

Report
November 2023

Caddo Parish
**Criminal Justice
Task Force**



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Executive Summary

For decades, the Caddo Correctional Center (CCC) in Shreveport, Louisiana has experienced severe overcrowding – at times housing several hundreds of individuals beyond the 1,070 the facility was originally constructed to hold. The overcapacity issue at the jail began in earnest after Hurricane Katrina devastated the southeast region of the state in 2005, requiring several northern jails, including the CCC, to hold displaced detainees in addition to local populations. As a result, the CCC’s operational capacity was expanded to 1,500 despite no space being added. More than 18 years later, the jail population has yet to return to its pre-emergency level. This chronic overcrowding has contributed to severe staffing shortages at the CCC, threats to safety for both staff and individuals in custody, Parish resource depletion, and substantial pressure on other parts of the system, including law enforcement agencies, district attorneys, public defenders, and the district court.

In September 2022, the Sheriff of Caddo Parish called for collective action among Parish stakeholders to address the urgency of the CCC’s overcrowding. In November, the Sheriff, among other leaders in Caddo Parish requested technical assistance through the Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI) grant funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), a component of the Department of Justice’s Office of Justice Programs. JRI is an intensive, data-driven approach that allows jurisdictions to address key challenges in their criminal justice systems. The purpose of the request for technical assistance was to use comprehensive data and system analyses to identify points of congestion within the system that contribute to the ongoing overcrowding and consider both short-term and long-term solutions to relieve pressure on the jail.

To oversee this effort, the Parish formed the Caddo Parish Criminal Justice Task Force (“Task Force”), composed of representatives from key criminal justice agencies and partners in the Parish, including the Caddo Parish District Attorney, the Caddo Parish Public Defender’s Office, the Parish Administration, the Caddo Parish Sheriff’s Office (CPSO) and CCC staff, the Shreveport Police Department (SPD), the First Judicial District Court, and the Greater Shreveport Chamber of Commerce.

From March to August 2023, the Task Force met four times to review analyses of jail and court data from 11 prior years (2012-2022) and discuss potential policy solutions. CPSO provided data from the CCC, and the First Judicial District Court provided the court data. The Crime and Justice Institute (CJI) analyzed and presented all data provided with consultation by the respective agencies.

The key data findings show that between 2012 and 2022:

▲
12%

The CCC’s population grew 12 percent, largely driven by growth in the pretrial population.



Admissions to the CCC decreased by 40 percent, but more people spent longer in detention.

2x

The average length of stay for the pretrial population nearly doubled.

▼
15%

The proportion of bail-eligible individuals posting bail decreased by 15 percent.



Individuals who did not post bail stayed eight times longer than those who did post bail in 2022.

▲
259%

The median total amount that bail was set at increased 259 percent.

▲
144%

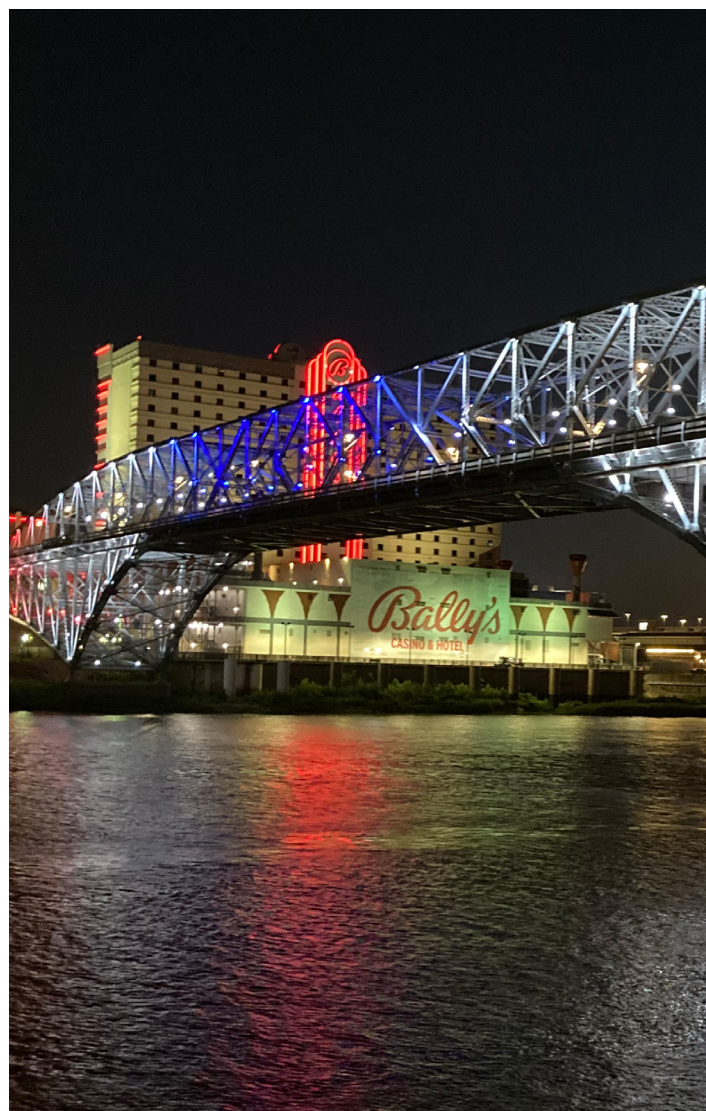
The median number of days from the opening to the disposition of a court case increased 144 percent from 2014 to 2022. This growth was driven by the increased time between preliminary exam/arraignment and disposition, and the increase took place across all offense types, disposition types, and charge levels.

In addition to conducting quantitative analyses, CJI collected qualitative data through interviews with criminal justice partners, including law enforcement, local government officials, detention staff, criminal court judges, attorneys, behavioral health practitioners, advocates for victims and survivors of crime, community-based organizations providing reentry-based programming, and individuals who were previously detained at the CCC. Findings from these interviews are embedded in the key findings and recommendations sections of this report.

Using data as their guide, the Task Force members developed a series of recommendations designed to reduce overcrowding in the CCC by expanding pretrial release options, speeding up case processing, limiting inefficiencies in front-end processes, and investing in evidence-based strategies that promote public safety. While their recommendations cover decision-making points across the system—from arrest practices to court processing, to reentry—this comprehensive approach reflects the interdependent nature of the criminal justice system.

The work of the Task Force demonstrates that the jail overcrowding issue cannot be addressed by one single change. Instead, it will take commitments from all justice partners to confront inefficiencies in each area of the system and work together towards meaningful change.

The report that follows provides a brief overview of state and national jail population trends, outlines the key quantitative and qualitative findings reviewed by the Task Force, and finally, presents recommendations that were derived from Task Force policy development discussions.



National & Statewide Context

Louisiana Tracks General National Jail Population Trends

Jail populations across the nation have fluctuated significantly over the past two decades. From 2005 to 2013, the number of people held in jails in the U.S. dropped by just over two percent before ticking back up slightly from 2013 to 2019. The COVID-19 pandemic caused more variation in this population trajectory—jails across the country experienced significant population declines (by more than 25 percent) from 2019 to 2020, followed by a resurgence (16 percent) in the following year. Louisiana's jail population changes have historically followed national trends and have often surpassed those trends.

Louisiana's System is an Outlier

While the scope of this report is limited to one parish in the state, there is value in outlining some key characteristics that set jail systems in Louisiana apart from others.

Louisiana has the highest incarceration rate in the country.

For years, Louisiana has led the nation with the highest incarceration rate. In 2021, that rate was 1,094 incarcerated individuals per 100,000 residents.ⁱ This rate has not only been consistently higher than the national average,² but it has also grown in recent years. Data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics Census of Jails reported a nearly five percent increase from 2013 to 2019 compared to a three percent drop at the national level.³ Despite this increase, Louisiana has made efforts to address this trend, and the state prison population fell from 35,759 to 27,026 between 2016 and 2020.⁴

Parish jails house federal, state, and locally sentenced Louisianians in addition to people awaiting trial.

Louisiana is distinct from other states in that a wide variety of individuals in the state are housed in local jails, including those who are in the custody of the Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections.ⁱⁱ Louisiana holds close to equal parts of pretrial and sentenced people in local jails, compared to national figures which show that approximately two thirds of jail

populations tend to be serving pretrial time.⁵ While this provides relief for state facilities nearing capacity, recent investigations have found that the lack of adherence to release policies and failures to transfer critical information to conduct releases in a timely manner have ultimately led to unconstitutional practices, such as longer terms of detention for individuals housed in Parish jails who are in the custody of the state.⁶

Local system funding is precarious in Louisiana and can lead to resource imbalances across justice partners.

Detention systems in any state are expensive, and a consequence of relying heavily on detention is the need to secure constant streams of funding to operate these systems. Parishes in Louisiana fund a portion of their criminal justice operations and contribute to some agency budgets, but they also rely significantly on district court-generated revenues such as fines and fees to operate many aspects of the system. Louisiana is the only state in the nation with a statewide indigent defense system reliant largely on non-governmental funding.⁷ This funding system can result in an imbalance of funding for agencies that depend on court fees to fund key elements of the system. A recent study found that weakened tax bases contribute to over-reliance on fines and fees in local systems and that many localities have grown dependent on these types of revenue sources.⁸ In Louisiana, public defenders in many parishes are funded largely by fines and fees associated with criminal or traffic convictions.⁹ Because many district courts and district attorney's offices are funded at least in part by parish budgets, the decline in revenue from court fees has had a disproportionate effect on public defenders.¹⁰

State-level system characteristics provide valuable context to understanding the environment within which local systems operate. The following section outlines key findings from the Caddo Parish legal system based on data shared by CPSO and the First Judicial District Court.

i. This incarceration rate includes people in state prisons, federal prisons, local jails, youth confinement, and all other forms of incarceration.

ii. In this report, individuals in the custody of the Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections are noted as "DOC."

Key Findings

In 2022, the CCC's average daily population was 1,406 individuals, 31 percent over the facility's design capacity of 1,070. Significantly, this population is the second highest it has been in the past 11 years, growing four percent since 2012 and 14 percent since 2021. This growth is primarily driven by the pretrial population, which rose 42 percent between 2012 and 2022. To understand what is driving both this population increase and subsequent capacity challenges, the Task Force reviewed admissions and release data from the CCC to track who is entering, how long they remain in custody, and by which mechanisms they are being released or detained. To provide additional context, the Task Force examined data from the First Judicial District Court, the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, and publicly available data shared from the Shreveport Police Department. In addition to reviewing the quantitative data, the Task Force reviewed qualitative findings based on numerous interviews with stakeholders across the criminal justice system, including law enforcement, judges, jail staff, community providers, impacted persons, and victims, among others. The section below presents key findings from the data analysis and interviews.

Caddo Parish Resources are Limited.

In 2022, Caddo Parish's budget was \$14.3M, for a population of 229,025 individuals.¹¹ Eight percent of that budget, or \$11.2M, was dedicated to the operation of detention facilities within the Parish.¹² Looking at the budgets of parishes with comparable populations sizes, Caddo's budget is far less. Lafayette Parish, for example had a population of 247,866 individuals in 2022, and an annual budget of \$705.6M in 2022, or Calcasieu Parish, with a budget of \$395M in 2022 for a population of 207,749.¹³

With the Parish's budget being comparatively lower than counties of similar population, and the costs of the CCC growing, a majority of the funds allocated to other public safety purposes are being utilized for operation of the CCC. For instance, of the \$26.8M collected in the CPSO's general and fiduciary funds, \$17,071,552 (or almost two thirds of the CPSO's total funding) was allocated to the CCC in 2022.¹⁴ Further, in 2023, the Parish allocated almost a quarter of its special revenue funds on criminal justice, including the CCC.¹⁵

The impact of the budget limitations extends well beyond the CCC. All criminal justice stakeholders, including the Courts, District Attorney's Office and Public Defender's Office noted resource gaps as a contributing factor to overcrowding at the CCC. In the 2022 annual Parish budget, the District Attorney's Office noted that there is a "growing percentage of complex cases which require an experienced prosecutor, secretary

and investigator" and "it is impractical to expect to operate this office without professional, experienced attorneys and a well-trained support staff."¹⁶ This is also apparent for the Public Defender's Office, which, according to Caddo Parish meeting minutes, operated a budget of 3.6 million in 2022 compared to the District Attorney's Office budget of over 10 million.¹⁷ The primary revenue base for the Public Defender's Office is court fines and fees, with some supplement from state funding.¹⁸ These economic constraints directly impact the effectiveness and efficiency of the Parish's criminal justice system and as a result the overcrowding of the CCC evidenced in the data below.

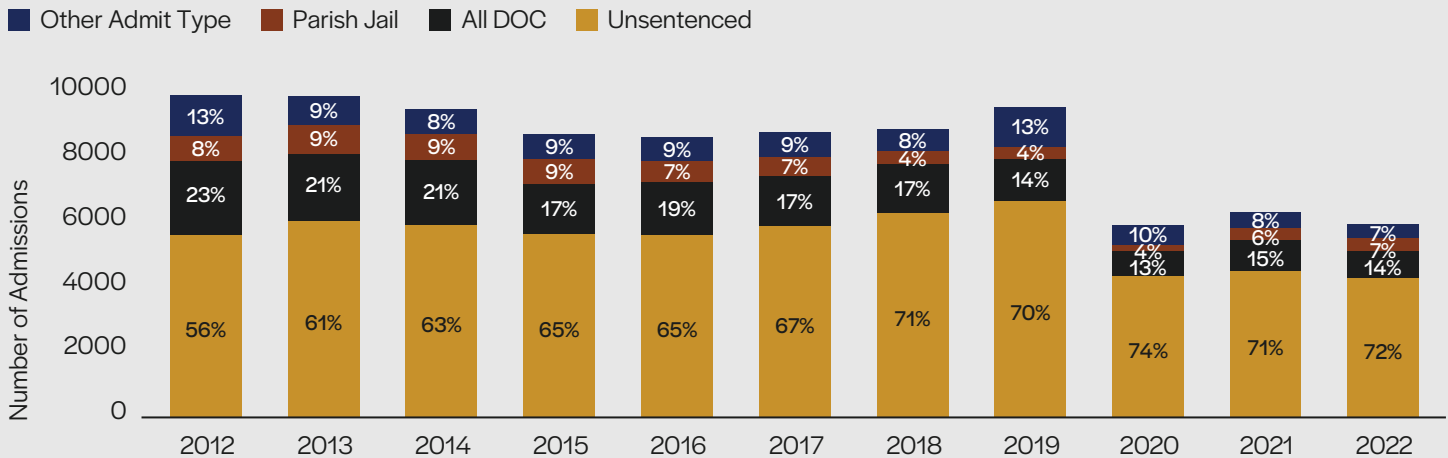
As Overall Admissions Declined, CCC Composition Shifted to More Pretrial Individuals and More Felony Offenses.

Despite the overall jail population growing, admissions to the CCC declined by 40 percent, between 2012 and 2022, with the biggest change occurring in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Across the same timeframe, however, admissions for individuals who were unsentenced (or pretrial) grew from comprising 56 percent, or just over half, of admissions in 2012 to 72 percent, nearly three-quarters, of admissions in 2022. In this same timeframe, the number of individuals admitted as DOC inmates (predominantly those who have been fully sentenced and are serving their time) decreased by 63 percent.ⁱⁱⁱ

iii. An individual's admission status to the CCC is determined by their status upon release or most recent status; for example, if an individual enters pretrial but remains in CCC custody until they are sentenced to serve as a DOC inmate, their status will be updated to "DOC" rather than "unsentenced" and flagged as such from that point forward. In light of that, it is likely that the following trends in admissions reflect a proportion of individuals who entered the CCC with a pretrial status, but in the meantime received a different status which overwrote the previous. Everyone identified as a pretrial admission is accurately classified, but the overall group of pretrial admissions is likely to be undercounted in the underlying data due to this practice.

Figure 1. CCC Admissions Declined 40 Percent, a Growing Share Are Pretrial.

Caddo Correctional Center Yearly Admissions by Type 2012-2022



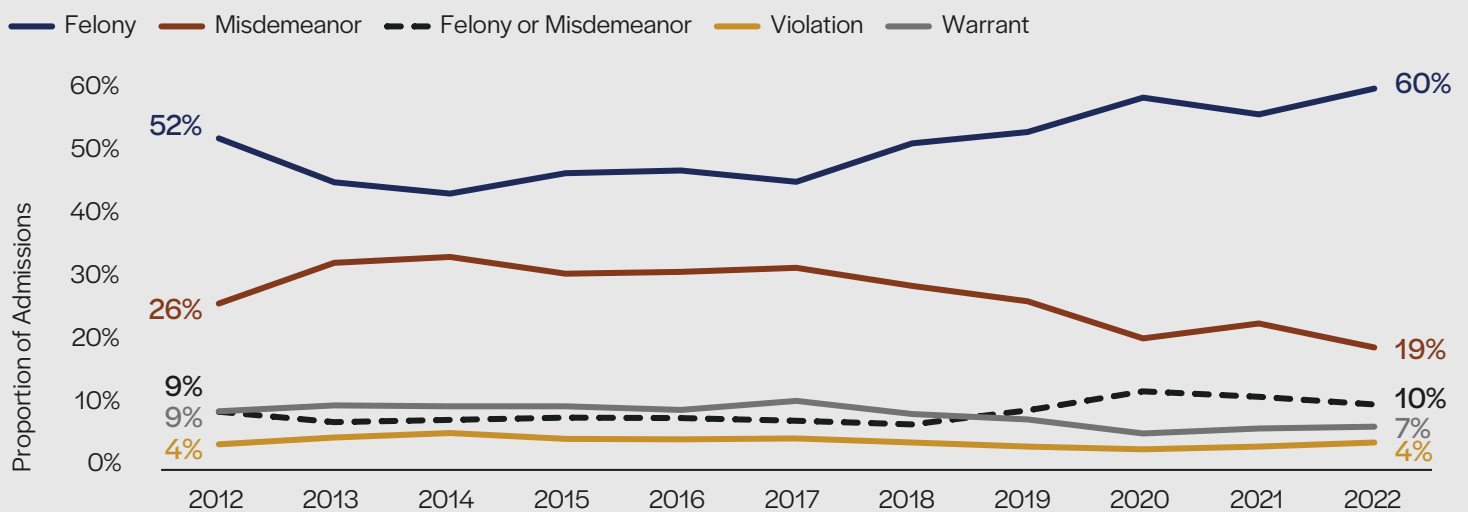
Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

Between 2012 and 2022, pretrial admissions to the CCC were predominantly male (around 74 percent of admissions in 2022), Black (around 66 percent of admissions in 2022), and 40 or younger (around 63 percent of admissions in 2022), though the average age of individuals upon admission steadily increased (from 32 to 36 years old between 2012 and 2022). Every year between 2012 and 2022, close to or over half of

individuals admitted as pretrial had a felony as their most serious charge,^{iv} a proportion that has grown from 52 percent of pretrial admissions in 2012 to 60 percent in 2022 (see Figure 2). Across this timeframe, the percentage of admissions of individuals with misdemeanors as their most serious charge has decreased from comprising over a quarter of pretrial admissions to less than a fifth.

Figure 2. Felonies Were Increasingly the Most Serious Offense Class Among Pretrial Admissions.

Caddo Correctional Center Pretrial Admissions by Most Serious Offense Class 2012-2022



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

iv. For this analysis, CJI manually categorized the offenses using the offense descriptions to identify misdemeanor and felony offenses by looking at which statutes included a penalty of imprisonment to jail or "with or without hard labor." A small proportion of offenses could not be definitively identified as either felonies or misdemeanors, so are in their own category labeled "Felony or Misdemeanor."

The increase of jail resources being used for felony offenses rather than misdemeanors led the Task Force to break down the drivers of pretrial admissions to better understand which types of offenses are contributing to overcrowding and where there may be opportunities to safely reduce pretrial detention.

Drug Offenses Have Consistently Driven Pretrial Admissions.

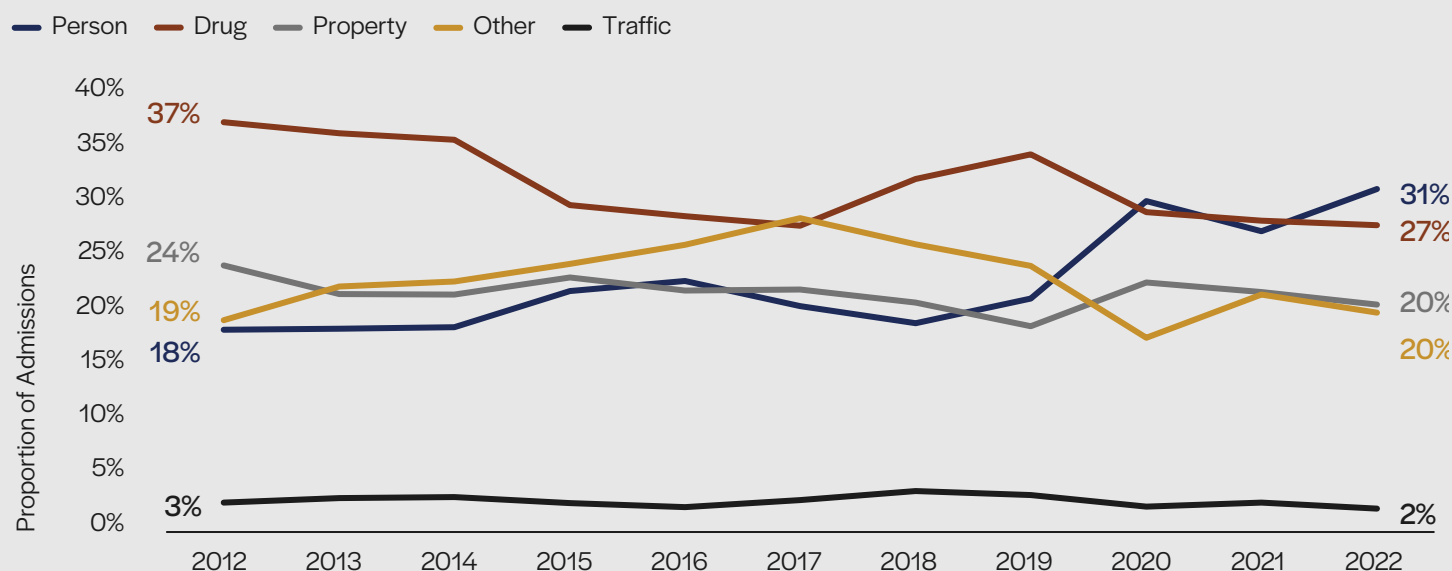
In 2012, drug offenses were the most common offense at admission,^v comprising 37 percent of pretrial admissions.^{vi} In 2022, drug charges were still the second most common offense, comprising 27 percent of pretrial admissions. The most common drug offenses were possession of schedule II (cocaine, methamphetamine, methadone), or schedule I substances (heroin, LSD, marijuana), together comprising over half of pretrial admissions with drug charges as their most serious offense at the time of booking.

When discussing the prevalence of substance-related charges driving the jail population, Task Force members called attention to the limited jail diversion options for individuals

with substance use disorders. While a drug court program for addressing substance use is available to Caddo Parish residents, the program specifically targets individuals under the supervision of Probation & Parole through the Louisiana Department of Public Safety & Corrections and is limited to 57 participants.¹⁹ Members of the Task Force reviewed research on best practices for addressing substance use among justice-involved populations and acknowledged the beneficial effects of non-custodial treatment on reducing recidivism for individuals with a substance use disorder.²⁰ The group reached a consensus that bolstering treatment supports in the community and identifying safe alternatives to jail for individuals with substance use disorders are critical steps to relieving pressure currently placed on the CCC to house and stabilize this population.

Figure 3. In 2022, Person Offenses Were the Most Common Most Serious Offense Type, but the Majority of Most Serious Offenses Remained Nonviolent.

Caddo Correctional Center Pretrial Admissions by Most Serious Offense Type 2012-2022



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

v. CJI narrowed down the CCC's 58 offense classifications for ease of analysis and to better follow trends in types of offenses; the five resultant categories are drug, person, property, traffic, and other. CJI also analyzed the most serious offense at admissions per individual admitted.

vi. In 2022, 27 percent of total admissions to the CCC (including pretrial and DOC) had a drug charge as their most serious offense.

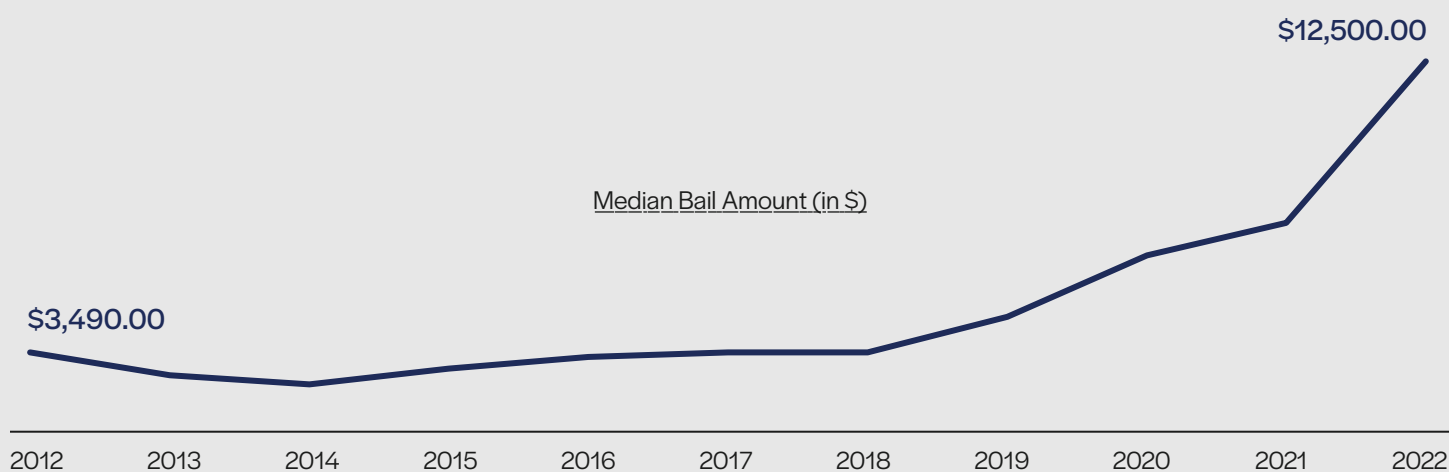
Bail Amounts Tripled Between 2012 and 2022.^{vii}

One contributing factor to the growth in the pretrial composition of admissions may be increasing bail amounts. Bail is the primary detention mechanism for people who are held at the CCC pretrial.²¹ After an individual is booked at the CCC, a criminal court judge will review arrest charges and any criminal history information available to determine whether that person should be detained or released pretrial. There are several factors that a judge must consider when setting bail,²² however current law does not provide requirements or guidance for jurisdictions to complete a systematic review of these factors before determining release.

Independent from quantitative analyses completed through this process, court actors— including attorneys and judges— interviewed during this process perceived that bail amounts being set in Caddo Parish have surged in recent years. Findings indicate that the total bail amounts set per person at admission to the CCC have more than tripled between 2012 and 2022 (far outpacing inflation rates during this time period, which were only 29.3 percent²³). This is especially notable based on research findings that money bail (as opposed to non-financial release options) does not improve court appearance or public safety, and in some studies has been associated with a higher likelihood of rearrest.²⁴

Figure 4. Total Median Bail Amounts per Individual Increased.

Median Total Bail Amounts for Caddo Correctional Center Pretrial Admissions 2012-2022



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

Median total bail amounts per person in 2022 also had higher discrepancies by sex, race, and age than median total bail amounts per person in 2012. In 2022, bail amounts were higher for men (3.8 times higher than for women, compared to 1.5 times higher in 2012), Black individuals (2.7 times higher than for white individuals, compared to 1.1 times higher in 2012),

and individuals under 21 (1.6 times higher than for individuals between 21 and 30 years old and four times higher than for those 61 and older). By comparison, bail amounts were highest in 2012 for those 61 and older, and only 1.9 times higher than the lowest bail amounts as opposed to four.

^{vii}. The comparisons in these analyses are cross-sections of demographic factors and offense characteristics provided in the data by CPSO. They do not account for the facts of individual cases, such as statutory bail factors outlined in La. C.Cr.P. Art. 316.

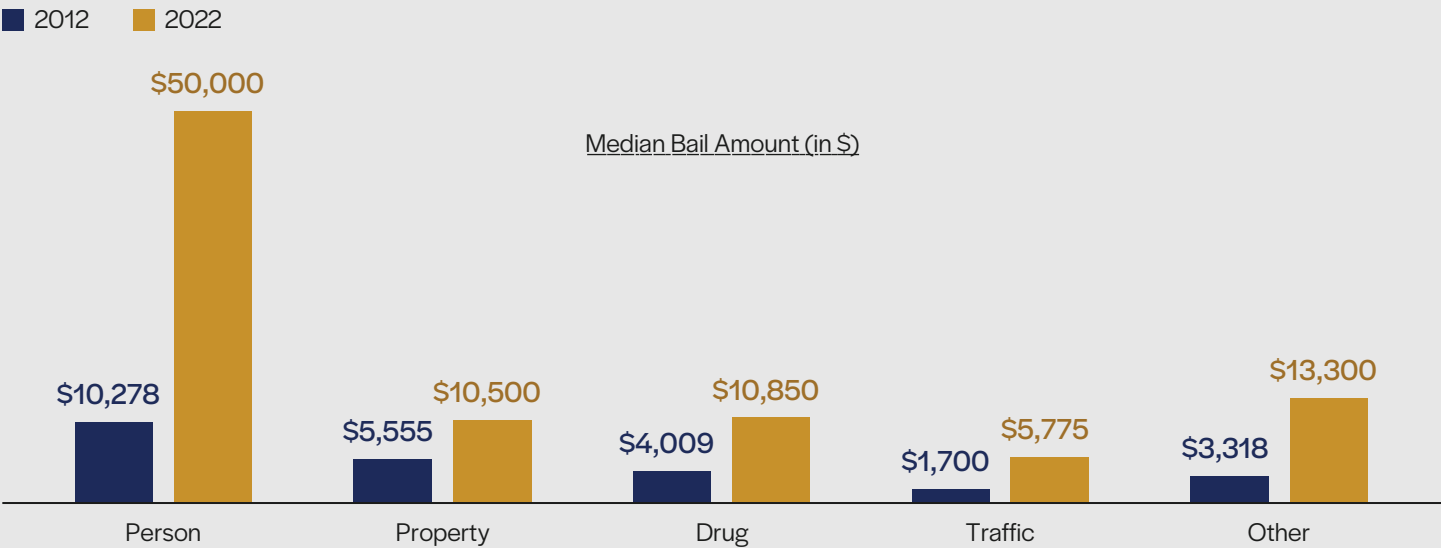
Median Bail Amounts Increased for All Offense Classes and Categories.^{viii}

As the serious nature of the offense was a contributing factor to the determination of bail, the Task Force also examined bail amounts by offense class (felony or misdemeanor) and offense category (drug, property, person, other, and traffic). Similar to the trends for total bail amounts, the bail amounts per offense class and category also grew between 2012 and 2022. Median bail amounts per charge grew for offenses of every type, with an 89 percent increase in bail for property offenses, a 171 percent increase in bail for drug charges, a

240 percent increase in bail for traffic offenses, a 301 percent increase in bail for other charges,^{ix} and a 386 percent increase in bail for person offenses, representing the most significant growth in bail. Median bail amounts also tripled for both felony and misdemeanor charges between 2012 and 2022. This demonstrates that the increases in bail are not correlated with changes in the composition of the jail population, but rather with an overall increase in bail amounts irrespective of charge.

Figure 5. Bail Amounts per Charge Increased Over Time for All Offense Types.

Median Total Bail Amounts for Charges Among Caddo Correctional Center Pretrial Admissions by Offense Type 2012 vs. 2022



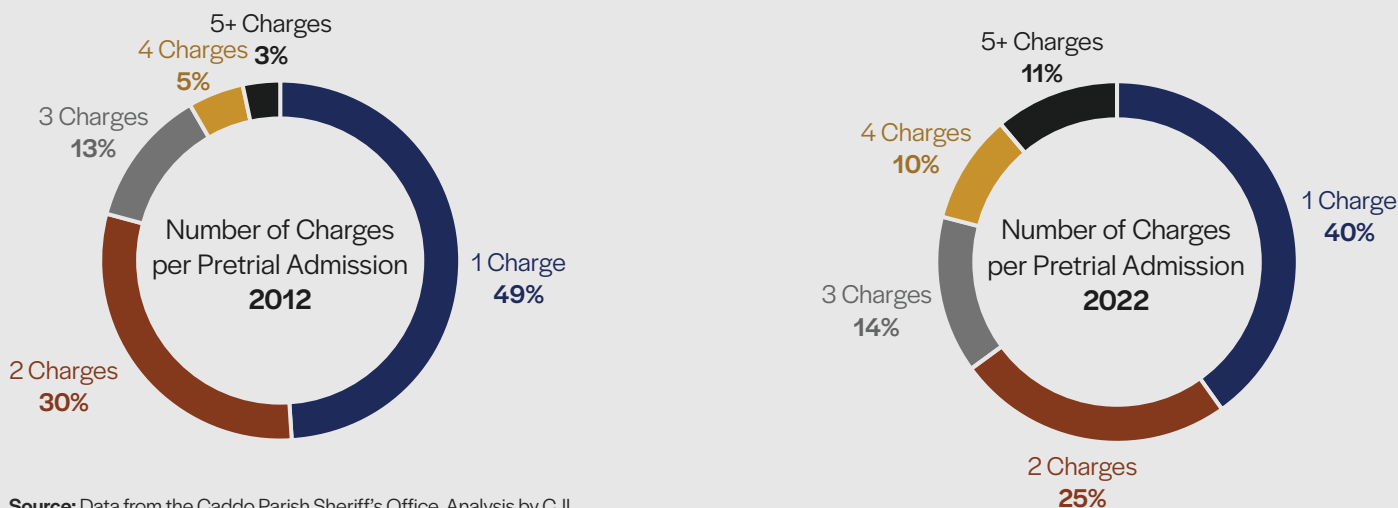
Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff’s Office, Analysis by CJI

As bail is set per charge, another factor the Task Force examined was changes in the number of charges over time. In 2012, over three-quarters of pretrial admissions had one or two charges, while only eight percent had four or more and three percent had

five or more. By contrast, in 2022, just under two-thirds of pretrial admissions had one or two charges, while 21 percent had four or more and 11 percent had five or more, both nearly tripling.

viii. The comparisons in these analyses are cross-sections of demographic factors and offense characteristics provided in the data by CPSO. They do not account for the facts of individual cases, such as statutory bail factors outlined in La. C.Cr.P. Art. 316.
ix. In CJI’s analyses, the “other” category was used to identify non-person, non-property, non-drug, and non-traffic offenses. Some examples of “other” offenses include, but are not limited to, contempt of court, possession of a firearm or concealed weapon by a person with a felony offense, driving under the influence/driving while intoxicated, and violation of protective orders.

Figure 6. and 7. Number of Charges per Pretrial Admission has Increased.



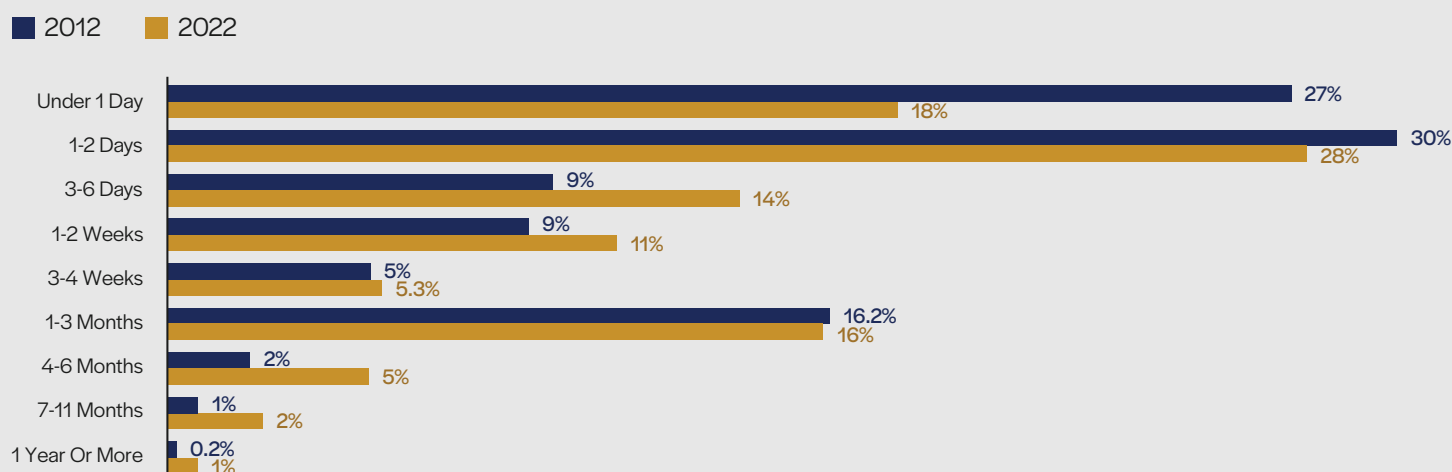
Average Length of Stay for Individuals Detained Pretrial Doubled.

The increase in bail amounts is significant because the amount of time individuals detained pretrial at the CCC has increased. Between 2012 and 2022, the median length of stay grew from two to three days and the average nearly doubled, from 17 days to 31 days (with the largest growth occurring between 2019 and 2020, as the COVID-19 pandemic slowed processing throughout the justice system).^x In 2012, 57 percent of pretrial

releases had been at the CCC for two or fewer days, but this proportion dropped to 46 percent in 2022. By contrast, the proportion of individuals released from the CCC with a pretrial status after four or more months comprised less than four percent of releases in 2012 but eight percent of releases in 2022; the number of unsentenced individuals released after having been at the CCC for a year or more increased from 12 in 2012 to 28 in 2022 (even as the overall number of pretrial releases decreased by 30 percent).

Figure 8. Average Pretrial Length of Stay Increased.

Length of Stay at the Caddo Correctional Center - Pretrial 2012 and 2022



^x. In CJI's analyses of length of stay, the average was determined to be a more relevant metric than the median in closely examining trends. CJI often uses the median to show trends because it is more stable and less influenced by outliers, or small groups of individuals with very high or very low lengths of stay. However, in this instance, the Task Force was interested in taking a closer look at outliers, as the growing proportion of people who are staying longer is most impacting overcrowding, not the majority of releases who are in and out relatively quickly.

This trend of increasing pretrial detention terms does not align with best practices for reducing recidivism and addressing future crime. In fact, studies show that people detained pretrial are more likely to be rearrested than those released,²⁵ and that pretrial detention for two or more days was related to an increased likelihood of post-disposition recidivism.²⁶

The Task Force discussed many factors that may lead to longer terms of pretrial detention. One characteristic of the Parish's justice system that emerged as an area ripe for streamlining is the duplicative processes for documenting arrests and booking people into jail. Members of the Task Force were surprised to learn that CPSO and SPD, the agencies that contribute the most bookings to the CCC, use different forms for both arrest reports and booking sheets. As a result of this, some processes are repeated when individuals are transferred from SPD to CPSO custody. For example, a person arrested by SPD for a felony offense must first be booked into the Shreveport City Jail before being physically transferred and rebooked at the CCC using a new form and booking process. When this happens, the paperwork associated with that case is hand-delivered along with the arrested person. System stakeholders expressed concern regarding the added steps that take place when an individual is brought to the CCC, especially when both

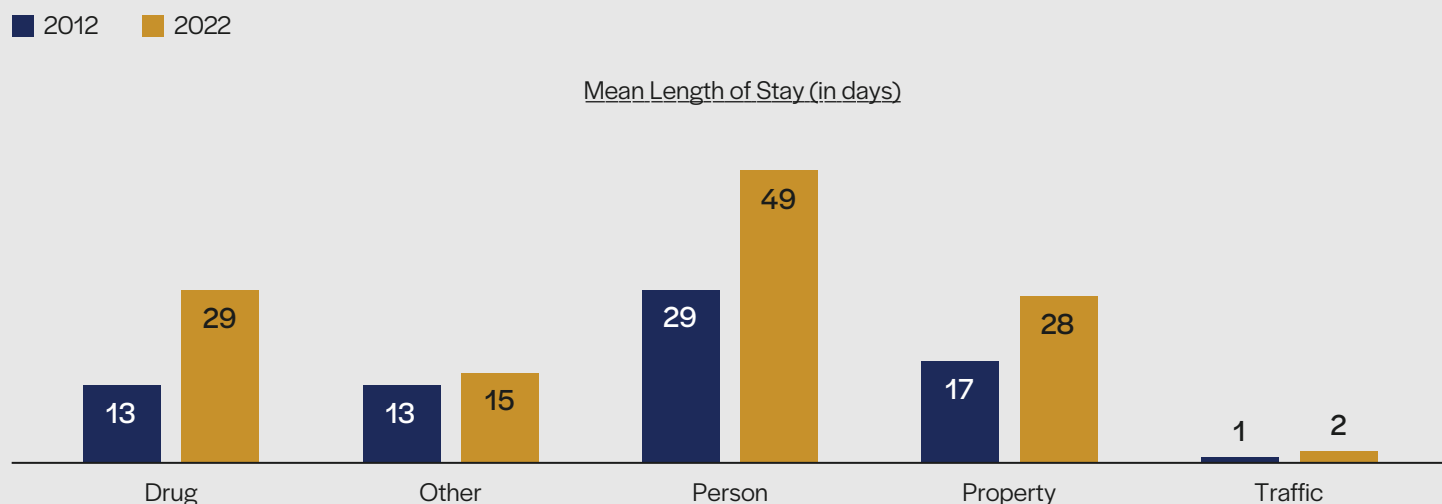
SPD and CPSO are understaffed. Whether or not this has a significant impact on pretrial detention lengths, the Task Force acknowledged that this duplication strains resources and that streamlining elements of these processes may increase overall booking efficiencies.

Length of Stay Increased Most for Individuals with Drug Charges.

Similar to the bail trends, average length of stay has increased for all individuals detained pretrial regardless of offense class or type. The average length of stay doubled from four days to eight days for individuals with misdemeanors as their most serious offense, and nearly doubled from 24 days to 42 days for those with felonies as their most serious offense. The average length of stay was longest for those with person offenses as their most serious offense, 49 days (up by 69 percent from 2012, comparable to a 65 percent growth in the length of stay for individuals with property offenses), but the biggest increase in the length of stay was for individuals with drug offenses, more than doubling from 13 days to 29 days between 2012 and 2022. The length of stay also grew irrespective of a person's number of charges, with individuals booked with only one charge staying 50 percent longer in 2022 than in 2012.

Figure 9. Average Length of Stay for Drug Offenses More Than Doubled.

Mean Length of Stay at the Caddo Correctional Center in Days by Most Serious Offense Type - Pretrial, 2012 and 2022



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

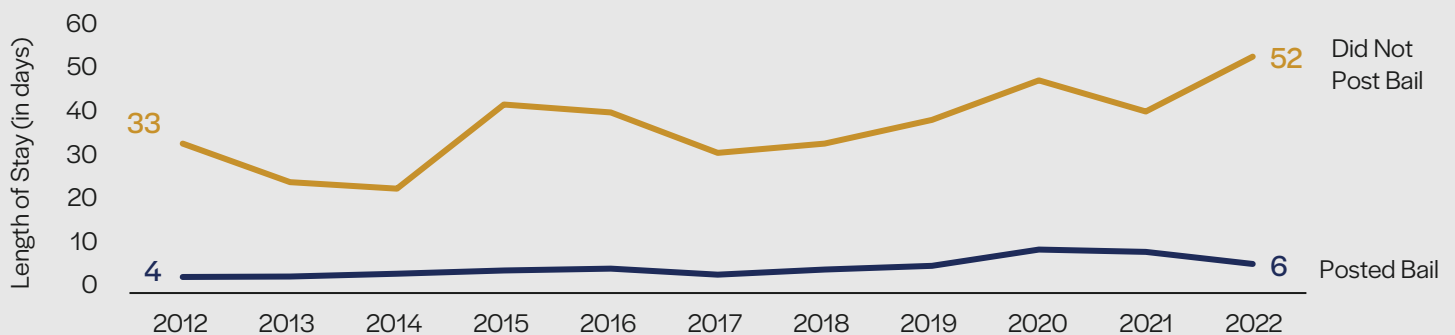
Bail Status Significantly Determined Length of Stay.

While the length of stay increased regardless of offense class or offense category, one factor that was notable in the data regarding the length of stay was an individual's reason for release. The average pretrial length of stay was consistently shorter for individuals who posted bail compared to those released with a pretrial status for any other reason (such as dropped charges, transfer, or suspended sentence). While the

length of stay for individuals who posted bail increased from four to six days between 2012 and 2022, the length of stay for individuals who did not post bail was between five to eight times higher in any given year and grew from 33 days in 2012 to 52 days in 2022.

Figure 10. The Average Length of Stay for Individuals who Did Not Post Bail Was Five to Eight Times Higher Than for Those Who Did.

Mean Length of Stay at the Caddo Correctional Center in Days by Whether Bail was Posted, 2012-2022



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

Length of Stay Driven by an Increase in Court Process Timeline.

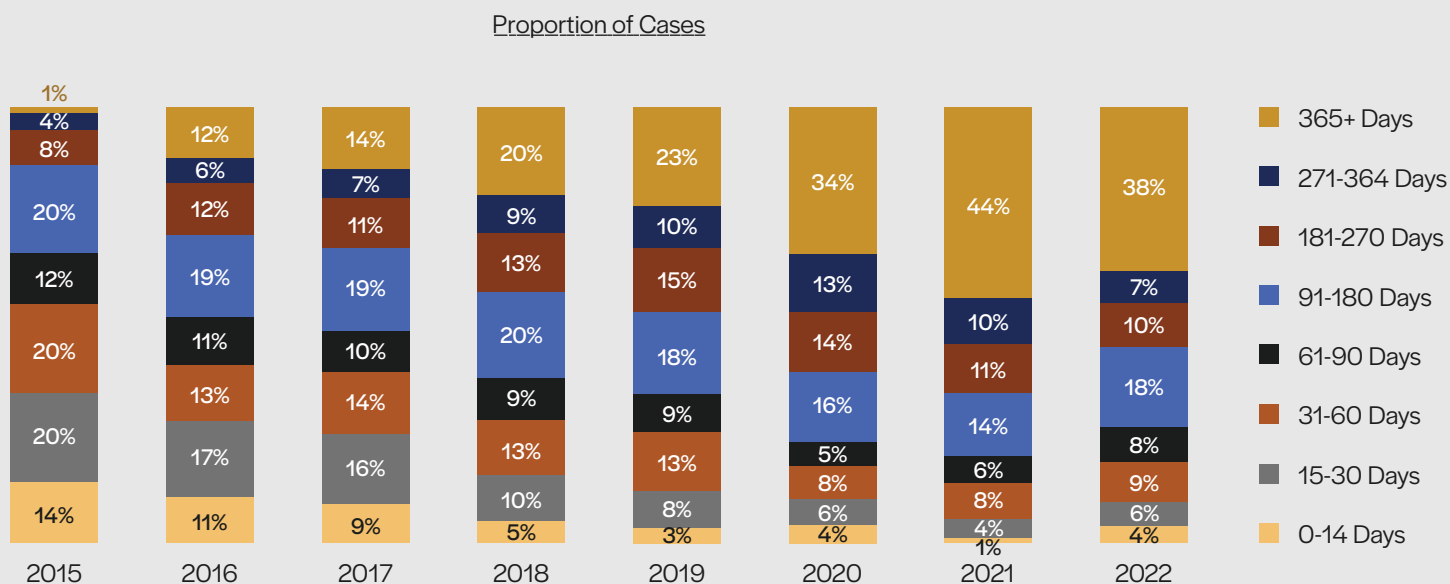
To understand the factors contributing to an overall increased length of stay, the Task Force examined data from the First Judicial Court to determine the impact that case processing timelines may have on how long a person is detained at the CCC. Similar to the length of stay trends, the median time between case opening^{xi} and disposition increased 144 percent between 2012 and 2022 (with the largest growth occurring between 2019 and 2020, as the COVID-19 pandemic slowed processing throughout the justice system). The Task Force then broke this data down further to examine individual processes within the opening to disposition timeline to determine if there were specific hearings that were driving this increase. The time between the case opening and the first court date decreased

by 48 percent between 2014 and 2022, but the overall increase in the case processing time was driven predominantly by an increase in the time between the first court date and the disposition. The average number of days between the first court date and disposition more than quadrupled between 2015 and 2022, growing from 84.5 days to 388 days. The most common time to disposition also changed over time; in 2015, 21 percent of cases took between 15 and 30 days from the first court date to disposition (down to six percent of cases in 2022), while in 2022, 38 percent of cases took a year or longer (compared to one percent in 2015).

xi. Court case "opening" refers to the first record of the case existing in the court system. The case opens when the first court appearance takes place, which can be at different points depending on the case. For someone who does not post bail initially and remains detained after booking, the 72-hour hearing ("jail clearance") will likely be the first court appearance or case opening. Someone who posts bail and is released may not have their case "opened" until arraignment.

Figure 11. Time Between First Court Date and Disposition Increased.

First Court Date to Disposition (Days) by Disposition Year, 2015-2022



Source: Data from Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office and First Judicial District Court, Analyzed by CJI

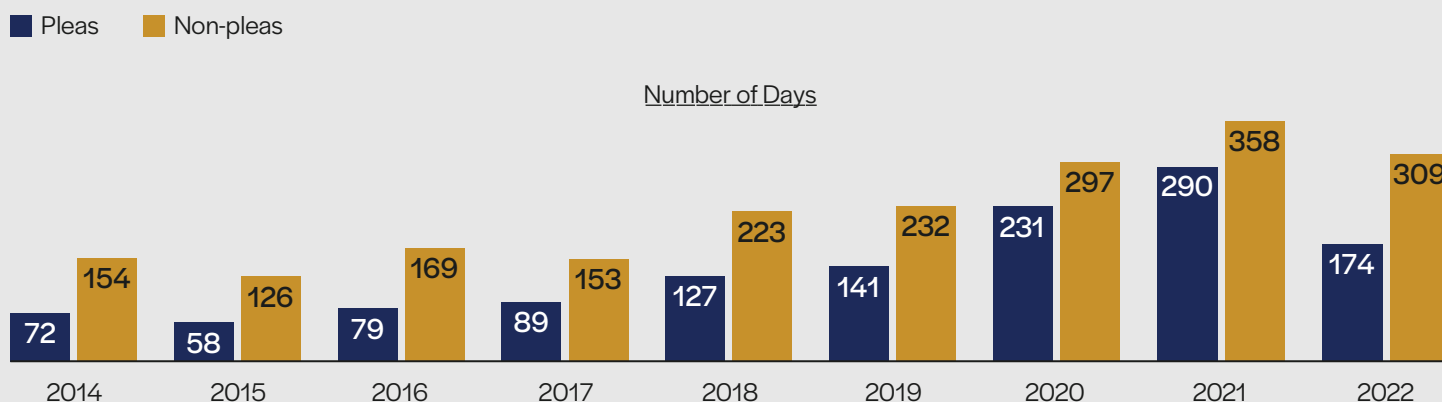
The time between the case opening and the disposition increased over the years regardless of the most serious offense class, but the case processing time was consistently longer for those with felonies.²⁷ In 2014, cases with felonies as the most serious charge took a median of 138 days from the case opening to the disposition compared to a median of 78 days for non-felonies. In 2021, felony cases took a median of 336 days from the case opening to the disposition compared to a median of 106 days for non-felonies. The time between the case opening and the disposition also increased for every type of most serious offense; the processing time was longest for cases with person offenses as the most serious charge between 2015 and 2019, but since 2020, the processing time has been longest for cases with drug charges.

Members of the Task Force noted that delays in receiving discovery could act as a bottleneck in criminal cases. Documents such as police reports or digital evidence such as bodycam footage were not always provided to the court or district attorney's office for days or even weeks after they were created. According to system stakeholders, these delays often mean cases take longer to resolve, resulting in continuances at court and an increased length of stay for those awaiting trial at the CCC.

In every year of the data, pleas were the most common disposition for cases; however, they have decreased in frequency over time, dropping from two-thirds of dispositions in 2014 to just over half in 2022. In 2022, the most serious offense type with the highest proportion of cases resulting in a plea were property offenses (62 percent). The most serious offense type with the highest proportion of cases resulting in a dismissal in 2022 were drug offenses (48 percent). Cases which resulted in a plea were consistently processed more quickly than those that did not, with cases processed more than twice as quickly in 2014 and 78 percent more quickly in 2022 and the processing time for both increasing over time.

Figure 12. Case Length Increased Regardless of Plea or Non-Plea.

Median Number of Days between Case Opening to Disposition by Disposition Year and Disposition Type, 2012 and 2022



Source: Data from Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office and the First Judicial District of the Caddo District Court, Analyzed by CJI

Task Force members reported that in the past, regular communication between prosecutors and defense attorneys in the form of case conferencing was helpful to resolving cases; however, this practice is no longer a regular custom. According to Caddo Parish stakeholders, the discontinuation of this practice in recent years has resulted in fewer opportunities to reach an agreed-upon resolution and has contributed to inconsistent communication between attorneys.

The Task Force also noted that attorney retention contributes to case processing delays at the Parish Court, most acutely at the Public Defender's Office.²⁸ In addition to turnover, the Task Force discussed how a lack of experience and institutional knowledge can result in longer case processing times.

Additionally, members of the Task Force acknowledged that Parish law enforcement and the courts are responding to a higher percentage of felonies, which take longer to resolve. As noted previously, the percentage of admissions to the CCC with a felony as the most serious charge increased in the last decade, as did the percentage of admissions for a crime against a person. At the same time, the percentage of people admitted for five or more charges jumped from three percent to 11 percent. The Task Force discussed how an increase in felonies can elongate case resolution times. While the data show that the length of stay for drug offenses increased by the greatest amount from 2012 to 2022, person-related offenses historically spend the longest amount of time at the CCC. These

person-related offenses take longer to resolve in court, as they often include more discovery, witnesses, and litigation. For that reason, members of the group acknowledged that focusing law enforcement resources on these critical threats to public safety and preserving jail space for those for whom pretrial detention is necessary may be a critical step in improving case processing time.

More Individuals Are Entering CCC than Being Released.

After examining how many people were entering the system and how long they were staying, the Task Force looked at how individuals were being released from the CCC. Between 2012 and 2022, releases from the CCC dropped by 40 percent—a similar trend to that of admissions. The demographic profile of releases from the CCC closely paralleled that of admissions, including the increased composition of individuals with a pretrial status, with 64 percent of releases in 2022 being pretrial. Significantly, this pretrial group comprised 72 percent of admissions, indicating that more pretrial individuals are entering the CCC than are leaving.^{xii} This difference is contributing to the population growth. In all but three years of the data, pretrial admissions outpaced pretrial releases. Between 2012 and 2022, pretrial admissions dropped by 23 percent, but pretrial releases dropped by 30 percent, and between 2021 and 2022, admissions decreased by two percent while releases decreased by 13 percent. During that time, over 500 more people were admitted into the CCC with a pretrial status than were released.

xii. The CCC's system overwrites an individual's status as their most recent, so the only individuals in the data flagged as unsentenced are those whose status has not changed—i.e., those who were released with a pretrial status or who remained unsentenced at the time the data were pulled. As such, it is likely that an even higher number of individuals entered the CCC with a pretrial status between 2012 and 2022 than the data reflect, but their status has changed in the meantime.

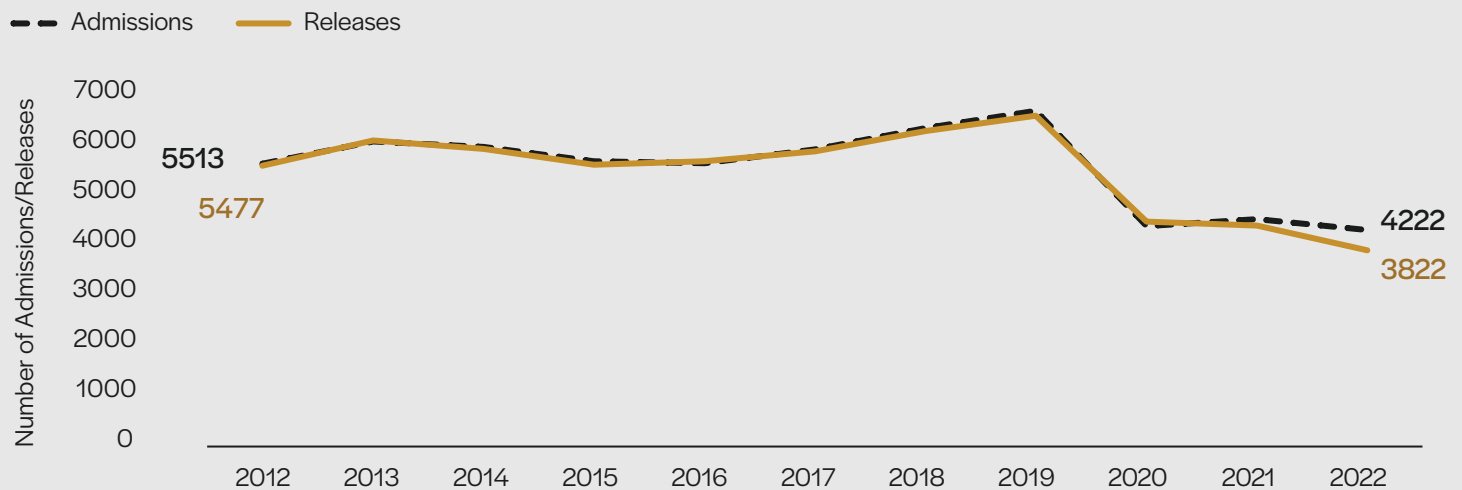
To better understand factors contributing to the reduction in pretrial releases, the Task Force relied on experts in the court system to explain what information is most critical for determining release. System stakeholders relayed that receiving complete, accurate, and timely arrest information is a fundamental piece of making detention and release decisions that both protect the public and ensure that jail resources are not being wasted. According to these stakeholders, the quality of arrest reports and the timeliness of report completion is a frequent challenge in Caddo Parish. Staffing vacancies, high

turnover, and the high volume of calls requiring law enforcement responses are all factors that system stakeholders identified as barriers to completing quality arrest reports.

Judges in Caddo Parish also relayed the importance of having criminal history information readily available to help inform pretrial release decisions. System stakeholders also described pulling criminal history as a lengthy process that often cannot be done immediately after an individual is booked or in time for the initial bail determination.²⁹

Figure 13. Pretrial Admissions Outpaced Releases in Recent Years.

Pretrial Admissions to and Releases from the Caddo Correctional Center, 2012-2022



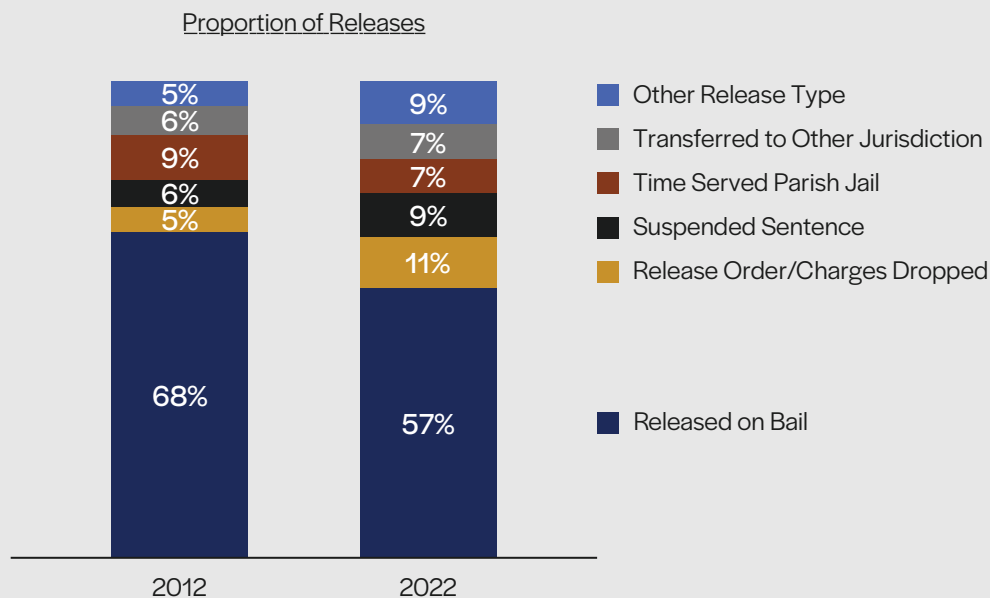
Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

In the 11 years of data analyzed, the five most common release types for individuals released from the CCC with a pretrial status were posting bail, a release order from a judge or dropped charges, transfer to another jurisdiction, suspended sentence, or release on time served. While posting bail was consistently the most common release type, the frequency of

this release type has decreased, dropping from over two-thirds of pretrial releases in 2012 to just over half in 2022. Several other release types – release orders or dropped charges, suspended sentences, and transfers to other jurisdictions – were used more frequently in 2022 than in 2012.

Figure 14. Most Pretrial Releases Were on Bail.

Pretrial Releases from the Caddo Correctional Center by Release Type 2012 and 2022



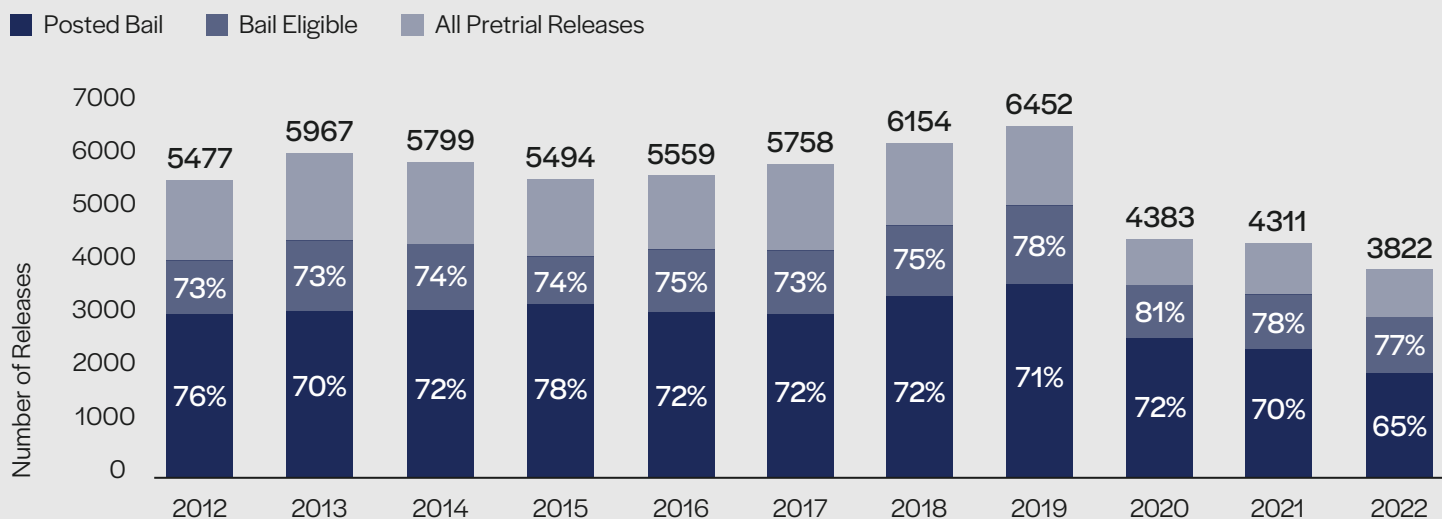
Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

The impact of increasing bail, noted above, is also reflected in the release data. The proportion of individuals eligible for bail in the admissions data grew between 2012 and 2022, from 73 percent to 77 percent. Bail eligibility is determined by an individual's offense and admission type (new offense, violation, warrant, hold, etc.). However, the release data indicates the

proportion of individuals who posted bail decreased from 76 percent of all bail-eligible individuals in 2012 to 65 percent in 2022. Thus, despite more people being eligible for release through bail, fewer individuals are posting bail, illustrating the impact of the increase in bail amounts.

Figure 15. Bail Eligibility Increased, but Fewer People Posted Bail.

Pretrial Releases from the CCC by Bail Eligibility and Bail Post Status, 2012-2022



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

Limited Pretrial Release Mechanisms Exist.

While reviewing bail release trends, the Task Force noted that outside of bail, there are few mechanisms for pretrial release in Caddo Parish.

Caddo Parish currently does not operate a pretrial supervision program. Several stakeholders who work in the First Judicial Court relayed that in response to COVID-19, more individuals have been released from the CCC with the condition of electronic monitoring. Nonetheless, criminal court attorneys and law enforcement representatives interviewed as part of this process expressed concern regarding the effectiveness of electronic monitoring in Caddo Parish, commenting that the tool is both expensive for defendants and has proven limited value in preventing future crime. Research has also found mixed results of the effectiveness of electronic monitoring. While some studies found this form of supervision to be associated with a decline in rearrests, others found associations with reductions in failures to appear but not in rearrests, and others even found associations with electronic monitoring and increased technical violations.³⁰

The Task Force also acknowledged that the District Attorney's office operates a pretrial diversion program, but this opportunity is not recognized as a release valve from the jail by most system partners. Instead, the program primarily allows individuals charged for the first time with nonviolent offenses an opportunity to participate in an intensive rehabilitation program in lieu of prosecution.³¹ While defense attorneys might advocate for a person in jail to be reviewed for diversion, the program is designed for individuals who have already been released from jail.

Lastly, the Task Force noted that while the jail is the site for detention, the Sheriff has limited authority to make release decisions about the population detained.³² When overcrowding persists in a parish jail for more than two weeks, sheriffs are directed by statute to declare an overcrowding state of emergency. This emergency order provides the sheriff discretion to authorize the use of summons in lieu of custodial arrests for non-violent municipal ordinances, as well as to furlough individuals who have been convicted of these offenses who are within one year of release. The sheriff is also authorized to temporarily release individuals under specific circumstances, for example if an individual has a serious illness, experiences a death in the family, or has an interview with a prospective employer.³³ Outside of these mechanisms, there is little to no release authority available to the CCC.

Need for Intentional Reentry Planning and Cohesive Communication Around Reentry Efforts.

In addition to discussing release trends, the Task Force reviewed various release and reentry supports that are available in Caddo Parish.

According to CCC leadership, the jail hosts and operates multiple educational programs, including several substance use disorder programs, parenting and anger management classes, job readiness and reentry preparation, trauma-informed programming for survivors of sex trafficking, and high school equivalency test preparation. These programs are also complimented by a full cohort of vocational programs available through the Reentry Program, which is available to DOC sentenced individuals. Most programs are available to all individuals detained at the CCC who have maintained positive behavior—individuals may participate in any programs on a voluntary basis. Although the CCC offers programming, the Task Force learned that participation and successes in program completion are not widely communicated to partners in the courts. Judges interviewed communicated they would gain a better understanding of who the individual is in a given case and gauge their capacity for rehabilitation and candidacy for safe release if they knew the individual participated in voluntary programming while detained.

Individuals who were recently released from the CCC were also interviewed as part of a focus group to share their experiences with release and reentry. Some participants shared that during their detention, they were unable to access programming due to staffing shortages. Other barriers identified in their reentry experience included locating affordable housing and accessing medical and behavioral health care. Participants attributed overcoming many of these barriers to services provided to them by Compassion for Lives, a nonprofit organization that operates both in-jail programming and post-release reentry support, but they relayed existing gaps in availability and access to reentry programming both in the CCC and in the community.

While Efforts to Improve Behavioral Health Interventions Are Underway, Gaps Persist Across Caddo's System.

Like other jurisdictions across the country, Caddo Parish faces the challenge of managing a population with a high prevalence of behavioral health needs. A consequence of this can be heightened pressure on law enforcement to respond to calls for service when someone in the community is experiencing a behavioral health crisis. Publicly available data from SPD³⁴ and CPSO indicate the two agencies collectively received 205,976 calls for service requiring a police response in 2021 alone.³⁵

Although SPD and CPSO do not publicly report how many of those calls were from individuals in crisis, law enforcement interviewed in this process shared that calls for service increasingly have behavioral health components.

Stakeholders in many jurisdictions, including in Caddo Parish, rely on an evidence-based framework known as “The Sequential Intercept Model” (SIM) to identify community resources and help plan for additional assistance for people with mental illness and substance use disorders at each phase of interaction with the justice system. The model moves from services available in the community such as crisis interventions, all the way to reentry and community supervision and support.³⁶ In Caddo Parish, the use of this model is relatively new, and is mostly focused on establishing more robust support at the first few intercepts in the SIM: community services (crisis stabilization) and law enforcement engagement.

Behavioral health providers from Ochsner LSU Health, an Academic Medical Center and hospital in Shreveport, are currently working with the Caddo Parish 911 system to develop and pilot a model of co-response in Shreveport. The co-response framework involves a behavioral health provider (either in person or virtually) responding alongside police to calls that are flagged at the Parish’s central dispatch office for behavioral health concerns.^{xiii} Many system leaders in Caddo Parish currently participate in a Crisis Response Coalition to further the shared goals of investing in crisis responses that reduce the strain on police, reserve hospital beds for acute needs, and lessen the financial burden on the criminal justice system.

Caddo Parish law enforcement and behavioral health practitioners also aspire to better manage behavioral health needs across treatment providers. In the Parish, law enforcement officers have been transporting individuals in need of psychiatric evaluation directly to Ochsner LSU Health for decades.³⁷ To relieve some of the pressure on Ochsner LSU Health and redistribute resources to other areas of the system, local law enforcement agencies recently entered a memorandum of understanding allowing officers to transport individuals with pressing behavioral health needs to the nearest available hospital rather than just the one facility. Despite this agreement, there are occasionally misunderstandings in Caddo Parish about the legality of transporting individuals in need of psychiatric support to facilities that are not state hospitals, and local stakeholders have expressed a need for more local policies to clarify where law enforcement should transfer people to receive proper care.

Finally, a vital component of SIM mapping includes collecting data at each intercept to develop a robust continuum of behavioral health services and reduce justice system involvement for individuals with mental illnesses and substance use disorders.³⁸ The CCC utilizes assessments at the time of intake to inform decisions related to housing and mental health referrals, but this current practice does not involve collecting and storing this data digitally. The Task Force agreed that tracking the needs of individuals coming into the CCC is a priority, and having this data available digitally will make it easier to track the prevalence of mental illness and substance use disorders in the jail, and ultimately help justice partners know how to connect individuals to the appropriate services.

Absent Change, the Population of the CCC Will Continue to Grow, and the Cost of This Growth is Unsustainable.

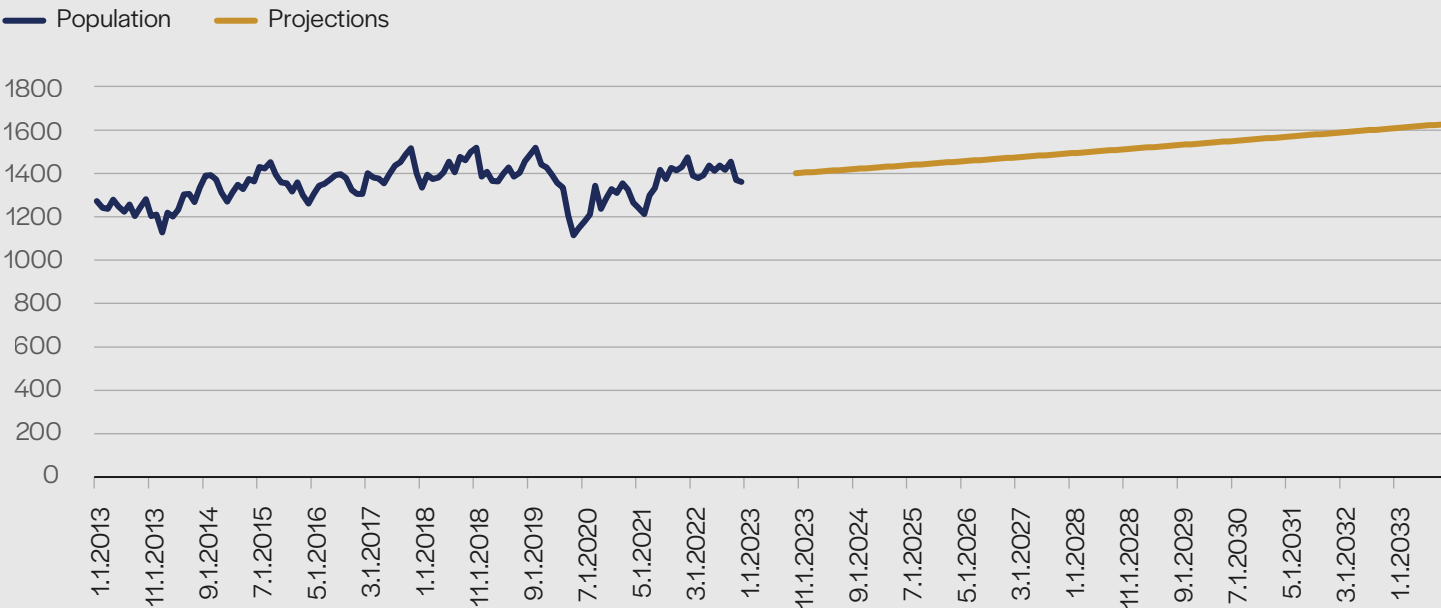
Justice partners in Caddo Parish acknowledge that having an overcrowded jail is dangerous both for people who work in the system and for the taxpayers who fund the system. What is even more dangerous than the current state of overcrowding, is the potential for this population to continue to grow and exhaust parish resources.

To better understand the reality of this growth, CJI developed a population projection forecasting CCC population trends from October 2023 to September 2033, using ten years’ worth of historical jail admission and release data from CPSO.³⁹ The baseline population is projected to grow from 1,399, as reported on August 24th, 2023, to 1,625 on September 1st, 2033. This is an increase of 16 percent, or 226 individuals in jail.

xiii. Behavioral health flags in Shreveport are signified with “P86” coding to alert police that a CIT-trained officer is needed.

Figure 16. CCC Population Expected to Keep Increasing.

Caddo Jail Population and Projections



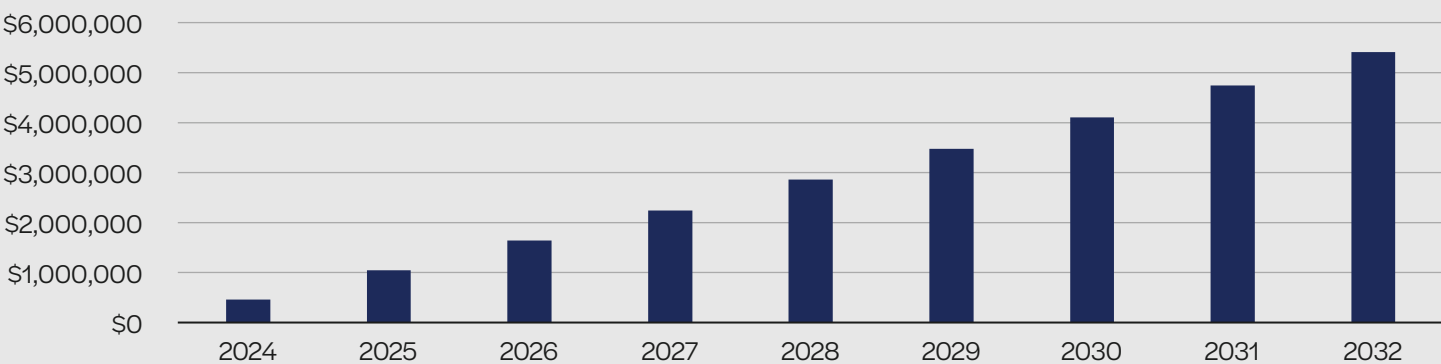
Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

As previously noted, the cost of the CCC's overcapacity is significant. Based on evaluations by the U.S. Marshals, the cost of housing one individual at the CCC is \$75 per day.⁴⁰ While the CCC receives reimbursement payments from the Caddo Parish Commission, the state, and the federal government for housing certain individuals, these reimbursements often do not cover the full cost for detaining people. With several hundreds of individuals at the CCC beyond the 1,070 original design capacity on most days, the annual cost of detention in Caddo Parish is crippling parish resources. The extra population also strains funding for routine expenditures – for example, stakeholders report that medical costs for incarcerated individuals with special health concerns can be exorbitant.

Individuals held pretrial with serious medical conditions may require costly medications. Should hospitalization become necessary, CPSO must furnish transportation and supervision by CPSO deputies – all of which must be paid for by the Parish. The sustained higher populations means that such instances of incarcerated individuals with serious health concerns are more common, leading to concern among Parish leaders about escalating costs and the strain placed on the Parish's Detention Facilities Fund.⁴¹ The financial burden placed on the CCC and the Parish for detaining a growing jail population will only worsen in the years to come unless something is done to mitigate the overcrowding.

Figure 17. Annual Cost of CCC Population Growth Projected to Increase Consistently.

Caddo Annual Cost of Population Growth



Source: Data from the Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, Analysis by CJI

Recommendations

After reviewing the key data findings, the Task Force convened in August 2023 to identify viable solutions to address the issue of overcrowding at the CCC. The group reviewed relevant data findings, research on best practices, and examples of policies and practices implemented in other jurisdictions that have faced similar justice system challenges and inefficiencies.

All justice partners in the Parish described the acute negative impacts that the swelling jail population has had on their operations and general system functioning. While their approaches to solutions varied by member and representative agency, the Task Force united in their commitment to using evidence-based practices and enhanced cross-system collaboration to relieve pressure for all partners. The following recommendations represent solutions that Parish criminal justice leaders have agreed can relieve pressure on the system as a whole. Some recommendations respond to slowdowns in the court system that contribute to jail overcrowding, while others address inefficiencies in front-end processes or improvements that can be made to reentry practices. Task Force members appreciate that the recommendations included in this report are interdependent, and they all hinge on continued cross-system collaboration from all criminal justice partners.



Improve Cross-Agency Collaboration

Recommendation 1: Host monthly Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC) meetings to discuss ongoing system challenges in Caddo Parish.

The Task Force recognizes that coordination, cooperation, and data-sharing among stakeholders enables the Parish to respond effectively to emerging challenges. Leaders in Caddo Parish formed a CJCC in 2008 to work collaboratively on reducing delays in court processing and ultimately address the overcrowding of the CCC. The formation of the CJCC was spearheaded by the Sheriff of Caddo Parish, and the initial cooperation of system partners led to reductions in jail overcrowding, however that trend was only temporary.⁴² In over a decade since its formation, the CJCC has continued to meet, however system partners acknowledged that meetings in recent years were less frequent and did not always have representation from the key criminal justice agencies in the parish.

When discussing lessons learned from this CJCC, stakeholders noted that the group met on an ad hoc basis, rather than on a regular meeting cycle. To position local partners to be proactive rather than reactive to challenges in their justice system, the Task Force agreed that the CJCC should establish a regular meeting schedule moving forward, and that it is critical to have engagement from all key criminal justice agencies at each meeting. An ongoing, regularly convened CJCC would allow stakeholders to track trends in the courts and CCC and to respond to those trends as they develop in real-time.

The Task Force also found that either providing the CJCC with its own professional staff, or designating a community partner

to coordinate meetings would be the most successful way to ensure the sustainability of the CJCC, increase engagement from all criminal justice agencies, and bring key community partners to the table to discuss how criminal justice issues impact Caddo Parish.

Finally, the Task Force agreed that the CJCC should use data from local agencies to inform decisions about the criminal justice system. The mission of a CJCC is to collect and analyze local, system-level data related to such issues as jail admissions and court case processing and use that data to inform criminal justice policy. Although CJI provided analyses of some jail and court datasets for this report, some data that justice partners would like to track had (such as agency workload information, or behavioral health prevalence at the CCC) were not available at the time of this process. Members of the Task Force expressed the need for the CJCC to discuss additional system data that can be tracked to better inform future decisions about the justice system.

The Task Force Recommends:

Re-constituting a council of stakeholders from the public defender's office, the district attorney's office, the judiciary, law enforcement, business community and treatment providers, and encouraging the council to:

- ▶ Meet frequently and regularly, either on a monthly or bimonthly basis;
- ▶ Seek grant funding for a professional staff person to facilitate meetings and set the agenda; and
- ▶ Coordinate the harmonizing, sharing, and analyzing of data collected by various constituent agencies.

Recommendation 2: Strengthen data collection, storage, and reporting practices across all Caddo Parish criminal justice agencies, and improve interoperability between agency systems.

In Caddo Parish, there is no uniform system of collecting and sharing data. Research shows that interagency collaboration in law enforcement helps pool resources, prepare for emergencies, and builds trust.⁴³ Studies have also shown that a lack of data sharing and interoperability are major barriers to reentry for individuals. The transition from jail custody to the community is critical for successful reintegration into the community.⁴⁴ Justice partners who were interviewed for this report expressed the need for a collaborative data system that “talks” to the various arms of the system. This would include the CCC, law enforcement agencies, fire, dispatch, and the courts. Furthermore, behavioral health and law enforcement practitioners identified the possibility of enhancing interoperability with Louisiana’s 988 Crisis Line to begin communicating directly with police/fire dispatch. This would adjoin crisis intervention services with Caddo 911 Dispatchers and move toward a more holistic response mechanism, building upon the work of the existing Crisis Response Coalition and the future of piloting a Co-Response Model in Caddo Parish.

The Task Force agreed that enhancing data collection on a parish-wide scale would create opportunities for future studies and implementation work, as well as be made available for the CJCC to review on a revolving basis.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Assessing current data systems and collaborating with existing data providers to research the feasibility of linking systems or improving interoperability.
- ▶ Exploring funding options for updating data systems, focusing improvements on areas of storage clouds, interagency file transfer systems, communication between and across agencies, and linked records management systems.
- ▶ Integrating the expansions in data collection inside the CCC (see recommendations 11 and 14).

Justice partners who were interviewed for this report expressed the need for a

**COLLABORATIVE
DATA SYSTEM**

that “talks” to the various arms of the system.



Recommendation 3: Create, implement, and validate a Pretrial Risk Assessment tool that examines factors such as criminal history, previous failure to appear events, and offense severity, among other factors, to assist judicial decision-making regarding pretrial detention and release.

Most people who are admitted to the CCC pretrial end up being released before their case is resolved. Even though many of these individuals are only spending a couple of days in jail, data findings indicate that the time spent in jail is growing. In 2022, people released from the CCC pretrial stayed for a median of three days compared to two days in 2012. While this may not seem like a large increase, when looking at the average length of stay for this population, findings show that jail time nearly doubled (17 days to 31 days on average) from 2012 to 2022. A recent study on the impacts of pretrial detention found that a detention period of two days or more increased the likelihood of post-disposition recidivism—generally, as pretrial detention time increased, the likelihood of recidivism also increased after both one and two years.⁴⁵

The increase in the amount of time that people are held pretrial at the CCC is significant for many reasons, one being that this is happening even though many individuals coming into the CCC do not have prior bookings at the jail within the past decade. According to CCC records, approximately one third of individuals who entered jail between 2012 and 2022 were booked for the very first time during that period. There are also a significant number of people coming into the jail on low-level offenses – in 2022, nearly one fifth of pretrial bookings had a misdemeanor as the most serious charge in their arrest report.

Following these findings, the Task Force explored various avenues for assessing the risk of people who are booked into the CCC to better inform decisions related to release and to improve the efficiency in releasing people who do not pose a threat to public safety. The group also acknowledged that collecting risk information at the time of jail booking would help system partners have an improved understanding of the risk levels of the entire jail population—not just unsentenced individuals who may be candidates for faster release.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Convening judicial partners to identify an existing tool or create a unique pretrial risk assessment to implement at the time of jail booking.
- ▶ Using the scores from the risk assessment to create a presumption of release for individuals who receive a certain score, with an opportunity to override it.
- ▶ Planning fidelity checks to ensure that the tool is used correctly and consistently after implementation.

Recommendation 4: Streamline the discovery sharing process.

Stakeholder interviews indicate that one factor contributing to delayed case processing and corresponding length of stay for those awaiting trial at CCC is delays in receiving digital evidence in criminal cases. Standardizing the sharing of Electronically Stored Information (“ESI”) such as police dash and bodycam footage, phone records and geolocation metadata would reduce delays reported by stakeholders in case processing and eliminate unnecessary hearings and continuances. All parties would benefit from clear expectations regarding how information is to be shared and spend less time and resources on the administrative task of transmitting discovery, freeing up resources to expedite case processing.

Currently, there are no standing orders or administrative rules detailing the process for disseminating ESI published by the Court, and no formal agreement between the District Attorney’s office and the Public Defender’s office governing how ESI is exchanged. Some stakeholders have investigated purchasing “e-Discovery” software for storing, analyzing, and transmitting ESI, but thus far no cost-effective option has been identified.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Creating a discovery schedule in the absence of a software program.⁴⁶
- ▶ Purchasing software that would allow discovery produced by law enforcement (e.g., body cam footage, police reports) to be disseminated digitally among all relevant parties.
- ▶ Creating a written procedure for the sharing of ESI between the public defender’s office and the district attorney’s office.

Recommendation 5: Re-establish monthly criminal court section meetings.

The Task Force found that the average length of stay for pretrial detainees has increased over the last decade, regardless of whether a plea is tendered. Stakeholders noted that one potential reason was the discontinuation of “section meetings,” in which practitioners assigned to a specific section at Caddo Parish Court would meet regularly with their counterparts and the section judge to discuss cases. Interviewees noted that such meetings were an effective method of addressing bottlenecks and moving cases forward. A common practice in many jurisdictions, regular communication and case conferencing in the form of section meetings can reduce the need for unnecessary delays and continuances. If the court is aware of a delay not attributable to either party, it can also intervene and assist, as well as mediate possible case resolution discussions informally in instances in which a record is unnecessary.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Re-establishing prior practice of monthly meetings with the criminal court judge, assigned public defenders and assistant district attorneys to conference upcoming cases.

Recommendation 6: Establish a domestic violence section of criminal court to address the influx of domestic violence cases and process Gwen’s Law cases.

Since 2017, “Gwen’s Law” has required Louisiana courts to take special factors into consideration when determining whether to release someone accused of domestic violence. The Task Force found that Domestic Abuse Battery was the most serious charge for those admitted to CCC for offenses against a person in 2022, comprising 11 percent of admissions for people in that category. The Task Force noted that having a docket dedicated to processing drug cases has been helpful in creating expertise among judges and practitioners and streamlining case processing. Following this logic, the Task Force discussed creating a new Court section dedicated to domestic abuse charges, which could improve case flow for domestic violence cases, increase accountability by providing more swift case resolution, and reduce the length of stay at CCC for defendants charged with domestic abuse who are awaiting trial. The Task Force acknowledges that the creation of a new criminal section requires significant resources, the assignment of a new judge to the criminal docket, as well as additional staff at the District Attorney’s and Public Defenders’ offices. However, members of the group believe that increasing the capacity of the court to process criminal cases, particularly the high volume of domestic violence cases, is an investment that will pay dividends in the form of a lower pretrial population, as well as enhanced public safety and support for victims.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Establishing a specialty docket for all Caddo Parish domestic violence cases, including special training for the presiding judge, support staff for victims, and evidence-based treatment for perpetrators.



Recommendation 7: Create an alternative to detention program for individuals struggling with substance use disorders and use this as a resource for people released from jail who require additional treatment while awaiting adjudication to avoid being remanded.

Many users of Caddo Parish’s criminal justice resources have drug-related arrest charges. In most years from 2012 to 2021, drugs were the top offense type of pretrial admissions. In 2022, the most common drug offense leading to jail admission for people who were booked pretrial was possession of a scheduled II substance.⁴⁷ Distinct from manufacturing and distribution charges, drug possession, particularly of personal possession amounts, can be an indicator of substance use.⁴⁸ Recent surveys indicate that approximately 60 percent of people in jails and state prisons meet diagnostic criteria for drug abuse or dependence.⁴⁹

Without interventions or treatment resources, continuous substance use can contribute to cycles of recidivism. In Caddo Parish, this pattern may be particularly threatening due to the amount of time people tend to stay in jail for drug charges. Jail records indicate that people who enter the CCC for drug offenses are staying twice as long now as they were about a decade ago – an average of 29 days in 2022 compared to 13 days in 2012.

Stakeholders from Caddo’s court system acknowledge that resources for addressing the prevalence of substance use in the community are insufficient. The result of this is that jail tends to be viewed as the safest option for a person who has relapsed or fails a drug test while awaiting the resolution of their case. Additionally, research over the last two decades has consistently reported the beneficial effects of non-custodial treatment on reducing recidivism for individuals with a substance use disorder.⁵⁰ The Task Force supports exploring recidivism-reduction strategies specifically for community members with substance use disorders.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Exploring and expanding alternatives to detention specifically for individuals requiring substance use treatment and support while their charges are pending.

Recommendation 8. In lieu of bail for certain low-risk cases, institute a pretrial release mechanism with specific conditions determined by judges to be the least restrictive necessary to encourage court appearance and reduce the likelihood of reoffending.

As noted, bail is the primary release valve for people who are held at the CCC pretrial – in recent years more than half of all pretrial releases from jail happen through bail agreements.^{51,52} To understand the CCC’s growing pretrial population, the Task Force reviewed trends related to how bail is set by district court judges as well as posted by defendants in the Parish. Findings indicate that bail amounts set have increased over the years – from 2012 to 2022, the median total bail amount grew by 259 percent. At the same time, fewer people who were eligible for bail posted bail. Out of all pretrial releases in 2022, 77 percent were eligible for bail release, but only 65 percent of those eligible were released on bail (compared to the 76 percent that posted bail in 2012).

The result of having limited release options and relying almost exclusively on bail for release is that many people who are ultimately released end up utilizing valuable jail resources and contributing to overcrowding. When examining the population of people released from the CCC pretrial who were eligible for bail in 2022, the average length of stay for all releases increased, however the group of people who did not post bail spent eight times longer in jail compared to those who posted bail. While fewer people are coming into the CCC in recent years, the number of people coming into the jail on pretrial status has been outpacing the number of people leaving.⁵³

Because this imbalance inherently impacts the size of the jail population, the Task Force discussed how release options outside of bail can be adopted or used more regularly for people who can be held accountable in other ways.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Establishing a non-financial mechanism for judges to release individuals from jail with specific conditions such as treatment participation, reporting to a case manager or designated supervising entity (e.g., community-based reentry support provider), or other individualized conditions determined by judges to be the least restrictive necessary to encourage court appearance and reduce the likelihood of reoffending.

Recommendation 9: Schedule “Amnesty Weeks” allowing people to voluntarily appear to clear a warrant, reducing the number of individuals held at the CCC because of a warrant.

In 2022, seven percent of pretrial admissions to CCC had a warrant recorded as the most serious offense as the time of admission. The Task Force noted that it could take as long as a week for someone with a warrant to appear before a judge and get the warrant resolved. Nationally, about one out of every 33 adults in the United States has an active warrant. Arresting and processing people for old warrants issued for nonviolent offenses consumes scarce public safety resources. The Task Force noted that the Shreveport City Court has successfully held “amnesty events” in the past—time periods in which people can voluntarily present themselves at court to clear a warrant without fear of arrest. Such events have been held around the country and could serve as models for the Parish Court.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Establishing special time periods that someone can voluntarily appear at the Parish Court to clear a warrant.

Recommendation 10: Establish a mental health problem solving court with a designated clinician to help address underlying circumstances that contribute to crime recurrence.

Stakeholder interviews reveal that behavioral health is an increasingly large component of criminal justice in the Parish—the call volume for law enforcement requesting a response to someone who is experiencing behavioral health challenges has increased in the past several years. Nationally, Problem Solving Courts (“PSCs”) have proven to be an effective model for reducing recidivism and providing access to tailored treatment and programming to individuals with specific needs.⁵⁵ There has been local success with this model as well. Caddo Parish has operated a successful drug court program for several years, and the Task Force noted that additional PSC models have been recognized in Louisiana code.⁵⁶ The Task Force is interested in expanding PSCs, including, especially, Mental Health courts, for the purpose of providing accountability and treatment for justice-involved individuals with behavioral health-related criminogenic needs.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Instituting a mental health court for defendants with diagnosed behavioral health issues, with a dedicated clinician to connect participants to services.



Improve Front-end Information Collection and Sharing

While the Task Force acknowledged that both staffing and funding constraints may limit the implementation of some recommendations, members agreed that some administrative changes could improve efficiencies in certain processes and may lead to cost savings in the future. The Task Force discussed the arrest and booking processes for law enforcement agencies in Caddo Parish and agreed on strategies to improve data collection, case processing time, and transparency.

The Task Force discussed the following areas for improvement:

- Police report-writing practices
- Duplicative booking process
- Collection of behavioral health data at the time of booking

Recommendation 11: Streamline arrest, booking, assessment, and record-keeping processes across Parish law enforcement agencies.

The Task Force noted that the timely creation and transmission of police reports can impact the amount of time it takes for a case to process through the court system. In response to these delays, CPSO Patrol Division adopted an internal practice to have a lieutenant review and sign off on all reports prior to court submission. This practice is beyond the existing policy of requiring the shift supervisor sign-off on reports. The supervisor is responsible for ensuring the police report establishes probable cause and that the elements of the crime are present, a practice that, according to law enforcement practitioners in the Parish, has substantially decreased the number of reports that are rejected due to lack of probable cause. While SPD does have a supervisory review policy, the administrative backlog due to understaffing makes it challenging to ensure this happens in all cases. The Task Force recognized these challenges and agreed that establishing best practices for all law enforcement agencies in the Parish would streamline the arrest process, as well as enhance the timeline for law enforcement to produce discovery.

The Task Force also discussed the tedious nature of officers handwriting reports before information is manually entered into an electronic records system. Delays from operating a paper-based report system are further compounded by severe staffing shortages across law enforcement agencies in Caddo Parish. SPD is understaffed by approximately 130 officers, while CPSO is short by about 80 deputies, including 30 deputies in the CCC alone. Both SPD and CPSO are in the process of updating their Mobile Data Terminals (MDT)⁵⁷ to build the capacity to write their reports directly from their vehicles, but that effort does not yet have a deadline. In addition to establishing practices to enhance the quality of police reports, the Task Force also discussed the feasibility of digitizing this information to further streamline the process of both collecting and sharing arrest information.

Continuing the theme of streamlining and looking for opportunities to make the process more efficient, the Task Force discussed opportunities to reduce redundancies at jail booking. Currently, when an individual is booked into the CCC as a transfer from SPD, they must be rebooked using a different intake form. This process has been described as duplicative by some system partners. The Task Force, as well as partners in all areas of the system, agreed that improving the tedious booking process could hasten general case processing and enable staff to dedicate more time to more pressing priorities.

In discussing booking practices, the Task Force noted that the CCC assesses acute medical and behavioral health needs at the time of initial intake. However, the prevalence of maintenance (non-acute) needs in the jail population is unknown, as data are not collected electronically on the general behavioral health status and care requirements of all individuals. When the Task Force convened in August of 2023, there were 66 beds occupied in the mental health unit which was designed for just 48 individuals. The Task Force discussed the growing need for more space for these individuals, and how updates to data collection practices could help the CCC to be able to report on the high prevalence of mental health, substance use, and cooccurring disorders among the total jail population, not just the individuals in the mental health unit.

The Task Force Recommends:

Developing a system where police reports would be available electronically immediately after an arrest and would follow the person to the CCC to be booked.

- ▶ Exploring resources that would be necessary for SPD to digitize arrest reports.
- ▶ Assessing CPSO's reporting process and identifying if similar modifications are necessary.

Creating one booking form for all law enforcement agencies to use.

- ▶ Developing an electronic system for transferring this information (see recommendation 2).
- ▶ Enhancing current practice of gathering data at jail booking regarding the history of mental health and substance use disorders.



Recommendation 12: Establish a clear process for individuals experiencing mental health crises to be diverted from justice involvement and into treatment.

Over the last ten years, law enforcement agents in Caddo Parish have reported an increasing number of calls for police service containing behavioral health components. As noted, CPSO⁵⁸ and SPD⁵⁹ collectively received 205,976 calls for service requiring a police response in 2021. Although data on the number of individuals experiencing an acute crisis at the time of booking is unknown, interviews with system stakeholders indicate that this number is high, and the need for intervention services is dire. Although state statute defines an acceptable treatment facility as any public or private hospital suitable to treat psychiatric patients,⁶⁰ many practitioners in Caddo Parish have relayed that there has been a misunderstanding of this law and what constitutes an acceptable treatment facility. For this reason, justice partners in the Parish would benefit from additional local policies to clarify where law enforcement officers should transport individuals in crises.

The Task Force has identified a need to better understand the complex needs of individuals in crisis and find alternatives to detention to reduce the care burden on the CCC. The Task Force envisions a system of deflection in which law enforcement can bring individuals directly to the nearest medical facility, keeping them out of the justice system and getting them the treatment they need.

The Task Force Recommends:

Establishing policies surrounding methods to divert individuals from justice involvement and detention, including in:

- ▶ Local and state hospitals, and;
- ▶ Current or future locations for crisis stabilization other than hospitals (see recommendation 13).

Recommendation 13: Allocate existing space in the Parish for crisis stabilization, treatment support, and behavioral health resources that cannot be provided at the CCC.

In addition to changes outlined in Recommendation 12, law enforcement and other first responders in Caddo Parish need diversion options, specifically for individuals in crisis and those with a substance use disorder and co-occurring disorders.⁶¹ With this gap in resources, individuals are more likely to be sentenced to jail or prison to ensure their safety and initiate a path to recovery from substances. Although space has not been allocated yet for this type of use in Caddo Parish, the Task Force concurs with research from the last two decades regarding the beneficial effects of non-custodial treatment on reducing recidivism for individuals with a substance use disorder and recommends locating space for these purposes.⁶²

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Research and identify existing space in Caddo Parish which would be a good fit for crisis stabilization or treatment support.

Recommendation 14: Strengthen existing reentry preparation efforts and highlight successes in programming.

While specific rates of recidivism are unknown for the pretrial population at the CCC, jail data show that 68 percent of pretrial admissions had been booked into the CCC more than once from 2012 to 2022. The DOC population reports similarly, with 80 percent of individuals booked into the CCC at least once from July 1, 2012 to June 30, 2022.^{xiv} Research shows that almost all individuals (about 95 percent) who have been detained in prisons and jails are eventually returned to their communities.⁶³ The Task Force recognizes that many people detained in the CCC will return to the Shreveport area and identified a need to prepare individuals for a successful reentry with the goal of preventing them from returning.

The Task Force discussed expanding services in and outside the CCC with an enhanced focus on continuation of care and addressing reentry barriers by connecting individuals to medical and behavioral health providers, housing, Medicaid, and employment services.⁶⁴

The CCC has a broad range of programming available⁶⁵, however the Task Force noted that information about the programs, the benefits of them, and who participated is largely unknown by other system stakeholders. Task Force members agreed that sharing information about programs could influence sentencing outcomes, thus incentivizing program participation among the detained population. While some sections of criminal court review program completion at different decision-making points, this is not a standard across all sections. The Task Force envisions a system of enhanced collaboration between the CCC, courts, public defender's office, and district attorney's office, where successes in treatment are both incentivized and recognized by justice partners involved in case processing, even if the individuals who participate in the program do not earn Good Time Credit for program completion.⁶⁶

*The Task Force envisions a system of enhanced collaboration between the CCC, courts, public defender's office, and district attorney's office, where successes in treatment are both **INCENTIVIZED AND RECOGNIZED** by justice partners involved in case processing.*

The Task Force Recommends:

Having members of the CJCC identify a community organization or behavioral health to assist in:

- ▶ Creating and regularly updating a list of available community providers and reentry resources to all individuals released (both pretrial and DOC) from the CCC to the community.
- ▶ Developing educational materials for detained individuals and other system stakeholders (judges, attorneys, etc.) about the programs available at the CCC and track outcomes related to recidivism with program participation.
- ▶ Creating a mechanism for the court to gain access to any certificates of participation or successes in treatment by individuals detained at the CCC.

^{xiv}. This number would include individuals who were booked into the CCC as pretrial and then transitioned to DOC custody, serving their sentence at the CCC.



Recommendation 15: Improve employee recruitment and retention for criminal justice partners.

Stakeholders report that high turnover among public defenders results in people detained at CCC cycling through multiple attorneys, delaying case resolution. Turnover is driven in part by “burnout” resulting from high caseloads and relatively low pay. Local sources of funding for hiring and retention of criminal justice practitioners are limited; Louisiana is one of only two states that receives most of its public defense funding from fines and fees rather than general fund appropriations. The Task Force recognizes that a sufficient workforce of highly-trained and motivated practitioners – in the public defender’s, district attorney’s and Court Clerk’s offices – is vital to the prompt and just resolution of criminal cases in Caddo Parish.

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Stakeholder agencies join with the Chamber of Commerce to formulate incentives offered by the business community to incentivize criminal justice practitioners to relocate to the Parish. Such incentives may include facilitation of “business incubation” or mentorship opportunities among more established law firms, job networking for spouses of newly relocated practitioners, free use of office space for client meetings, free use of printing for indigent defendant cases, free or subsidized access to legal research databases, payment of bar fees and continuing legal education costs, and credit for local business taxes.
- ▶ Creating a loan repayment assistance program offering \$5,000-10,000 in annual loan repayment assistance (up to a maximum of \$50,000) for those who commit to remaining employed as public defenders, prosecutors, or law clerks in the Parish Court for 3 years.

Recommendation 16: Explore feasibility and potential funding sources for establishing pretrial services to support the judiciary in making informed release decisions that promote court appearances and enhance public safety.

At present, there is no agency dedicated to providing pretrial services in Caddo Parish. Consequentially, the responsibility of compiling information necessary to make informed pretrial release decisions falls on jail staff and the court. With an average daily population of nearly one thousand individuals on pretrial status in the jail on any given day, the burden of managing the population physically in the jail, keeping updated records and locating criminal histories, as well as sharing critical information with other system partners in a timely manner is substantial.⁶⁷

Pretrial services agencies can improve criminal justice system efficiencies and outcomes by overseeing operational pretrial functions so other agencies do not have to. For example, the tasks of conducting risk assessments, making recommendations for release, managing pretrial supervision, etc. can all be done by an independent entity that provides critical information to other local criminal justice partners.⁶⁸ Operational costs for a pretrial services agency vary significantly; in a 2009 national survey of 171 jurisdictions, about a quarter of pretrial agencies operated with a budget of less than \$200,000, while another quarter operated with a budget of less than \$1.5M.⁶⁹ While the Task Force noted that this represents a significant potential expenditure for Caddo Parish, research shows that once an initial investment has been made, Pretrial Services Agencies can save jurisdictions millions of dollars in incarceration costs in the long run.⁷⁰

The Task Force Recommends:

- ▶ Convening additional justice partners through the CCJ meetings to discuss the feasibility of working with existing partners or developing new partnerships to provide pretrial services within Caddo Parish
- ▶ Identifying potential funding sources such as state and federal grants for laying the groundwork of a pretrial services agency.

Conclusion

This report lays out the many factors that contribute to overcrowding at the CCC, and many of the proposed interventions have their own challenges and barriers when it comes to implementation. However, of note, Parish leaders have already taken several important steps. First, they have committed to using data to drive criminal justice policymaking. By analyzing the drivers of jail overcrowding, the Task Force was able to identify targeted responses that will measurably reduce the population at the CCC. Second, local leadership successfully convened representatives from agencies across the Parish to review the available data collectively, discuss system challenges, and reach consensus on several steps to improve system functioning.

While members of the Task Force will continue to debate important issues, they are united in the common purpose of reducing overcrowding at the CCC and improving public safety.

Third, and perhaps most important, the Task Force is committed to continuing to work together. Members will regularly meet, monitor the progress of the Parish's efforts to reduce the population at the CCC, and respond to emerging matters before they become crises.

Looking Forward

Funding and resources will continue to be a challenge in Caddo Parish. However, the cost of inaction is also steep. The average daily pretrial population at the CCC has steadily increased since 2012 and is likely to continue to grow without systemic changes. The pressure of this expanding population strains Parish resources, creates hazards for both incarcerated individuals and CPSO staff, and impedes the administration of justice. As this report lays out, this overcrowding cannot be addressed by any one agency or system actor—it is a result of factors across the criminal justice system, and as such requires a comprehensive, multivalent response. The recommendations identified in this report will require initial investment but will ultimately reduce costs, free up resources, and improve public safety. The Task Force also recognizes that implementation takes time and patience—while not every response can be immediately prioritized, each incremental change is a building block laid in the foundation of the ultimate goal: a modern, revitalized jail and court system that is a state leader in case processing, evidence-based practices, and the efficient administration of justice.

In addition to the recommendations set forth in this report, the Task Force is committed to continuing to study pressing issues such as alternatives to incarceration, efficient criminal case management, and behavioral health interventions to find solutions that fit the unique needs and requirements of the Parish. By following the data and committing to validated, evidence-based reforms, Caddo Parish can and will meet the challenge of overcrowding at the CCC and emerge with a stronger, more responsive, and more equitable criminal justice system.

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Endnotes

Cover Image: <http://www.caddo.org>

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20. Redonna K. Chandler, Bennett W. Fletcher, and Nora D. Volkow, “Treating Drug Abuse and Addiction in the Criminal Justice System: Improving Public Health and Safety,” *JAMA* 301, (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2008.976>.

21. While other release options are available for judges to order, such as release on own recognizance (OR) where an individual can be released without needing to pay bail, most individuals who leave the CCC pretrial do so by agreeing to financial conditions set by the court. In Louisiana, there are cases when someone is required to be released OR, as well as cases where this is prohibited. For example, if an individual is arrested and detained without a determination of probable cause for arrest within 48 hours, statute requires they be released OR (La. C.Cr.P. Art. 230.1). In cases where the offense was a crime of violence as defined in La. R.S. 14:2(B) (2023), certain sex offenses, and crimes involving the use of a firearm, any defendant who has been arrested shall not be released on his personal undertaking or with an unsecured personal surety as per La. C.Cr.P. Art. 321. (2023).

22. Factors judges shall consider when setting bail include the seriousness of the offense charged, the weight of evidence against the defendant, previous criminal records, and “any other circumstances affecting the probability of [the] defendant’s appearance” in court. For the full list of factors, see LA CCRP Art. 316. (2023)

23. “CPI Inflation Calculator,” *U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, Accessed September 8, 2023, <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>.

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- 27.** The National Center for State Court’s model time standards, which were developed and promulgated after a landmark national study of criminal court caseflow, suggest that in a court with optimally efficient case processing, 75 percent of felony cases should be resolved in 90 days, 90 percent resolved in 180 days, and 98 percent resolved in 365 days. Brian J. Ostrom. *Delivering Timely Justice in Criminal Cases: A National Picture* (Williamsburg, VA: National Center for State Courts, 2020), https://www.ncsc.org/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/53216/Delivering-Timely-Justice-in-Criminal-Cases-A-National-Picture.pdf#:~:text=ECCM%20collected%20data%20on%20over%201.2%20million%20criminal,much%20of%20the%20conventional%20wisdom%20about%20court%20delay.
- 28.** Interviews with public defenders in Caddo Parish revealed that assistant public defenders often leave after 12 to 24 months, often a result of high caseloads and low pay.
- 29.** Judges from criminal court sections 1-4 rotate each week of the month for “jail clearance duty.” During this week, the judge “on duty” will set bail for bail-eligible individuals who are booked into the CCC on that day. During “duty week” judges will also hold 72-hour hearings, also known as “jail clearance” hearings, as well as arraignments. The judge presiding over section 5 does not follow this duty week process and is responsible for setting bail for defendants booked into the jail every night.
- 30.** Marie VanNostrand and Gena Keebler, “Pretrial risk assessment in the federal court,” *Federal Probation* 73 (2009): 3.
- 31.** The District Attorney’s Office screens eligible cases for this program and uses discretion to determine program acceptance. Successful program completion can result in a case being amended or dismissed. See “Pretrial Diversion,” Caddo Parish District Attorney, <https://www.caddoda.com/diversion/pretrial-diversion/#:~:text=The%20purpose%20of%20the%20Caddo,to%20keep%20their%20record%20clean>.
- 32.** Per La. R.S. § 15:764 (2023), sheriffs must make written notifications to different system partners including local and district court judges, the district attorney, local law enforcement, and governing authorities in the parish.
- 32.** Judges from criminal court sections 1-4 rotate each week of the month for “jail clearance duty.” During this week, the judge on duty will set bail for bail-eligible individuals who are booked into the CCC on that day. During “duty week is over-capacity for more than seven days. If the overcrowding continues for two weeks, the Sheriff is required to declare a jail overcrowding state of emergency.
- 33.** La. R.S. § 15:811 (2023).
- 34.** Shreveport Police Department, *2021 Annual Crime Statistics* <https://www.shreveportla.gov/DocumentCenter/View/21800/2021?bidId=>.
- 35.** Caddo Parish Sheriff’s Office, CPSO: *Crime Continues 20-Year Decline* (Shreveport, LA: 2022), <https://www.caddosheriff.org/news.php?c=2657&p=1&month=1&year=2022>.
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- 37.** The right to transport individuals directly to treatment currently falls under Louisiana’s statutory provision to place someone in protective custody and have them psychiatrically evaluated (La. R.S. § 28:53. (2023)).
- 38.** “Data Collection Across the Sequential Intercept Model,” Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, <https://store.samhsa.gov/sites/default/files/d7/priv/pep19-sim-data.pdf>.
- 39.** The baseline jail projections were estimated using ten years’ worth of historical data from Caddo Parish. The jail provided historical individual level data that included booking dates and release dates. This data was used to estimate the annual growth rate for both the average length of stay and the booking rate. The model also relies on demographics and general population projections to estimate the likely growth of residents in Caddo Parish. Louisiana parish level population projections were unavailable, instead census data was used to look at population growth over the past 10 years. The model focuses on the at-risk population to more accurately account for population shifts in those most likely to occupy a jail bed. The at-risk population was defined as 18–45-year-olds, as that age group is the best predictor of jail admissions since children never enter the jail and the elderly rarely are admitted to the jail. The model used these three factors: the booking rate growth, average length of stay growth, and the at-risk population growth to predict the number of people in jail over the next ten years. As reviewed throughout this report, Caddo Parish historical data showed that over the past decade, bookings have declined, and the average length of stay has increased. The booking rate (booking per 1,000 at risk population) has declined at an annualized rate of 3.37 percent while the average length of stay has increased at an annualized rate of 6.73 percent. Over the past 10 years Caddo Parish census data has shown the at-risk population has fallen at an annualized rate of 1.58 percent. Since general population projections are unavailable in Louisiana, it was assumed that the next 10 years will have the same annualized population decline. These three factors were used to project the jail population from October 2023 to September 2033.
- 40.** This figure was shared with CJI from CPSO. According to CPSO, CPSO receives the following reimbursements for detaining certain individuals at the CCC: \$75 per day for each federal inmate, \$26.39 per day for each DOC inmate, \$3.50 per day for each pre-trial inmate, and \$22.89 per day for each inmate with a Parole hold. The federal, state, and Parish government contribute to these reimbursements, depending on whether the person is housed for a federal or state sentence, or held pretrial. These rates have been in place since 2020.
- 41.** “2021 Adopted Annual Operating and Capital Improvement Budget For the Parish of Caddo, Louisiana (Caddo Parish, Louisiana: 2021), A-2, http://www.caddo.org/DocumentCenter/View/2079/2021_AdoptedBudget.
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- 43.** “Interagency Collaboration in Law Enforcement,” *PowerDMS*, December 22, 2020 (accessed Aug. 2, 2023), <https://www.powerdms.com/policy-learning-center/interagency-collaboration-in-law-enforcement>.
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46. See e.g., Fed. R. Crim. Pro 16. (2023).
47. See La. R.S. § 40:964 (2023) for complete list of schedule II substances.
48. Robert A. Kleinman and Nathaniel P. Morris, "Rethinking the criminalization of personal substance use and possession," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* (2021): 1-3, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11606-021-06628-5>
49. Jennifer Bronson, Jessica Stroop, Stephanie Zimmer, and Marcus Berzofsky, "Drug use, dependence, and abuse among state prisoners and jail inmates, 2007–2009," *Washington, DC: United States Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention* (2017), <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/dudaspij0709.pdf>.
50. Chandler, et al, "Treating Drug Abuse and Addiction in the Criminal Justice System" <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2008.976>.
51. In 2022, 57 percent of pretrial releases were bail releases.
52. The District Attorney's Office operates diversion programming; however, rather than functioning as a jail release valve, these programs are reserved almost exclusively for individuals who have already been released from jail and who may be eligible for record clearance or charge reduction opportunities.
53. In 2022, 4,222 individuals on pretrial status came into jail while only 3,822 were released in that year.
54. National totals are estimated from subset of reporting states. Becki Goggins and Dennis A. DeBacco. *Survey of State Criminal History Information Systems* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2022).
55. Paul A. Haskins, "Problem Solving Courts: Fighting Crime by Treating the Offender" *NIJ Journal* 281, November 2019, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/problem-solving-court-fighting-crime-treating-offender>.
56. See, e.g., Reentry Courts (La. R.S. § 13:5401 et seq (2023)), Behavioral/ Mental Health/Co-occurring Courts (La. R.S. § 13:5353 et seq (2023)), Veterans Courts (La. R.S. § 13:5361 (2023)), and a Swift and Certain Pilot Court (La. R.S. § 13:5371 et seq (2023)).
57. A mobile data terminal or mobile digital computer is a computerized device used in emergency services to communicate with a central dispatch.
58. Caddo Parish Sheriff's Office, CPSO: *Crime Continues 20-Year Decline* (Shreveport, LA: 2022), <https://www.caddosheriff.org/news.php?c=2657&p=1&month=1&year=2022>.
59. Shreveport Police Department, *2021 Annual Crime Statistics* <https://www.shreveportla.gov/DocumentCenter/View/21800/2021?bidId=>.
60. La. R.S. § 28:53. (2023).
61. A cooccurring disorder is defined as any combination of two or more substance use disorders and mental disorders identified in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), Fifth Edition. See Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, *Co-Occurring Disorders and Other Health Conditions*, <https://www.samhsa.gov/medications-substance-use-disorders/medications-counseling-related-conditions/co-occurring-disorders#:~:text=Co%2Doccurring%2Disorders%20may%20include,DSM%2D5%2DTR%20>.
62. Chandler, et al, "Treating Drug Abuse and Addiction in the Criminal Justice System," <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2008.976>.
63. Timothy A. Hughes and Doris James Wilson, *Reentry Trends in the United States*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2004). <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/reentry.pdf>.
64. As part of the Reentry Program available to DOC-sentenced individuals, the CCC offers the following services to prepare for a successful reentry into the community: Applications to Social Security and Identification cards, Medicaid enrollment, and Transitional Assistance (SNAP). These programs have eligibility requirements based on time left to serve.
65. Programs available to both sentenced and unsentenced individuals are Change the World (CTW), Hazeldon Group, Anger Management, Parenting (TBRI), UTurn, HiSet, DOC Opiate Class, AA Meetings, Purchased, Not for Sale, Religious Services, and Job Readiness. The Living in Balance program and the Reentry Program are available to DOC-sentenced individuals only. The Reentry Program hosts several vocational programs, two of which have the potential to earn Good Time Credit: Carpentry and Fiber Optics.
66. Per La. R.S. § 15:571.3 (2023), "Every prisoner in a parish prison convicted of an offense and sentenced to imprisonment without hard labor, except a prisoner convicted a second time of a crime of violence as defined by La. R.S. § 14:2(B) (2023), may earn a diminution of sentence, to be known as "good time," by good behavior and performance of work or self-improvement activities, or both."
67. In 2022 the average daily pretrial population at the CCC was 996 – 42 percent higher than it was in 2012. CCC Average Daily Population figures (2012-2022) were shared by CPSO and included in the first Task Force Presentation: "Caddo Parish Criminal Justice Task Force: JRI Data Presentation 1" on March 28, 2023.
68. Lisa Pilnik, "A Framework for Pretrial Justice: Essential Elements of an Effective Pretrial System and Agency," National Institute of Corrections, February 2017, <https://nicic.gov/resources/nic-library/all-library-items/framework-pretrial-justice-essential-elements-effective#:~:text=With%20the%20release%20of%20A,pretrial%20system%20and%20the%20essential>.
69. Pretrial Justice Institute. *2009 Survey of Pretrial Services Programs*, 2009, 18-19. <https://www.leg.state.nv.us/App/InterimCommittee/REL/Document/15417>.
70. "Front-End Justice Reform, Cheaper, Safer, Fairer," National Association of State Counties, 2013, <https://www.naco.org/sites/default/files/documents/Front-end-Justice-Reform.pdf>.