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# Justice at a Crossroads in New York City

## Reexamining Crime, Enforcement, Incarceration, and Racial Disparities

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The vision for this report came from Jeremy Travis, Senior Fellow at the Columbia Justice Lab and President Emeritus of John Jay College. He partnered with Preeti Chauhan, Professor of Psychology and former Executive Director of the [Data Collaborative for Justice](#) (DCJ) to analyze New York City crime and enforcement trends through 2017. Travis presented the findings in a landmark lecture at New York Law School titled, [Trends in Crime and Justice: Reflections on the New York City Story, 1980-2017](#). In the years since 2017, the City experienced the COVID-19 pandemic; a coinciding rise in violent crime; statewide reforms to bail, discovery, and parole; and ongoing efforts to close the notorious Rikers Island jails. In this context, Travis approached DCJ with the idea of expanding the earlier analysis to include additional metrics and an updated tracking period.

Besides producing this report based on *official records* of crime, enforcement, and incarceration, we added a parallel report examining *crime victimization trends* based on findings from the annual National Crime Victimization Survey. A single executive summary covering key findings from both reports is available at our [project landing page](#).

We are deeply indebted to Joanna Weill, Kate Penrose, and Darcy Hauslik, who first collected some of the data included in this report for an unrelated purpose in 2021. We are grateful to our current colleagues at the Center for Justice Innovation, Lenore Lebron, Darcy Hauslik, and Dana Kralstein, for graciously tallying and providing data concerning the spread of alternative to incarceration programs from 2002 through 2023.

We thank Erica Bond, Rebecca Atkinson, Mindy Bockstein, Jennifer Lorenzo, Iva Stojanovic, Katharine Huffman, Jael Henry, Nik Sibley, Jordyn Davis, Sarah Monaghan, and Krystal Rodriguez for their partnership in planning [two events](#) in May 2025 featuring our research and related topics concerning the future of New York City's criminal legal system.

The vast majority of the data in this report was obtained from public sources. However, some metrics relied on non-public data provided by DCJS, for which we thank Leigh Bates, Colin Gruner, and their terrific data team. In addition, a trendline appearing in a Chapter 4 graphic that displays increased enrollment in specialized problem-solving courts relied, in part, on data from the New York State Office of Court Administration (OCA). OCA data provided herein does not constitute an official record of the New York State Unified Court System. Neither New York State nor DCJS nor OCA represent or warrant the accuracy of this report's contents or assume liability thereof. The opinions, findings, and conclusions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and not those of DCJS or OCA.

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# Chapter I. Introduction to the Crossroads Project

**The premise of this project is simple: In determining its response to crime and violence, New York City stands at a crossroads.** After years of declining rates of crime, enforcement activities, and incarceration, New York City has experienced volatility in many of these same criminal justice measures. New realities have prompted calls for a more punitive response to crime which, in turn, are countered by advocates urging continued support for a reform agenda. Today's choices on the path forward will have long-term consequences for the well-being of the City's residents and communities, and for New Yorkers' aspirations for safety, justice, and equity.

**To inform current policies, this report, along with another focusing on victimization, seeks to widen our perspective by drawing attention to the pendulum swings that describe the City's longer history.** These swings feature a multi-decade pattern of declining crime, enforcement activities, and incarceration from the 1990s until 2020, followed by upticks and reversals in the vacillating 2020s. The juxtaposition of this more extended view of history against present-day debates about the best path forward underscores the power of the metaphor: *We are at a crossroads*. The driving premise of the Crossroads project is that we have an opportunity to learn from past responses to crime—including disproportionate harm experienced by communities of color—to craft more effective policies in the future.

**To help move the conversation forward, our immediate purpose is to ground discussions in objective data concerning New York City's history up to the present.** We expand on two [earlier analyses](#),<sup>1</sup> adding more metrics and extending the tracking period through at least 2023. In addition, an accompanying report draws on the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) to document victimization trends in the City, the proportion of victimization reported to the police, and changes in victims' confidence in police and use of services.<sup>2</sup> Notably, that report finds that during the study period (1996 to 2022), more than half of all crimes were never reported to the police, with reporting rates declining over time—particularly for household property crime—and finds an increasing perception that police would not help if called. By contrast, the present report focuses solely on criminal complaints that are reported to the police and processed by the criminal legal system and thus may offer a more limited view of overall victimization.

**An executive summary available at the [project landing page](#) integrates key findings from both reports.** The full report on crime victimization trends is available at this same landing page.

Tied to this research, the [Crossroads Convening](#), a two-day public event held at John Jay College in May of 2025, provides New Yorkers with an opportunity to look both backward and forward, reflecting on past trends and advancing a much-needed dialogue about the future steps New York City's criminal legal system might take.<sup>3</sup>

## **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

We seek to answer seven questions about the changing criminal legal landscape since 1990.

- 1. Crime:** How have crime rates changed, encompassing the most serious violent crimes and shooting incidents, and misdemeanor crime complaints (Chapter 2)?
- 2. Law Enforcement:** How have police enforcement activities changed, encompassing pedestrian street stops, minor summonses, felony and misdemeanor arrests, and drug arrests (Chapter 3)?
- 3. Decision-Making in the Courts:** How have key decisions and case outcomes changed, encompassing prosecutors' decision of whether to file arrests with the court in the first place, judges' bail decisions, case dispositions (e.g., conviction rates), and the use of alternatives to incarceration (Chapter 4)?
- 4. Incarceration and Community Corrections:** How have local jail, state prison, probation, and parole admissions and daily population numbers changed (Chapter 5)?
- 5. Recidivism After Disposition:** How have recidivism rates changed for people immediately released into the community following a non-carceral case disposition (Chapter 6)?
- 6. Racial Disparities:** Amid the overall trends, to what extent (if at all) have racial and ethnic disparities in people's criminal legal system involvement declined (Chapter 7)?
- 7. The Early 2020s:** Zooming in from this report's longer-term analysis, what trends or fluctuations have taken place specifically in the early 2020s (covered in all chapters)? Answers to this last question will set the stage for a discussion of the criminal legal system we want, moving forward.

*Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes major themes and takeaways.*

### **RECENT CHANGES AND DISLOCATIONS**

While this report documents a longer arc beginning more than three decades in the past, we also examine recent trends reflecting several dramatic contextual events.

- **Criminal Legal Reform:** The early 2020s saw a series of major criminal legal reforms. In 2020, the State's [bail reform](#) law eliminated bail and pretrial detention for most misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies,<sup>4</sup> and [discovery reform](#) required prosecutors to share evidence with defense attorneys on an expedited timeline.<sup>5</sup> (While leaving key components intact, legislators later amended bail reform and discovery reform three times each.<sup>6</sup>) Rolled out in late 2021 and 2022, statewide [parole reforms](#) shortened people's time on parole and restricted the use of jail for people facing pending parole violations—yielding sharp reductions in jail incarceration.<sup>7</sup>

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

- **COVID-19 Pandemic:** Arrests plummeted at the onset of the pandemic in March and April 2020, as people stayed home.<sup>8</sup> Courts experienced disruptions and delays, eventually subsiding in late 2020 and 2021.<sup>9</sup>
- **Protests Against Police Brutality:** Galvanized by the killings of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, the late spring and early summer of 2020 saw a surge of nationwide Black Lives Matter protests against excessive use of force by police, alongside a documented overreaction to these protests by many police departments, including New York City's.<sup>10</sup>
- **Swings in Violent Crime:** Related to pandemic dislocations that appear to have disproportionately impacted communities with high poverty and unemployment rates, serious [violent crime spiked nationwide](#) in 2020.<sup>11</sup> Most recently, 2024 data indicates that violent crime indicators are mostly [falling nationwide](#).<sup>12</sup> While similarly declining in New York City, data shows that serious crime in the City remains [above pre-pandemic levels](#).<sup>13</sup>
- **Change in City Leadership:** Starting in 2022, Mayor Eric Adams instituted more aggressive low-level enforcement policies than the prior administration, associated with increased [pedestrian stops](#),<sup>14</sup> [criminal](#) and [civil summonses](#),<sup>15</sup> and [misdemeanor arrests](#).<sup>16</sup> However, because these shifts occurred alongside rises in certain crime categories, it is challenging to determine the extent to which they were driven by policy changes versus broader crime trends.
- **Ongoing Efforts to Close Rikers Island:** In March of 2017, former Mayor Bill de Blasio called for closing the City's notorious Rikers Island jail complex.<sup>17</sup> Blocking this aspiration, however, the [daily jail population](#) has been rising since the spring of 2020.<sup>18</sup> A number of reports have identified [strategies for reducing](#) the jail population,<sup>19</sup> but policymakers have failed to implement most of them to-date, and the City is running [substantially late](#) in erecting replacement jails by a legal deadline of August 31, 2027.<sup>20</sup>

## DATA IN THIS REPORT

We assembled data from over 20 sources, largely public datasets posted by City and State agencies on [NYC Open Data](#) or [Data.NY.Gov](#). Through data use agreements maintained by the Data Collaborative for Justice, we also drew on non-public arrest, disposition, and sentencing data from the Division of Criminal Justice Services and non-public data on drug, mental health, and veterans court enrollment from the Office of Court Administration.

As a rule, we tracked data for each available metric as far back as possible, except for establishing an earliest starting point of 1990. Our public data sources began more recently than 1990; and two existing publications, including an [analysis of arrest and sentencing trends](#) released at the end of 2024, already include earlier data dating back to 1980.<sup>21</sup> We tracked all data through either 2023 or 2024 (depending on 2024 data availability).

The purpose of this report is to provide a descriptive portrait. As such, we cannot make firm causal arguments around *why* the many observed trends took place—though in some cases it is possible to draw obvious or reasonable inferences about contributing factors.



## Chapter 2. Crime and Victimization

This chapter examines trends in reported *serious* (“*index*”) crime as well as *misdemeanor or lesser crime* reported to the New York Police Department. Data are presented overall and by crime category, with rates adjusted for population growth.<sup>22</sup> As the trends presented here only capture crimes reported to the police, the findings may undercount crime due to reporting bias,<sup>23</sup> particularly for [certain offense types](#).<sup>24</sup> To address this, in a [parallel report](#), we examined trends using data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS).<sup>25</sup>

### SERIOUS (“INDEX”) CRIMES

With limited exceptions, the predominant trend is a considerable decline in index crime from 1990 to 2019, followed by a modest increase in violent crime and a more substantial increase in property crime after 2019. Notably, between the last two years measured from 2022 to 2023, violent crime receded while property crime continued to rise.

- **All Index Crime:** From 1990 to 2019, index crimes fell from 711,556 to 170,121, a rate drop of 79% (126 to 26 per 1,000) (**Figure 2.1**). The index crime rate then rose by 42% from 2019 to 2023, an increase primarily driven by a rise in property crime (see below).
- **Violent Index Crime:** From 1990 to 2019, violent crimes fell from 174,689 to 47,821, a rate drop of 77% (31 to 7 per 1,000). From 2019 to 2023, the violent crime rate then increased by 18%, though the increase to 2022 was about twice as high, before violent crime receded in 2023 (**Figure 2.2**).
  - **Specific Violent Crimes:** From 1990 to 2019, rates declined across all four violent index crimes: *robbery* (-89%), *murder* (-88%), *aggravated assault* (-61%), and *rape* (-24%) (**Figure 2.3**). From 2019 to 2023, rates increased for robbery (+25%), murder (+20%), and aggravated assault (+18%), while rape declined (-7%).
- **Property Index Crime:** From 1990 to 2019, property crimes fell from 536,867 to 122,299, a rate drop of 81% (95 to 18 per 1,000) (**Figure 2.4**). Since then, the number has grown to 192,215 in 2023, representing a rate increase of 58%.
  - **Specific Property Crimes:** From 1990 to 2019, the rate declined across all three property crime types: -93% for *burglary*, -67% for *larceny*, and -97% for *motor vehicle theft* (**Figure 2.5**). Over the next four years to 2023, the rates then rose by 40% for burglary, 51% for larceny, and 238% for motor vehicle theft.

### SHOOTING INCIDENTS

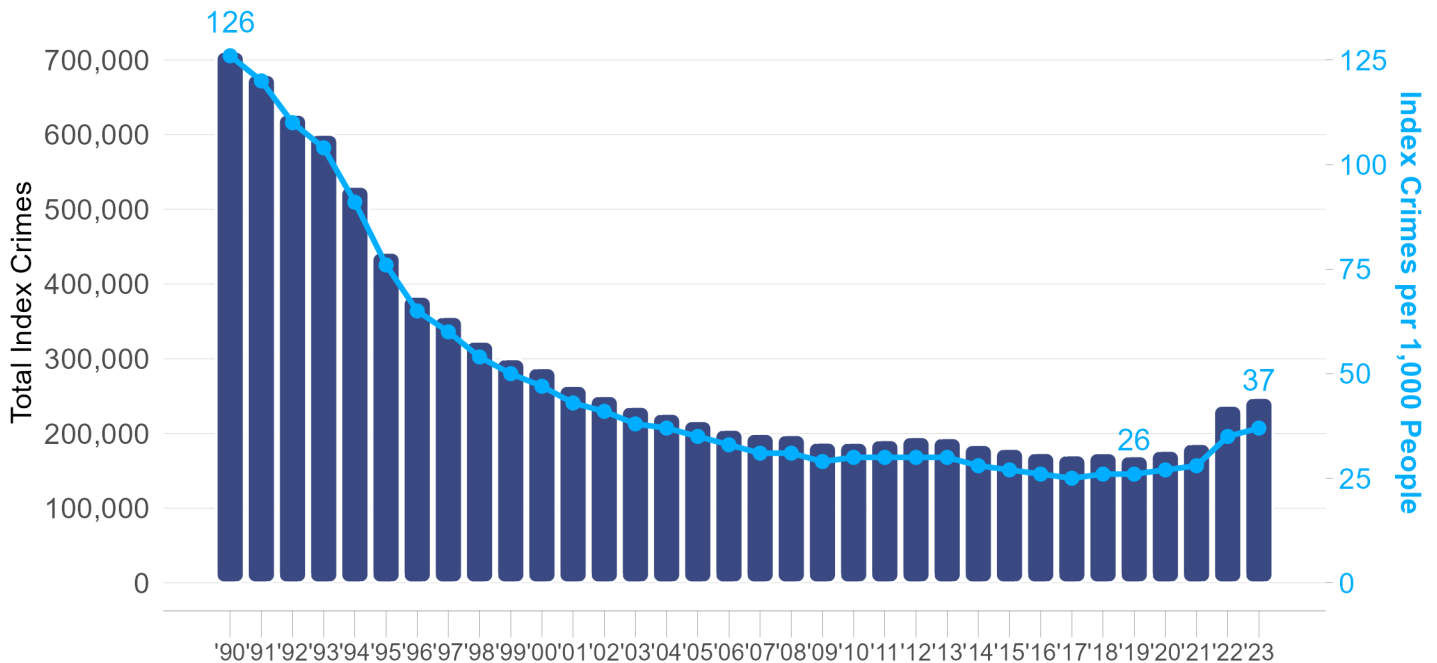
Shooting incidents followed a similar pattern to violent index crimes: declining from 5,269 in 1993 to 777 in 2019 (an 87% rate decrease), rising to 1,562 in 2021 (a 92% rate increase), and then falling to 974 in 2023 (a 35% rate decrease) (**Figure 2.6**).

**MISDEMEANOR OR LESSER CRIMES**

**Most misdemeanor crimes fell from 2006 to 2019, before increasing after 2019. Shoplifting was a striking exception—increasing in virtually all years examined.**

- **All Misdemeanor Crimes:** From 2006 to 2019, reported misdemeanor or lesser crimes fell from 358,141 to 317,079, amounting to a rate reduction of 16% (Figure 2.7). By 2023, the total rose to 362,243, reflecting a 15% rate increase.
- **Common Misdemeanors Against Persons:** The most commonly reported misdemeanors were *assault in the 3rd degree*, *aggravated harassment*, and *harassment*. From 2006 to 2019, the rate of aggravated harassment declined by 50% and then declined by another 11% by 2023. On balance, there was little net change in the other two person-based misdemeanors (Figure 2.8).
- **Shoplifting:** Petit larceny from a store was the third most common misdemeanor across nearly two decades examined. It nearly doubled from 2006 to 2019—and then increased another 51% in the four years from 2019 to 2023 (Figure 2.8).

**Figure 2.1.**  
**Index Crime, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

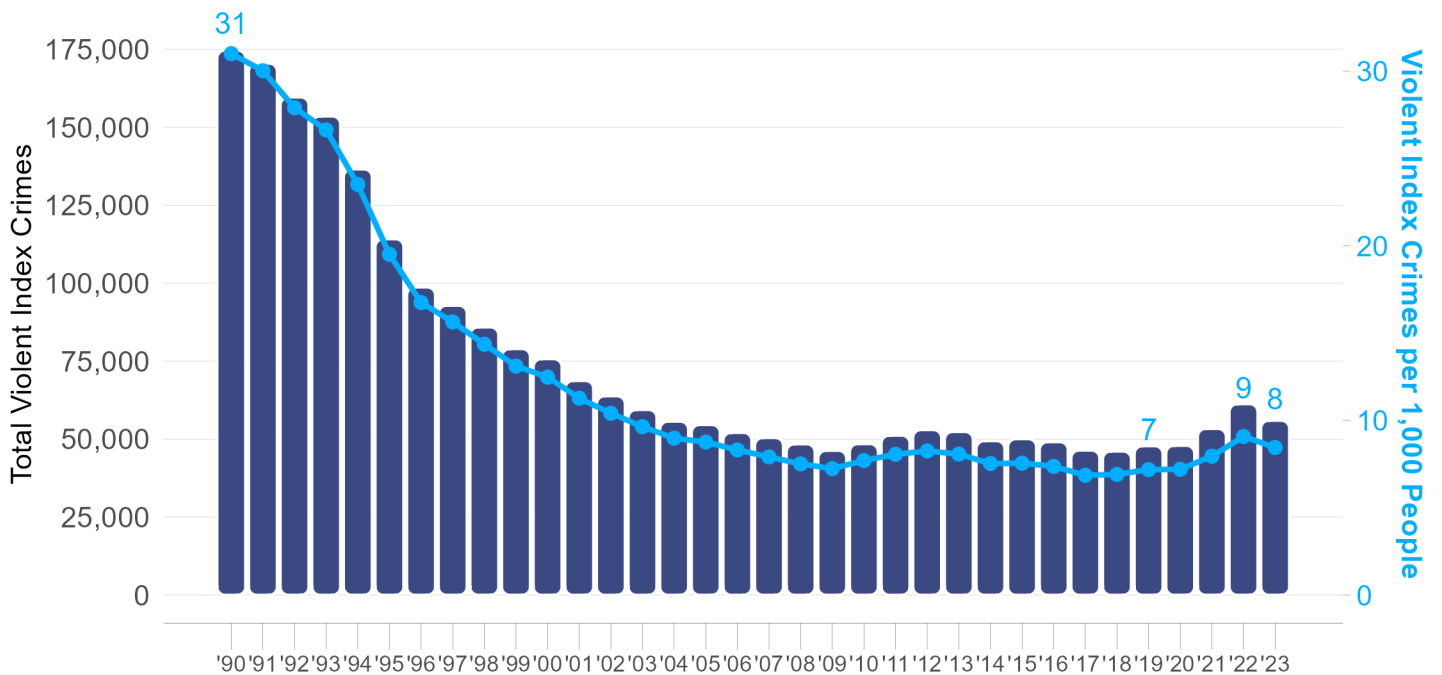
**Note:** Defined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), index crimes serve as standardized indicators of overall crime trends. They include the violent offenses of murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, as well as the property offenses of burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Police departments and sheriffs’ offices report this data to New York State [Division of Criminal Justice Services](#).



## CHAPTER 2. CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION

**Figure 2.2.**

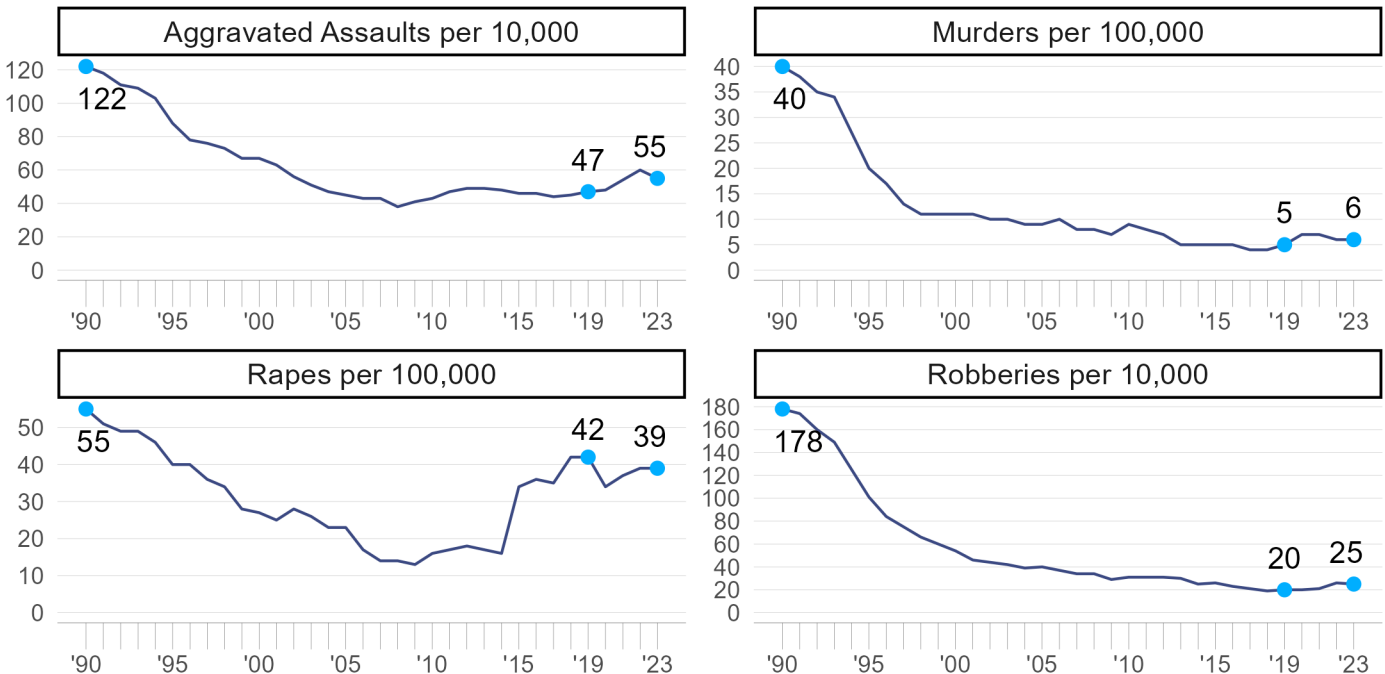
**Violent Index Crime, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**Figure 2.3.**

**Violent Index Crime Types, 1990-2023**

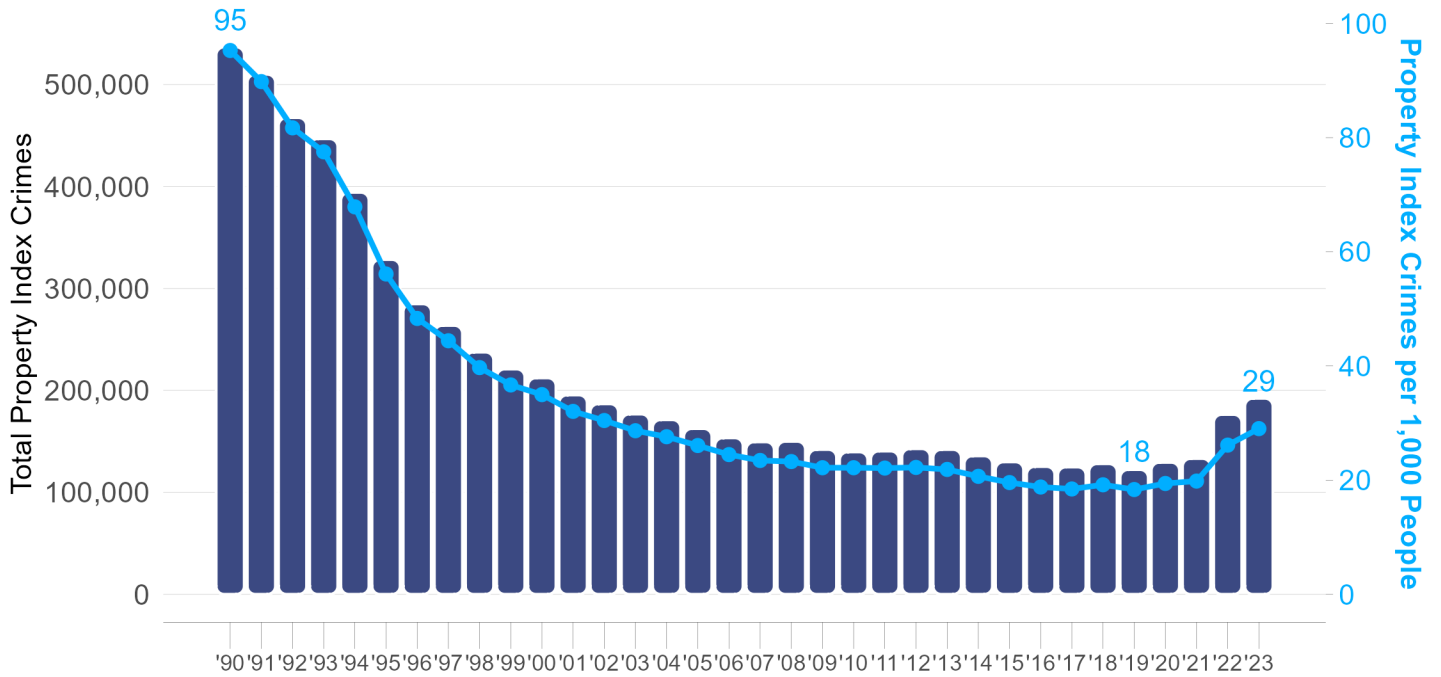


Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**CHAPTER 2. CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION**

**Figure 2.4.**

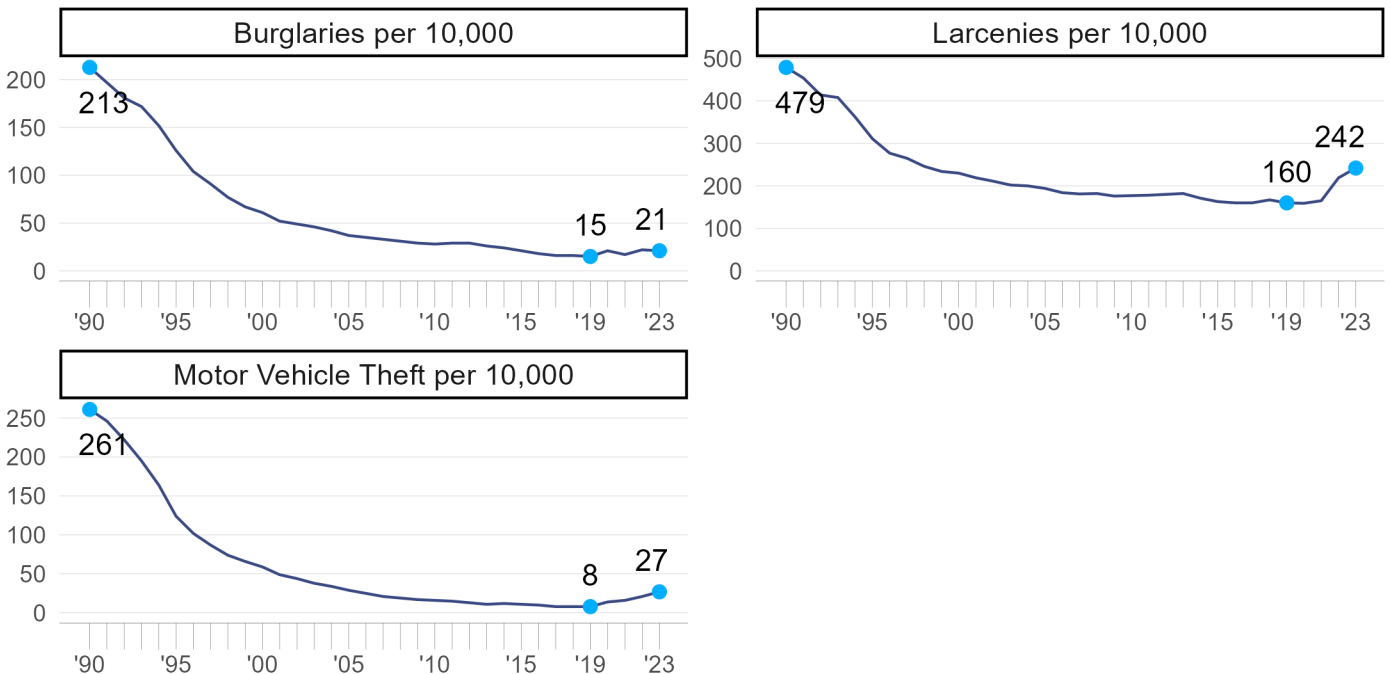
**Property Index Crime, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**Figure 2.5.**

**Property Index Crime Types, 1990-2023**

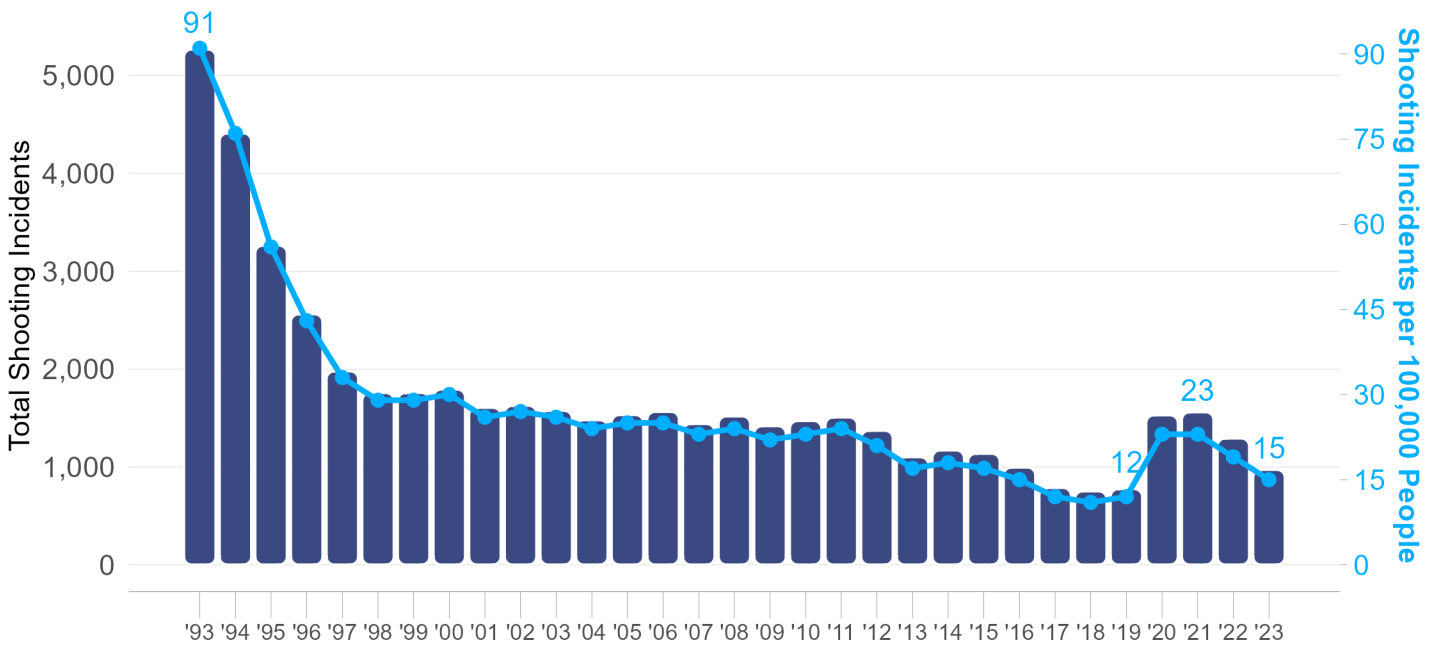


Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

## CHAPTER 2. CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION

**Figure 2.6.**

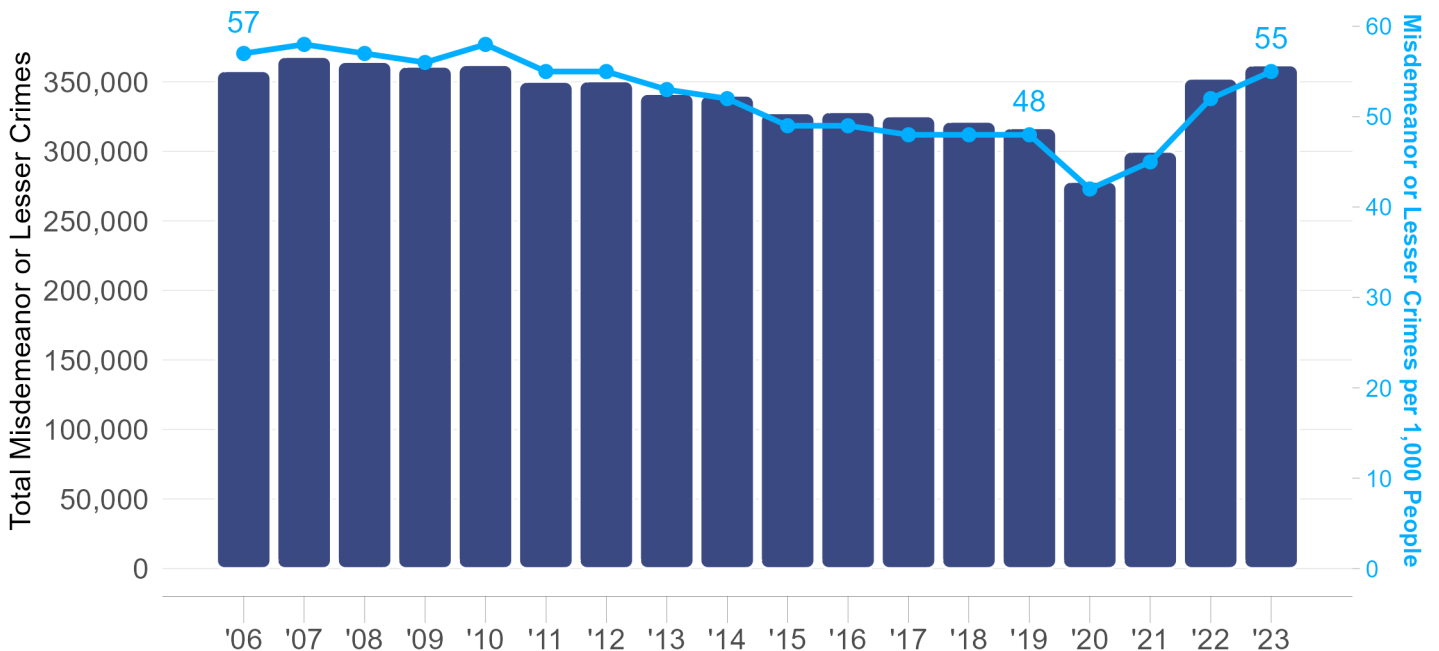
**Shooting Incidents, 1993-2023**



Source: NYC Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice (1993-2005) & New York Police Department (2006-2023)

**Figure 2.7.**

**Misdemeanor or Lesser Crimes, 2006-2023**

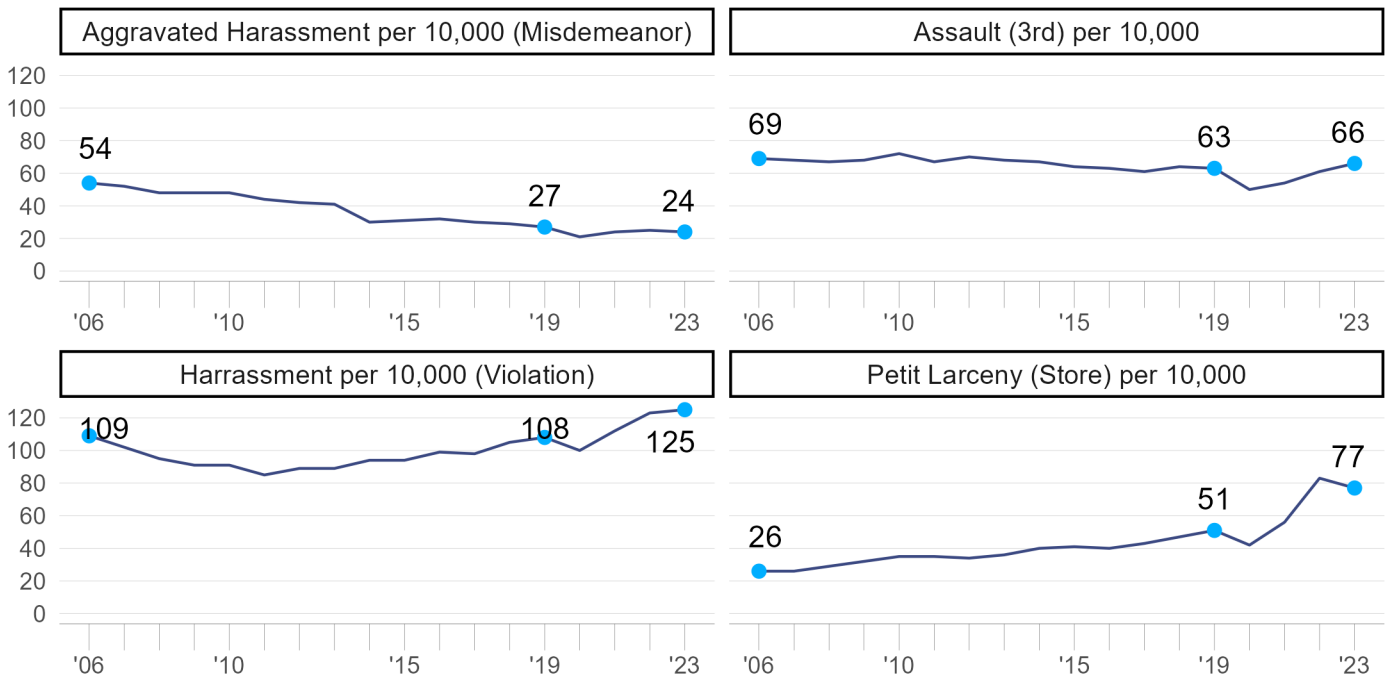


Source: New York City Police Department

**CHAPTER 2. CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION**

**Figure 2.8.**

**Common Misdemeanor Crime Types, 2006-2023**



Source: New York City Police Department

**Note:** Offense categories are based on the NYPD’s initial description of the criminal complaint (field = “pd\_desc”). Harrassment combines two similar violation-level categories: "Harassment, subdivision 3,4,5" and "Harassment, subdivision 1, civilian."

## Chapter 3. Law Enforcement

This chapter explores trends in law enforcement activities, ranging from pedestrian stops, to the issuance of summonses, to arrests.

### PEDESTRIAN STOPS

From 2003 to 2011, pedestrian stops (a.k.a., stop-question-and-frisk) conducted when an officer reports a "reasonable suspicion" of criminal activity rose more than fourfold and peaked at 685,724 (Figure 3.1). Following a court ruling that found the practices of the time unconstitutional, the number dropped by 99% to a low of 8,947 in 2021. Since then, stops increased by 184%, reaching 25,386 in 2024.<sup>26</sup>

### SUMMONSES

For minor misconduct, police can issue a civil or criminal summons. **Civil summonses** carry fewer consequences and generally result in a fine payable online. In contrast, **criminal summonses** often require an in-person court appearance, may involve higher fines if convicted, can lead to warrants for missed court dates, and pose a risk of a criminal record.

To reduce the consequences of a criminal summons, the **Criminal Justice Reform Act (CJRA)** diverted most cases involving five common offense types to the civil system beginning in 2017: (1) public consumption of alcohol, (2) public urination, (3) parks offenses, (4) noise, and (5) littering/spitting. As intended, the first full year of CJRA implementation resulted in a decline in the total summonses for these five offenses, with fewer criminal summonses and more civil summonses issued.<sup>27</sup>

- **Civil Summonses:** Using public data first made available in 2018, the grand total for civil summonses (encompassing both CJRA offenses and others) declined by 81% from 54,594 in 2018 to 10,314 in 2020; then after holding at 11,310 in 2021, civil summonses increased more than eightfold to 90,354 in 2024, including 50,506 civil summonses alone for unlawful consumption or possession of alcohol (Figure 3.2).
- **Criminal Summonses:** From 2006 to 2021, criminal summonses fell by 91% from 490,349 to 45,717 (including ongoing declines before and during the 2020 and 2021 pandemic years) (Figure 3.3). Then from 2021 to 2024, criminal summonses more than doubled to 94,542. **Trends by category:** *Marijuana* peaked at 21,057 criminal summonses in 2017, before dropping to zero following decriminalization in March of 2021; *public urination* peaked at 29,748 in 2013, then, after the CJRA, declined to fewer than one per day; *alcohol* peaked at 154,812 in 2010, then fell to 578 in 2021 after the CJRA, before rebounding to 2,657 in 2024; *disorderly conduct* peaked at 104,304 in 2007, declined to 701 in 2021, and then rose to 4,127 in 2024 (Figure 3.4).

## CHAPTER 3. LAW ENFORCEMENT

### ARRESTS

Since 1990, arrests saw four key patterns: (1) a steep increase in misdemeanor arrests from 1990 to 2010; (2) a sharp decline in misdemeanor arrests from 2010 to 2020; (3) a continuous, gradual decline in felony arrests over three decades from 1990 to 2020; and (4) a rise in arrests for all charges from 2020 to 2023.

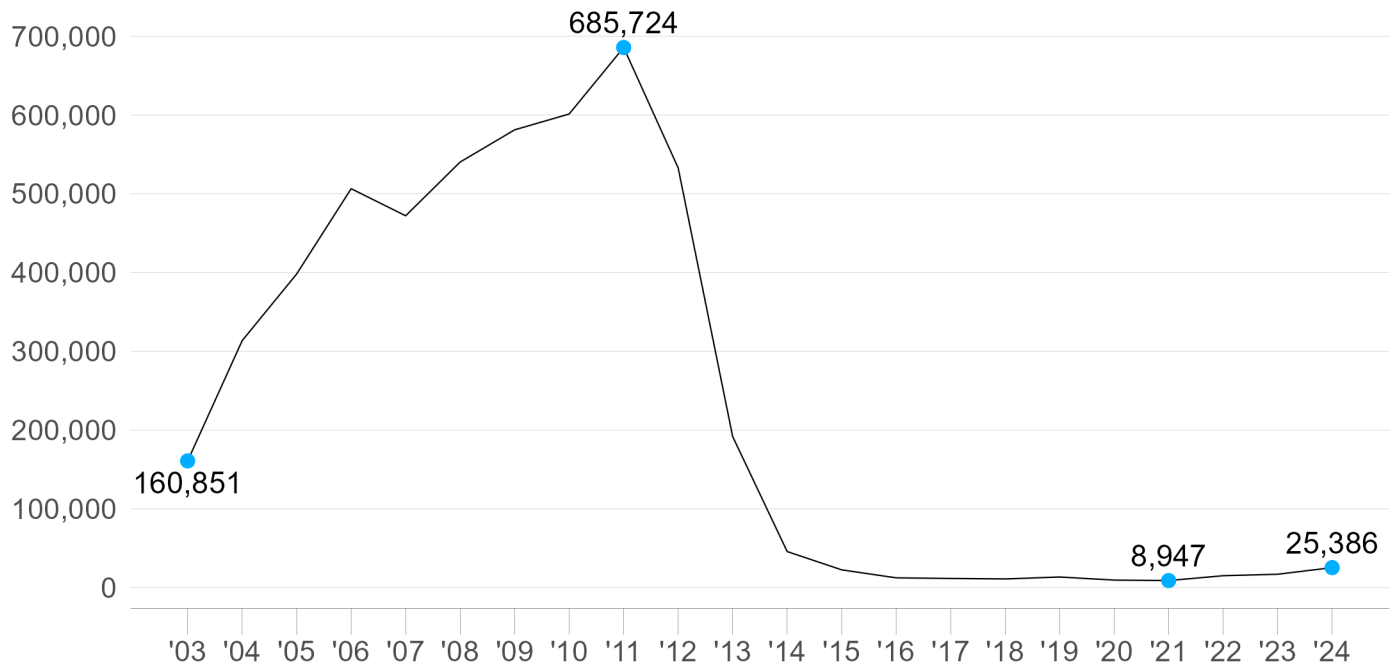
- **Overall Arrests:** Arrests rose by 28% from 266,253 in 1990 to 340,717 in 2010, before declining by 65% to 119,100 in 2020 (**Figure 3.4**). Then from 2020 to 2023, arrests rebounded by 55%. The 2023 total of 184,219 was just above the pre-pandemic 2019 level (by +4%).
- **Distinct Patterns Among Misdemeanors:** *Only misdemeanors increased from 1990 to 2010, whereas felonies declined continuously from 1990 to 2020.* Focusing on trends from 2010 to 2019, the data in **Figure 3.4** shows a steep drop in misdemeanors (-58%) compared to a gradual decline among felonies. *Discussed in a previous report, the unique misdemeanor trends are especially susceptible to changes in low-level police enforcement priorities from one mayoral administration to another—spanning changes from Mayors Giuliani and Bloomberg to Mayor de Blasio to Mayor Adams.*<sup>28</sup>
- **Swings During and After the Pandemic:** Compared to little change in violent felony arrests (-6%), misdemeanor and nonviolent felony arrests saw steep declines of 39% and 31%, respectively, from 2019 to the 2020 pandemic year. In turn, misdemeanor and nonviolent felony arrests returned in 2023 to about their pre-pandemic 2019 total, whereas violent felonies were 29% *higher* in 2023 than 2019.
- **Drug Arrests:** Drug arrests saw dramatic declines relative to peak enforcement years: felony drug possession or sale dropped from 48,698 in 1990 to 8,031 in 2023 (-84%); misdemeanor drug possession fell from 41,288 in 2000 to 9,412 in 2023 (-77%); and misdemeanor marijuana possession dropped from 51,738 in 2011 to 106 in 2021 to zero in 2023 following decriminalization (**Figure 3.7**).

For breakdowns of the trends from 1980 to 2023 for an array of specific charges, please see the recent *Data Collaborative for Justice (DCJ) [report](#)* covering this topic.<sup>29</sup>



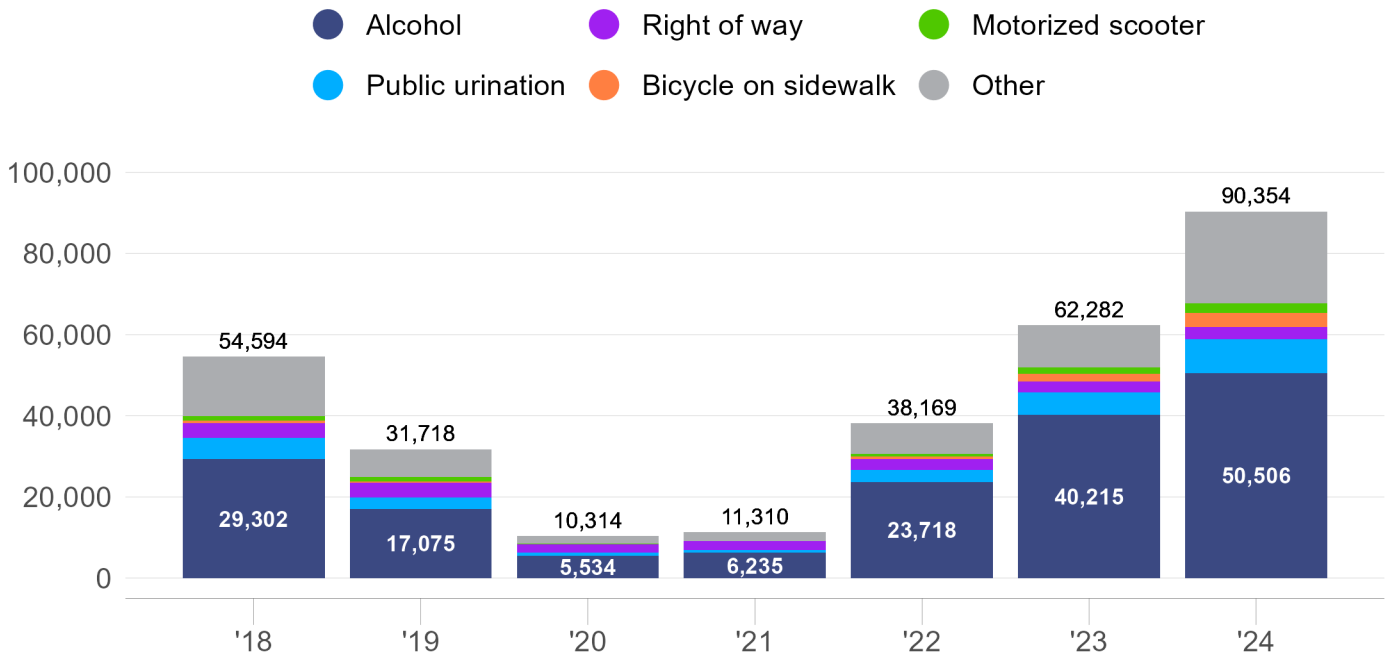
## CHAPTER 3. LAW ENFORCEMENT

**Figure 3.1.**  
**Pedestrian Stops, 2003-2024**



Source: New York City Police Department

**Figure 3.2.**  
**Civil Summonses, 2018-2024**

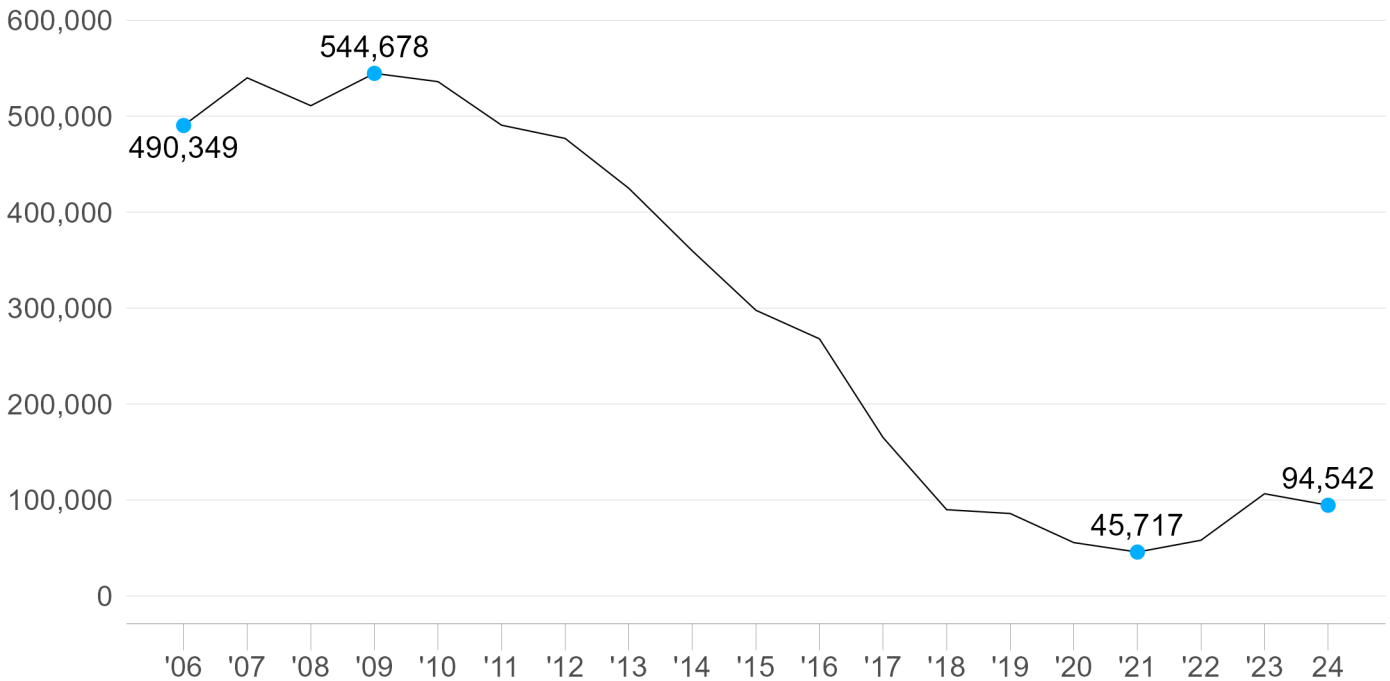


Source: New York City Police Department

## CHAPTER 3. LAW ENFORCEMENT

**Figure 3.3.**

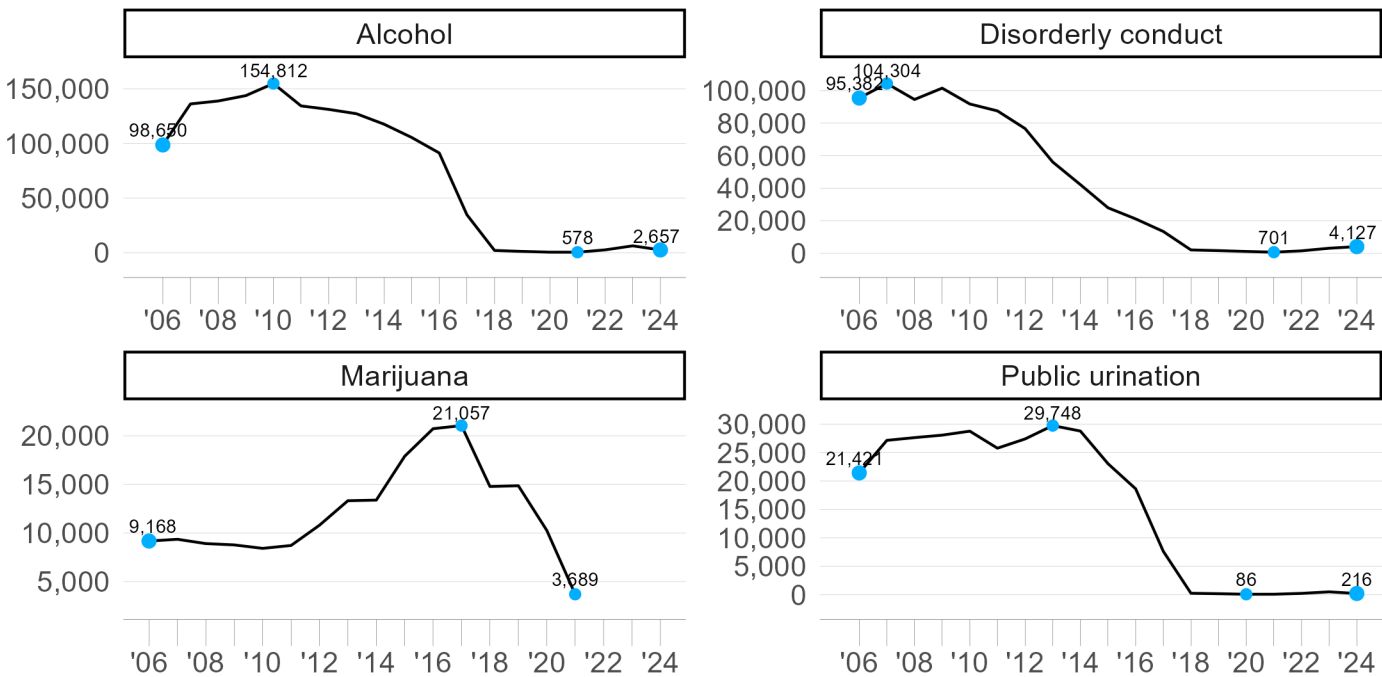
**Criminal Summons, 2006-2024**



Source: New York City Police Department

**Figure 3.4.**

**Criminal Summons Types, 2006-2024**

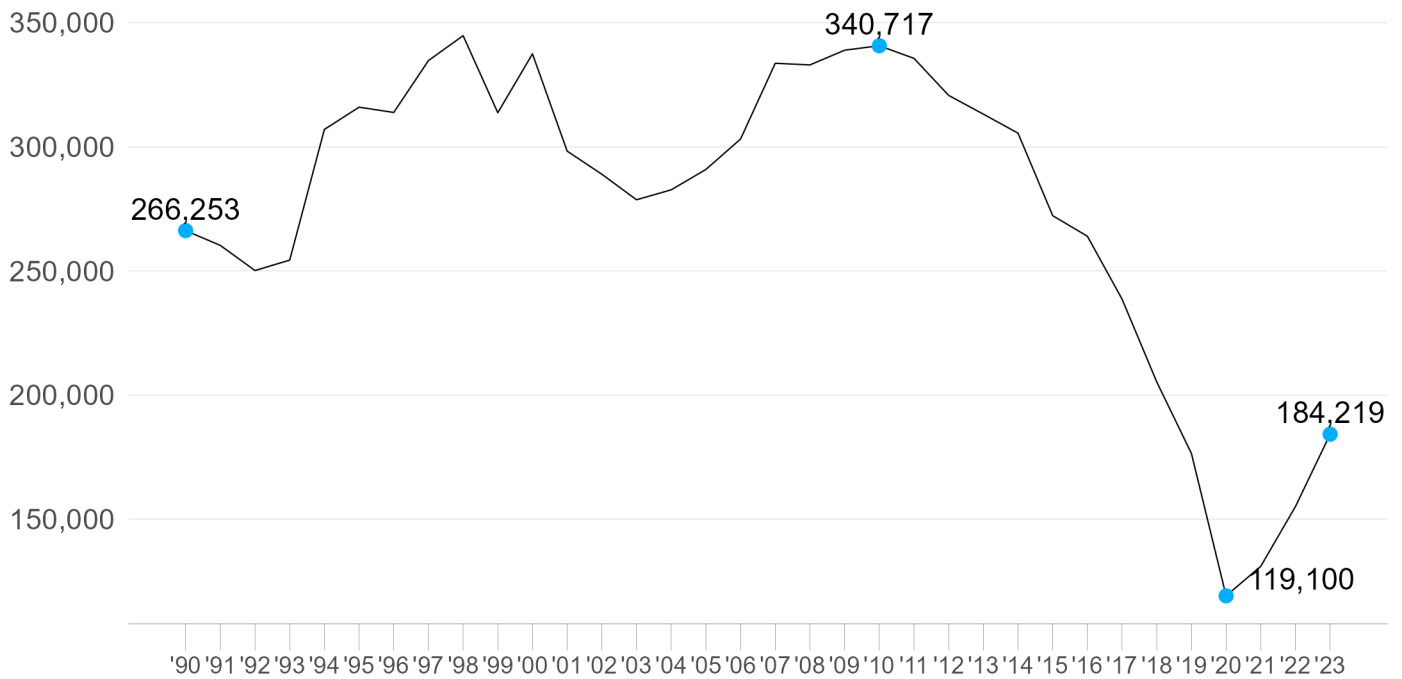


Source: New York City Police Department

**Note:** Offense categories are based on the NYPD's classification of the summons type (field = "summons\_category\_type").

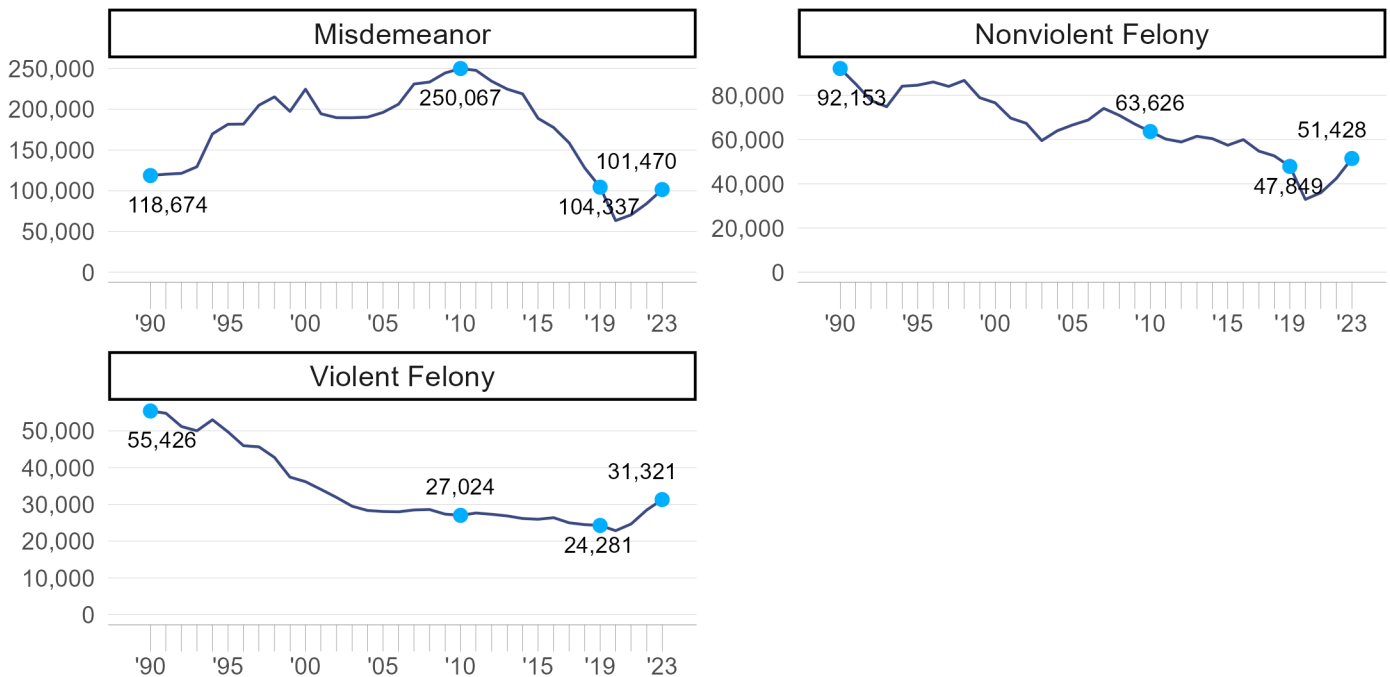
## CHAPTER 3. LAW ENFORCEMENT

**Figure 3.5.**  
**Arrests, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

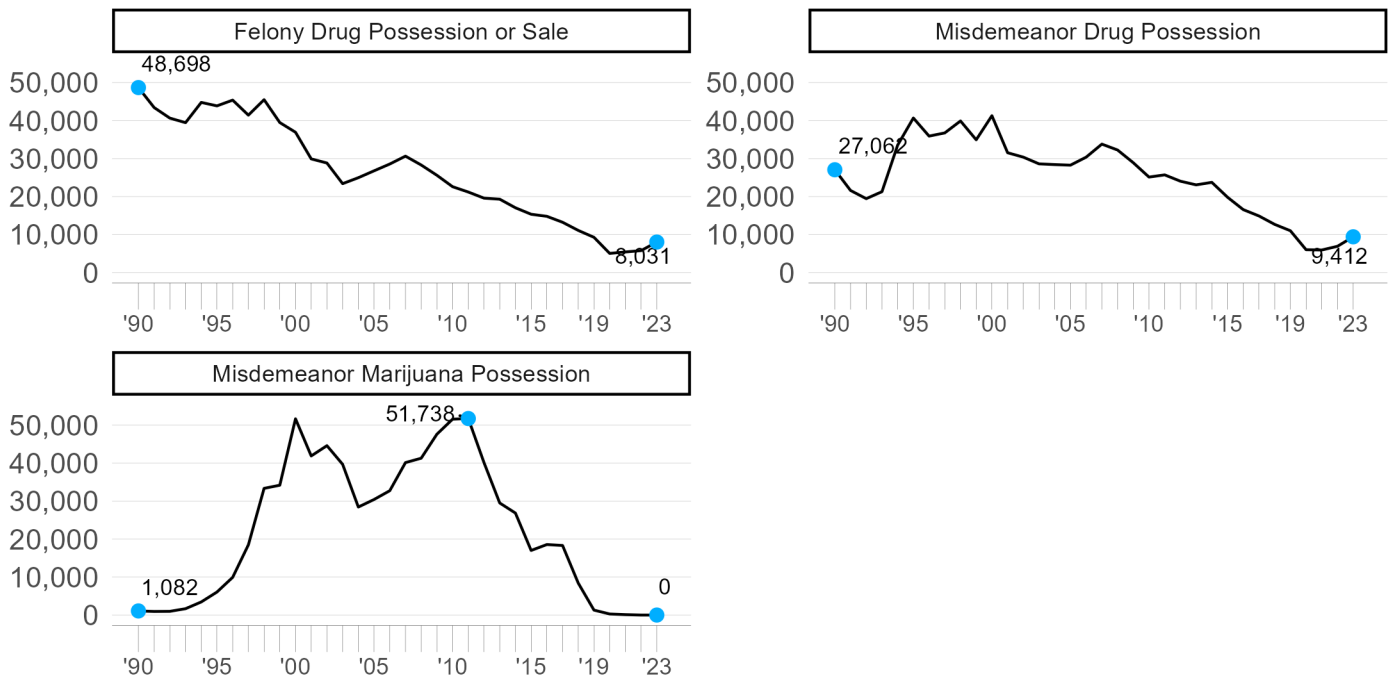
**Figure 3.6.**  
**Arrests by Severity, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

# CHAPTER 3. LAW ENFORCEMENT

**Figure 3.7.**  
**Drug Arrests, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

## Chapter 4. Decision-Making by Courts and Prosecutors

Following an arrest, prosecutors have the option of declining to file charges with the court—a topic covered in-depth in DCJ’s recent related report,<sup>30</sup> with the topline findings shown below. The remainder of this chapter focuses on decision-making by courts, inclusive of *pretrial decision-making*, *criminal conviction rates*, and the use of *alternatives to incarceration*.

### PROSECUTORIAL DECLINATION

**After a modest and gradual uptick from 1990 to 2017, misdemeanor and nonviolent felony declination rates increased considerably from 2017 to 2023.** Violent felony declinations, by contrast, did not see a net change (Figure 4.1).

- **Misdemeanor Declinations:** The City’s prosecutors went from declining 8% of misdemeanor arrests in 2017 to 19% in 2023. Our previous report found that this uptick was concentrated in the Bronx, Manhattan, and Brooklyn. Partly reflecting a shift in several District Attorneys’ policies beginning in 2017, increased declinations were heavily concentrated among several minor charges, including fare evasion, trespass, prostitution, and marijuana possession.<sup>31</sup> In addition, operating citywide by 2020, a small fraction of declinations resulted from people completing a pre-arraignment diversion program first launched in Manhattan and Brooklyn in 2015, known as Project Reset.<sup>32</sup>
- **Nonviolent Felony Declinations:** Prosecutors declined 7% of nonviolent felony arrests in 2017, before doubling to 14% in the 2020 pandemic year and resting at 11% in 2023.

### PRETRIAL DECISION-MAKING

**Over more than two decades, New York City judges’ rates of setting bail or remanding people witnessed a remarkable decline from 48% in 1998 to a low of 17% in 2020 (following implementation of State’s bail reform), before landing at 18% in 2023. (Figure 4.2).** It is worth noting that this decline, alongside fewer total crimes and arrests (shown in Chapters 2 and 3), translated to a 74% net decline from 79,408 cases with bail set in 1997 to 20,909 in 2023.

**Bail-setting trends varied, however, based on the severity of the charge—with rates of setting bail or remand in misdemeanor and nonviolent felony cases declining well before bail reform took effect in 2020.** From 1987 to 2019, bail/remand rates fell from 28% to 10% for misdemeanors and from 57% to 37% for nonviolent felonies, before declining further to 6% and 26%, respectively, in 2023. By contrast, bail/remand rates for violent felonies grew from 56% in 1987 to 61% in 2019, and then following bail reform and a concurrent rise in the use of supervised release declined to 50% in 2023 (Figure 4.3).<sup>33</sup>

### CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS

When people are convicted of a crime (i.e., a felony or misdemeanor), it can produce significant collateral consequences, including a [potentially lifetime earnings loss](#).<sup>34</sup> Moreover, convictions are not a pure function of people’s objective guilt or innocence; for example, it has long been found that net of other factors, people detained before trial are convicted at higher rates than others because detention status leverages people to agree to plea deals.<sup>35</sup> Analogously, research indicates that mandatory minimum sentencing laws leverage people to plead guilty to lesser charges falling below mandatory minimum threshold.<sup>36</sup>

Mitigating these repercussions, criminal conviction rates declined substantially from 1990 to 2023—from 36% to 8% among misdemeanors, from 54% to 19% among nonviolent felonies, and (more modestly) from 38% to 30% among violent felonies (**Figure 4.4**).

### ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION

Beginning in the 1990s, well-resourced alternative to incarceration (ATI) programs spread rapidly throughout New York City—perhaps contributing to the declines in jail and prison sentences reported in the next chapter. Positively evaluated community courts opened in Midtown, Manhattan in 1993 and Red Hook, Brooklyn in 2000,<sup>37</sup> routing people charged with low-level misdemeanors to community and social service mandates in lieu of brief jail sentences. By 2002, all five boroughs had established a drug court for people charged with nonviolent felonies, with some adding courts for misdemeanors as well.<sup>38</sup> Over the ensuing decade, all five boroughs also added at least one mental health court.<sup>39</sup> Other ATI programs grew in parallel—with a final boost in 2017 in the form of significantly increased ATI funding from the Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice.<sup>40</sup>

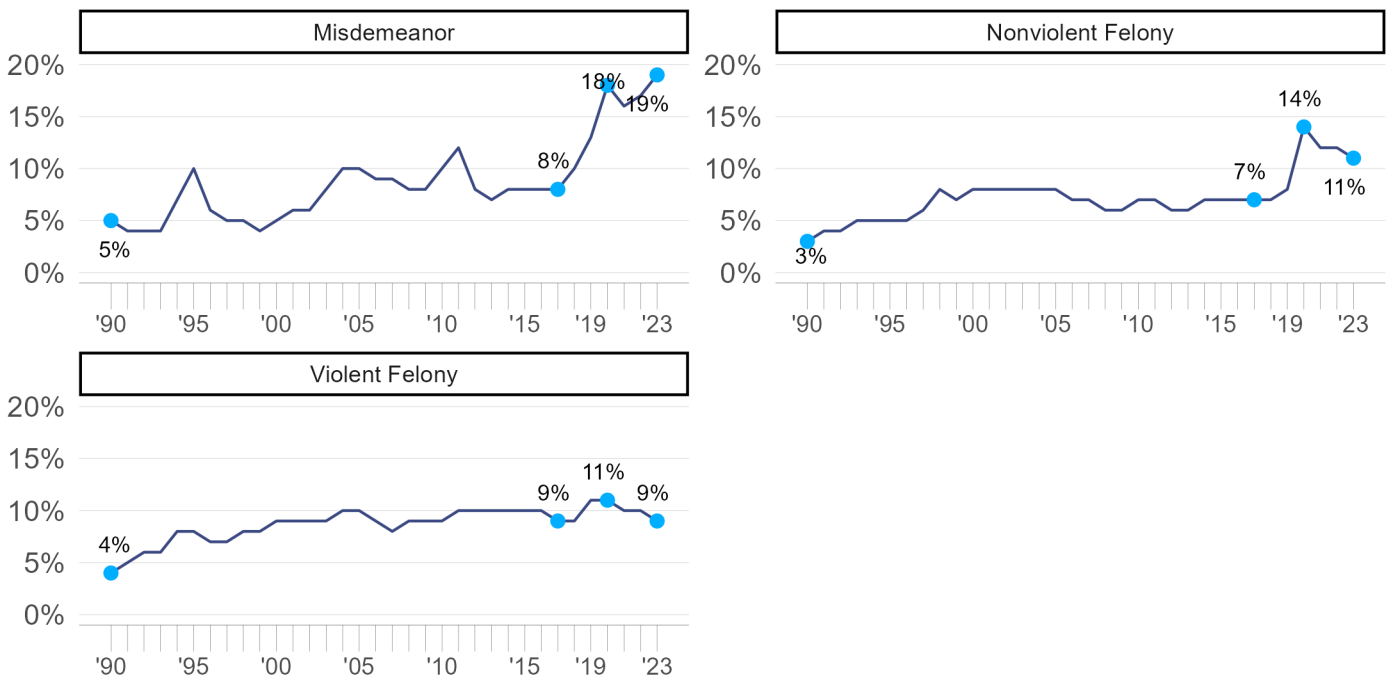
We combined data on drug, mental health, opioid, veterans, and community courts with additional data for some of the City’s other large ATIs. **The trendlines show ATI enrollment significantly increased in the first decade of the 2000s, dwindled in the next decade, yet climbed to a high watermark in 2023, the last year examined (Figure 4.5).**



# CHAPTER 4. DECISION-MAKING BY COURTS AND PROSECUTORS

**Figure 4.1.**

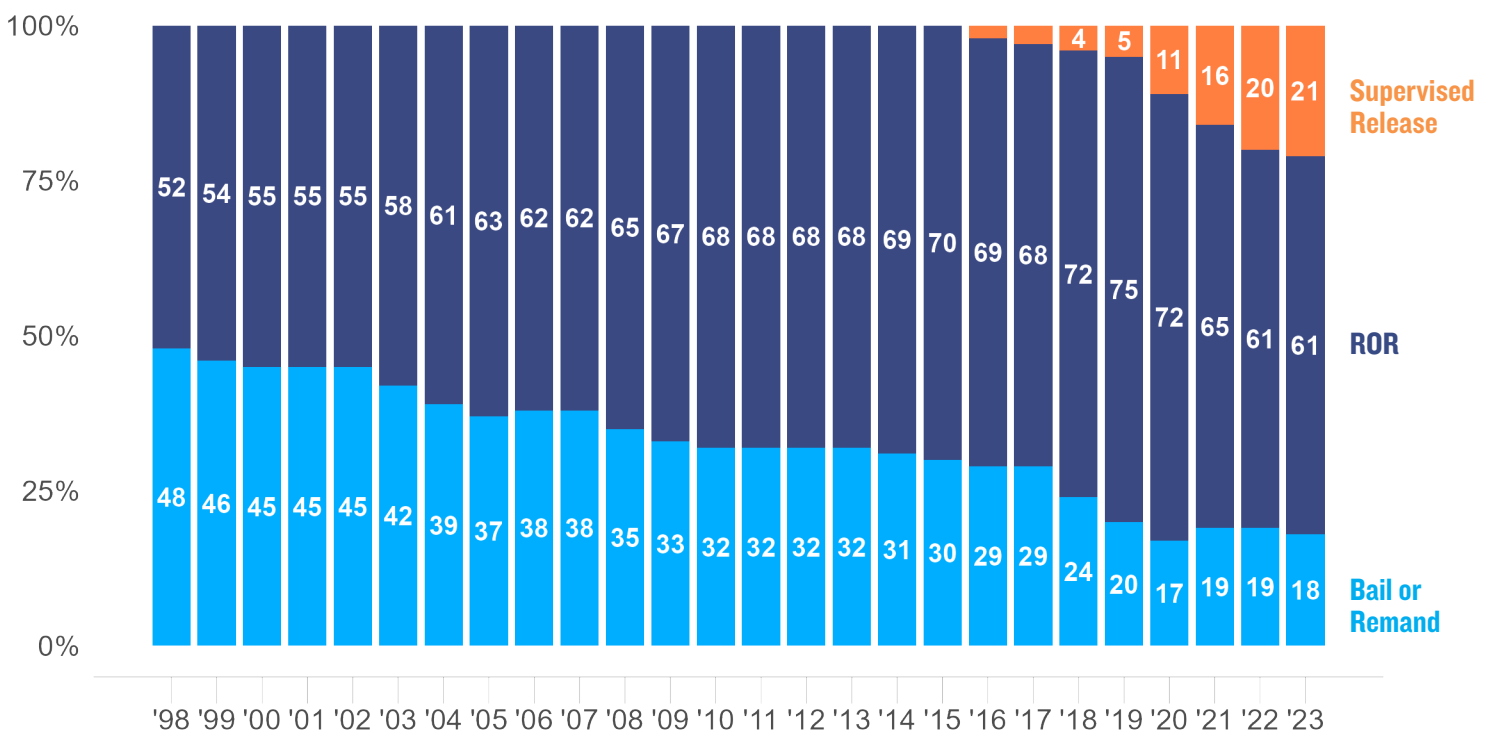
**Prosecutorial Declination Rate by Charge Severity, 1990-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**Figure 4.2.**

**Pretrial Release Decisions, 1998-2023**

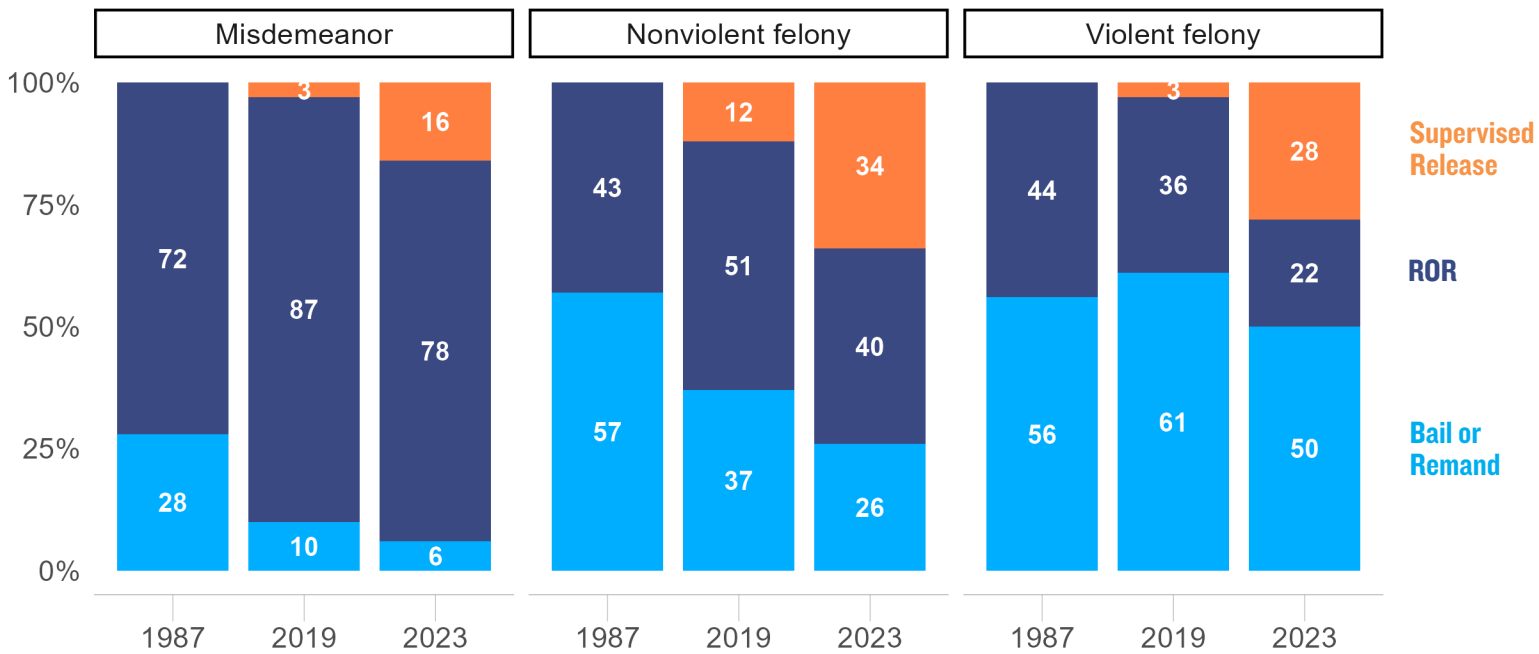


Source: NYC Criminal Justice Agency Annual Reports (1998-2020) & New York Office of Court Administration Pretrial Release Data (2021-2023)

## CHAPTER 4. DECISION-MAKING BY COURTS AND PROSECUTORS

**Figure 4.3.**

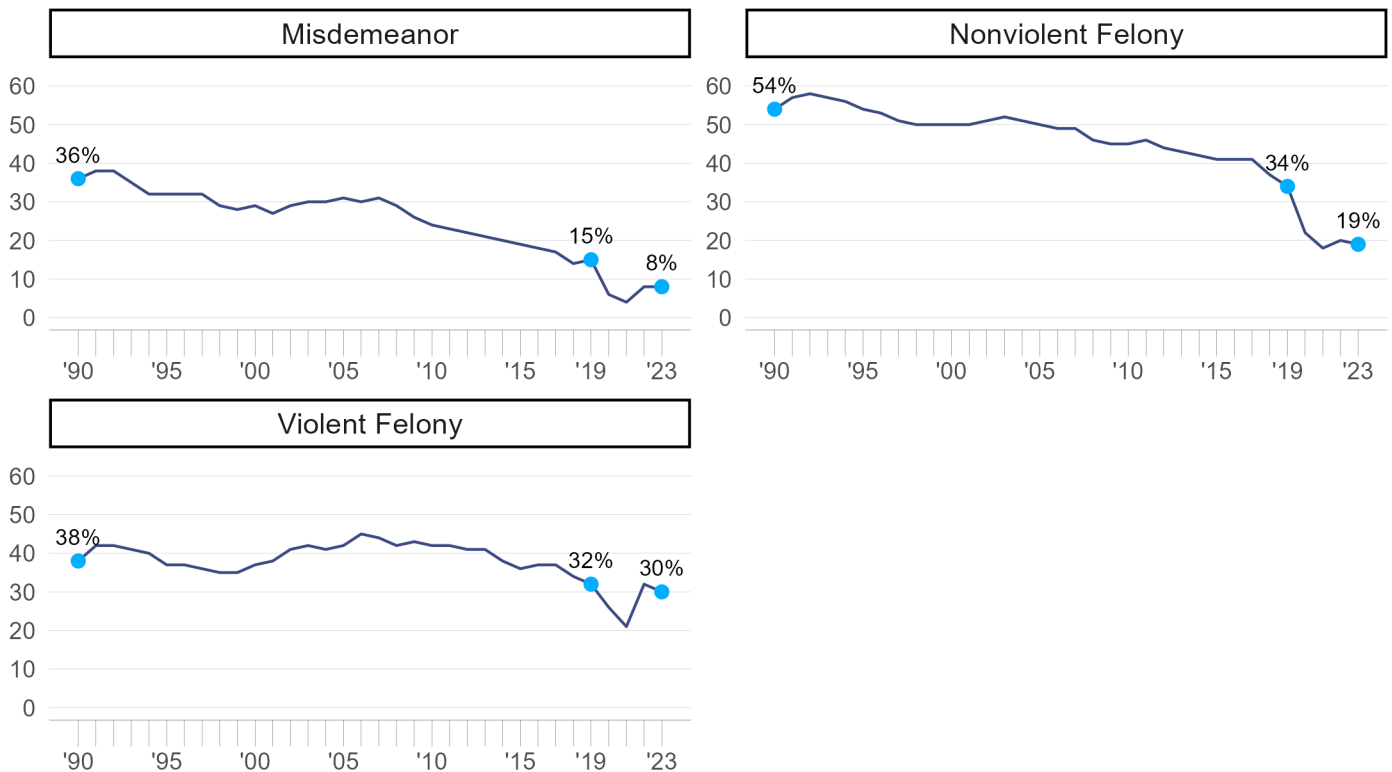
**Pretrial Release Decisions by Severity (1987, 2019, 2023)**



Source: NYC Criminal Justice Agency Reports (1987, 2019) & New York Office of Court Administration Pretrial Release Data (2023)

**Figure 4.4.**

**Criminal Conviction Rate, 1990-2023**

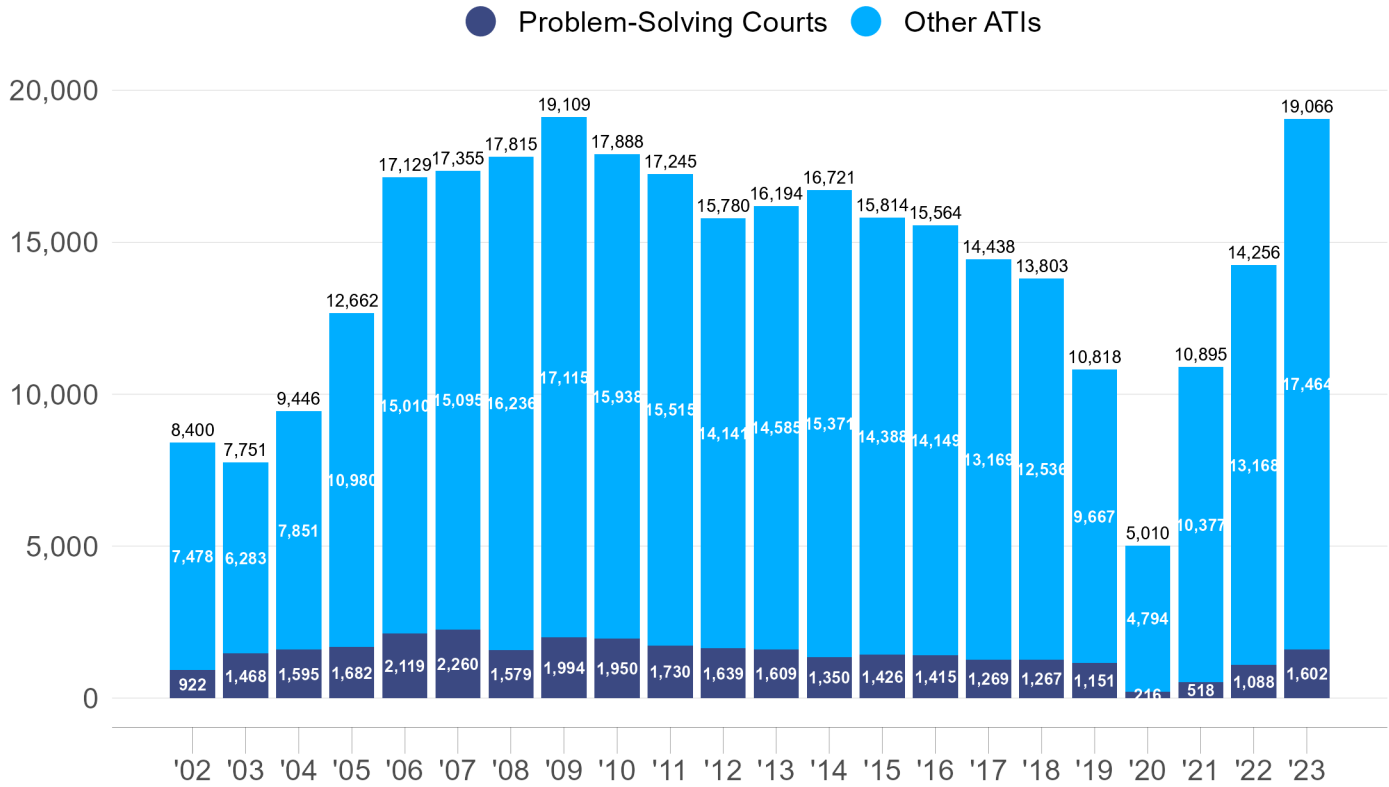


Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

## CHAPTER 4. DECISION-MAKING BY COURTS AND PROSECUTORS

**Figure 4.5.**

### Alternatives to Incarceration, 2002-2023



**Note on Problem-Solving Courts:** Available data encompassed three adult criminal “problem-solving court” models: drug courts, mental health courts, opioid courts, and veterans courts.

**Note on Data Limitations:** In combination, the three sources listed below from which data could be obtained account for most alternative to incarceration (ATI) program participants across all years represented. However, unknown numbers of additional participants were enrolled in alternative to incarceration programs operated by additional agencies whose data could not be obtained, in addition to which data on ATIs funded by the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice is only available beginning in 2020.

**Sources:** Office of Court Administration, analyzed by the Center for Justice Innovation (data on problem-solving court enrollees); Center for Justice Innovation (data on additional alternative-to-incarceration enrollees in Center for Justice Innovation programs); Equity NYC and Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice, City of New York (Equity NYC dashboard, including alternative to incarceration enrollees in programs funded by the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice from 2000-2023). An uptick in enrollees originating in the Equity NYC dashboard from 2021 to 2022 at least partly reflects that the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice started funding programs supported separately by the Manhattan District Attorney's Office before 2022. Please also note that data on enrollees in the Brooklyn Mental Health Court were separately obtained from the Center for

# Chapter 5. Incarceration and Community Corrections

This chapter traces New York City’s declining reliance on prison, jail, probation, and parole from 1990 to the present (notwithstanding upticks in the early 2020s).

## JAIL AND PRISON

**Consistent with the crime and arrest declines shown above, the use of jail and prison also dropped significantly from 1990 to 2020. However, the downward trajectory is less pronounced for cases initially arrested for a violent felony, and most indicators reveal a modest incarceration uptick since 2020.**

- **Total Carceral Sentences:** From 1990 to 2020, the absolute number of cases sentenced to incarceration declined substantially, before rising modestly up to 2023 (**Figure 5.1**).
- **Reliance on Incarceration at Sentencing:** Though most of this change came after 2010, courts’ use of jail for misdemeanors ending in conviction dwindled from 22% in 1990 to 4% in 2021, before rising modestly to 7% in 2023 (**Figure 5.2**). For nonviolent felonies, state prison sentences declined from 22% in 1990 to 6% in 2021, before inching up to 8% in 2023; and for violent felonies, prison declined from 32% in 1990 to 21% in 2021, before returning to 31% in 2023.
- **Jail Admissions:** Reflecting cumulative effects of the crime, arrest, conviction, and jail sentence declines documented above, annual jail admissions peaked at 133,331 in 1996, before dropping by 74% to 34,584 in 2019. Reflecting the effects of bail reform, alongside the pandemic-related drop in arrests, jail admissions then plummeted by 54% from 2019 to 2020 (down to 15,736), before shifting upward to land at 22,313 in 2023 (**Figure 5.3**).
- **Daily Jail Population:** The average daily jail population peaked at 20,419 in 1991, before reaching a low of 3,927 in 2020—and then reversing upward to 61% to 6,335 in 2024. As of this report’s release in April 2025, the population [exceeded 6,800](#) (**Figure 5.4**).<sup>41</sup>
- **Daily Prison Population:** After reaching 47,582 in 1996, the overall state prison population originating in the City fell by 76% to a low of 11,314 in 2022, before inching up to 12,219 in 2024 (**Figure 5.4**). People imprisoned for **drug offenses** peaked at 22,266 in 1999,<sup>42</sup> before dropping by 86% to 3,048 in 2024. (**Figure 5.5** has results from 2008 to 2024.)

## PROBATION AND PAROLE

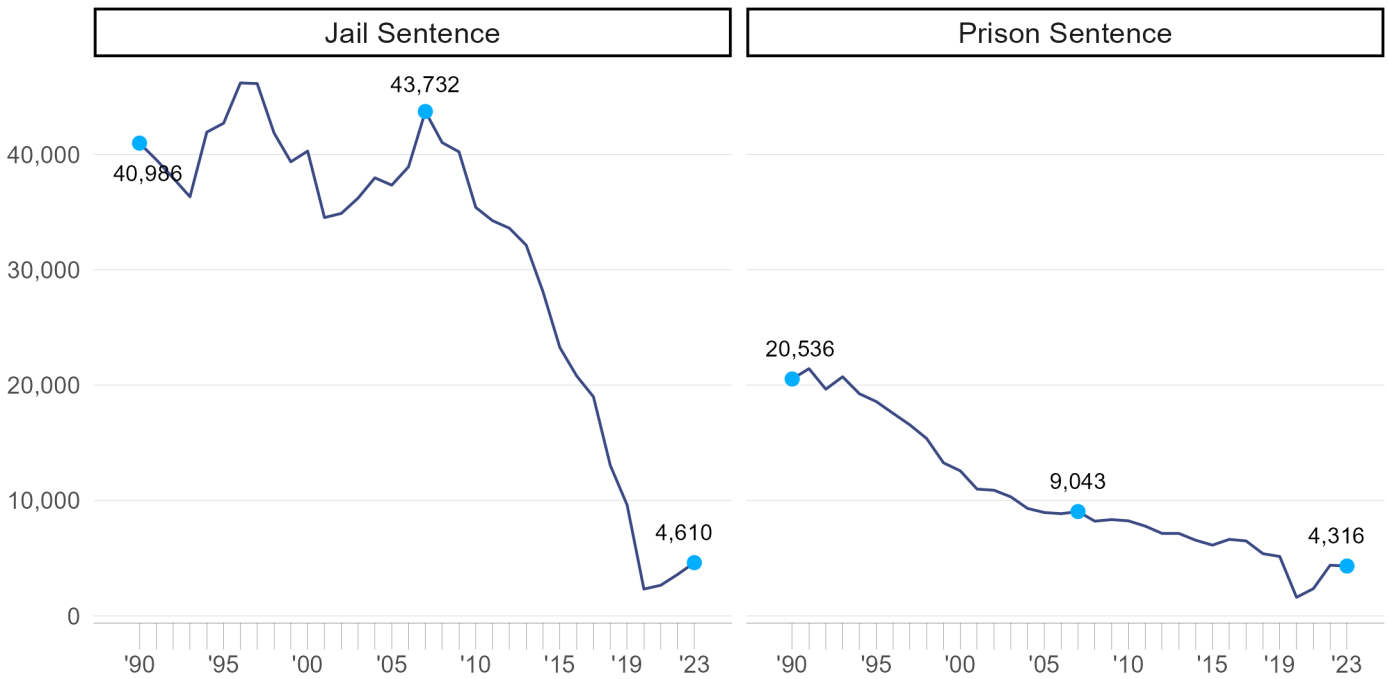
**Mirroring other metrics shown throughout this report, recent decades saw shrinking daily probation numbers (Figure 5.6) and shrinking parole admissions (Figure 5.7).**

**Among imprisoned people up for parole, the State’s parole board significantly increased its approval rate.** For people convicted of a nonviolent felony, approvals increased from 26% in 2008 to 44% in 2023 (**Figure 5.8**). For people convicted of a violent felony, approvals were lower, overall, but more than tripled from 8% in 2008 to 27% in 2023.

# CHAPTER 5. INCARCERATION AND COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

**Figure 5.1.**

**Total Number of Jail and Prison Sentences, 1990-2023**

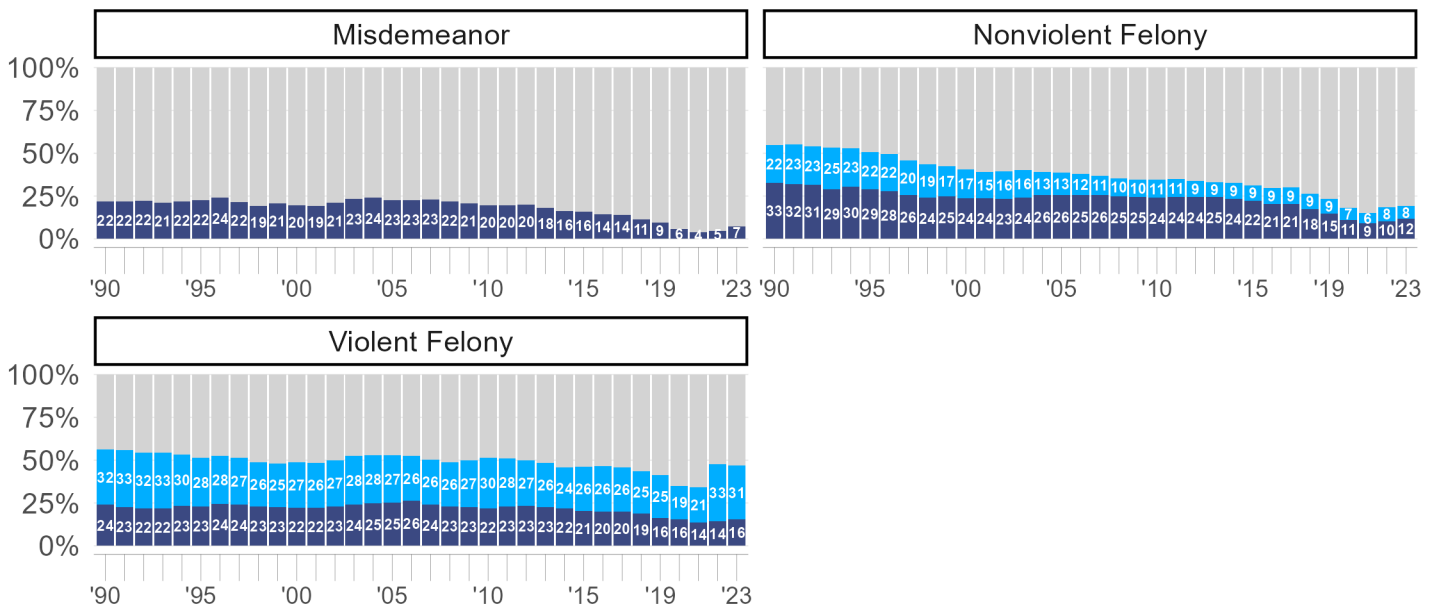


Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**Figure 5.2.**

**Jail and Prison Sentences in Convicted Cases, 1990-2023**

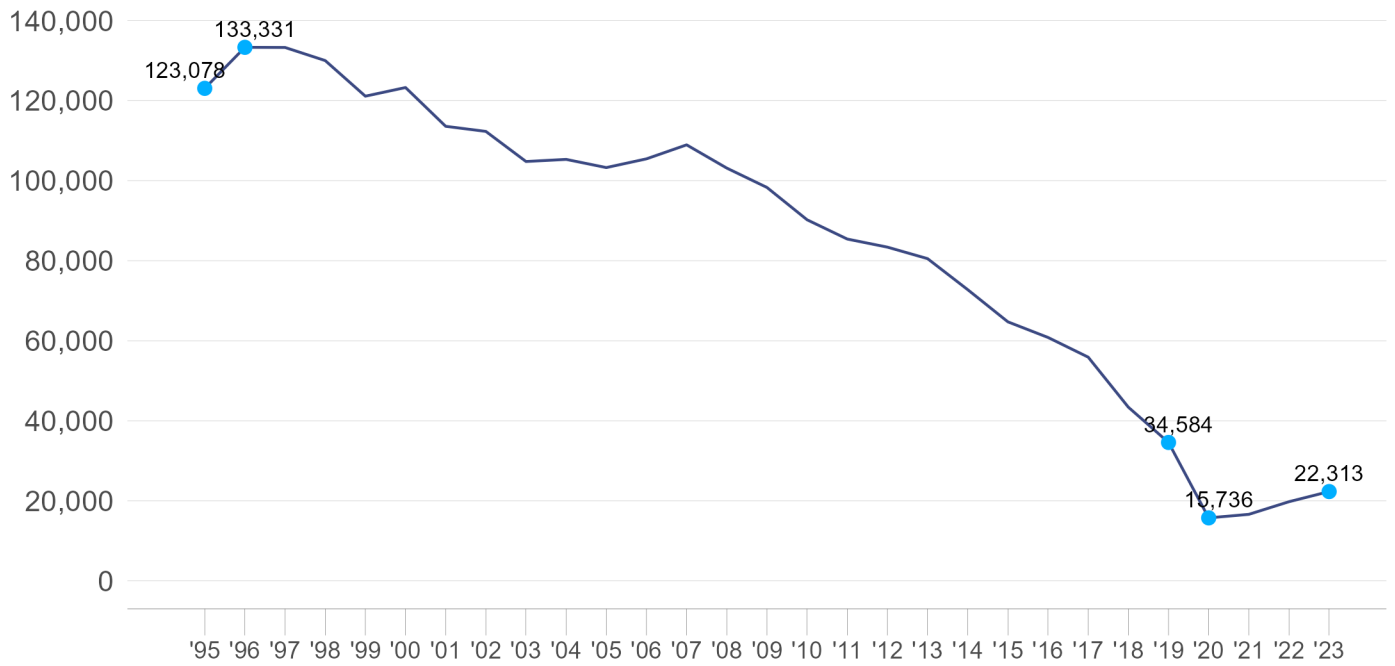
● Jail Sentence ● Prison Sentence ● Noncarceral Sentence



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

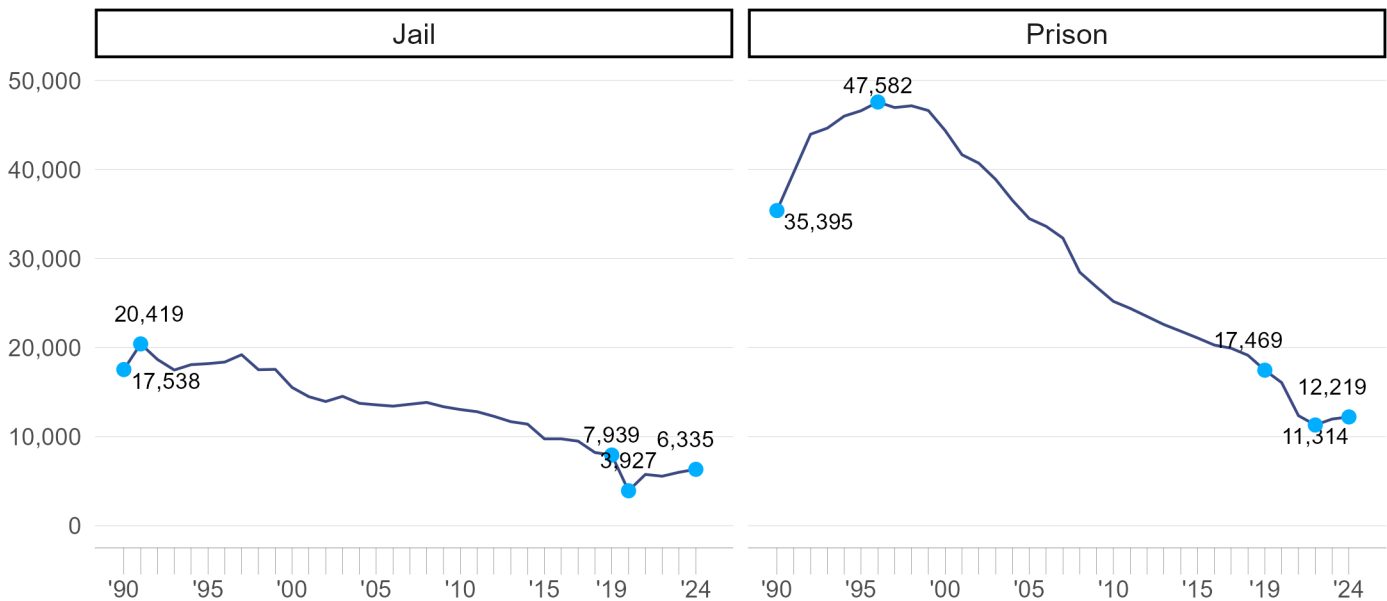
**CHAPTER 5. INCARCERATION AND COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS**

**Figure 5.3.**  
**Annual Jail Admissions, 1995-2023**



Source: DCJ, Decarceration in the Bail Reform Era (1995-2022); MOCJ (2023-2024)

**Figure 5.4.**  
**Average Daily Jail and Prison Populations, 1990-2024**

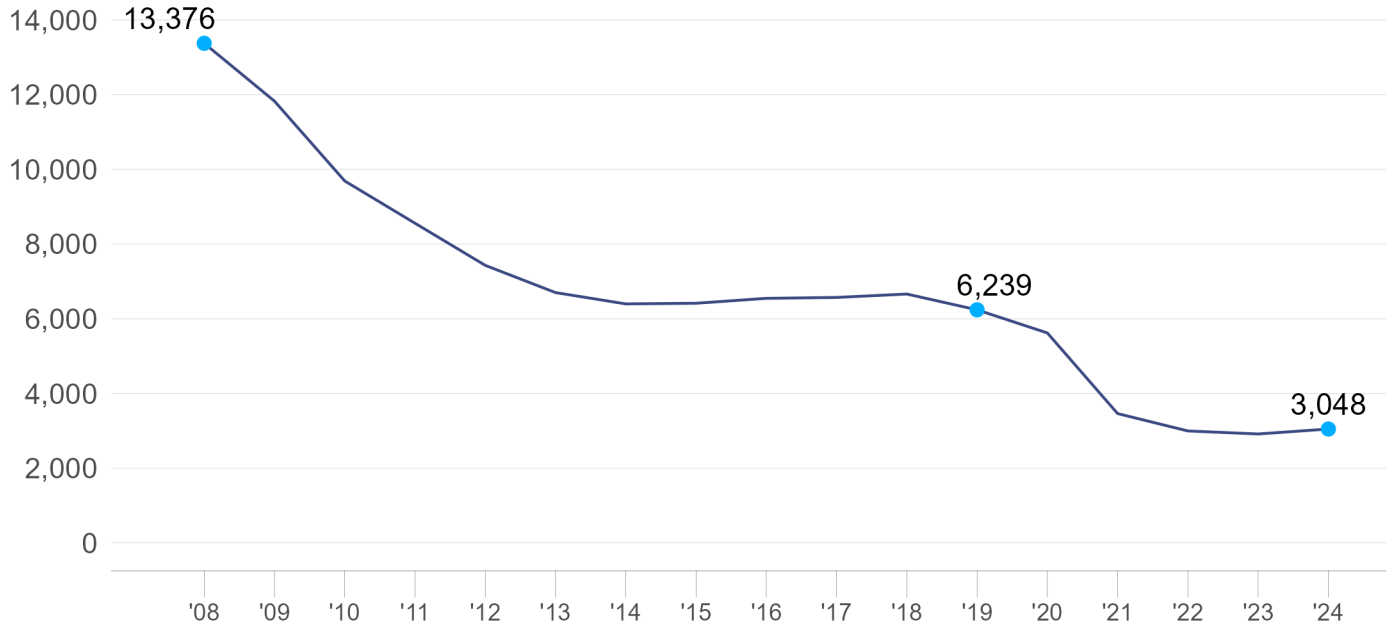


Sources:  
Jail: Vera Incarceration Trends Project  
Prison: Vera Incarceration Trends Project (1990-2007)  
& Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (2008-2024)



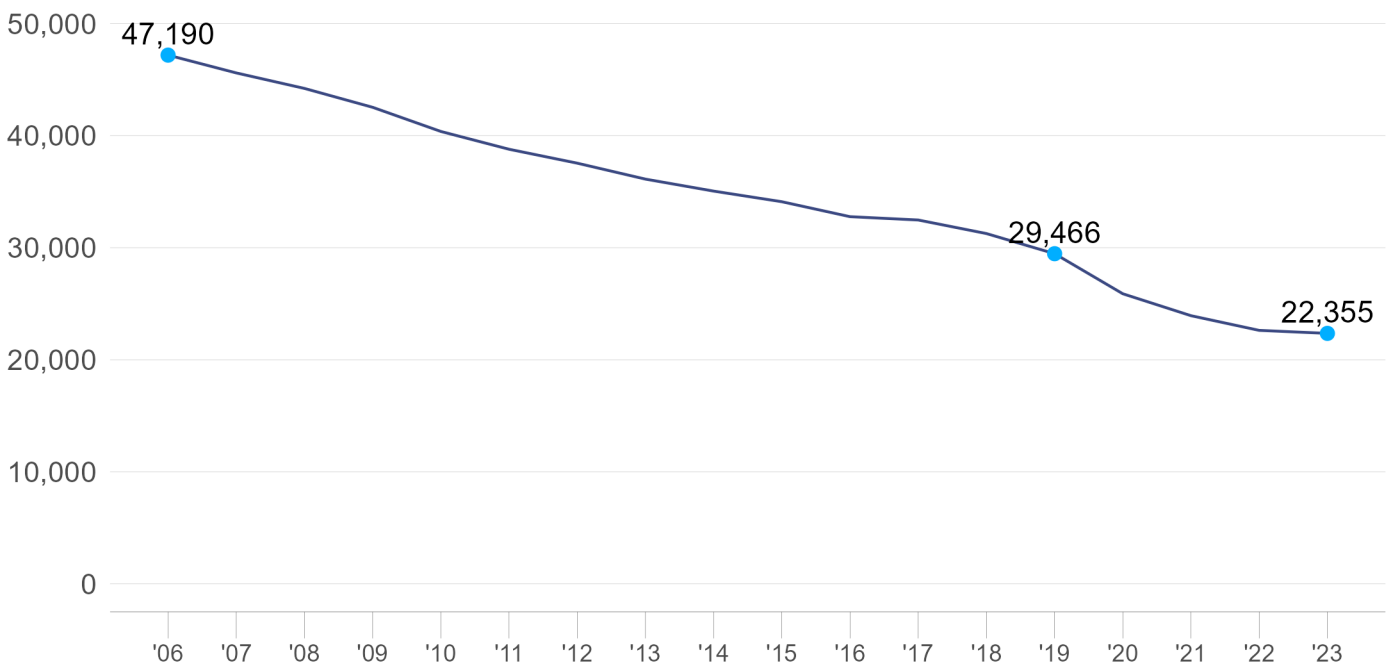
## CHAPTER 5. INCARCERATION AND COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

**Figure 5.5.**  
**Prison Population for Drug Offenses, 2006-2023**



Source: New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (DOCCS)

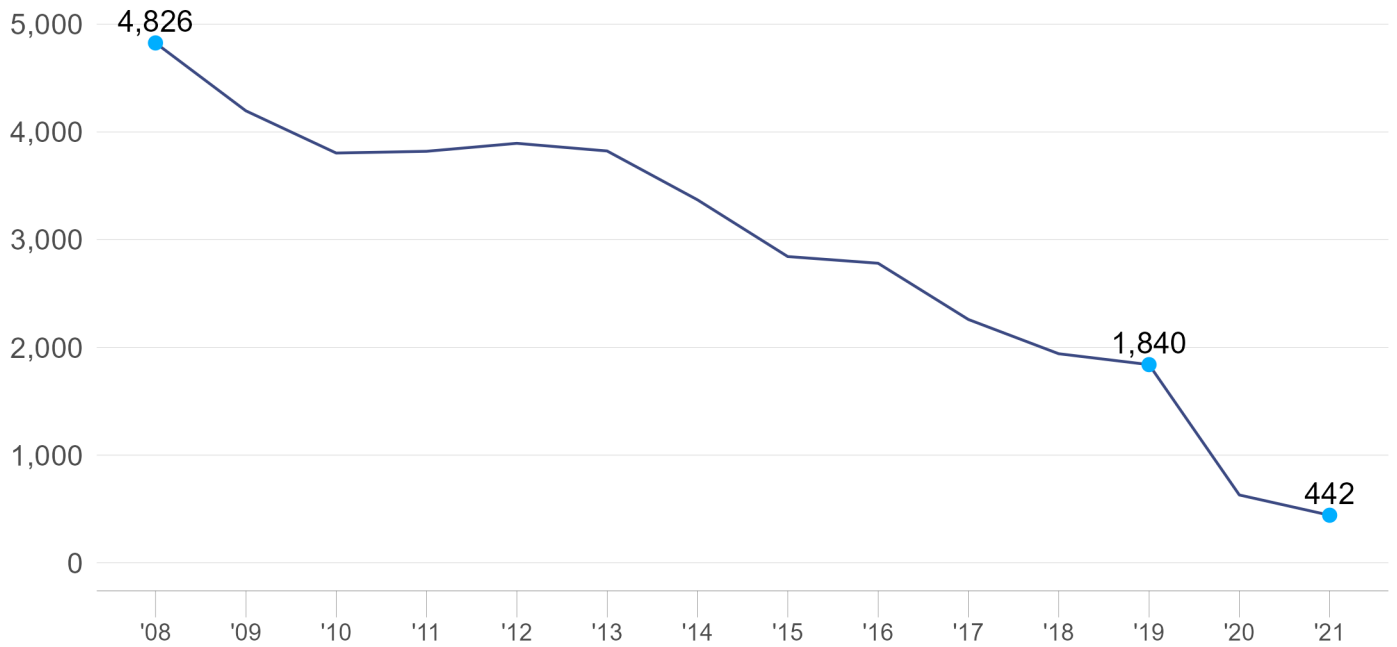
**Figure 5.6.**  
**Daily Probation Population, 2006-2023**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

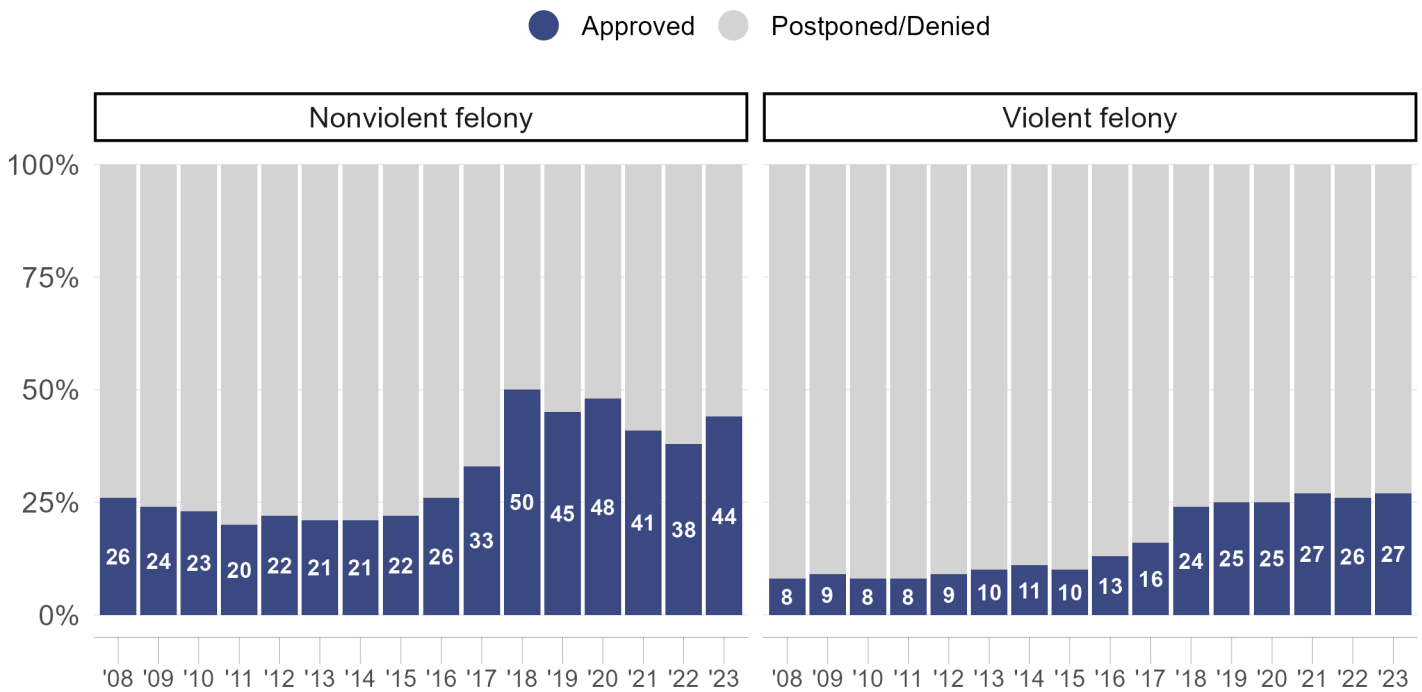
**CHAPTER 5. INCARCERATION AND COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS**

**Figure 5.7.**  
**Annual Parole Admissions, 2008-2021**



Source: Department of Corrections and Community Supervision

**Figure 5.8.**  
**Parole Hearing Decision for Nonviolent and Violent Felonies, 2008-2023**



Source: New York State Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (DOCCS)

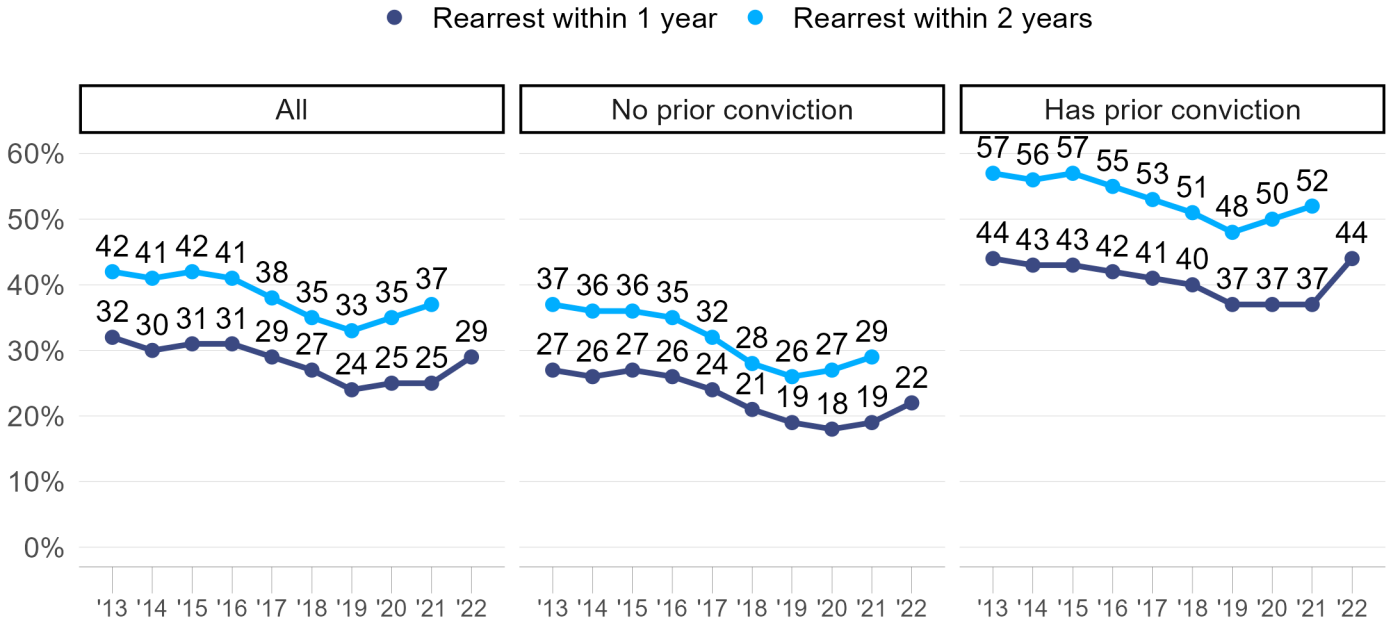
## Chapter 6. Recidivism

This chapter examines recidivism trends among cohorts of people released following a non-carceral case disposition (i.e., dismissal, adjournment in contemplation of dismissal (ACD), conditional discharge, fine, or probation). From 2013 to 2022, rearrest rates are presented for any offense, a felony offense, or a violent felony offense, and are further broken out by a person's criminal history (no prior conviction vs. prior conviction). It is important to note that recidivism rates within these cohorts may be shaped by a variety of factors, from prosecutorial decisions, to policing practices, to the composition of each cohort. Additionally, because this analysis uses an “event-based” approach (i.e., tracking individuals each time they are released in a given year), the resulting rates may be substantially higher than those generated by a “person-based” approach (i.e., tracking individuals only once).<sup>43</sup>

- **Any Rearrest:** From 2013 to 2022, 1-year rearrest rates ranged from 24% to 32%, while 2-year rates ranged from 33% to 42% (**Figure 6.1**). Recidivism was substantially lower among people with no prior convictions (18–27% within 1 year; 26–37% within 2 years) compared to those with a prior conviction (37–44% within 1 year; 48–57% within 2 years). *Rearrest rates generally declined from 2013 to 2019 before rising slightly; the overall two-year re-arrest rate of 37% for 2021 cases is modestly lower than for 2013.*
- **Felony Rearrest:** From 2013 to 2022, 1-year felony rearrest rates ranged from 13% to 19%, while 2-year rates ranged from 21% to 26%, with the rates again varying by criminal history (**Figure 6.2**). Since 2019, felony rearrest rates have risen substantially, driven largely by increases among people with a prior criminal conviction (+7 percentage points for 1-year rearrest, +6 percentage points for 2-year rearrest).
- **Violent Felony Rearrest:** From 2013 to 2022, 1-year violent felony rearrest rates ranged from 5% to 8%, while 2-year rates ranged from 8% to 13% (with the same criminal history variations, **Figure 6.3**). Since 2018, violent felony rearrest rates have risen substantially, driven largely by increases among people with a prior criminal conviction (+5 percentage points for 1-year rearrest, +6 percentage points for 2-year rearrest).

# CHAPTER 6. RECIDIVISM

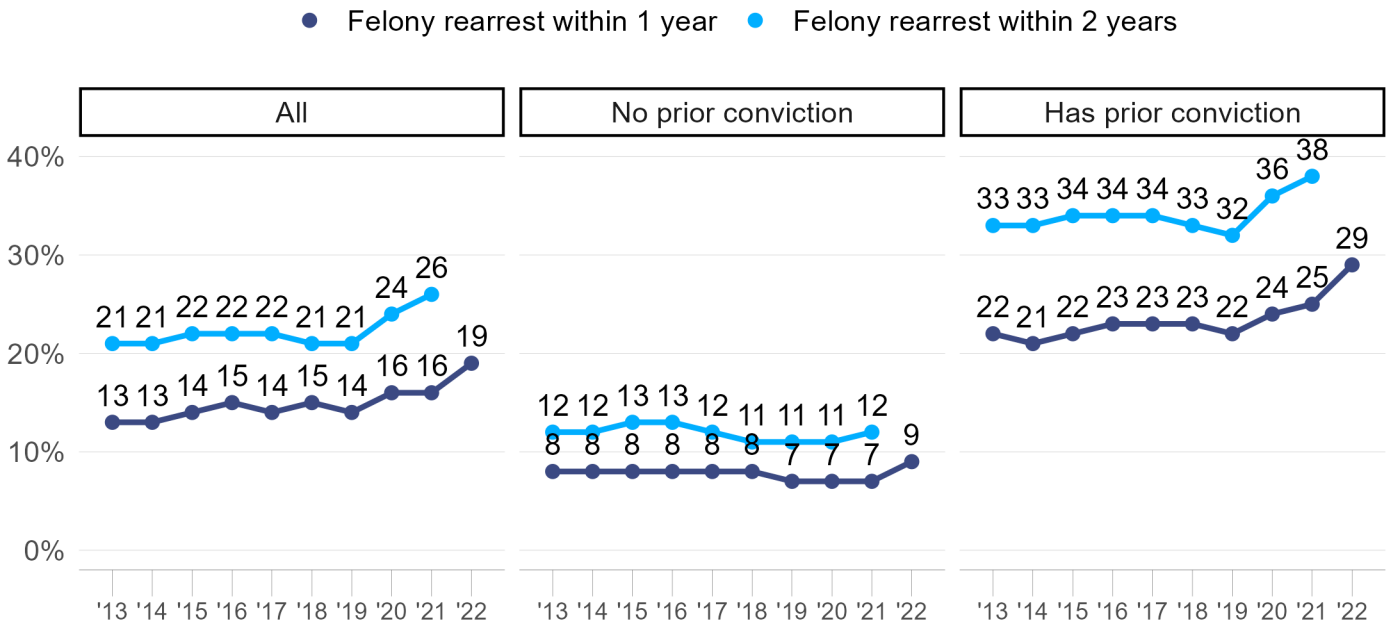
**Figure 6.1.**  
**Any Rearrest After Disposition, 2013-2022**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**Note:** Cohorts include all cases resolved in a given year with a non-carceral disposition (i.e., dismissal, conditional discharge, adjournment in contemplation of dismissal (ACD), fine, or probation). The recidivism follow-up period begins on the final disposition date, except for ACDs which begin on the date the ACS was imposed. Individuals who were 16 or 17 at the time of arrest are excluded starting in 2020 due to the Raise the Age reform. For the 2022 cohort, data on 2-year rearrest rates were not available.

**Figure 6.2.**  
**Felony Rearrest After Disposition, 2013-2022**



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

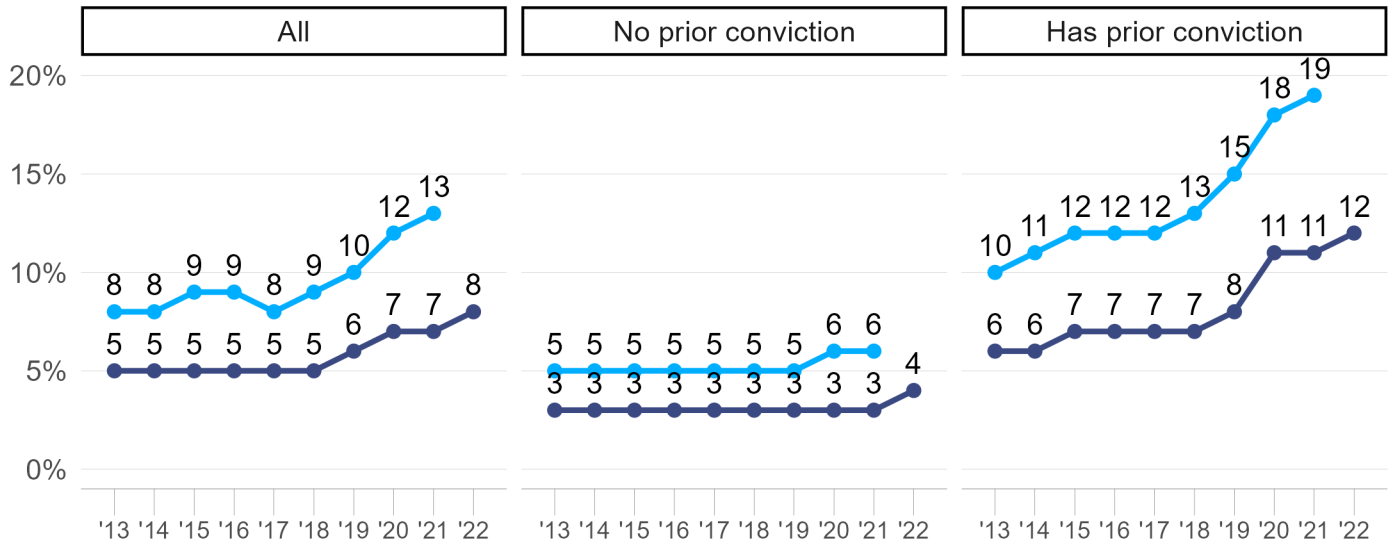
**Note:** See the measurement note under Figure 6.1.

**CHAPTER 6. RECIDIVISM**

**Figure 6.3**

**Violent Felony Rearrest After Disposition, 2013-2022**

● VFO rearrest within 1 year ● VFO rearrest within 2 years



Source: NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

**Note:** See the measurement note under Figure 6.1.

## Chapter 7. Racial and Ethnic Disparities

This chapter examines racial disparities across the metrics documented above where information about race/ethnicity was available.<sup>44</sup> Absolute numbers are presented by race/ethnicity at three key time points: each metric's historical peak year from 2018 or earlier, the pre-pandemic baseline of 2019, and 2023. To provide a relative comparison, racial disparity ratios were then calculated by dividing population-adjusted rates across racial/ethnic groups (Black/white, Hispanic/white). These ratios answer the question: for every one white individual, how many Black or Hispanic individuals experienced a given outcome? *Caveat:* By benchmarking solely against population size, this methodology captures racial disparities resulting from the broadest possible range of factors but does not support conclusions about any particular cause.

- **Declines in Absolute Numbers from Peak Years Across the Board:** From the historical peak years in the available data to 2019, there were substantial declines across all metrics and racial/ethnic groups. For example, pedestrian stops decreased by 98% for Black individuals, 98% for Hispanic individuals, and 98% for White individuals. *While absolute numbers have increased for certain racial/ethnic groups on select metrics since 2019, none of the nine measured metrics reached levels in 2023 above their peak years (Table 7.1).*
- **Declines in Racial Disparities Until 2019, Followed by Increases:** From historical peak years to 2019, racial disparity ratios narrowed across all metrics for Hispanic individuals and across all metrics except pedestrian stops for Black individuals. In a reversal, Black-white racial disparity ratios then increased from 2019 to 2023 for all metrics except civil summonses, criminal summonses, jail sentences and the daily jail population, while Hispanic-white disparities increased for all except jail sentences and the daily jail population. While changes on many other metrics were modest, disparities in prison sentences dropped sharply from their peak years among both Black and Hispanic individuals; from 2019 to 2023, Black-white disparities in prison sentences then grew substantially wider (Table 7.2).
- **Persistently Wide Racial Disparities in 2023:** In 2023, racial disparities remained high across all metrics (Table 7.2). Among Black individuals, disparity ratios across the nine total metrics examined ranged from a low of 5 jail sentences per white individual to a high of 17.3 prison sentences per white individual. Among Hispanic individuals, disparity ratios ranged from a low of 2.5 jail sentences per white individual to a high of 8.2 people in prison per white individual.
- **Underrepresented vs. Overrepresented in 2023:** Black individuals comprised 23% of New York City's general population in 2023, with their criminal legal system representation that same year ranging from 20% of civil summonses (the only metric where they were underrepresented) to 63% of prison sentences (Figure 7.1). Hispanic individuals made up 28% of the general population, with their representation ranging from a low of 28% in the jail population to a high of 52% in civil summonses.



## CHAPTER 7. RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISPARITIES

**Table 7.1**  
**Percentage Change by Race/Ethnicity**

	Historical Peak	2019	2023	Historical Peak to '19	'19 to '23
<b>Black</b>					
Pedestrian stops	350,743 (2011)	7,981	9,939	-98%	+25%
Civil summonses		10,226	12,504		+22%
Criminal summonses	—	25,595	37,757		+48%
Arrests	169,901 (2000)	84,197	87,054	-50%	+3%
Misdemeanor arrests	122,893 (2010)	47,333	45,506	-61%	-4%
Felony arrests	75,780 (1990)	36,864	41,548	-51%	+13%
Jail sentences	25,013 (2007)	3,687	1,482	-85%	-60%
Prison sentences	11,107 (1991)	2,843	2,646	-74%	-7%
Jail admission	72,458 (1996)	18,157	12,128	-75%	-33%
Jail population	10,836 (1996)	3,891	3,653	-64%	-6%
Prison population	15,497 (2008)	9,285	6,576	-40%	-29%
<b>Hispanic</b>					
Pedestrian stops	223,740 (2011)	3,869	5,166	-98%	+34%
Civil summonses		12,834	32,116		+150%
Criminal summonses		17,377	37,732		+117%
Arrests	113,429 (2010)	59,704	65,853	-47%	+10%
Misdemeanor arrests	83,434 (2010)	36,122	37,521	-57%	+4%
Felony arrests	54,380 (1990)	23,582	28,332	-57%	+20%
Jail sentences	13,055 (2007)	2,212	885	-83%	-60%
Prison sentences	8,804 (1991)	1,816	1,333	-79%	-27%
Jail admission	43,015 (1996)	11,171	6,836	-74%	-39%
Jail population	7,181 (1996)	2,505	1,728	-65%	-31%
Prison population	10,639 (2008)	6,506	4,234	-39%	-35%
<b>White</b>					
Pedestrian stops	61,805 (2011)	1,215	942	-98%	-22%
Civil summonses		4,489	7,731		+72%
Criminal summonses		5,007	8,164		+63%
Arrests	49,285 (1998)	20,849	18,418	-58%	-12%
Misdemeanor arrests	34,007 (1998)	13,588	11,151	-60%	-18%
Felony arrests	15,278 (1998)	7,261	7,267	-52%	0%
Jail sentences	4,273 (1996)	879	413	-79%	-53%
Prison sentences	1,286 (1991)	377	214	-71%	-43%
Jail admission	12,131 (1997)	3,147	1,757	-74%	-44%
Jail population	1,935 (1991)	569	540	-71%	-5%
Prison population	1,784 (2008)	1,053	600	-41%	-43%

**Note:** Historical data on civil and criminal summonses by race/ethnicity were unavailable.

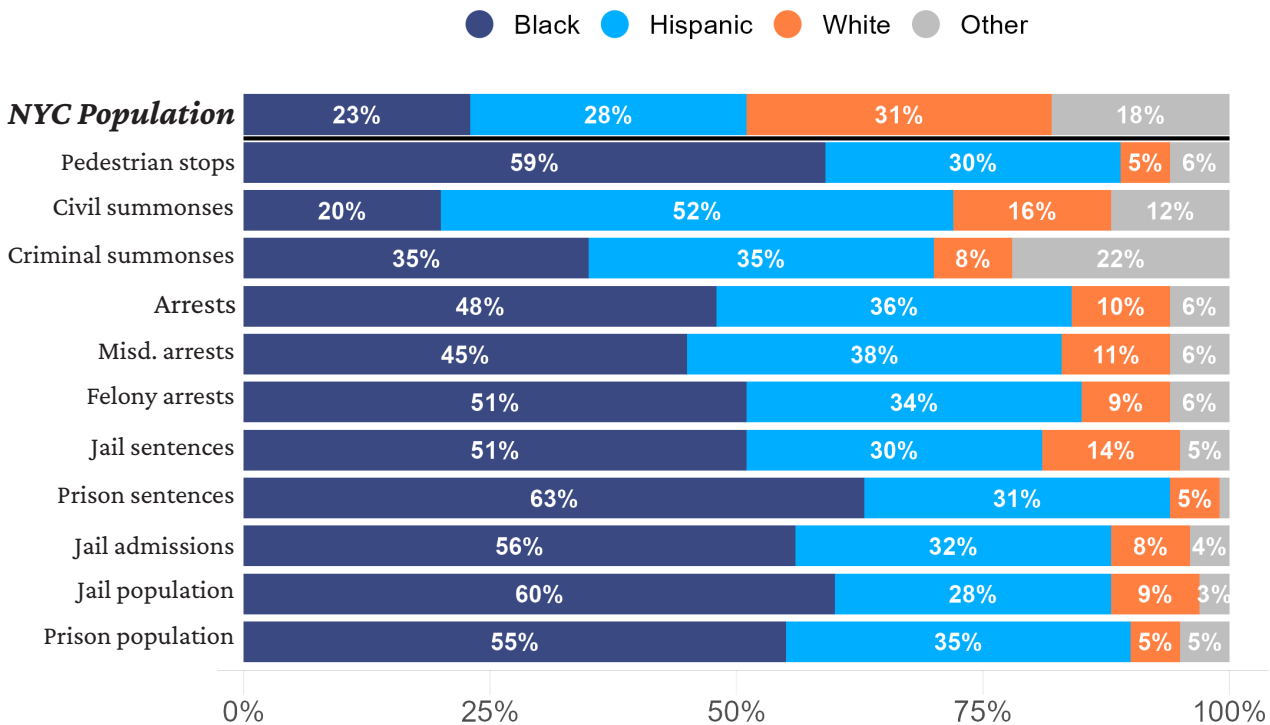
## CHAPTER 7. RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISPARITIES

**Table 7.2**  
**Racial Disparity Ratios**

	Black-White					Hispanic-White				
	Historical Peak	2019	2023	Peak to '19	'19 to '23	Historical Peak	2019	2023	Peak to '19	'19 to '23
Pedestrian stops	9.6 (2017)	9.2	14.8	-0.4	+5.6	5.1 (2009)	3.9	6.4	-1.2	+2.5
Civil summonses		3.2	1.8		-1.4		3.5	3.8		+0.3
Criminal summonses		7.2	6.5		-0.7		4.3	5.4		+1.1
Arrests	7.5 (1990)	5.7	6.6	-1.8	+0.9	5.8 (1990)	3.5	4.2	-2.3	+0.7
Misdemeanor arrests	6.2 (2009)	4.9	5.7	-1.3	+0.8	4.2 (2007)	3.3	3.9	-0.9	+0.6
Felony arrests	10.9 (1990)	7.1	8.0	-3.8	+0.9	9.4 (1990)	4.0	4.5	-5.4	+0.5
Jail sentences	15.1 (1990)	5.9	5.0	-9.2	-0.9	9.0 (1990)	3.1	2.5	-5.9	-0.6
Prison sentences	18.6 (1990)	10.6	17.3	-8.0	+6.7	17.5 (1992)	5.9	7.2	-11.6	+1.3
Jail admission	11.1 (2009)	8.1	9.7	-3.0	+1.6	7.5 (1995)	4.4	4.5	-3.1	+0.1
Jail population	15.7 (1994)	9.6	9.5	-6.1	-0.1	11.6 (1994)	5.4	3.7	-6.2	-1.7
Prison population	13.9 (2009)	12.4	15.4	-1.5	+3.0	8.8 (2009)	7.6	8.2	-1.2	+0.6

Note: Historical data on civil and criminal summonses by race/ethnicity were unavailable.

**Figure 7.1**  
**Underrepresented vs. Overrepresented in 2023**



## Chapter 8. Major Themes and Takeaways

**The purpose of this report is to inform current policy conversations by providing a much-needed perspective from the longer course of New York City history.** From the 1990s to the present, we presented data on official measures of reported crime, law enforcement activity, bail-setting, conviction rates, jail and prison incarceration, alternative to incarceration programs, probation, parole, and racial disparities. (Some measures could not be tracked as far back in time as others.) A parallel report examines victimization trends using the New York City sample of the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) over a comparably long timespan (including crimes both reported and unreported to the police),<sup>45</sup> and a joint [executive summary](#) integrates findings from both reports.

At the risk of ending with a reductive synthesis, this report has at least seven key takeaways.

**First, whereas major violent and property crimes increased in the early 2020s, this report’s multi-decade perspective indicates that New York City remains comparatively safe.**

Notwithstanding clear pandemic-era crime increases from 2020 to 2022, rates of major violent and property crimes were more than 70% lower in 2023 than decades earlier in 1990. In fact, major violent crimes including murder and robbery fell modestly since 2022, while reported shooting incidents similarly declined beginning in 2022. Perhaps demonstrating that the current state of crime remains open to interpretation, the results of a separate study found that of the ten largest U.S. cities, New York saw the smallest murder decline and largest felony assault increase from 2023 to 2024.<sup>46</sup> It is, therefore, important not to ignore that recent crime trends remain a troubling development and not to lose sight of how much lower today’s crime rates are from the 1990s and early 2000s.

**Second, accompanying historic crime declines up until the pandemic, New York City achieved net drops in multiple measures of law enforcement—encompassing pedestrian street stops, summonses, arrests, incarceration, probation, and parole.** To illustrate the massive scale of the criminal legal system in prior years and the steep pre-pandemic declines: Pedestrian stops reached a high of 685,724 in the single year of 2011, before plummeting by over 98% to 13,459 in pre-pandemic 2019. Criminal summonses for minor offenses dropped nearly 85% from 544,678 in 2009 to 85,899 in 2019. The jail population fell from over 20,000 people on an average day in 1991 to under 8,000 in 2019 (to [under 4,000](#) in early 2020).<sup>47</sup> The City’s share of the prison population fell by 63% from 47,582 in 1996 to 17,469 in 2019.

**Third, the downsizing of the criminal legal system from its earlier peak years took place alongside co-occurring reductions in racial disparities across each of nine law enforcement and incarceration measures.** In the starkest example, Black people were 19 times more likely than white people to be sentenced to prison in 1990, falling to 10.6 in 2019, before this disparity reversed upward to 17.3 in 2023.

## **CHAPTER 8. MAJOR THEMES AND TAKEAWAYS**

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**Fourth, for many contributing reasons we cannot rigorously isolate (e.g., the pandemic, early 2020s crime increases, and enforcement policies implemented in 2022 under Mayor Eric Adams), most enforcement and incarceration metrics increased in the very most recent years examined.** From 2021 to 2024, New York City saw a 184% increase in pedestrian stops, a 107% increase in criminal summonses, and an eightfold increase in non-criminal “civil” summonses—of which the most common is possessing alcohol in public (over 50,000 in 2024). The daily jail population fell sharply in early 2020 when the State’s bail reform law went into effect and people were released from carceral settings amid the pandemic’s onset;<sup>48</sup> but we then found that the jail population increased by more than 60% from 2020 to 2024. In a nuanced exception to the clear increases seen on most measures of legal involvement, the daily prison population originating in New York City increased by only 8% from 2022 to 2024 and remains well below pre-pandemic 2019 and 2020—pointing more to a modest adjustment from sharp 2020 declines than to a fundamental reversion toward greater reliance on prison.

**Fifth, from 2019 to 2023, racial disparities reversed course, growing larger on more measures than not.** Over this recent timespan, Black-White disparities widened across 7 of 11 enforcement and incarceration measures we could examine, and Hispanic-White disparities widened across 9 of 11 measures. The main exceptions are that disparities did not increase in jail sentences or the daily jail population. On balance, our conclusion at the end of the preceding chapter was that as of 2023, “racial disparities remained high across all metrics.”

**Sixth, amid the above-noted swings in crime and enforcement, it is worth drawing attention to New York City’s well-regarded alternative to incarceration (ATI) infrastructure.** ATI programs expanded considerably since the early 2000s and reached an apparent all-time high in 2023, with over 17,000 documented participants—undoubtedly an undercount of the true total, given our inability to collect ATI enrollment data on all citywide programs.

**Seventh, it may be worth adding a “meta finding:” New York is blessed with an excellent [City](#) and [State](#) Open Data capacity.** For this project, we were able to draw on over 15 public datasets and several well-organized non-public datasets obtained from state agencies, including the Division of Criminal Justice Services and the Office of Court Administration.

*We close with an essential caution: The research in this report was purely descriptive and was not designed to isolate cause and effect for the observed trends.* This underscores the need for policymakers to rigorously evaluate their initiatives in order to identify policies that can deliver the just and safe criminal legal system New Yorkers deserve.

# Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Monaghan, S., Bock, K., Rempel, M., & Lu, O. (2024). [Four Decades of Law Enforcement in New York State: Changing Arrest, Prosecution, and Sentencing Trends, 1980-2023](#). New York, NY: Data Collaborative for Justice; Travis, J. (2019). [Trends in Crime and Justice: Reflections on the New York City Story, 1980-2017](#). New York, NY: Arnold Ventures. See, also, Greene, J. A. & Schiraldi, V. (2017). Better by Half: The New York City Story of Winning Large-Scale Decarceration while Increasing Public Safety. *Federal Sentencing Reporter* 29: 1: 22–38.
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- <sup>3</sup> John Jay College of Criminal Justice. [The Crossroads Convening](#).
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## **ENDNOTES**

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- <sup>31</sup> Monaghan, S., et al. (2024). See, especially, the results in Chapter 3. As discussed in this report, relevant DA policies included decisions by the Brooklyn and Manhattan DAs in 2017 and 2018, respectively, encouraging declinations of marijuana and fare evasion charges; a Manhattan DA policy announced in 2021 against prosecuting prostitution, and policies announced in 2022 by newly elected Manhattan DA Alvin Bragg to encourage declining or diverting an expanded of minor misdemeanor charges.
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## **ENDNOTES**

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