumulative Bed Days by Release Type, 2010 and 2019

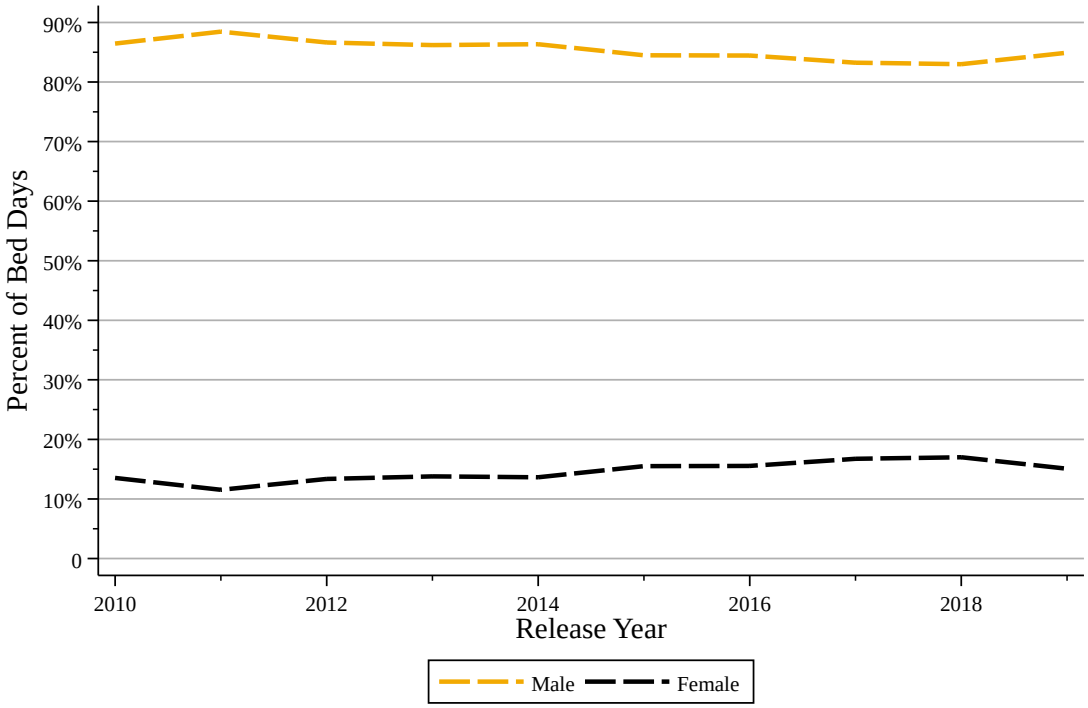
Release Type	2010	2019	2010-2019 Bed Day Change	2010-2019 % Change
Time Served	158,534	75,465	-83,069	-52%
Prison Transfer Release	155,891	126,114	-29,777	-19%
City/County Sentenced	67,352	15,432	-51,920	-77%
Pretrial Release – Bail Paid	46,691	60,252	13,561	29%
Pretrial Release – No Bail	30,242	136,585	106,343	352%
Other	28,631	33,422	4,791	17%
Released onto Probation	22,060	25,150	3,090	14%
Dismissed	15,071	39,676	24,605	163%
Released onto Parole	601	2,082	1,481	246%
Total	**525,073**	**514,178**	**-10,895**	**-2%**

DEMOGRAPHICS

Sex

The following analyses examine cumulative bed days based on demographic characteristics, starting with sex. Figure 41 presents the percent of cumulative bed days utilized by males and females, while Table 27 shows the cumulative number of bed days for these two groups. The percentage of jail bed days used by males and females did not vary substantially over the study period. **Males consistently occupied over 80% of the total bed days** which included 453,992 bed days (86%) in 2010 and 436,637 (85%) in 2019. For most of the study period, females accounted for less than one-fifth of bed days, increasing from 14% in 2010 to 15% in 2019. Females occupied 71,081 bed days in 2010, a number which increased to 109,478 in 2018, and then declined to 77,541 in 2019.

Figure 41. Percent of Bed Days by Sex

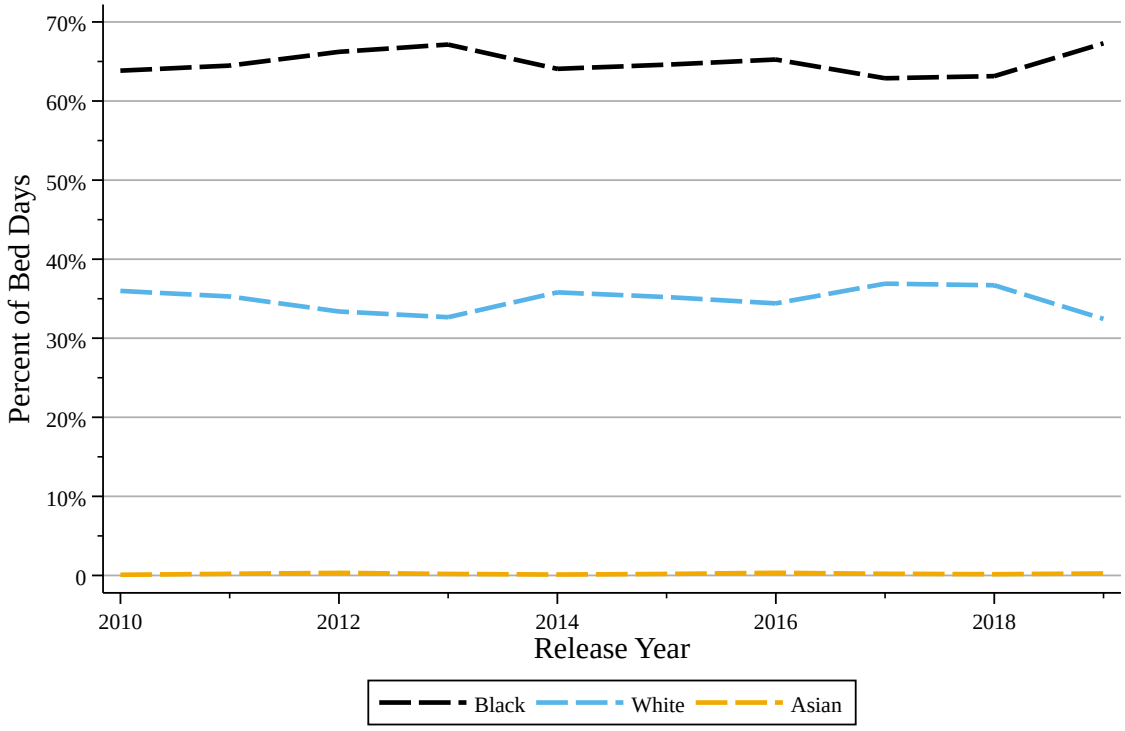


Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Race

Figure 42 and Table 27 illustrate the percent and the number of cumulative bed days occupied by different racial groups, respectively. **Bed days were disproportionately occupied by Black persons** with 335,216 bed days used by this group in 2010 and 346,040 in 2019**. Black persons represented 64% of bed days in 2010, and this percentage remained relatively steady, increasing slightly to 67% in 2019.** The proportion of cumulative bed days occupied by White persons declined slightly from 36% in 2010 to 32% in 2019. The number of beds occupied by White persons was 188,954 in 2010 and 166,838 in 2019. Less than one percent of bed days were occupied by Asian persons. During the study period, St. Louis County did not collect information on ethnicity.

Figure 42. Percent of Bed Days by Race



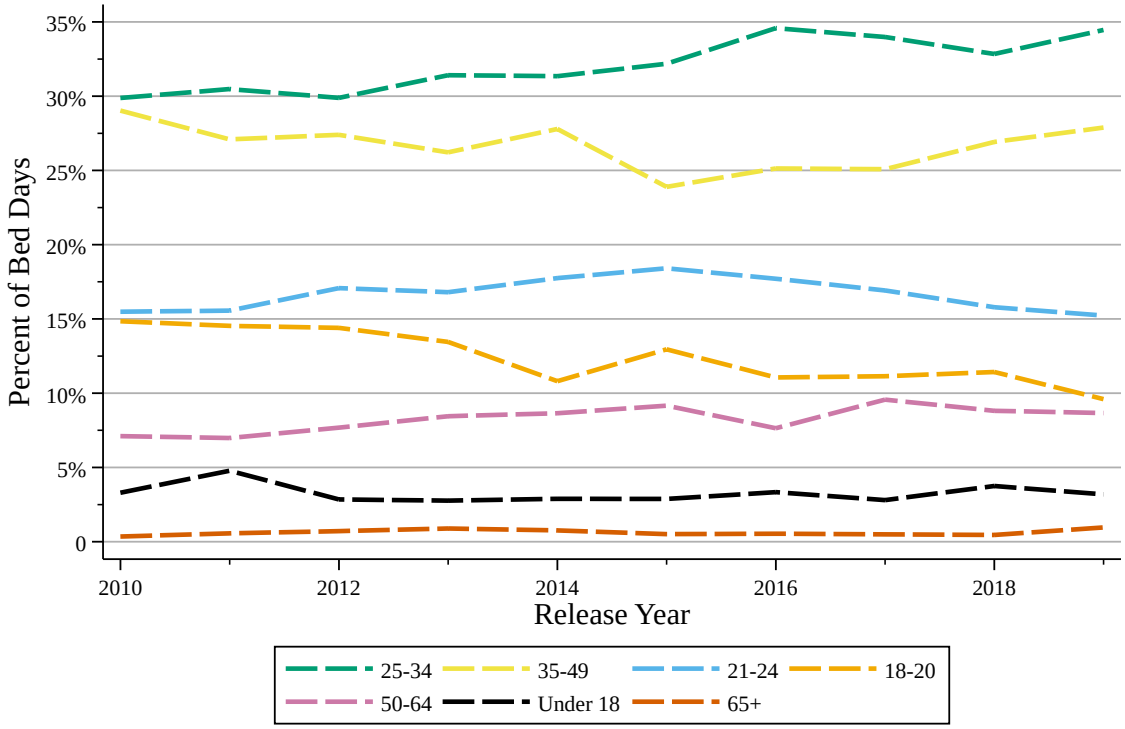
Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Age

Figure 43 highlights the percent of cumulative bed days by each age group. Table 27 describes the use of jail bed days by age group. **Most jail beds were occupied by individuals between the ages of 25-34. The proportion of bed days occupied by this group increased slightly from 30% in 2010 to 34% in 2019, a 13% increase.**

Individuals between the ages of 35 and 49 accounted for the second highest proportion of beds and represented approximately 27% of total bed days over the study period. The proportion of bed days used by persons aged 21 to 24 remained stable beginning and ending the study period at 15%.

Figure 43. Percent of Bed Days by Age Group



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

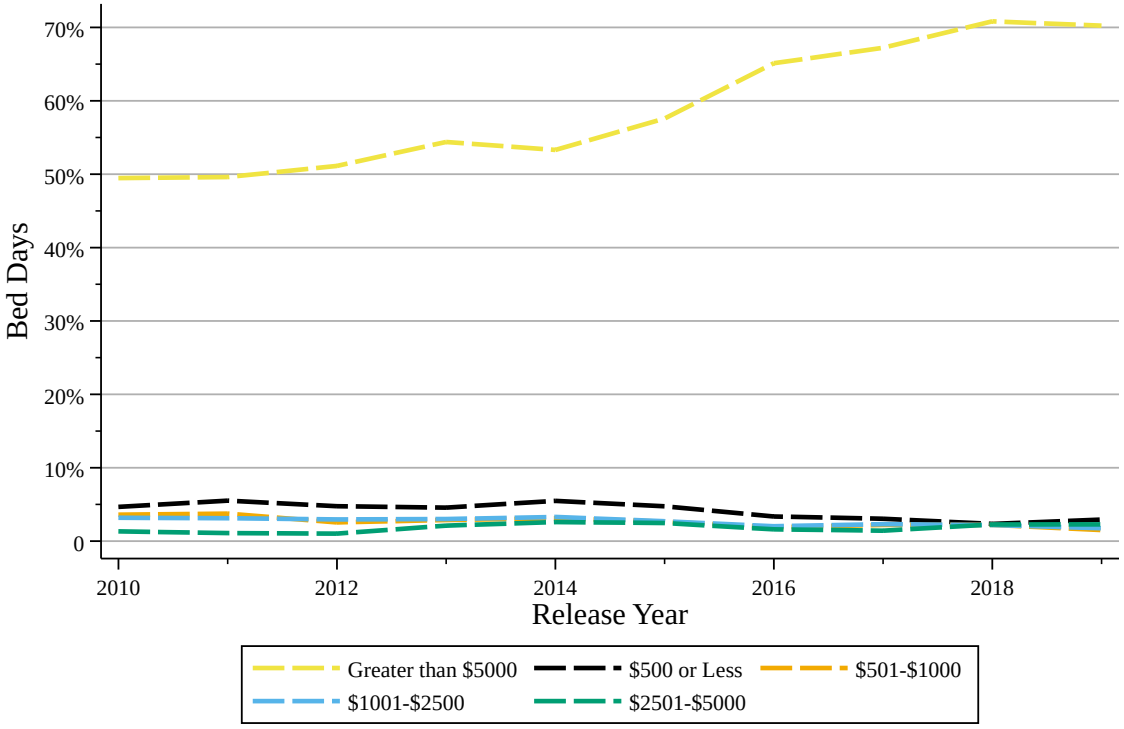
Table 27. Cumulative Bed Days by Race, Age, and Sex, 2010 and 2019

	2010	2019	2010-2019 Bed Day Change	2010-2019 % Change
Race				
Black	335,216	346,040	10,824	3%
White	188,954	166,838	-22,116	-12%
Asian	424	1,283	859	203%
Age				
25-34	156,882	177,182	20,300	13%
35-49	152,419	143,399	-9,020	-6%
21-24	81,330	78,319	-3,011	-4%
18-20	77,952	49,368	-28,584	-37%
50-64	37,329	44,564	7,235	19%
Under 18	17,320	16,405	-915	-5%
65+	1,841	4,941	3,100	168%
Sex				
Male	453,992	436,637	-17,355	-4%
Female	71,081	77,541	6,460	9%
Total	**525,073**	**514,178**	**-10,895**	**-2%**

BAIL/BOND

Figure 44 describes the percent of total bed days occupied by individuals with differing bail/bond amounts over the study period. Table 28 presents the cumulative bed days by varying bail/bond amounts. This figure and table only include individuals that were assigned bail and do not capture individuals who were denied. **The largest proportion of cumulative jail bed days were used by persons booked into jail with a bond amount of over $5,000, and there was substantial growth in this group over the study period. In 2010, 49% of bed days were occupied by individuals with bond amounts over $5,000, and in 2019, the number rose to 70%, a 42% increase.** This group occupied 259,751 bed days in 2010, which rose to 456,049 in 2018, and then declined in 2019 to 361,175. Individuals with a $500 bond or less were the second-highest group, but represented less than 5% of bed days for most of the study period. The proportion of bed days in the $501to $1,000 group and $1,001 to $2,500 category were quite similar representing approximately 3% (3.6% and 3.2%, respectively) of total jail bed days in 2010 and less than 2% in 2019 (1.5% and 1.8%, respectively).

Figure 44. Percent of Bed Days by Bail/Bond Amount



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Table 28. Cumulative Bed Days by Bail/Bond, 2010 and 2019

Bail/Bond Amount	2010	2019	2010-2019 Bed Day Change	2010-2019 % Change
$500 and under	24,490	15,095	-9,395	-38%
$501-$1000	18,947	7,768	-11,179	-59%
$1001-$2500	16,697	9,073	-7,624	-46%
$2501-$5000	6,992	11,752	4,760	68%
More than $5000+	259,751	361,175	101,424	39%
Total	326,877	404,863	77,986	24%

CUMULATIVE BED DAYS AND THE INTERSECTION OF CHARGE CATEGORIES AND ADMISSION TYPES

Our last analysis of cumulative bed days looks at the intersection of admission types and charge characteristics. The following tables consider the combination of admission type and charge severity category for 2019 to see how this intersection relates to cumulative bed days used and identify the combinations of admission types and charges using the most bed days.

Table 29 examines cumulative bed days by top charge severity for multiple and single admission types in 2019. For the group with a single admission type, the most bed stays were used by people admitted pre-trial for a warrant and with a top charge that was a non-violent felony. This group accounted for 29% of all bed days used by individuals with a single admission type or 28,362 days. In fact, non-violent felonies account for 52% of jail days compared with 13% for violent felonies. The second highest number of bed days were used by individuals booked into jail for a hold admission and "other" charge severity (which traditionally is used to classify individuals waiting on a transfer to another agency). This group represents 20,812 jail days and 22% of the total bed days used by individuals with single admission types. Individuals who entered the jail for a probation violation and had a non-violent felony as the most severe charge used the third most bed days; this group accounted for 14% of the jail bed days used by individuals with a single admission type (13,207 days). Relatively few bed days were used for individuals admitted for misdemeanors, violations, and warrants.

We also examined bed day usage by admission type combinations and top charge severity. The largest number of bed days (24,340) were used by individuals booked on new charges and a warrant and whose top charge was a violent felony, which represents 26% of admissions for multiple admission types. The second highest bed day count came from the warrant, new charge, and processed and released for a felony group at 13,144 bed days and 14% of total bed days for individuals booked into jail on multiple admission types. The third highest number of bed days were utilized by individuals admitted for a hold, a warrant, and a new charge with a felony as the top charge. This group occupied 10,913 days (12%). Overall, for those booked into jail for multiple admission types, most (70%) of the jail bed days are used by individuals with a violent felony.

Table 29. Cumulative Bed Days by Single Admission Types, Multiple Admission Types, and Top Charge Severity, Release Year 2019

	Top Charge Severity						
SINGLE ADMISSION TYPE	**Violent Felony**	**Non-Violent Felony**	**Misdemeanor**	**Violations**	**Warrant**	**Other**	**Total**
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	7,219	28,362	441	989	137	0	37,148
Processed & Released	473	1,505	226	60	0	3,326	5,590
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	0	368	26	26	2,787	20,812	24,019
Probation Admission	568	13,207	0	3	0	0	13,778
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	3,755	516	18	1	0	24	4,314
Parole Admission	0	1,602	291	0	0	0	1,893
Prison Transfer Admission	26	33	0	0	28	2,776	2,863
City/County Sentenced Admission	798	4,403	1,150	78	0	24	6,453
Other Admission	5	0	0	127	0	26	158
Total Single Admissions	**12,844**	**49,996**	**2,152**	**1,284**	**2,952**	**26,988**	**96,216**
MULTIPLE ADMISSION TYPES							
Hold, warrant, and New Charge	10,913	2,022	0	5	0	0	12,940
Warrant and City/Count Sentenced	585	4,369	55	4	0	0	5,013
Hold, Warrant, & Probation	3,780	8,317	0	63	0	0	12,160
Warrant Transfer	4,807	246	26	9	0	0	5,088
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	13,144	3,002	0	2	0	0	16,148
New Charge and Processed & Released	5,781	2,147	21	0	0	0	7,949
Warrant & New Charge	24,340	7,076	371	12	0	0	31,799
All Other Multiple Admissions	64,110	91,766	2,388	4,152	72	33	162,521
Total Multiple Admissions	**127,460**	**118,945**	**2,861**	**4,247**	**72**	**33**	**253,618**

Next, the analysis examines top charge severity to looking at the top charge category. Table 30 examines cumulative bed days by top charge category for multiple and single admission types in 2019. Most single admission type bed days stem from holds with society charges at 23,979 bed days. The second-highest total occurred for individuals booked on a pretrial warrant with a property charge at 16,358 bed days. Individuals admitted with a probation admission and a society charge accounted for the third-highest amount of days at 11,661.

For individuals who were booked into jail on multiple admission types, the largest number of bed days were for individuals booked for a person related offense. For crimes against persons charges, the most bed days were accumulated when individuals were booked for a warrant and a new charge (22,416), warrant,

new charge and processed and released (12,638), and new charge and processed and released (6,319). In total, 25,145 bed days were used for property crimes.

Table 30. Cumulative Bed Days for Single Admission Type, Multiple Admission Type, and Top Charge Category, Release Year 2019

	Top Charge Category							
SINGLE ADMISSION TYPE	**Person**	**Property**	**Drugs**	**Weapons**	**Society**	**Traffic**	**Other**	**Total**
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	5,543	16,358	5,569	1,730	7,207	741	0	37,148
Processed & Released	477	81	340	58	4,375	253	8	5,592
Hold (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	0	19	2	14	23,979	0	5	24,019
Probation	547	229	440	188	11,661	713	0	13,778
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	3,780	389	32	43	41	29	0	4,314
Parole Admission	0	0	0	0	1,893	0	0	1,893
Prison Transfer	17	14	0	13	0	15	2,804	2,863
City/County Sentenced	580	820	1,058	1,056	949	1,990	0	6,453
Other Admission	5	0	0	0	153	0	0	158
Total Single Admissions	**10,949**	**17,910**	**7,441**	**3,102**	**50,258**	**3,741**	**2,817**	**96,218**
MULTIPLE ADMISSION TYPES								
Hold, warrant, and New Charge	9,478	3,456	3	3	0	0	0	12,940
Warrant and City/Count Sentenced	1,001	2,601	590	406	415	0	0	5,013
Hold, Warrant, & Probation	2,505	4,575	1,816	508	2,756	0	0	12,160
Warrant Transfer	3,883	1,133	46	3	0	23	0	5,088
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	12,638	3,318	22	76	0	94	0	16,148
New Charge and Processed & Released	6,319	1,585	31	2	0	12	0	7,949
Warrant & New Charge	22,416	8,477	294	47	545	20	0	31,799
All Other Multiple Admissions	63,304	54,770	16,736	3,329	23,848	517	17	162,521
Total Multiple Admissions	**121,544**	**79,915**	**19,538**	**4,374**	**27,564**	**666**	**17**	**91,097**

PREDICTORS OF LENGTH OF STAY

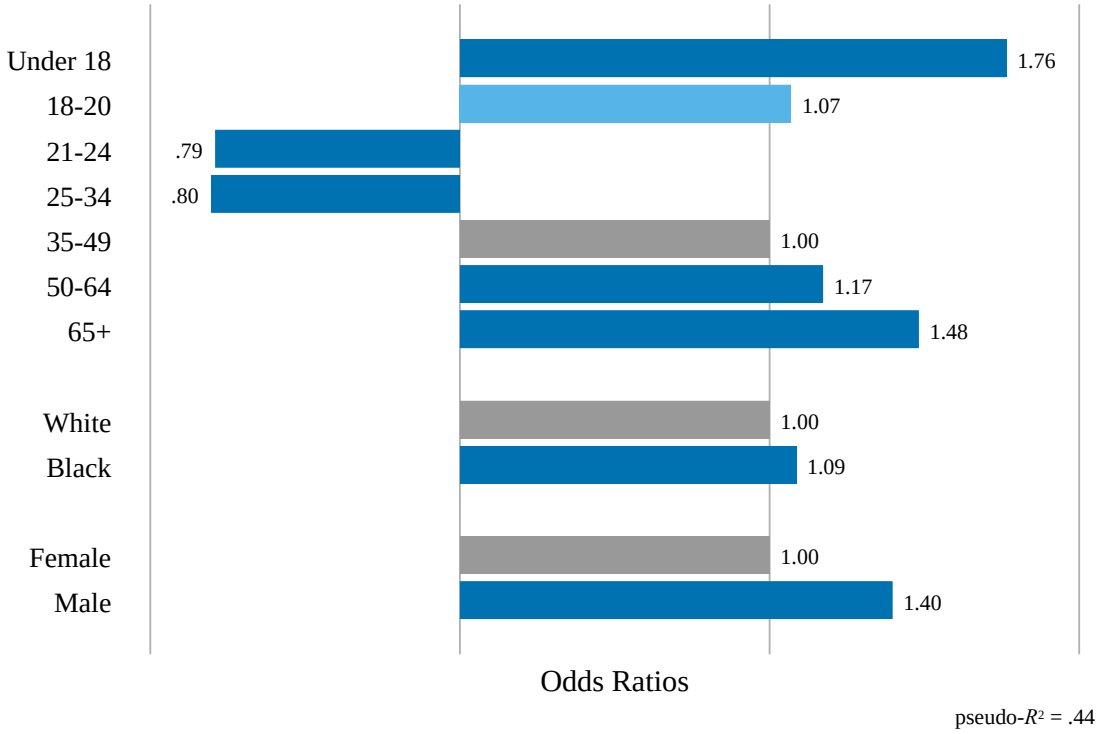
The previous sections provided descriptions of admissions, length of stay, and cumulative bed days. However, a limitation of this type of description is that it does not account for several factors simultaneously. That is, it cannot tell us if some factors are more influential than others when we take into account (or control for) other characteristics such as admission type, charge characteristics, release type, and demographics. This section addresses this limitation by using logistic regression to answer the research question, "What differentiates releases for short lengths of stay versus longer lengths of stay?" We define short lengths of stays as 90 days or less and long lengths of stay as more than 90 days.

The findings from the logistic regression model are reported as odds ratios and indicate the effect of a given characteristic taking into account the other characteristics included in the model. Odds ratios above 1 indicate that the characteristic increased the likelihood of a stay of more than 90 days. Odds ratios below 1 indicate that admissions with that characteristic were less likely to have a long length of stay. For each set of factors, the shaded **grey bar** indicates the category is used as the reference category, against which the rest of the categories are compared, except for admission type which does not have a reference. Bars shaded in **dark blue** indicate the relationship was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$), while those shaded in **lighter blue** were non-significant (and therefore may not be reliable predictors of length of stay). The **pseudo-R^2** is also provided as a measure of the overall goodness of fit for each model. A higher pseudo-R^2 indicates that combined, the factors included in the model provide a more complete explanation of characteristics associated with longer periods of stay.

Figure 45 describes the characteristics of admissions associated with long lengths of stay (90 days or more) versus shorter lengths of stay. Note that all factors – demographics, admission and release types, charge severity and category, and booking history – were included in the same regression model; however, we present the findings in multiple figures to ease interpretation of the findings. There are significant differences in the lengths of stay across categories of age, race, sex, admission and release type, charge type and severity, and release year.

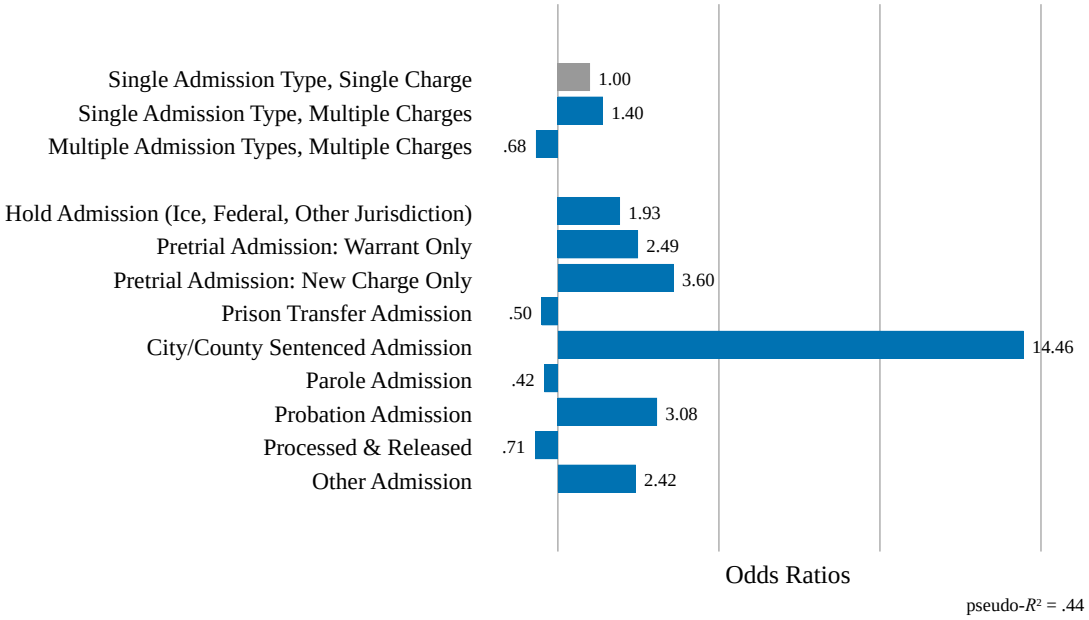
Figure 45 presents the logistic regression results for the demographic characteristics. Black persons and males were more likely to spend more than 90 days in jail compared with White persons and females. The effect size (1.40) was particularly large for men and indicates that the odds of a long length of stay are 1.4 times greater for males compared to females. Race differences are smaller than gender differences: The odds a Black person has a long length of stay are 1.09 greater than odds for a White person. Age is also correlated with long lengths of stay: People under the age of 18 and 50 and older were more likely to stay in jail as compared to people 35-49, while people 21-34 were less likely. The 18-20 group did not differ significantly from the 35-49 age group.

Figure 45. Predicting Long Lengths of Stay: Demographics
n = 278,425



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 45a. Predicting Long Lengths of Stay: Entrance Characteristics
n = 278,425



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 45a presents the regression findings for entrance characteristics and indicates there were also substantial differences in length of stay across admission and charge types. Individuals admitted to jail may have multiple admission types, so the findings for admission type indicate whether someone with at

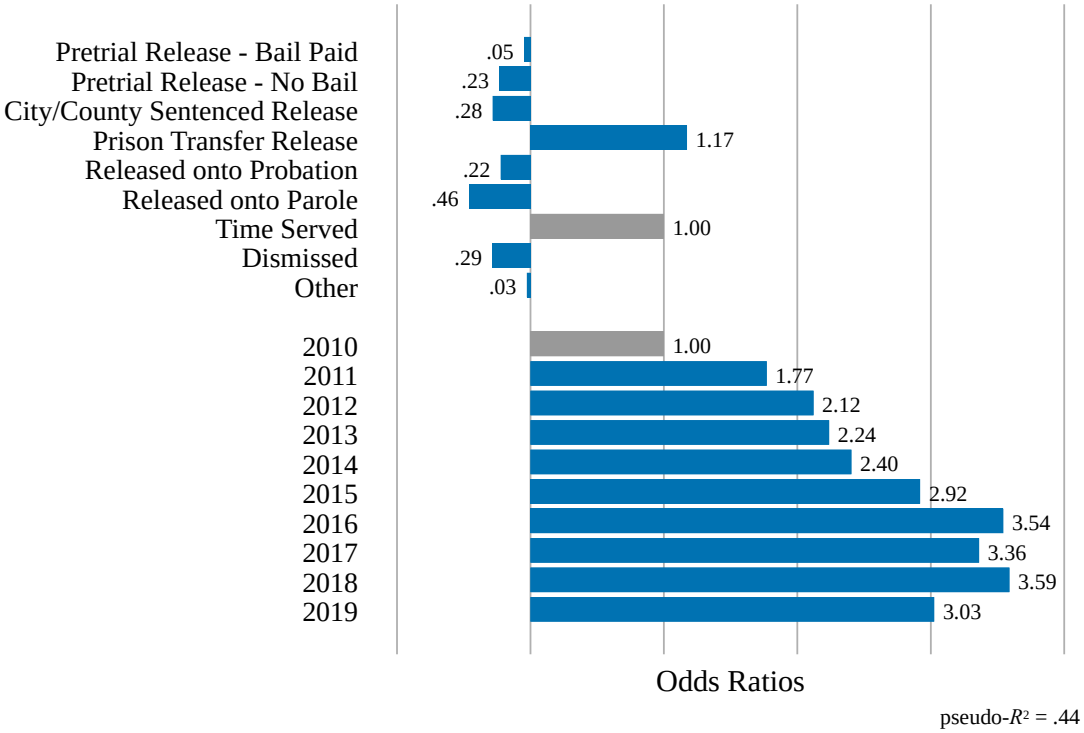
least one admission of that type were more likely to have a long length of stay relative to a person who was not admitted for that reason. For example, the results indicate that individuals who were admitted to jail as a transfer were less likely to stay in jail for 90 days or more relative to people who did not have transfer as an admission type. Similarly, people admitted on a parole violation or who were processed and released were less likely to stay in jail over 90 days relative to people who did not have these admission types. All other admission types—including a hold, pretrial warrant and new charge, city or county sentenced, probation, and "other"—increased the likelihood a person spent more than 90 days in jail. The effect of being admitted due to a city or county sentence was particularly strong (OR = 14.46), and it indicates that the odds a person admitted on a city or county sentence will have a long length of stay are 14 times greater than the odds for a person who was not admitted for this reason. Also, the odds ratio of 3.08 indicates that being admitted to jail for a probation violation tripled the odds an individual had a long length of stay compared to those who are not admitted for this reason. A similarly strong effect (OR = 3.60) was observed for individuals admitted with a new charge.

Controlling for admission type, the number of admission types, and the number of charges was also related to length of stay. Compared to individuals with a single charge and admission type, individuals who entered the jail with a single admission type and multiple charges were more likely to have long lengths of stay, while those with multiple admission types and multiple charges were less likely.

There is also substantial variation in the likelihood someone will stay in jail for more than 90 days by release type (see Figure 45b). In this analysis, we compare the lengths of stay for the identified group relative to people who were released for time served. Except for individuals released as a prison transfer, people in the remaining release type groups were less likely to spend more than 90 days in jail when compared to individuals who were released after time served. The effect was particularly strong for individuals in the pretrial release group who had bail/bond paid and the "other" release category. For example, relative to individuals released for time served, the odds of a long length of stay were 95% lower for those who were released pretrial with bail/bond paid (OR = .05) and 97% lower for those released for an "other" reason (OR = .03). In comparison, individuals with a prison transfer release were more likely to have long lengths of stay compared to those released for time served.

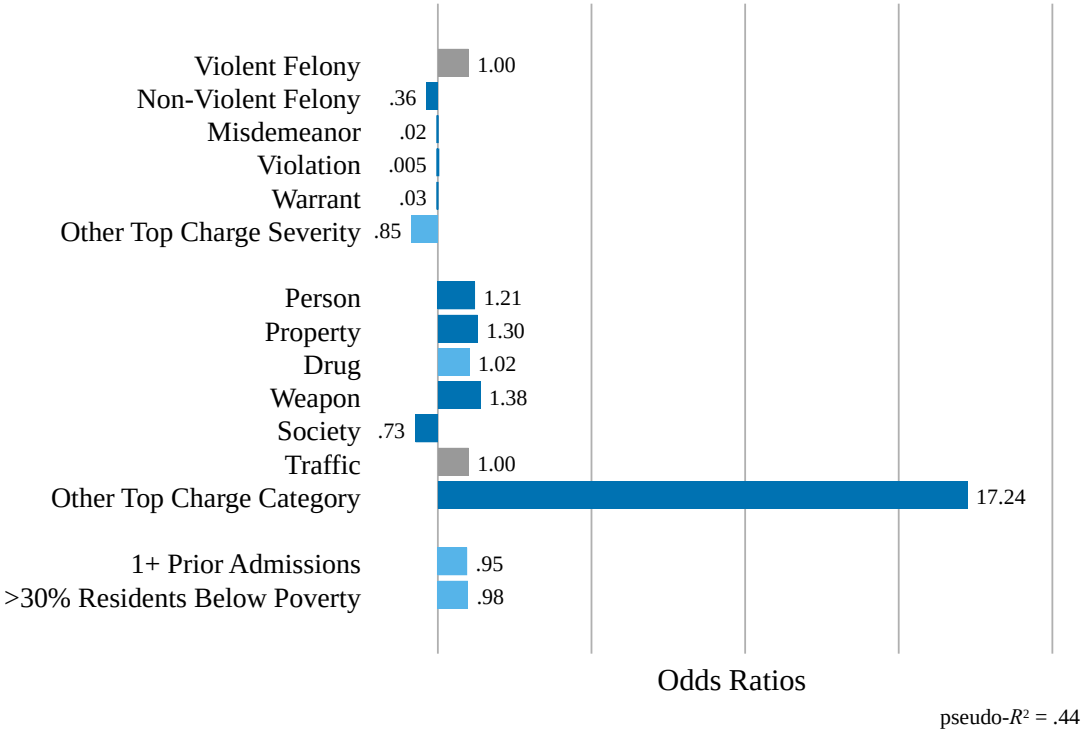
Across all years, individuals were more likely to spend more than 90 days in jail when compared to 2010. This is consistent with the descriptive graphs which denote a steady increase in lengths of stay over time. The odds of a long length of stay generally increased over time and peaked in 2018, when the odds of a person staying in jail more than 90 days was more than three times the odds in 2010.

Figure 45b. Predicting Long Lengths of Stay: Release Type and Release Year n = 278,425



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

Figure 45c. Predicting Long Lengths of Stay: Charge Characteristics, Admission History, and Neighborhood Poverty n = 278,425



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

We also consider the length of stay by top charge severity and compare the length of stay for each group with individuals released for violent felony offenses (see Figure 45c). When compared with violent felonies, individuals with all other charge types except for "other" were less likely to have a long length of stay. Some of these differences were large. For example, the odds a person with a violation would stay in jail 90 days or more were more than 99% lower than the odds of a long jail stay for a person with a violent felony. The effects for misdemeanors and warrants were similarly large.

In addition, we estimate the likelihood of staying in jail more than 90 days by offense category, using individuals released on traffic offenses as the comparison group. Relative to individuals with traffic offenses, persons who entered the jail for society offenses are less likely to have long jail stays, while all other groups are more likely to have longer stays in jail. The measure of drug crimes did not achieve statistical significance. The measure of "other" crimes is particularly high (OR = 17.24), which likely reflects the complicated nature of cases that often involve an administrative hold for another agency, often federal authorities.

Whether an individual had a prior admission was unrelated to the likelihood of a long jail stay nor was the level of poverty in the individual's community at the time of admission. Combined, the variables in the model explain a moderate amount of the variation in long lengths of stay with a pseudo-R^2 of 0.44.

PREDICTORS OF READMISSION

The final section seeks to understand the characteristics of individuals who are readmitted to jail. We are guided by the research question, "For the cohort released in 2010, what are characteristics of individuals who are readmitted (once or multiple times) compared to those who are not readmitted?" Using a cohort of individuals released in 2010, we identify the factors that affect the likelihood an individual will be readmitted to the St. Louis County Department of Justice Services by December 31, 2019. In total, a population of 27,172 persons were considered.

Table 31 describes the patterns of readmission among this group. In total, 42% of individuals released in 2010 did not return to jail. Conversely, almost 60% of individuals returned to jail at least one time, with 19% with one readmission, 25% with 2 to 4 readmissions, 9% with 5 to 7 readmissions, and 7% with 8 or more returns to jail.

Table 31. Number of Readmissions for the 2010 Cohort

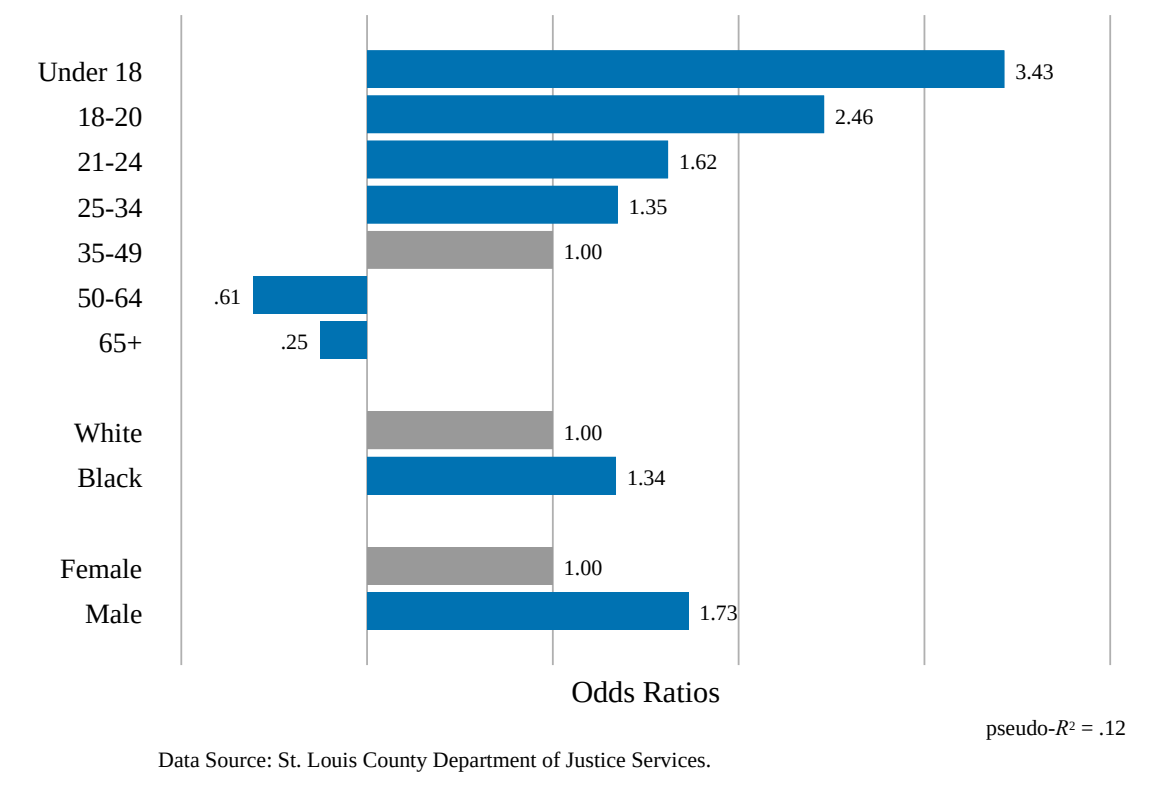
Number of Readmissions	Frequency	Percentage
0	11,317	41.7%
1	5,069	18.7%
2-4	6,713	24.7%
5-7	2,308	8.5%
8 or more	1,765	6.5%
Total	27,172	100%

To analyze the factors associated with readmission, we again use a logistic regression. Figure 47 illustrates the factors associated with being readmitted to jail for the cohort of individuals released in 2010.[xxxix] Similar to the previous section, we ran a single regression model but present the factors in multiple figures to improve accessibility.

The results suggest that a number of factors are related to the likelihood of a return to jail. In terms of demographic factors, males and Black persons are more likely to return to jail when compared with White persons and females. In fact, the odds that an individual would be readmitted to jail was 1.73 times greater for males than females. For Black individuals compared to White individuals, the odds ratio is 1.34.

Individuals in younger age categories are also more likely to return to jail. When compared to individuals in the 35- to 49-year age group, individuals who were under 18, between 18 and 20, 21 to 24, and 25 to 34-years-old at the time of arrest were more likely to return to jail. The effect of age was most pronounced for the 18 and under group, whose of odds of returning to jail were 3.4 times greater relative to those in the 35-49 group. In comparison, individuals in the 50-64 and over 65-year age groups were less likely to return to jail.

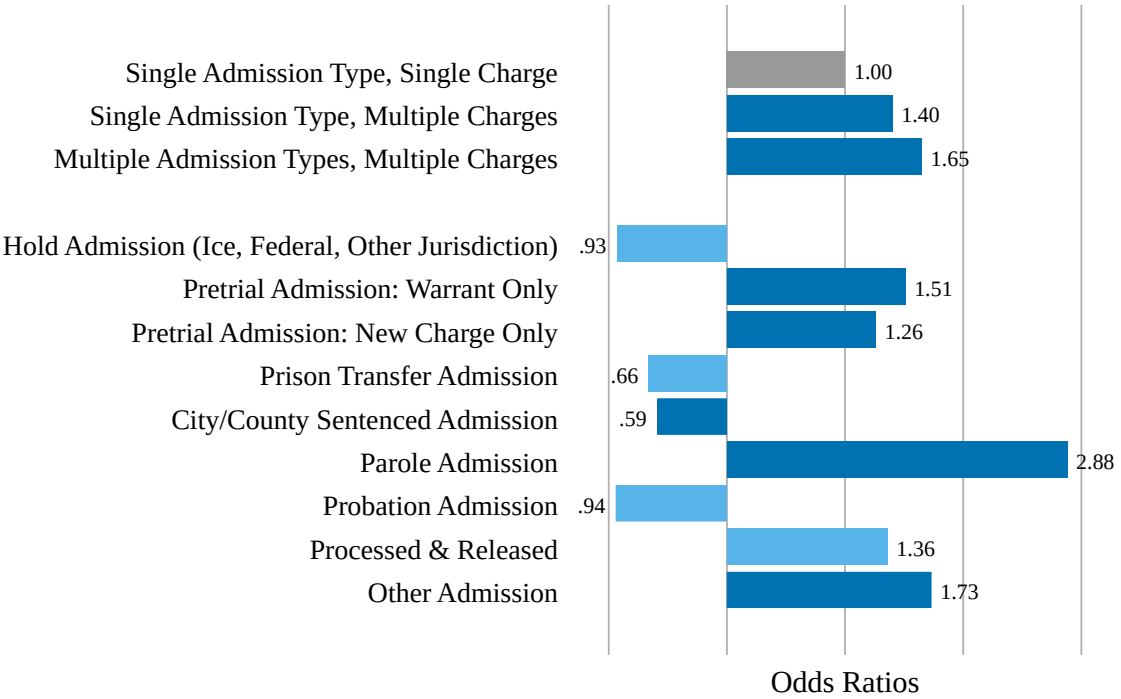
Figure 47. Predicting Readmissions: Demographics
n = 24,454



Admission type is also related to the likelihood a person returned to jail (see Figure 47a). Again, people could be admitted with multiple admission types, and the results compare the likelihood of returning to jail for someone with at least one admission of a given type relative to a person who had no admissions of that type. Individuals originally admitted to jail on pretrial for a new charge and warrant, parole hold, or processed and released were more likely to return to jail than individuals without these admission types. The coefficient for parole was particularly high and the odds of readmission are almost three times greater for people with a parole admission versus those without this admission type. Entering jail on a city or county sentence reduced the likelihood of a person returned to jail. Probation, hold, other, and transfer were not statistically significant predictors of readmission.

Controlling for admission type, the number of admission types, and the number of charges also were related to whether a person returned to jail. Specifically, individuals with multiple and single admission types and multiple charges were more likely to return to jail when compared with persons with only one charge and admission type.

Figure 47a. Predicting Readmissions: Entrance Characteristics n = 24,454

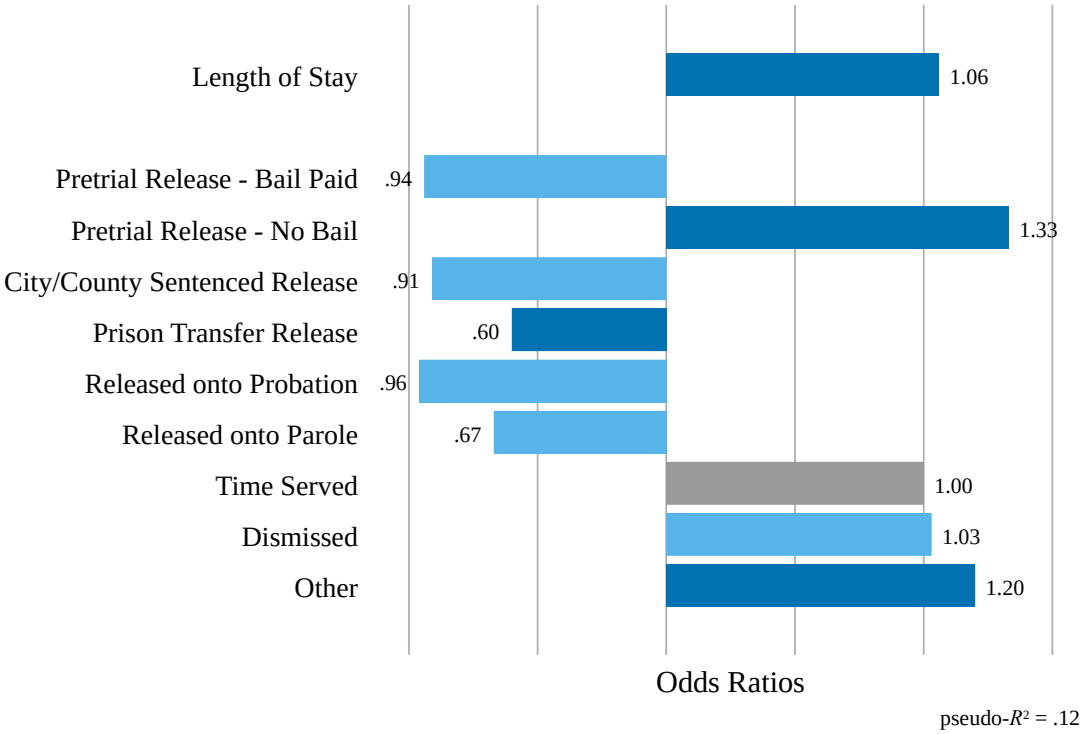


pseudo-R^2 = .12

Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

The likelihood a person returned to jail was also related their type of release (see Figure 47b). When compared with individuals who were released after time served, individuals who were released on pretrial detention with no bail and for "other" reasons were more likely to return to jail. For example, the odds of returning to jail were 1.33 times greater for a person released pretrial with no bail relative to a person released for time served. In contrast, individuals who were transferred to prison were less likely to return to jail. Pretrial discharge with bail paid, sentenced, probation, parole, and dismissed were not significant in the models. Finally, individuals with longer lengths of stay during the original term of imprisonment were more likely to return to jail.

Figure 47b. Predicting Readmissions: Length of Stay and Release Type
n = 24,454



Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

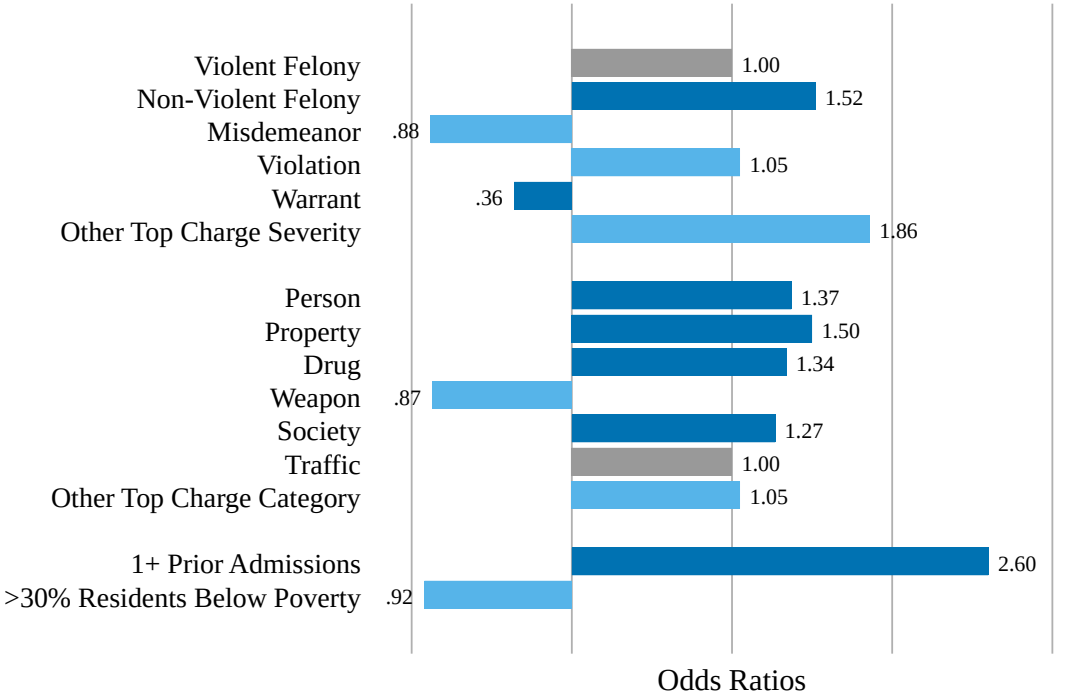
Charge severity and charge type were also related to the likelihood a person returned to jail (see Figure 47c). The odds of returning to jail are 1.52 times greater for a person charged with a non-violent felony versus individuals with a violent charge. This moderately strong effect is consistent with the recidivism literature. Individuals with a warrant only are less likely to return to jail relative to those with a violent felony. The effect for misdemeanor, violation, and other charges are not statistically significant.

With regards to charge type, persons who were admitted to jail for a person, property, drug, or society offense were more likely to return to jail compared with individuals with a traffic offense. The strongest effect was observed for people charged with property crime; the odds of returning to jail for this group were 1.50 times greater than for those whose top charge was a traffic offense. Individuals with weapons offenses or "other" offenses did not differ significantly from people with traffic offenses in terms of their likelihood of returning to jail.

Finally, individuals with more than one prior admission were more likely to return to jail, and the effect was moderately strong. Specifically, the odds of returning to jail was 2.60 times greater for people with one or more prior admissions versus those with none.

Notably, the pseudo-R^2 for this model is 0.12, which is much smaller than the length of stay model, indicating that these variables did not do as good of a job explaining readmission to jail. These findings highlight the difficulty of predicting recidivism.

Figure 47c. Predicting Readmissions:
Charge Characteristics, Admission History, and Neighborhood Poverty
n = 24,454



pseudo-R^2 = .12

Data Source: St. Louis County Department of Justice Services.

APPENDIX A: DEFINITIONS

Data Source: All data in this report was obtained from 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. The following provides the variables used in this report including the variable name, the type of measure, and how we defined/operationalized the measure.

<table>
<tr><th>Variable</th><th>Measure</th><th>Definition/Operationalization</th></tr>
<tr><td>Release Year</td><td>Date/time variable between January 1, 2010, and December 31, 2019 (inclusive)</td><td>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.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Length of stay</td><td>Continuous and categorical variable

• <1 day
• ≥1 day and < 3 days
• ≥3 days < 31 days
• ≥31 days < 91 days
• ≥ 91 days

For long lengths of stay.
• ≥ 91 <180
• ≥ 181 <365
• ≥ 366 <540
• ≥ 541 <730
• ≥ 731 days</td><td>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>
<tr><th>Hours</th><th>Length of Stay</th></tr>
<tr><td>< 24 hours</td><td>0 days</td></tr>
<tr><td>24 to 47.9</td><td>1 day</td></tr>
<tr><td>48 to 71.9</td><td>2 days</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Bed Days</td><td>Continuous variable</td><td>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 booking for the entire span of the stay and not the specific release year. See coding example below.
<table>
<tr><th>Admitted</th><th>Released</th><th>Bed Days</th></tr>
<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>
</table></td></tr>
</table>

Admission Types and Charges	• Admission with single admission type and single charge • Admission with single admission type and multiple charges • Admission with multiple admission types	If a person is booked as a pretrial admission: new charge only and is only charged with a misdemeanor theft than that person is classified as: single admission/single charge. If the same person is charged with two counts of misdemeanor theft, then the person is classified as: single admission/multiple charges. Finally, if the person is booked on new charges stemming from two counts of misdemeanor theft and is also booked for on a bench warrant, then that person will be classified as: multiple admission types.
Admission Type	• Hold admission (Ice, Federal, other agency) • Pretrial admission: Warrant only • Pretrial admission: New charge only • State inmate/ Prison transfer admission • City/County sentenced admission • Parole admission • Probation admission • Other admission	• **Hold (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction).** Individual who was booked into jail on charges originating from a different county, city, or federal jurisdiction. • **Pretrial Admission: New Charge(s) only.** Individual arrested on new charges and booked into jail. • **Pretrial Admission: Warrant only.** Individuals arrested on an outstanding bench warrant originating within Kentucky and booked into jail. • **Probation Admission:** Individual booked for a probation violation or via a probation warrant. • **Parole Admission:** Individual booked for a parole violation or via a parole warrant. • **State Inmate/Prison Transfer Admission:** Individual sentenced to serve time in a state prison facility and is waiting transfer or is housed in LMDC during court proceedings. • **County/City Sentence Admission:** Individual admitted to jail to serve a sentence in LMDC.
Number of Admission Types	• Continuous measure	Measure indicates how many admission types the person was booked on.
Admission Type Combinations for admissions with multiple admission types.	• Warrant and State Inmate/Prison Transfer • Hold and New Charge • Probation and Tate Inmate/Prison Transfer • Probation, State Inmate/Prison Transfer and Warrant • Probation, County/City Sentenced and Warrant • Probation, State Inmate, and Hold • Warrant and New Charge	We identified the top six multiple admission combinations that resulted in the longest length of stay using 2019 data and correspond to the first six combinations to the left. These 2019 combinations were reported on for all years, as this will be most relevant for practitioners. Note that these are combinations that result in the longest length of stay, **not combinations that are the most frequent.** In this calculation, only admission type combinations that had **a minimum of 30 admissions per grouping** were used**.** Further we added the combination new charge and warrant as it was the most frequent combination across the study period.

Release Type	• Pretrial release, Bail paid • Pretrial release, No bail • City/county sentenced release • State inmate/prison transfer release • Released onto Probation • Release onto Parole • Time served • Dismissed • Other release	Release types are based on how an individual leaves the jail. ● **Time Served:** Individuals who have completed their sentence in jail. ● **City/County Sentenced Release:** Individuals held in jail awaiting discharge to other jail or city/county agency. ● **Released onto Probation:** Individual released onto probation or shock probated. ● **Released onto Parole:** Individual released onto parole or parole warrant/detainer lifted. ● **Pretrial Release: Bail Paid:** Individual released pretrial following the posting of bail. ● **Pretrial Release: No Bail:** Individuals released pretrial via ROR, administrative release, or other non-monetary release. ● **Dismissed:** Case dismissed ● **State Inmate/Prison Transfer:** Individuals released or transferred to a state prison facility. ● **Other Agency Permanent Release:** A broadly used categorization that includes persons released to state prison facilities and to other agencies. The lack of consistency and high volume, required a separate category. ● **Court Order:** A broadly used categorization that does not provide a specific reason for release. ● **Other:** Any release reason not covered above including those who escaped or died in custody.
Number of charges	Continuous measure	A count indicating the number of charges a person was booked into jail with.
Top charge severity (appendices may include charge severity based on admission type)	• Violent Felony • Non-Violent Felony • Misdemeanor • Violations (ordinance and traffic) • Warrant • Other	Charge severity classifications were obtained from the Missouri State Highway Patrol (MSHP) and Missouri Uniform Crime Reporting Codes (UCR Codes). MSHP assigns UCR codes for all criminal offenses in Kentucky and identifies those offenses as felony, misdemeanor, violation, warrant, or other category. This report uses the UCR code type to assign severity, however, the authors further distinguished 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. In the event that the statute defining charge category for a given charge has changed during the course of

		the study period, the charge category for a given admission is based on year of admission.
Top charge type (appendices may include charge severity based on admission type)	• Person • Property • Drugs • Weapon • Society • Traffic • Other	Charge type category classifications were obtained from the Missouri State Highway Patrol (MSHP) and Missouri Uniform Crime Reporting Codes (UCR codes). MSHP assigns UCR codes for all criminal offenses in Missouri and links all offenses to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report offense codes (UCR codes) which designates offenses as crime against person, crime against property, or crimes against society. In addition, the UCR codes identify traffic and "other" offense types that are not included in UCR offense codes. The authors followed the UCR designations, except where noted below. ● **Person**: Any offense maintaining a UCR designation as crime against person ● **Property:** Any offense maintaining a UCR designation as crime against property ● **Drug:** Any offense maintaining a UCR offense code 35A or 35B drug/narcotic offense ● **Weapon:** Any offense maintaining a UCR offense code 520 weapon law violations. ● **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. ● **Traffic:** Any offense listed as traffic in UCR codes or listed as a UCR offense code 90D (DUI). **Other:** Non-criminal offenses. In the event that the statute defining charge severity for a given charge has changed during the course of the study period, the charge severity for a given admission is based on year of admission
Bail Amount	Continuous and categorical variable • $500 or less • $501–$1,000 • $1,001–$2,500 • $2,501–$5,000 • ≥$5,000.	Bail amount is the numeric value provided at the time of the data pull and generally represents the initial bail amount. LMDC does not have a standard practice of updating bail amounts as they are revised. bail amount set. When an individual is required to post bail for multiple cases, a composite bail amount was used. In instances where bail was present but the amount was listed as $0, the amount was treated as missing data and removed from the analyses. All bail amounts are adjusted for 2019 dollars.

Three-year jail admission history	Continuous measure	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-years because this benchmark is used in recidivism research.[xl]
Sex	• Male • Female	IJMS data provides an indicator for male or female. The dataset did not include data on other categories.
Age	• 18-20 • 21-24 • 25-34 • 35-49 • 50-64 • 65 +	IJMS data provides an age and date of birth for all persons booked into jail. Age at the time of admission as used to create the age groups.
Race/Ethnicity	• Non-Hispanic Black • Non-Hispanic White • Hispanic (all race) • Non-Hispanic Asian • Other or Unknown	Categorization of race were based on available data. Data on Hispanic ethnicity was not collected at the time of the report.

APPENDIX B: CUMULATIVE BED DAYS BY YEAR

Appendix Table 1. Cumulative Bed Days for Admission Types and Charges by Release Year

	Release Year									
Number of Admission Types and Charges	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Single Admission Type, Single Charge	94,357	76,995	89,176	95,685	91,830	91,575	115,782	112,955	107,628	96,860
Single Admission Type, Multiple Charges	160,502	114,797	143,812	157,713	153,080	150,795	168,457	185,076	213,700	163,700
Multiple Admission Types, Multiple Charges	270,214	280,176	180,309	317,092	318,258	276,718	297,268	311,547	322,547	253,618
Total	527,083	473,979	415,309	572,503	565,182	521,103	583,523	611,595	645,893	516,197

Appendix Table 2. Cumulative Bed Days for Single and Multiple Admission Types by Release Year

	Release Year									
Single Admission Type	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Pretrial Admission: Warrant Only	139,190	126,712	135,169	150,899	148,229	151,295	186,907	192,225	228,697	171,063
Processed & Released	5,660	3,885	4,082	4,139	4,779	5,669	5,848	7,882	6,331	6,490
Hold Admission (Ice, Federal, Other Jurisdiction)	15,954	14,805	19,410	13,920	11,861	10,065	14,375	13,744	18,447	25,622
Probation Admission	27,107	24,812	25,999	27,238	26,227	29,448	32,629	31,574	22,685	17,540
Pretrial Admission: New Charge Only	28,576	24,854	19,919	26,467	23,685	23,074	23,271	35,187	27,770	25,487
Parole Admission	3,002	3,309	3,294	3,790	2,312	2,754	2,882	3,175	3,374	1,893
Prison Transfer Admission	7,071	5,438	8,232	7,622	7,715	5,474	5,386	5,021	5,905	3,627
City/County Sentenced Admission	27,957	17,940	16,596	19,308	20,031	14,582	12,920	9,223	7,853	8,687
Other Admission	342	37	287	15	71	9	21	0	266	160
Total	256,869	223,803	235,000	255,411	246,924	244,385	286,255	300,048	323,346	262,588
Multiple Admission Types										
Hold, Warrant, and New Charge	9,695	8,177	7,288	11,284	12,258	12,069	10,644	10,659	10,809	12,940
Warrant and City/County Sentenced	17,487	15,249	12,374	12,880	11,583	11,058	9,627	9,214	5,185	5,013
Hold, Warrant, & Probation	7,766	11,094	11,497	16,125	15,610	12,195	11,721	10,801	13,164	12,160
Warrant and Transfer	6,745	7,222	6,288	6,595	9,210	4,086	3,765	8,163	4,597	5,088
Warrant, New Charge, and Processed & Released	8,662	12,099	11,698	16,765	15,755	12,070	22,624	14,697	15,089	16,148
New Charge and Processed & Released	8,165	5,919	6,384	7,709	10,288	6,175	6,367	7,660	12,450	7,949
Warrant & New Charge	24,648	27,271	23,891	41,907	31,172	32,127	39,186	36,083	47,780	31,799
Total	85,178	89,042	81,432	115,278	107,890	91,795	105,950	99,294	111,092	93,116

Appendix Table 3. Cumulative Bed Days for Top Charge Severity and Category by Release Year

	Release Year									
Top Charge Severity	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Violent Felony	146,391	155,500	142,339	172,398	178,987	147,434	190,360	197,550	247,473	219,610
Non-Violent Felony	288,493	267,590	293,684	232,923	316,466	324,720	347,027	361,754	340,508	242,922
Misdemeanor	31,766	28,780	23,939	23,717	21,574	17,990	14,158	15,029	15,878	8,612
Violation	39,467	33,177	31,612	31,502	28,034	14,518	10,818	16,018	13,958	11,024
Warrant	1,317	1,480	2,094	1,501	1,406	1,369	2,846	2,149	2,841	3,491
Other	12,326	10,394	14,107	13,790	13,464	11,452	13,198	15,916	22,645	27,877
Total	521,770	498,932	509,787	477,844	561,945	519,498	580,423	610,433	645,321	515,555
Top Charge Category										
Person	155,426	159,900	147,166	171,119	172,030	144,237	181,230	177,766	222,536	196,958
Property	161,026	155,283	168,985	185,659	177,466	180,939	200,766	227,093	220,090	156,316
Drug	43,116	33,612	37,579	48,024	55,634	53,197	56,850	63,528	66,800	48,462
Weapons	6,359	3,949	4,723	5,513	5,548	10,381	12,515	11,503	10,299	9,684
Society	107,253	106,235	114,270	118,807	111,300	102,145	101,902	101,654	102,960	88,353
Traffic	30,009	25,298	16,588	21,638	22,787	14,001	13,253	18,724	16,588	10,308
Other	16,360	12,638	18,464	16,061	15,162	12,787	12,928	7,942	6,586	3,455
Total	521,559	498,926	509,787	568,834	561,941	519,702	581,460	610,227	647,877	515,555

Appendix Table 4. Cumulative Bed Days for Release Type by Release Year

	Release Year									
Release Type	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Pretrial Release, Bail Paid	46,691	39,763	43,370	52,488	50,937	45,600	54,489	58,797	75,145	60,252
Pretrial Release, No Bail	30,242	34,099	38,801	43,780	50,517	71,528	98,870	126,145	136,960	136,585
City/county sentenced release	67,352	48,558	44,529	45,868	39,567	34,736	26,900	23,205	19,327	15,432
Prison transfer release	155,891	165,745	166,274	189,191	184,079	144,443	159,005	175,926	183,126	126,114
Released onto Probation	22,060	18,508	22,989	21,832	23,227	29,906	31,162	44,057	37,421	25,150
Release onto Parole	601	1,460	2,177	831	1,506	1,617	780	2,213	2,585	2,082
Time served	158,534	149,714	144,736	164,437	157,805	128,410	131,154	114,026	116,663	75,465
Dismissed	15,071	18,421	19,901	27,071	30,001	43,471	52,903	43,920	47,634	39,676
Other	28,631	25,700	30,520	24,992	25,529	19,377	26,244	21,289	25,014	33,422
Total	525,073	501,968	513,297	570,490	563,168	519,088	581,507	609,578	643,875	514,178

Appendix Table 5. Cumulative Bed Days for Sex by Release Year

	Release Year									
Sex	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Male	453,992	444,057	444,738	491,805	486,300	438,589	491,099	491,805	534,397	436,637
Female	71,081	57,911	68,559	78,685	76,868	80,499	90,408	102,088	109,478	77,541
Total	527,083	503,979	515,309	572,503	565,182	521,103	583,523	595,910	645,893	516,197
Race										
Black	335,216	323,691	339,902	383,048	360,830	335,613	379,440	383,336	406,583	346,040
White	188,954	177,099	171,373	186,313	201,638	182,765	200,082	224,949	236,292	166,838
Asian	424	1,022	1,695	1,076	650	976	1,947	1,276	998	1,283
Other	479	156	327	53	50	31	38	17	2	17
Total	525,073	501,968	513,297	570,490	563,168	519,385	581,507	609,578	643,875	514,178
Age Group										
Under 18	17,320	24,006	14,608	15,784	16,263	14,964	19,396	17,088	41,147	16,405
18-20	77,952	72,693	73,924	76,761	60,876	67,238	64,329	67,935	73,579	49,368
21-24	81,330	78,110	87,651	95,868	99,957	95,567	102,975	103,137	101,668	78,319
25-34	156,882	152,998	153,409	179,214	176,551	167,058	201,087	207,167	211,461	177,182
35-49	152,419	135,998	140,622	149,580	156,510	124,048	146,152	152,897	173,329	143,399
50-64	37,329	35,060	39,418	48,206	48,729	47,552	44,444	58,314	56,760	44,564
65+	1,841	2,833	3,665	5,077	4,282	2,661	3,124	3,040	2,931	4,941
Total	527,083	503,709	515,309	572,503	565,182	521,103	583,523	611,595	662,893	516,197

Appendix Table 6. Cumulative Bed Days by Bond Amount

	Release Year									
Bond Amount	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
< $500	24,490	27,691	24,440	26,066	30,901	24,627	19,544	18,608	15,118	15,095
$501-$1,000	18,947	18,825	13,102	16,389	17,547	13,786	10,965	13,445	14,238	7,768
$1,001-$2,500	16,697	15,690	15,197	17,197	18,551	14,059	11,788	14,078	14,094	9,073
$2,501-$5,000	6,992	5,481	5,254	12,071	14,644	12,821	9,327	8,685	14,632	11,752
> $5,000	259,751	249,042	262,440	310,303	300,208	289,935	378,681	409,805	456,049	361,175
Total	328,887	318,740	322,445	384,039	383,865	357,243	432,321	466,638	516,149	406,882

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In addition, a list of municipal courts can be found here, https://wp.stlcountycourts.com/municipal-division/ or https://www.courts.mo.gov/

The DJS contracts with 52 local agencies and the Missouri Department of Corrections to hold individuals for further criminal processing. The state allows reimbursement for boarding under RSMO 221.105. See also https://revisor.mo.gov/main/OneSection.aspx?section=221.105 In 2019, the Department of Justice Services collected $73,470 to house individuals from local municipalities. See the DJS Annual Report for more information - https://stlouiscountymo.gov/st-louis-county-departments/justice-services/annual-reports/2019-annual-report

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[xxxvi] https://www.mshp.dps.missouri.gov/CJ08Client/Home/ChargeCode

[xxxvii] Individuals can be booked into jail on multiple charges; therefore, there may be differences in the categorization of top charge category and charge severity. Top charge severity (felony, misdemeanor, etc) is provided in the jail data, and there is some missing data in this data field. In contrast, top charge category was assigned by the researchers based on NCIC codes.

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[xxxix] The sample size is smaller in this analysis as cases with missing data on any of the measures were omitted.

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