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Prison Projections 2008

The Once and Future New Hampshire Corrections Population

March 2009

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About this paper

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Executive Summary

The number of inmates in the New Hampshire state prison system increased 560% in twenty-five years, from 394 inmates in 1982 to 2,615 in 2007. Factors commonly associated with increases in a state's prison population fail to explain the extraordinary rise in the number of New Hampshire state prison inmates. As shown in Table 1 below, New Hampshire's resident population, number of people living in poverty, and number of violent crimes have not increased as fast as the number of inmates held in New Hampshire's state prisons. In fact, while the number of state prison inmates increased almost six times from 1982 to 2007, the number of property crimes and the number of arrests for all crimes in New Hampshire actually declined.

Table 1

	NH Prison Inmates	NH Resident Population	NH Residents in Poverty	NH Total Arrests	NH Drug Arrests	NH Violent Crimes	NH Property Crimes
1982	394	951,001	53,256	47,780*	2,682*	1,187	35,229
2007	2,615	1,315,828	76,318	38,396	2,570	1,807	24,896
Percent Change	563.7%	38.4%	43.3%	-19.6%	-4.2%	52.2%	-29.3%

* New Hampshire arrest data is from 1987

Since the increase in state prison inmates cannot be attributed to increases in population, residents in poverty, violent crimes, or drug arrests, we propose that growth in the New Hampshire state prison population has been caused primarily by policy changes within the criminal justice system. These policies include more severe penalties for violent and non-violent criminal offenses, longer sentences for offenders, and increasingly harsh penalties for recidivism. In addition, there is no consistent, statewide use of alternative sentencing or release support programs, and state operated mental health treatment infrastructure has been reduced.

Without changes in the underlying policies, our baseline projection model suggests that the prison population could increase by as much as four hundred prisoners in 10 years, slightly fewer than are currently held in the Berlin prison. There is no shortage of policy options that could change the growth in the corrections system. The recommendations of the Citizen's Commission on the State Courts (2006), the draft 2009 report from the "Commission To Study The Sentencing, Incarceration, And Recidivism Of Criminal Offenders In Order To Enhance Public Safety And Improve The Criminal Justice System's Cost Effectiveness" (SB484), reports to the Interagency Coordinating Council for Women Offenders, currently proposed corrections legislation, and the corrections-related proposals outlined in Governor Lynch's 2010-2011 budget each provide policy proposals.

Taken together, these proposals provide a comprehensive roadmap to establishing a new baseline for managing the corrections system's process for rehabilitating offenders. The main aspects of these policy steps are:

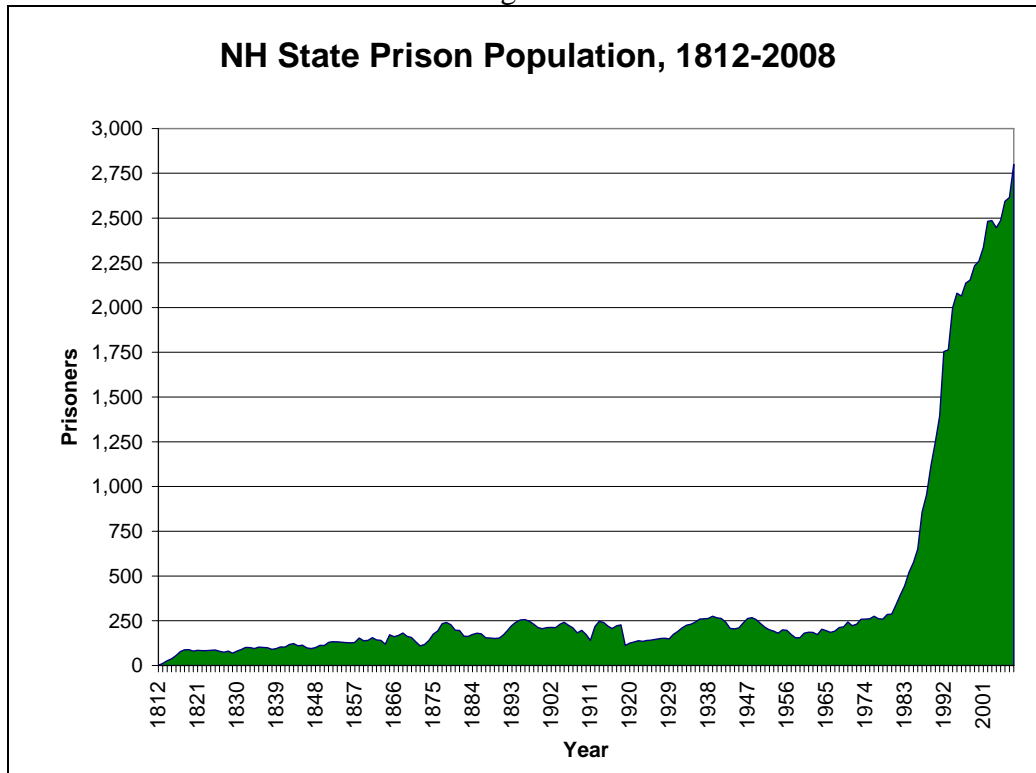
- **Review the state criminal justice code to ensure that the state has struck the right balance between public safety and incarceration.** Half the offenders in state prison have been incarcerated for non-violent offenses. Current law hinders developing appropriate and cost effective approaches for addressing relatively minor and/or non-violent offenses. Sentencing policies, like "Truth-In-Sentencing", have increased the state prison population with no demonstrable improvement in public safety. The newly reformed Inter-branch Commission on Criminal and Juvenile Justice should seek to revise the criminal justice code in light of the economic and social changes that have occurred since this practice was established.
- **Continue to review and analyze the implementation of alternatives to traditional jail and prison sentences.** Pretrial diversion programs, problem solving courts, community corrections and other alternatives to incarceration should be uniformly available throughout the State of New Hampshire. A consistent array of alternatives and sanctions is not available statewide, and the quality and commitment to community correction programs vary greatly from one county to another. In addition, the current separation of county and state corrections systems creates a potential disincentive for state prison-bound inmates to be sentenced to alternative programs administered by the counties. Consideration should be given to merging the county and state corrections systems to ensure equal offender access to alternative programs across the state.
- **Increase the focus on re-entry support, including substance abuse and job training for inmates, as well as community supports more broadly.** This research has shown that recidivism is the largest contributor to annual admissions to the state prison. Re-offending and relapse are often tied to substance abuse and mental illness. The state would be better served by investing in the establishment of substance abuse programs that address needs present in all aspects of the criminal justice system, rather than expanding existing prison capacity.

To provide policy-makers with an understanding of the potential impacts of these types of programs, this paper examines past and projected trends in New Hampshire's state prison population. In addition, we present several alternatives to incarceration, and measure their impact on the prison population forecast for New Hampshire.

Long Term Prison Trends

As shown in Figure 1, the increase in the New Hampshire state prison population is a fairly recent event by historical standards. For almost two centuries, from the early 1800's until the early 1980's, New Hampshire's state prison population hovered around 300 inmates. Starting in the early 1980's New Hampshire's state prison population increased rapidly, reaching 2,786 inmates by May 2008. The beginning of this dramatic rise in the number of state prison inmates coincided with the creation of the New Hampshire Department of Corrections (NHDOC).¹

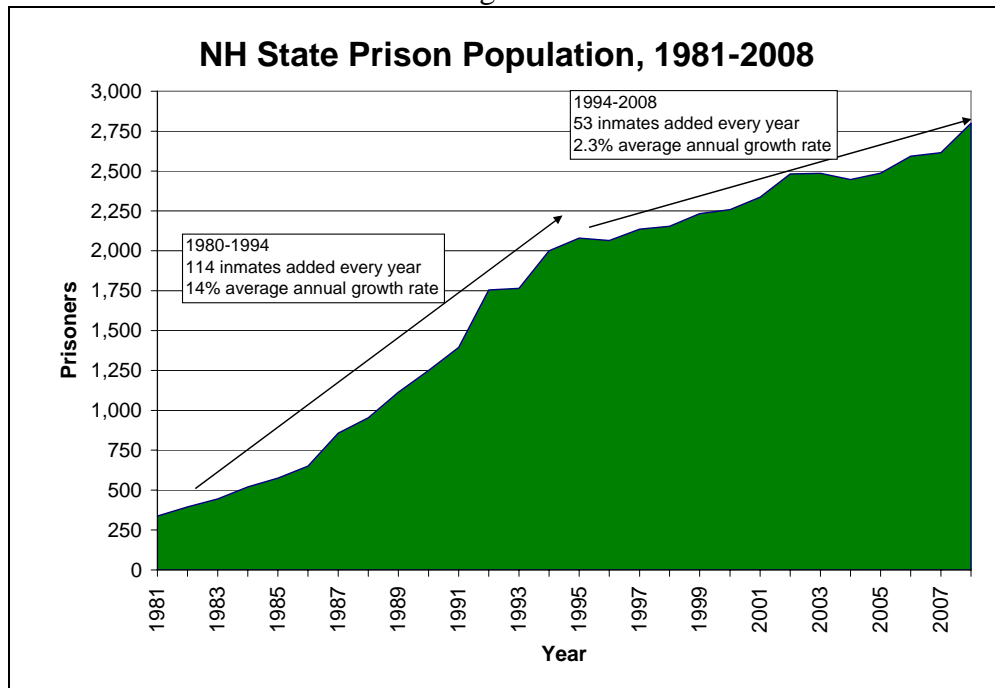
Figure 1



The increase in the state prison population that began in the 1980's exhibits two very distinct patterns of growth. These patterns of growth are illustrated in Figure 2, which shows the total New Hampshire state prison inmate population for a more recent time period.

¹ The New Hampshire Department of Corrections was established on July 1, 1983 pursuant to RSA 21-H. This action consolidated the previously independent Probation Department, Parole Department, and the State Prison into one state agency. The Department of Corrections is charged with maintaining and administering correctional facilities and programs for the benefit and rehabilitation of inmates. In addition, the Department is responsible for the supervision of all individuals placed on probation or released on parole and acts as an advisor to law enforcement agencies and communities in the prevention of crime.

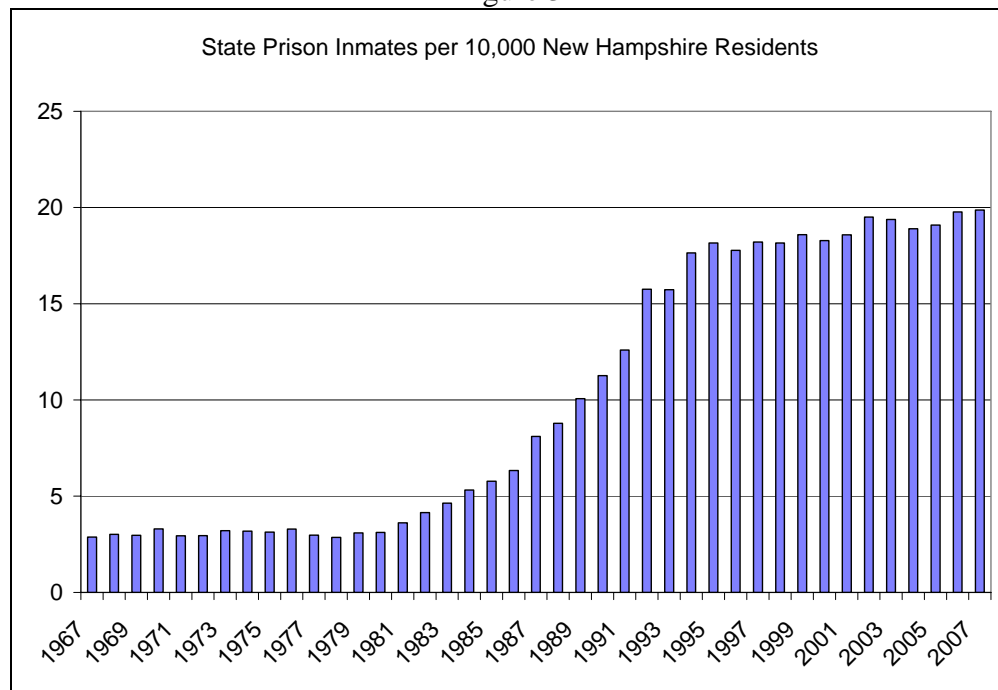
Figure 2



From 1980 to 1994, the New Hampshire state prison population grew at its most rapid rate, adding an average of 114 inmates per year – an annual average rate of growth of 14%. Then from 1994 to 2008, the state prison population growth rate slowed to an average of 53 inmates added every year – an average annual growth rate of 2.3%.

The increase in the state prison population from 1980 to the present was not driven exclusively by growth in the total resident population in New Hampshire. While the population of New Hampshire grew after 1980, the state prison population grew even faster. This is seen clearly in the state incarceration rate, expressed as the number of state prison inmates per 10,000 New Hampshire residents, shown on Figure 3.

Figure 3



The state incarceration rate was largely unchanged prior to 1980. Through most of the 1960's and the 1970's there were 3 state prison inmates per 10,000 New Hampshire residents. In the 1980's and early 1990's the number swelled to 15 inmates for every 10,000 residents in New Hampshire. The number of New Hampshire state prison inmates expanded again in the last fifteen years, to almost 20 inmates per 10,000 New Hampshire residents in 2007, as shown on Figure 3. Note that the state incarceration rate over time also exhibits two distinct periods of growth – a rapid rise from 1980 to 1994, followed by a slower rate of increase from 1994 to 2008.

A recent study by the Pew Charitable Trusts shows that the prison population across the United States has also been rising rapidly. More than one in every 100 adults is now confined in an American jail or prison. This translates to a United States average of 100 inmates per 10,000 residents, which is five times New Hampshire's ratio.²

Not surprisingly, the increase in the state prison population has driven an increase in state prison capacity. Major construction work on new Special Housing and Close Custody Units to house maximum custody and punitive segregation inmates at the main prison site in Concord by 1982. By 1986, the Secure Psychiatric Unit opened and medium custody units began operating. These massive renovation and construction projects created a vastly expanded prison capable of holding over 900 inmates in Concord. In the early 1990's, New Hampshire opened a separate 100 bed women's prison in Goffstown, and later opened the 300-bed Lake's Region Facility in Laconia. The Lakes Region Facility became a permanent facility in 1997, and its cap of 300 inmates was increased to 500 with the capability of expanding to 600 beds. Finally, in April 2000, New Hampshire opened the Northern New Hampshire Correctional Facility in Berlin, a

² *One in 100: Behind Bars in America 2008*, The Pew Charitable Trusts, Public Safety Performance Project.

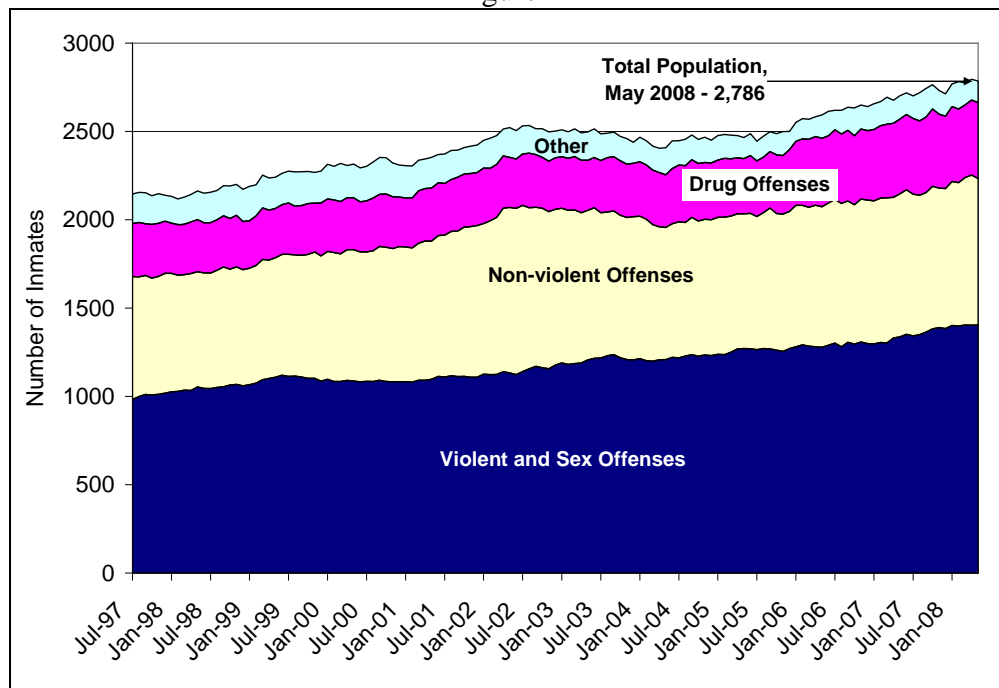
prison initially built to house 500 medium security male inmates with the possibility of expansion to 1,000 in the future.

Recent Trends

Figure 4 shows the rise and fall of the prison population by month over the past eleven fiscal years (1998 to 2008) and a classification of inmates held according to type of crime. Overall, the state prison inmate population had leveled off at about 2,500 inmates from 2000 through 2005 but then began to increase to its current population.

Each month from mid-1997 until May 2008, the Department of Corrections has reported on the makeup of the state prison population, using categories describing each inmate’s original crime.³ Inmates convicted of violent crimes currently represent one half of the state prisoner population. Inmates held for non-violent offenses make up one third of the inmate population, while inmates serving sentences for drug offenses comprise fifteen percent. Other inmates within state prison walls include Secure Psychiatric Unit patients and inmates from other jurisdictions held in the state prison.

Figure 4



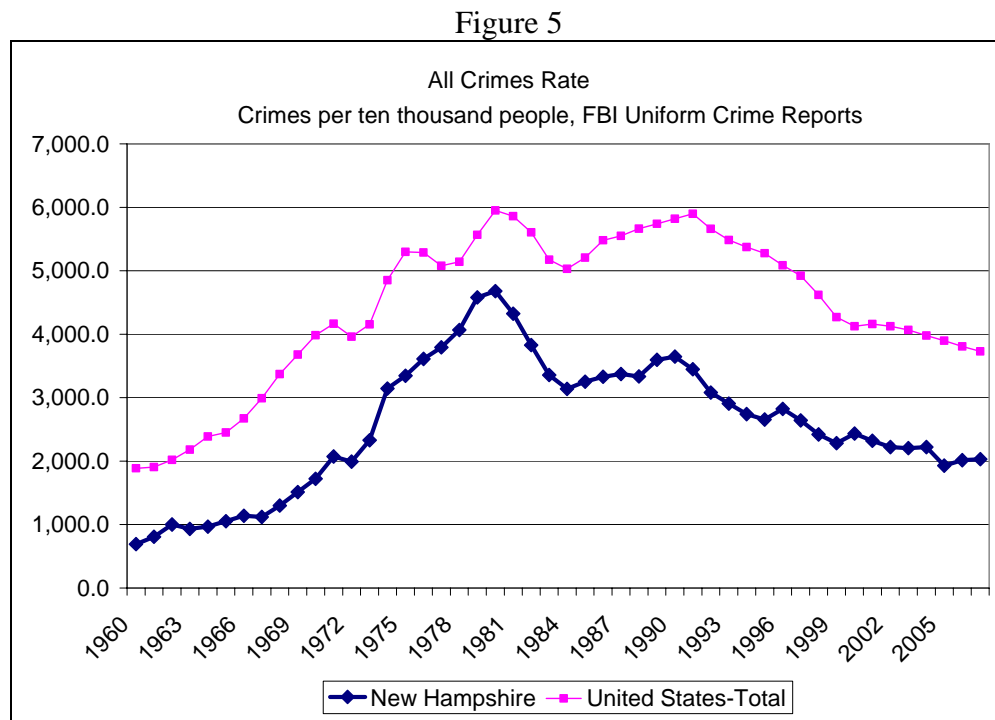
*Other includes Secure Psychiatric Unit and offenders from Other Jurisdictions

³ The prison statistics in this figure are from the Department of Corrections’ monthly data reports which summarize changes through the last day of each month. The monthly reports were produced by APS/GLINK, which was replaced in June 2008 by another inmate tracking and reporting system called CORIS. New Hampshire’s new CORIS system, while perhaps an effective tool for managing inmate populations, is currently not capable of generating the monthly reports formerly produced by the retired APS/GLINK system, including important information on prison admissions, releases, age of the population, type of offense, etc.

Milestones in Corrections and Other Public Policies

Two events most likely drove the increase in the state's incarceration rate and growth in the prison population since 1980. First, the New Hampshire state prison population in the 1980's increased as part of a public policy response to rising crime rates prior to that decade. Crime rates rose rapidly in the 1960's and 1970's, both nationally and locally. As shown in Figure 5, the number of New Hampshire crimes per ten thousand people increased from less than 1,000 in the early 1960's to about 4,700 by 1980, nearly a five-fold increase. In response to these rising crime rates, public policies in the 1980's were amended to strengthen law enforcement and to increase punishment for crimes, including longer sentencing.

Figure 5 shows that crime rates have been declining in the last three decades. It is likely that confining more offenders was partly responsible for the denouement in crime rates after the peak in the early 1980's. Note in Figure 5 that the crime rate in New Hampshire peaked in the early 1980's, about the same time that the New Hampshire incarceration rate began its rapid ascent. Most scholars estimate that 25 to 30 percent of the decline in violent crime rates is the result of imprisonment, while the remaining decline may be explained by other demographic and economic factors.⁴



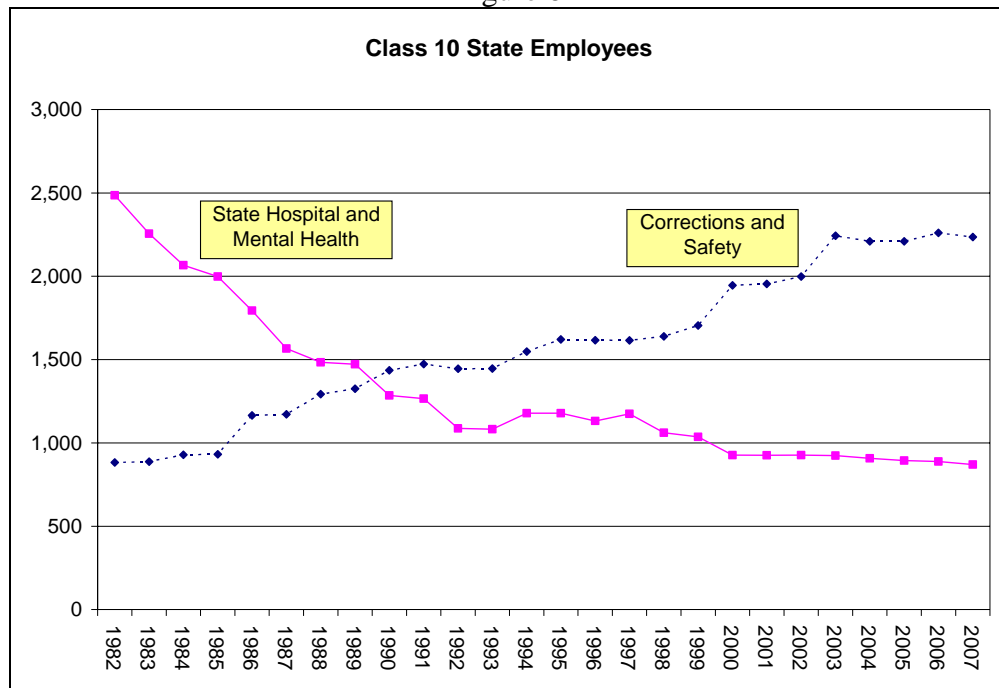
Second, the New Hampshire prison inmate population may have increased because of an influx of mentally ill patients released from state run institutions. New Hampshire, following the lead of other states, considerably reduced the size of its state operated mental health infrastructure from the 1980's through the early 1990's. This is illustrated in Figure 6, which shows the number of

⁴ *The Limited Importance of Prison Expansion*, William Spellman, from *The Crime Drop in the United States*, edited by Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman (2000).

state employees working at the state hospital and related mental health facilities, compared to the number of state employees working in the Departments of Corrections and Safety, from 1982 through 2007. The number of state employees at the state hospital and other facilities dropped from 2,500 in 1982 to under 1,000 in 1992, while the number of employees in Corrections and Safety increased by almost 1,500 employees.

As a result, the number of mentally ill people in mental institutions dropped considerably, while the number of mentally-ill prison inmates increased. In 2006, an estimated 27 percent of prison inmates had some form of mental illness and were taking medication. Additionally, about 35 percent of incarcerated men and 50 to 60 percent of incarcerated women may have mental health issues that remain untreated.⁵

Figure 6



⁵ Interview with Jeff Lyons, Department of Corrections, 2007.

Examining the Causes of an Increasing State Prison Population

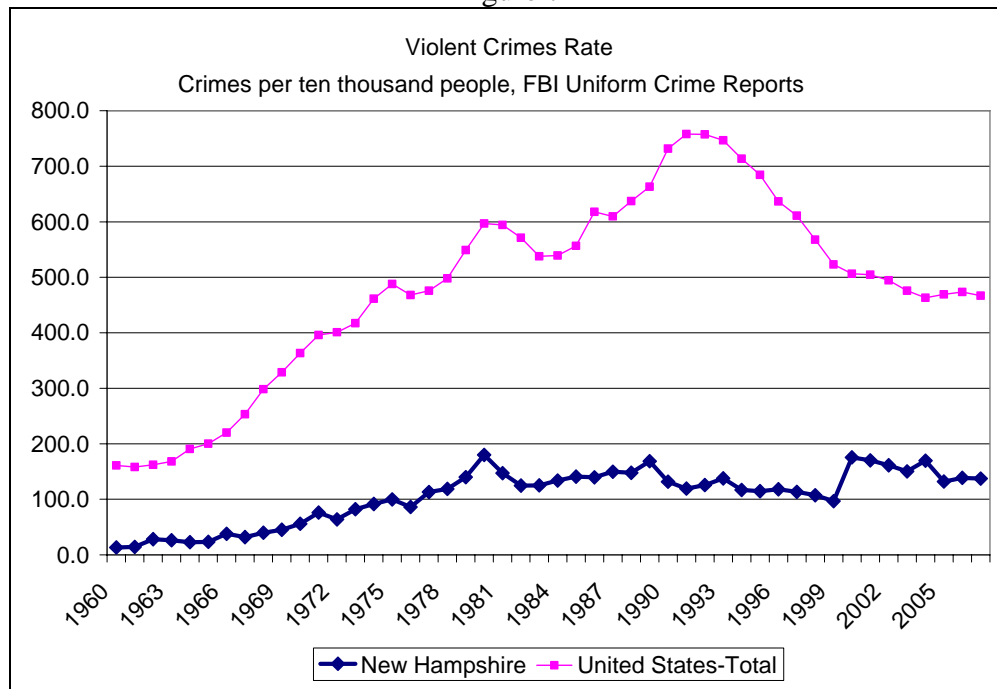
Crime Rates

Rising inmate admissions are not due to rising crime rates. National and state crimes rates have been either stable or declining while state prison populations have continued to increase. What follows is an exploration of the violent, drug-related, and other felony-level crime rates and their impact on the prison population.

Violent Crimes

Figure 7 shows that New Hampshire’s violent crime rate has long been significantly lower than the national average. Violent crime rates (for murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) rose in New Hampshire during the 1960’s and 1970’s, but never as high a level as the national rate. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports, the New Hampshire violent crime rate reached its highest point in 1980 at 179.8 violent crimes per 10,000 residents, and has not exceeded that level through the year 2007. The national violent crime rate did not peak until much later, in 1991.

Figure 7



While putting more violent offenders into prison may lower the violent crime rate, incarcerating violent offenders only explains about half of the increase in the state prison population. As noted in the discussion of short term trends, only half of the state’s prison inmates are being held for a violent crime.

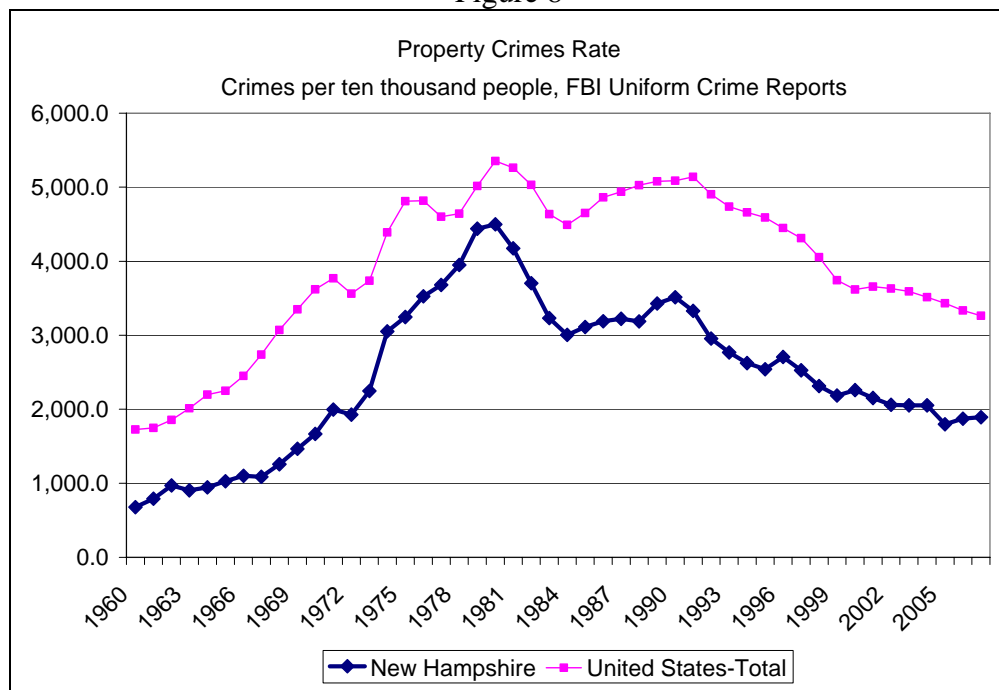
Drug Related Crimes

Arrests for drug related offenses have been increasing (see Table 1). And, drug crimes represent a significant load on the Superior Courts – of the 13,000 criminal cases that came before a New Hampshire Superior Court in 2007, more than 2,600 were for violation of the Controlled Substances Act. Despite the large caseload of these crimes in the courts, only 150 of the new admissions to state prison each year are drug related. However, about 500 parolees per year are sent back to prison for parole violations, and those violations can include drug use and other substance abuse. Overall, offenders being held for drug crimes represent 15% of the state prison population.

Other Felony Crimes

Crime rates related to property crimes (burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft) rose dramatically in the 1960’s and 1970’s. Property crimes per 10,000 people in New Hampshire increased from about 1,000 in 1963 to almost 4,500 in 1980, before falling through the next two decades. Figure 8 shows that through the last 45 years the New Hampshire property crime rate has been below the national average, but follows the same pattern of increase and decrease.

Figure 8



As noted earlier, inmates held for non-violent offenses make up one-third of the inmate population in New Hampshire’s state prisons. Taken together, offenders for other felony crimes and drug crimes represent almost half of the state prison population.

Holding Inmates Longer: “Truth-In-Sentencing”

In 1982, the State of New Hampshire adopted what is known a "Truth-In-Sentencing." Simply put, this means that when a defendant is sentenced to a term in the state prison, he must serve the minimum of the sentence before becoming eligible for parole.

Under this policy, there is no "time off for good behavior." Instead, 150 days of "bad time" are added to each year of an inmate's minimum sentence, and the time for good behavior is used to erase those days. If an inmate does not get into trouble during their sentence, that inmate will be eligible for parole after serving their minimum sentence. Otherwise, the parole date is delayed according to how many disciplinary problems that have occurred. For example, an inmate sentenced to 10 to 20 years begins with a minimum sentence of 10 years plus 1,500 days (10 years times 150 days). Good time is subtracted from the 1,500 days and after 10 years an inmate becomes eligible for parole.

The “Truth-In-Sentencing” policy has lengthened the prison stay by increasing the minimum amount of time an inmate must serve compared to the previous policy. Each prisoner sentenced since 1982 may have remained in prison for 70% longer than those sentenced under previous laws.⁶

As show in Table 2 below, the extra time that New Hampshire state prison inmates have spent in prison, compared to the old system where inmates received “time off for good behavior,” potentially increased the state prison population by approximately 550 inmates over the period 1982 to 2006 (assuming all inmates that served time in state prison would have received time off for good behavior). The increase in state prison inmates over that time period is due to a 70% increase in length of stay under “Truth-In-Sentencing”, compared to the old “time off for good behavior” system.

Table 2

Truth-In-Sentencing: 1982-2006 Impact				
Minimum Sentence (years)	Number of Sentences 1982-2005	Person-Years (New System)	Person Years (Old System)	Increase in Person-Years Served
1/2	472	236	139	97
1	3,981	3,981	2,345	1,636
2	5,379	10,758	6,337	4,421
4	1,063	4,252	2,505	1,747
6	711	4,266	2,513	1,753
8	65	520	306	214
10	333	3,330	1,962	1,368
15	182	2,730	1,608	1,122
25	89	2,225	1,311	914
Totals	12,275	32,298	19,025	13,273
Average Increase in Population due to Truth-In-Sentencing				553

⁶ *State of New Hampshire Prison Expansion*, Performance Audit Report, State of New Hampshire Office of Legislative Budget Assistant, April 1992

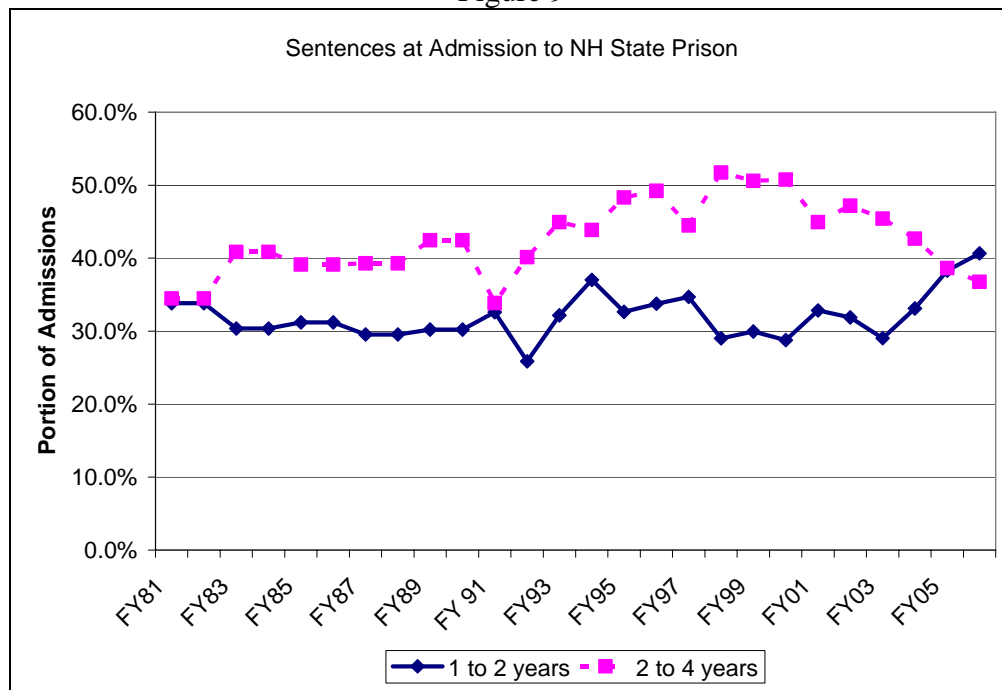
According to the Interim Report from the legislative committee established to study methods of safely reducing the prison population in the state, “Truth-In-Sentencing” has cost the state \$183 million over the 13 years between 1990 and 2003.⁷

Court Sentencing and Length of Stay

“Truth-In-sentencing” by itself increased the minimum amount of time an inmate could serve in prison. One might expect that overall court sentencing would have become more lenient, given that the potential minimum sentence was increased by this change in sentencing law. However, this was not the case. New admissions to the state prison, on average, also have received longer sentences.

Figure 9 shows that new inmates to the state prison system were receiving longer sentences, even as the “Truth-In-Sentencing” law was put in place. Sentencing data from the Department of Corrections’ annual reports shows that the proportion of state prison admissions receiving sentences of 2 to 4 years rose from 35% of the admissions in 1982 to 50% of the admissions by 1996.

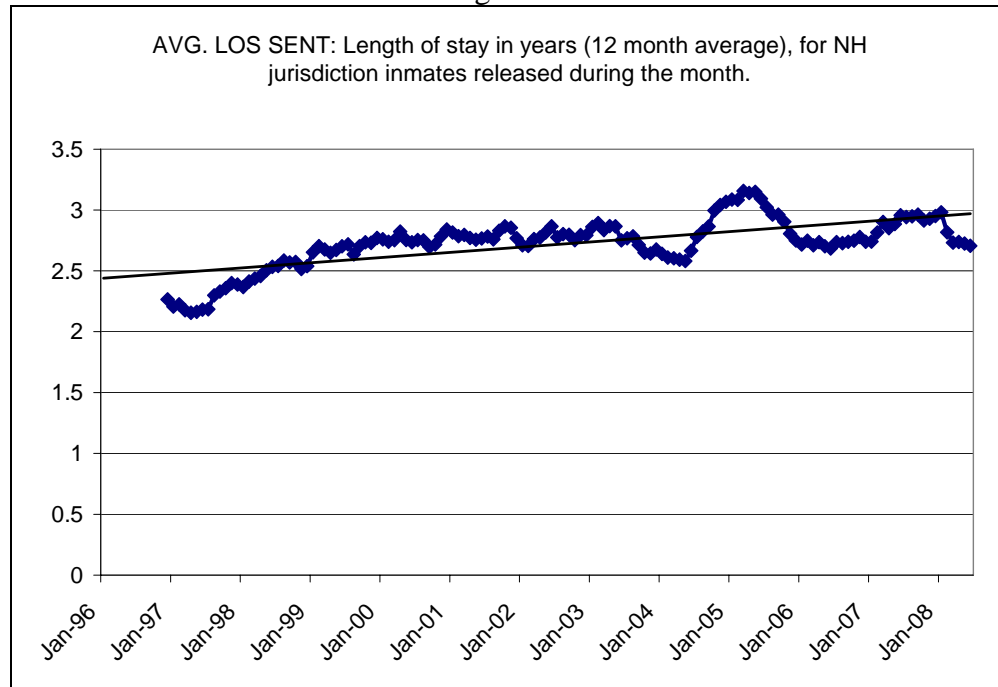
Figure 9



Inmates within the state prison walls are being held for longer periods of time than in the past. The average length of stay of those released from state prison has shown a moderate upward trend. Figure 10 shows the length of stay in years measured by the month of an inmate’s release. The monthly data has been smoothed to better illustrate the trend in the data. In the late 1990’s the average length of stay for those released from the state prison system was a little over two years. By 2007, the average length of stay for those released from prison was close to 3 years.

⁷ Interim Report. HB 825, establishing a committee to study methods of safely reducing the prison population in the State.

Figure 10



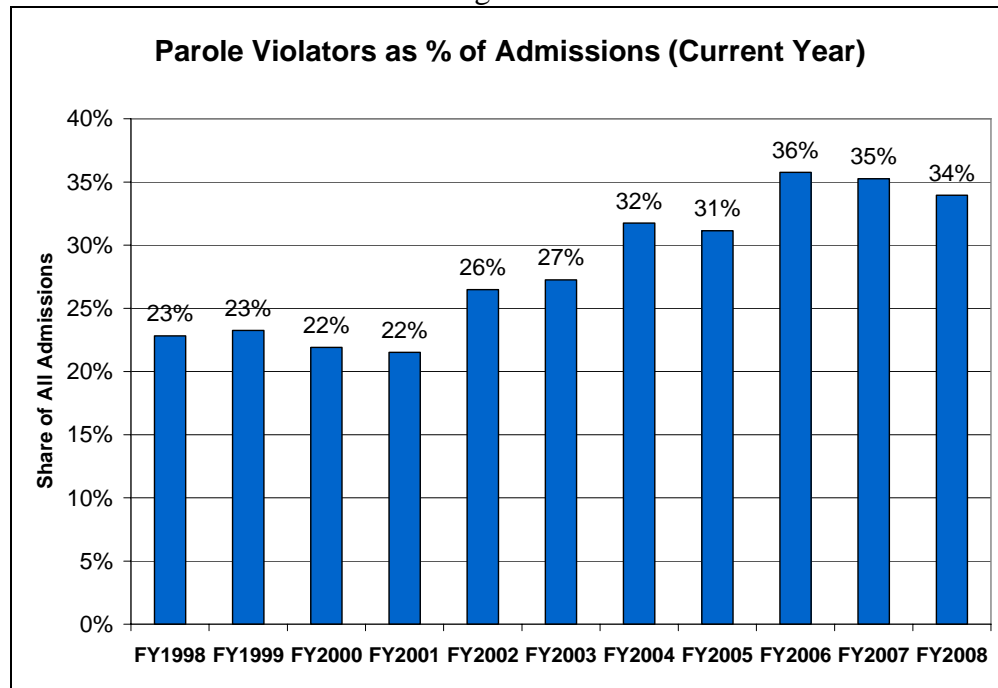
Re-incarceration of parolees

Many other policies have been implemented in the last three decades have served to increase the size of the state prison population. These policies include stricter penalties for violation of probation or parole. Recent examples are the state parole board's current zero tolerance policy for alcohol possession for parolees and a 2007 law mandating that habitual offenders caught driving under the influence for a second time must go to state prison for one to five years⁸.

In the short term, the likely cause of the increase in the number of people being admitted to state prison can be found in prior inmates re-offending and subsequently being re-incarcerated. Admissions to prisons are being driven primarily by offenders already known to the system – parole violators – and not by new criminals, continuing a trend established over past decades in New Hampshire. Figure 11 shows that parole violators as a percent of state prison admissions has risen from 22% in 1998 to 34% in 2008.

⁸ <http://www.gencourt.state.nh.us/rsa/html/xxi/262/262-23.htm>

Figure 11



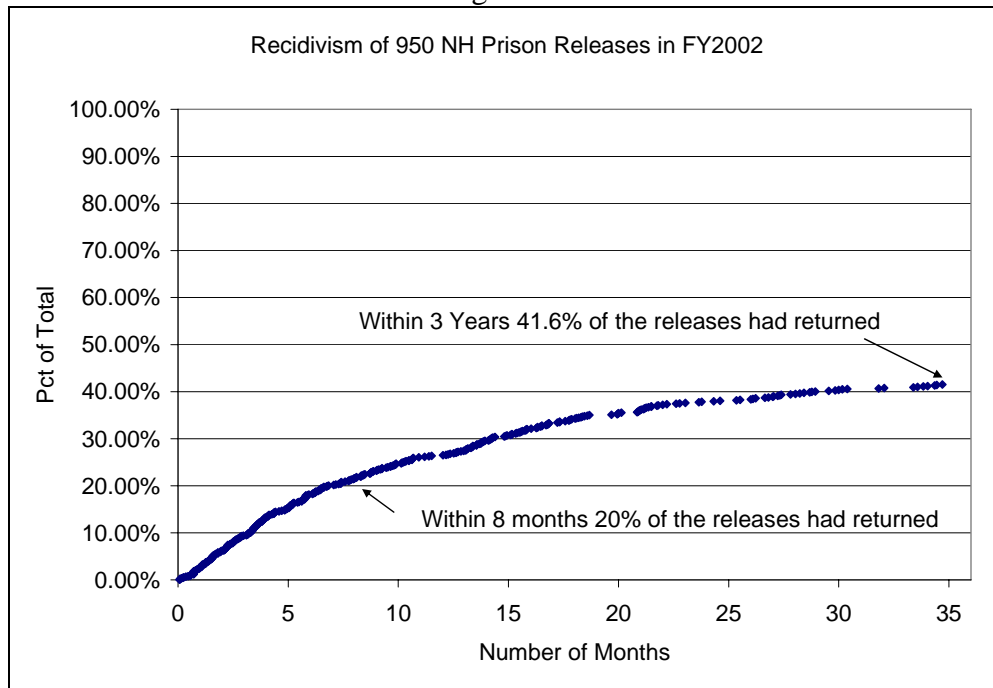
In fiscal year (FY) 2008, the Department of Corrections and Parole Board re-admitted 514 offenders to the state prisons for parole violations – one-third of the total admissions to the state prison system in FY2008.

When former inmates return to state prison, they are likely to return a short time after their release. Analysis performed by the New Hampshire Department of Correction reveals that half of the releases who returned to prison within three years did so within eight months of being released, as shown in Figure 12.

Of the 950 releases in FY2002,⁹ 20% of the 950 releases returned within 8 months, and 42% (395) of the 950 releases returned to state prison within three years. Of the 395 who returned within three years, about half (209) had already violated probation or parole at least once before, while the remainder (186) were returning to state prison on a new sentence.

⁹ Releases including those released on parole and probation and those maxing out sentences, but not including those released from other jurisdictions.

Figure 12



County Corrections, State Corrections, and the Prison Population

Crime rates in New Hampshire have been on the decline for decades, even as the state prison population has continued to increase. Available evidence suggests that the state prison population is driven higher by longer sentences and by the re-incarceration of offenders already known to the system who have violated the terms of their probation or parole.

States that want to protect public safety while slowing the growth of their prison populations can divert a greater number of low-risk offenders from prison, reduce the length of time that the lowest-risk offenders stay behind bars, or some combination of the two. Both options require strong community corrections programs to ensure that offenders in the community remain crime free.

Even though community corrections programs exist in New Hampshire and are demonstrably less expensive than incarceration, these programs remain underutilized. One reason for the underutilization of community corrections programs may lie in the relationship between the state and county corrections systems.

In New Hampshire there are eleven separate corrections systems. The State of New Hampshire manages the state prison, while each of New Hampshire's ten counties manages independent county corrections systems. Inmates sentenced by the Superior Court to a year or less usually serve their time in a county house of corrections. Inmates sentenced to a year or more serve their time in state prison. The exception to this would be for those held in a county jail while awaiting

trial in Superior Court. Even if a conviction would result in a sentence to be served in state prison, virtually all persons awaiting trial or on trial are held in a county jail.

The Superior Courts in New Hampshire reside at the county level. In addition, all of the alternative sentencing and diversion programs in New Hampshire also operate at the county level. Even the Academy, an alternative probation program paid for by the Department of Corrections and intended for inmates who would otherwise be prison-bound, is resident in each county.

The separation of state and county corrections creates a potential disincentive for state prison-bound inmates to be sentenced to alternative programs at the county level. Sentencing at the Court determines whether an offender will go to the state prison, a county house of corrections, or a diversion program. Lower risk offenders would more likely be sentenced to be held for a year or less, and therefore would become part of the county corrections system. Judges in Superior Court would therefore have an incentive to sentence low risk offenders bound for a county's house of corrections to a county diversion program because diversion programs are usually much less costly to the county than a term in the county house of corrections. Higher risk prison-bound, non-violent offenders could be less likely to be sentenced to a county run diversion program because high risk offenders would be destined for state prison, and therefore their rehabilitation becomes the state's financial responsibility.

Current sentencing to the Academy¹⁰ program illustrates this point. The Center has analyzed 2008 Academy records and concluded that judges have been sentencing some minor offenders to the Academy for treatment rather than to a county house of corrections. In other words, not all Academy participants are truly prison-bound. A portion of the Academy population fails to meet the rigorous standards of the program and returns either to prison or a county facility. Of all the offenders in the Academy, 60% were bound for prison, but this percentage does vary widely across counties. In Coos County all 10 people in the Academy program were bound for the county house of corrections, not prison. In Hillsborough County-North only 2 out of the 46 in the Academy program were bound for the county house of corrections.

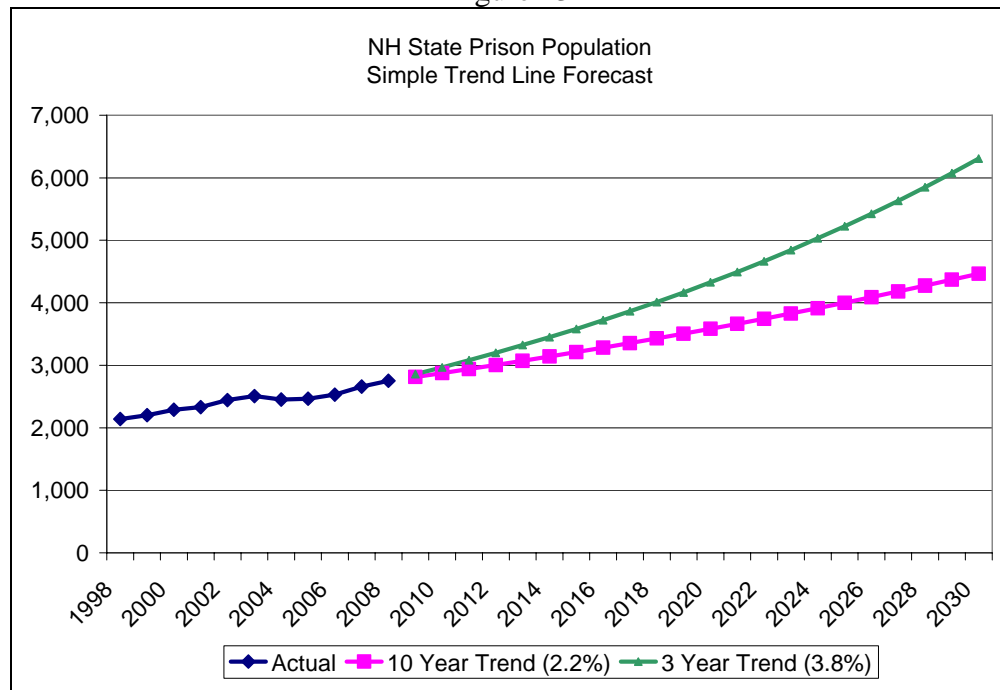
¹⁰ The Academy Program is a court-ordered diversion program to provide offenders an opportunity to avoid prison and obtain additional skills for successful behavior in the community. While the NH Department of Corrections funds the program and helps monitor participants in the program, the courts are the "gatekeepers" as far as which offenders are given an opportunity to participate in the program.

Prison Population Projections

Continuation of Current Trends

Figure 13 shows a simple trend forecast of the state prison population assuming no changes in policy. In the last ten years the New Hampshire state prison population grew at an annual rate of 2.2% per year. The growth rate in the last three years (2005 to 2008), however, was much higher – 3.8% per year. If these trends were to continue the New Hampshire state prisons would have to hold 3,600 to 4,300 inmates by the year 2020, and 4,500 to 6,300 inmates by the year 2030.

Figure 13



Prison Population Model

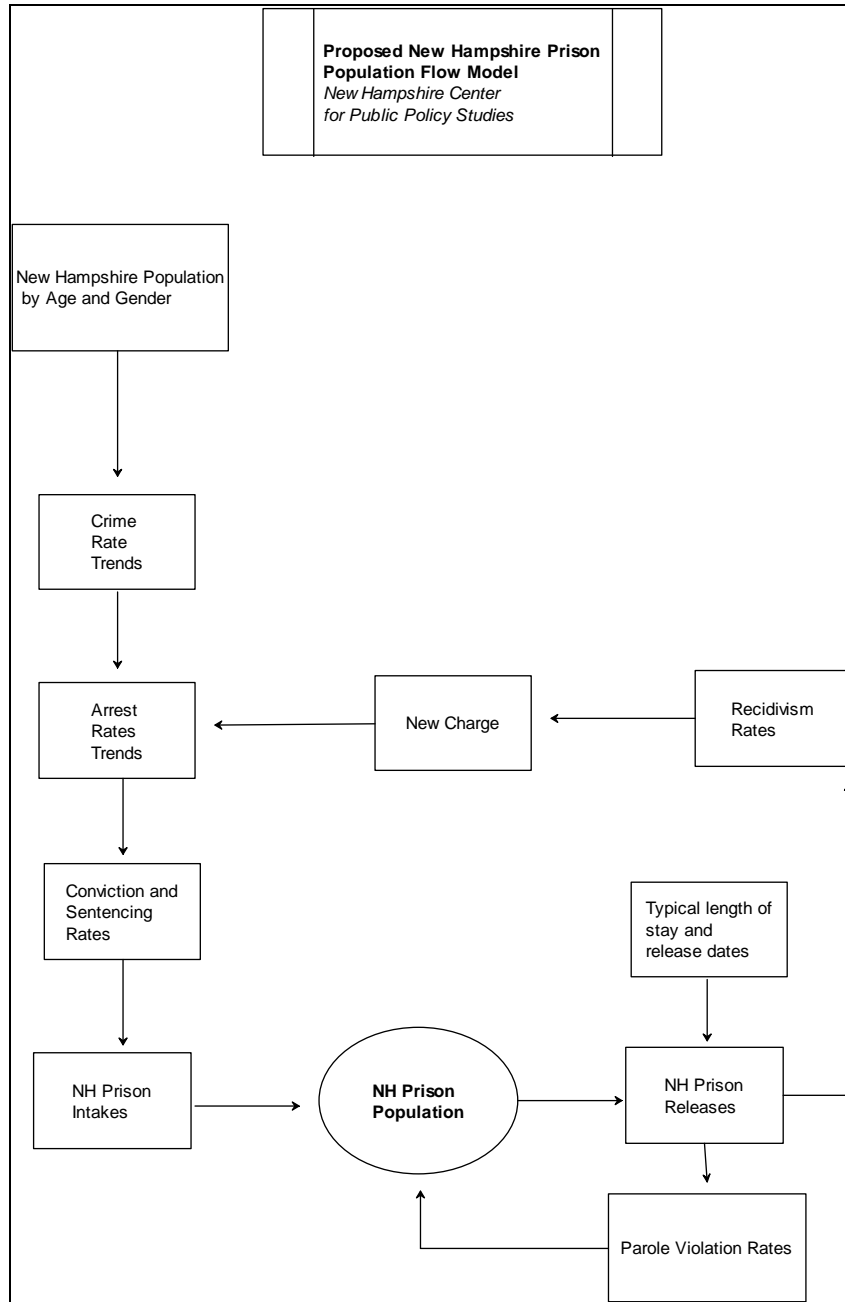
The Center has developed a flow model for the New Hampshire state prison population, identifying the critical data elements available to “feed into” the model. Most states (36 out of the 42 that project their own state prison populations) use a flow model to forecast their state prison populations. A flow model works by moving cases through various points in the criminal justice system. In its simplest form, the state prison population is equal to the prison population at a point in time, plus the number of prison intakes, less the number of releases.

However, both intakes and releases depend upon a host of other factors. Admissions are forecast based on recent intake trends, arrest trends, charging trends, court case filings, sentencing trends, demographics, future population growth, and on the likelihood of re-offending after being placed on post-prison supervision. Releases are forecast by using typical lengths of stay for prisoners grouped by offense type.

The flow model approach is superior to a simple trend line approach because a flow model accounts for the underlying causes of an expanding prison population. A robust model can simulate "what if" situations and aid in planning and creating "impact statements" in response to pending legislation. For example, changes in the prison population can be estimated for pending sentencing changes, changes in crime rates, or alternative growth assumptions for the current 20-30 year old population.

The following figure shows the structure of the projection model. The model starts with a forecast of New Hampshire's population by age, since crime rates differ by age group. Arrest rates, trial rates, and sentencing rates are pieces of the model's input data, all of which are used to forecast the number of admissions to state prison. Releases are a function of the average length of sentences for types of crimes. The model allows for consideration of recidivism through an estimate of the number of parole releases who are likely to violate the terms of their parole.

Figure 14



Model Inputs

Two population forecasts are used to drive the model. One forecast was developed by the U.S. Census Bureau in April 2005 and the other by the state's Office of Energy and Planning (OEP) in November 2006. The Census forecast projects 100,000 more people in New Hampshire by the year 2030 than does the OEP forecast, but more importantly the Census forecast projects that there will be more New Hampshire residents in the younger age groups, which tend to have higher crime rates. Therefore, the Census forecast shows a slightly higher state prison population projection than does the OEP forecast.

Table 3

Age	OEP NH Population Forecast November 2006			
	2000	2010	2020	2030
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
< 5	75,685	69,830	74,658	74,546
05 – 09	88,537	81,120	81,940	87,058
10 – 14	93,255	92,565	84,425	92,250
15 – 19	86,688	95,230	87,281	89,963
20 – 24	68,766	83,492	81,742	77,356
25 – 29	71,355	79,157	86,555	80,222
30 – 34	88,706	74,149	92,128	91,968
35 – 39	109,654	77,764	85,286	95,439
40 – 44	111,525	88,199	72,647	92,395
45 – 49	98,117	107,933	75,481	85,013
50 – 54	85,869	118,159	91,391	77,399
55 – 59	62,664	109,500	116,760	83,261
60 – 64	46,995	96,677	128,574	100,861
65 – 69	41,143	69,917	118,218	128,563
70 – 74	37,184	44,387	89,400	122,802
75 – 79	30,593	31,340	52,621	92,513
80 – 84	20,819	23,686	27,770	57,963
85 +	18,231	22,073	23,135	35,353
	1,235,786	1,365,178	1,470,012	1,564,925

Table 4

Census Population Forecast – NH April 2005				
Age	2000	2010	2020	2030
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
< 5	75,685	82,238	91,415	93,781
05 - 09	88,537	83,865	95,655	100,132
10 - 14	93,255	85,662	92,088	103,275
15 - 19	86,688	87,650	82,095	93,981
20 - 24	68,766	87,409	77,586	82,543
25 - 29	71,355	95,699	93,365	86,859
30 - 34	88,706	90,867	109,263	99,009
35 - 39	109,654	86,745	114,678	113,621
40 - 44	111,525	98,381	99,938	120,273
45 - 49	98,117	113,334	89,617	118,678
50 - 54	85,869	113,203	98,576	100,498
55 - 59	62,664	98,460	111,696	88,464
60 - 64	46,995	83,224	106,923	92,571
65 - 69	41,143	56,905	87,840	98,813
70 - 74	37,184	40,101	70,506	90,388
75 - 79	30,593	31,516	44,318	69,396
80 - 84	20,819	24,037	27,064	49,315
85 +	18,231	26,264	32,128	44,874
	1,235,786	1,385,560	1,524,751	1,646,471

Offense rates by age group are applied to the above population forecasts to derive the number of crimes by major type. As can be seen in Table 5, people are less likely to become involved in crime as they grow older. Offense rates by age group are derived from data provided by the New Hampshire Department of Safety as collected for the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), an incident-based reporting system for crimes known to the police.

Table 5

New Hampshire Offense Rates by Age group					
	<u>Violent</u>	<u>Property</u>	<u>Drugs</u>	<u>DUI</u>	<u>Other</u>
15 - 19	0.9%	1.5%	0.8%	3.5%	0.4%
20 - 24	0.8%	0.9%	0.7%	2.5%	0.3%
25 - 29	0.8%	0.6%	0.5%	1.5%	0.2%
30 - 34	0.6%	0.4%	0.2%	1.2%	0.1%
35 - 39	0.5%	0.3%	0.1%	1.0%	0.0%
40 - 44	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%
45 - 49	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%
50 - 54	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%

The model allows adjustments to trial rates, conviction rates, and sentencing rates by major crime type. The base case rates are based on an analysis of Superior Court records, and data from the U.S. Sentencing Commission.

Table 6

	<u>New Hampshire Trial, Conviction and Sentencing Rates by Crime</u>		
	<u>Trial Rate</u>	<u>Conviction</u>	<u>Sentencing</u>
Violent	50.0%	30.0%	50.0%
Property	50.0%	30.0%	35.0%
Drugs	50.0%	50.0%	35.0%
DUI	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%
OthPublic	50.0%	20.0%	0.0%

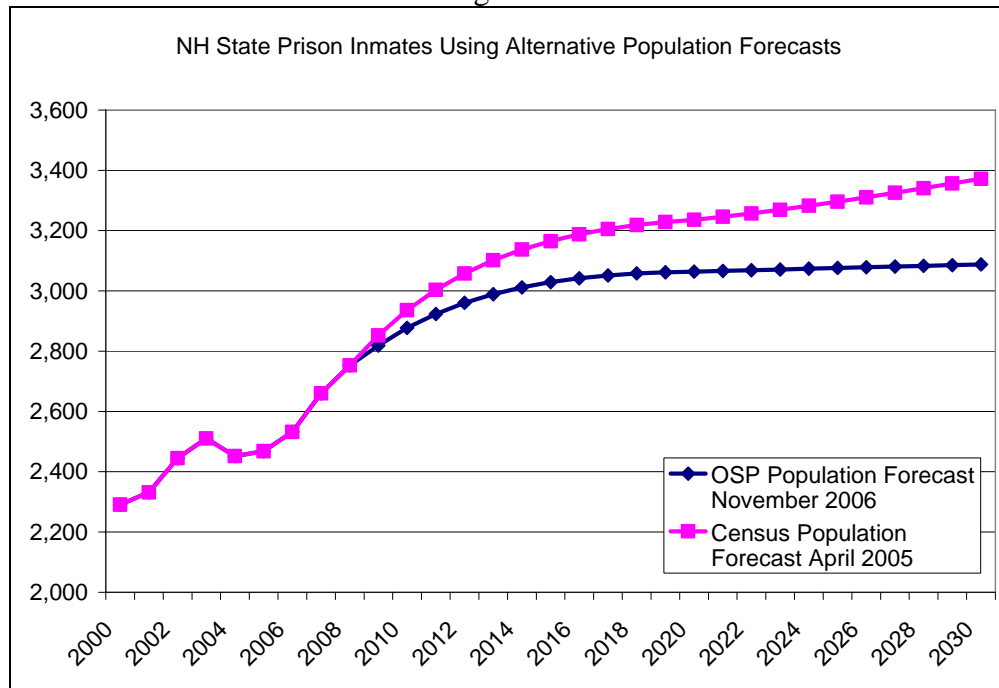
For example, the base case assumptions for violent crime, shown in Table 6, are that 50% of the violent offenses in any year come to trial; of those trials, 30% result in a conviction; and, of those convictions, 50% result in a sentence to the state prison. Finally, the base case model assumes that eight percent of the state prison inmate population will max out their sentence each year. About one-third of the inmates in the state prison system will be released on parole each year. And, roughly half of those released on parole will return to the prison system for parole violations.¹¹

¹¹ The estimate of parole re-admittance is based on the number of offenders returning on parole violations in the current year as a percent of the number of offenders released on parole in the previous year.

Model Results

The following figure shows the resulting prison population forecast for the two resident population forecasts, but using the same assumptions for the offense rates, sentencing rates, parole releases, etc. Under the OEP population forecast the state prison population rises to about 3,100 by the year 2030, while the Census forecast implies about 3,400 inmates by the year 2030. Both of these forecasts are significantly less than the trend line forecast (Figure 13), which forecast over 6,000 inmates by the year 2030.

Figure 15

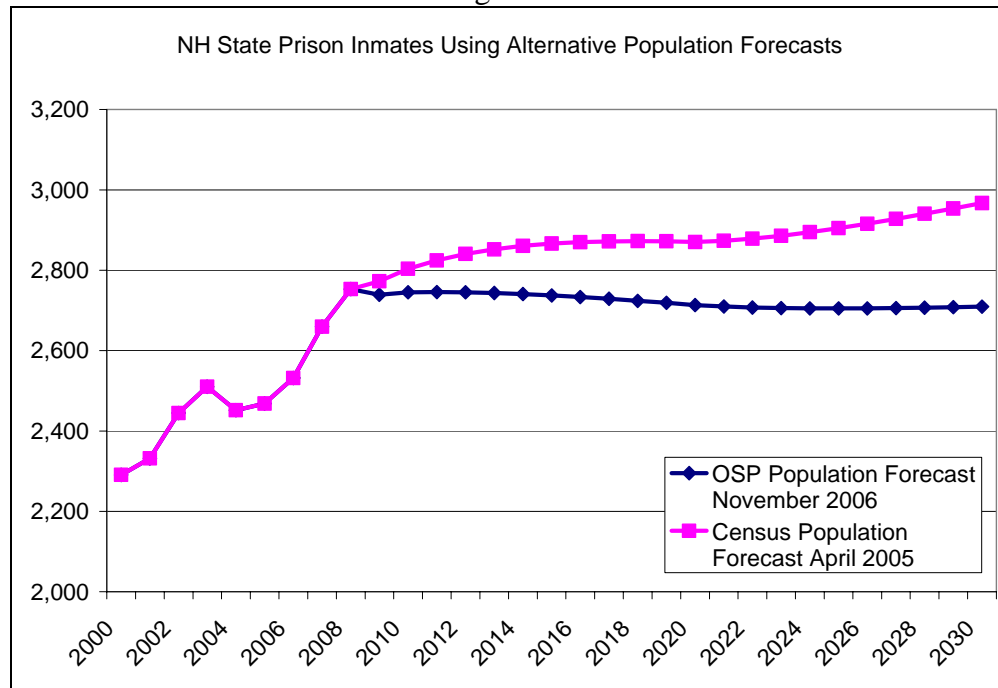


Alternative Scenarios

When assessing the risks to the accuracy of a prison population forecast, studies in other states note that demographic and law enforcement trends are slow to have an impact on projections, while new sentencing laws and policies can have very rapid impacts on trends.

Figure 16 shows a similar result for the Center’s projection model. In this simulation, it is assumed that diversion programs and support programs for parolees are strengthened, which succeeds in reducing the parole re-admittance rate by ten percentage points, from 55% to 45%. The effect on the state prison population is dramatic – there are at least 400 fewer state prison inmates by 2030 using the Census population forecast. And, the projection using the OEP forecast shows a moderate decline in the state prison population after the year 2012.

Figure 16



Examples of programs and policies that can reduce the state prison population without compromising public safety

Parolee support programs

Former inmates need services as soon as they walk out the door of the state prison. Parolee support programs in New Hampshire are poorly organized and funded. These programs are also hampered by rules that limit access to those programs. For example, some parole releases are conditioned upon restricting the parolee from congregating with “known felons” – making it illegal for parolees to participate in mental health support groups and similar community services. The previously mentioned “zero tolerance” policy for alcohol possession by those released on parole will guarantee that more parolees will go back to prison for what could be a minor infraction. The state also has few programs for parolee transitional housing, parolee transportation, or parolee job training and placement.

Re-entry programs

There are two re-entry programs in southern New Hampshire, based in Hillsborough County. One program is in Nashua and the other in Manchester. The Nashua re-entry project is underway, and includes programs for addiction, mental health, and healthcare. The Department of Corrections currently is restructuring the Federal grant proposal for the Manchester program. According to the grant proposal for Manchester, the Bureau of Justice Statistics concluded that 67% of offenders released into the community are expected to be arrested at least once within the next three years, with 50% being returned to jail or prison. The Maine Re-entry Network (upon

which the Manchester program will be modeled) boasts an 18.5% recidivism rate for inmates participating in their re-entry program (24% is their peak rate since the implementation of the program).

Step down programs

Persons with mental illness are often jailed for non-violent, victimless crimes. Step down programs seek to keep the non-violent mentally ill out of prison and placed into alternative programs. This is accomplished by identifying and screening for mental illness, making recommendations to magistrates or judges, and providing options for treatment. The first phase of a step down program focuses on diverting persons with mental illness from the legal system, before they are arrested or booked into the county jail. The second phase of the diversion program focuses on identifying persons with mental illness who are already in the criminal justice system and recommending alternate dispositions, such as a mental health bond or release to a treatment facility. The third phase focuses on providing appropriate mental health and support services upon release from jail or prison.

Problem solving courts and alternative sentencing

In addition to providing better support for prisoners, alternative sentencing can also reduce the state prison population, while addressing the root causes of recidivism. Problem-solving courts are designed to address social issues that are often the underlying problems to criminal behavior, such as drug abuse and mental illness. By linking participants to treatment services, these programs aim to address offenders' addiction and mental health issues that led to criminal behavior, thereby reducing recidivism, and protecting public safety. Ultimately, the goal - and challenge - of these courts is to balance punishment for a crime with successful and cost-effective rehabilitation while protecting the public's safety.

One of the key factors distinguishing problem-solving courts over traditional courts is a team approach. The judge, defense attorney, prosecutor, treatment provider, probation officer, and case manager, among others, come to consensus about what sanctions and treatment will be mandated for the offender. This shared decision-making differs significantly from the traditional, more adversarial, approach of criminal courts.

Drug Courts in New Hampshire

Currently, two counties, Strafford and Grafton, operate adult drug court programs for felony level offenders with substance abuse issues under the supervision of the County's Superior Court. Drug court programs connect non-violent, substance-abusing offenders to an integrated system of alcohol and drug treatment in the community, combined with strict court supervision and sanctions.

All drug court clients receive a unique treatment plan and a program plan to address life skills, education, medical and psychological needs. Participants receive frequent drug testing and close monitoring by drug court case managers and a probation officer to ensure compliance with the program requirements. Clients testing positive for drugs or alcohol and/or who otherwise fail to comply with the program requirements are subject to court-ordered sanctions, like additional community service or short jail sentences. Similarly, participants are rewarded for their progress

and compliant behavior. Upon successful completion of the program and probation, offenders may have their convictions vacated.

Mental Health Courts

Similar to drug courts in structure, these courts aim to connect offenders with persistent mental illnesses with treatment and other support resources in order to integrate the offender back into their community as a productive member. The first mental health court was started in Keene in 2003. Since then, mental health courts are currently being piloted in Nashua and Rochester and there are future plans to start one in Portsmouth.

Community corrections programs

Community corrections programs are an alternative to costly incarceration for non-violent offenders. By allowing offenders to live in the community under strict supervision, an offender can be held accountable for their actions and repay the victims and the community for damages while the public's safety is protected. Furthermore, the social qualities that fuel criminal behavior, such as drug addiction, homelessness, and unemployment, among others, can be addressed to prevent future crime.

For example, beyond the drug court and mental health court programs, Strafford County also operates several other community-based corrections programs. These programs include a bail supervision program, home confinement/electronic monitoring, community work programs, jail-based residential drug abuse treatment, and a step-down program for current jail inmates.¹²

Diversion programs

Diversion programs intervene before a non-violent, first-time offender goes to trial with an opportunity instead to participate in a program of community service and psycho-educational classes. Merrimack County currently operates an adult diversion program for first time felony, misdemeanor, and drug offenders.¹³

Across the state, the New Hampshire Juvenile Court Diversion Network¹⁴ focuses to divert first-time juvenile offenders out of the juvenile court system and into appropriate social services that support the juveniles and their families to prevent further delinquent behavior. Restorative justice, the idea that the juvenile will be held accountable for repairing the damage caused by his/her crime, is a central component to these programs. Various non-profit, social service, municipal, and court-sponsored organizations operate juvenile diversion programs in all New Hampshire counties.

The Academy

The Academy¹⁵ is an alternative sentencing program funded and managed by the Department of Corrections for offenders who plead guilty to non-violent felony charges for which they would normally receive state prison sentences of a year or more. It is a one year intensive and

¹² Strafford County Community Corrections. http://co.strafford.nh.us/jail/community_corrections.html

¹³ Merrimack County Diversion Program. http://www.merrimackcounty.net/html/county_attorney.html

¹⁴ New Hampshire Juvenile Court Diversion Program. www.nhcourtdiversion.org

¹⁵ The Academy. <http://www.nh.gov/nhdcc/divisions/fieldservices/index.html>

comprehensive program of both punishment and rehabilitation. While the NHDOC helps monitor participants in the program, the courts are the “gatekeepers” as far as which offenders are given an opportunity to participate in the program.

The Department of Corrections contracts with non-profit agencies, which serve as the local providers of Academy services, such as case management, psycho-educational classes, and drug testing. Offenders also work on community service projects, and keep a rigorous, demanding schedule for reporting to the program and probation. Table 7 shows the number of those sentenced to and completing the Academy program since 1999.

Table 7

Academy Usage: FY1999- FY2007		
	Sentenced	Completed
1999	221	83
2000	213	107
2001	211	132
2002	221	115
2003	257	132
2004	217	101
2005	360	121
2006	366	73
2007	293	139

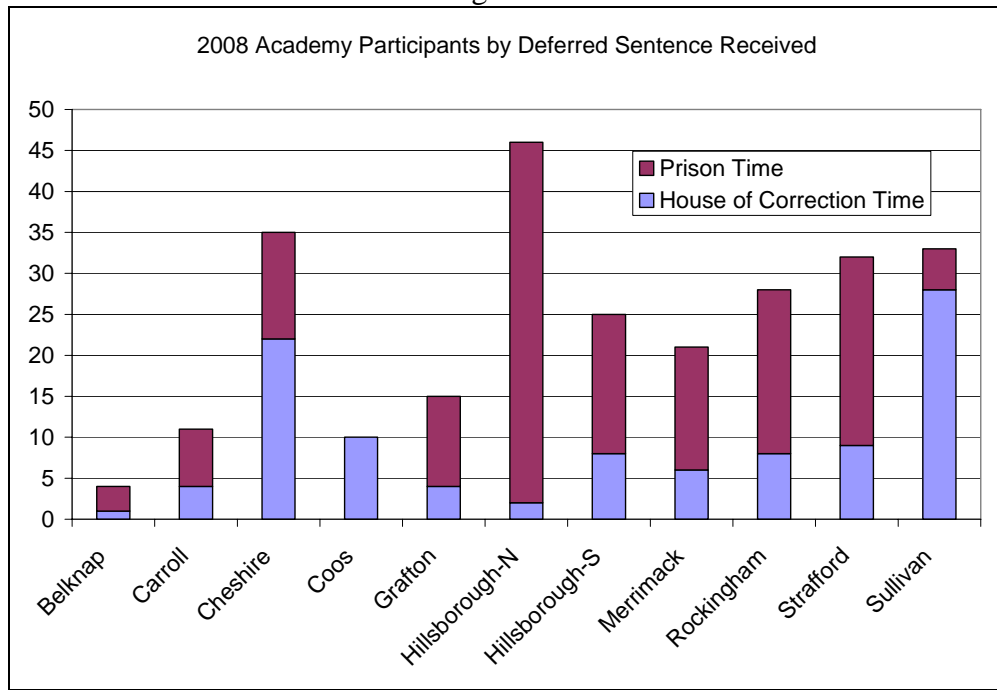
Although there were almost 300 people enrolled in the Academy in 2007, it would be a mistake to assume that without the Academy, the state would need an additional 300 prison beds. The Center concluded, in its analysis of the Academy, that judges have been sentencing some minor offenders to the Academy for treatment rather than to a county house of corrections. In other words, not all Academy participants are truly state prison-bound. A portion of the Academy population fails to meet the rigorous standards of the program and returns either to prison or a county facility. Thus, the only real reduction in the prison population achieved by the Academy comes from the *graduates* who would otherwise have been prison-bound.

The Center estimated in a 2004 report¹⁶ that 77 percent of the graduates were prison-bound. The Center recently examined the Academy records for the years 2007 to 2008, and calculated that even fewer offenders – only about 60 percent – in the Academy program were prison-bound. Each of those graduates avoids a prison term averaging 3 years.

The portion of Academy participants who were prison bound does vary widely across county programs. According to 2007-2008 data, in Coos County all 10 people in the Academy program were bound for the county house of corrections, not state prison. In Hillsborough County-North only 2 out of the 46 in the Academy program were bound for the house of corrections, rather than prison. The number of participants by county and deferred sentence received is shown in Figure 17.

¹⁶ *Options for Reducing the Prison Population and the Cost of Incarceration*, February 2004

Figure 17

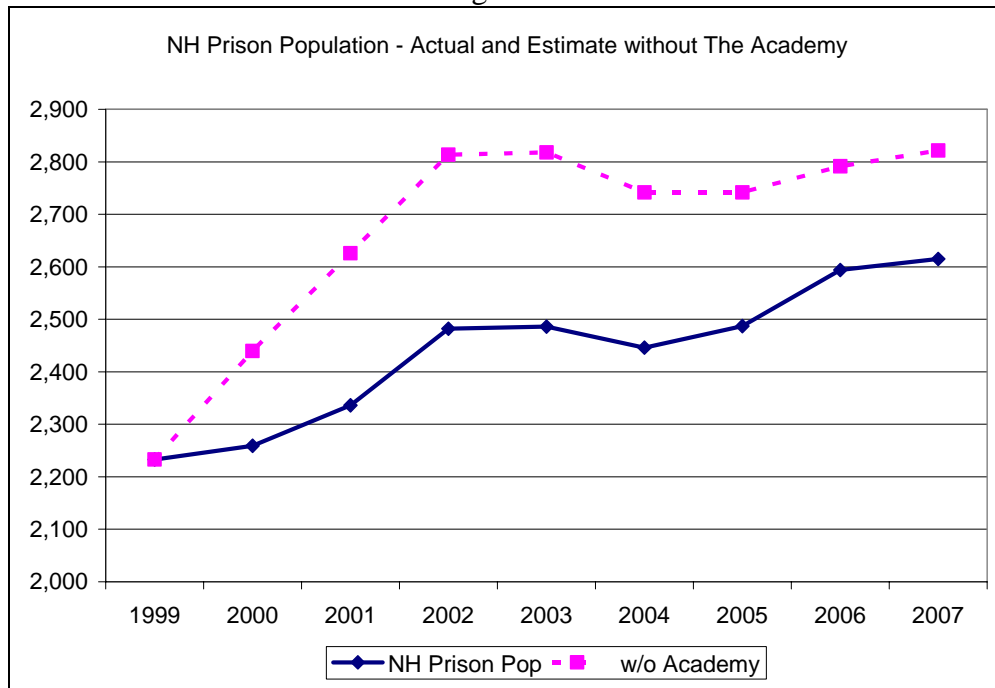


The Center estimated the state prison population with and without the Academy program. It is assumed that the number of Academy graduates in Table 8 that were prison-bound has declined from 77% in 2004 to 60% in 2008, and that those prison-bound graduates avoid an average prison sentence of 3 years. As a result, the state’s prison population has been about 200 people lower than it would have been without the Academy, as illustrated in Figure 18 and Table 8. Without the Academy, the prison population would have reached more than 2,800 inmates in 2007.

Table 8

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Academy Completed	83	107	132	151	132	101	121	73	139
Percent prison bound	100%	95%	90%	85%	80%	77%	72%	67%	62%
Assuming a 3 yr length of stay		181	290	332	332	296	255	198	200
NH Prison Pop	2,233	2,259	2,336	2,482	2,486	2,446	2,487	2,594	2,615
w/o Academy	2,233	2,440	2,626	2,814	2,818	2,742	2,742	2,792	2,815

Figure 18



The Academy program is estimated to cost the Department of Corrections about \$1 million per year, or about \$3,300 per offender sentenced to the Academy. Assuming a marginal annual cost per state prison inmate of \$17,000¹⁷, and assuming the state prison population is 200 inmates lower than it otherwise would be, the Academy avoids a cost of about \$3.4 million per year, a benefit cost ratio of more than 3 to 1. The Academy program therefore appears to be a worthwhile investment. However, fewer offenders were sentenced to the Academy program in 2007 than in the year 2006.

Administrative Home Confinement

Administrative Home Confinement (“AHC”) is a tool used by the court to impose a specific form of supervision on an individual who has been found guilty of a crime. The inmate wears an electronic monitoring device, more commonly known as “the bracelet,” for a specific amount of time (what the court deems necessary). Movement in the community is closely monitored with minimum time away from home for work or other needs. The offender is responsible for the cost of the bracelet.

As of June 30, 2007 there were 47 offenders on AHC under the supervision of Department of Corrections Field Services. The Center has calculated that if only 2 new offenders per month

¹⁷ While the average cost per inmate is \$32,000 per year based on Department of Correction annual reports, the Center estimates the annual marginal cost per inmate to be \$17,000 per year. This estimate includes the cost of food, clothing and supervision per inmate, but none of the fixed costs associated with state prison.

were diverted to Administrative Home Confinement, rather than to state prison, the corrections system could save more than \$380,000 per year.¹⁸

What other policies could New Hampshire follow?

Building new prisons in New Hampshire is not inevitable. Existing community programs have been successful in reducing the state prison inmate population, and could be expanded to achieve further reductions. In addition, there are models alternative to incarceration programs in other states that New Hampshire could adopt.

Comprehensive alternative programs in other states

Perhaps one of the most successful and comprehensive strategies in alternative sentencing comes from Oregon. While not specifically related to alternative sentencing, Oregon's Accountability Model (OAM), a five year old six part model of best correctional practices, takes into account all phases of a prisoner's life as he moves through the corrections process (O'Connor, 2004). The part of this program that is most relevant to alternative sentencing is the focus Oregon puts into keeping offenders from re-offending and the attention they spend on prisoner reentry.

The state of Washington is experimenting with "community" probation, where probation officers partner with the police and community members to reduce the public safety threats posed by offenders in their midst. This is accomplished by having probation officers take an active role in community building, and not just offender restraint. Some have referred to this emerging model as "community justice" or "neighborhood probation," and the probation and parole officers who were involved in alternative sentencing programs are emerging as key players.

In October 2006 the Washington State Institute for Public Policy published "Evidence-Based Public Policy Option to Reduce Future Prison Construction, Criminal Justice Costs, and Crime Rates". The study was performed at the direction of the Washington State legislature, which was faced with the need to construct several new prisons in the next twenty years. Washington State wanted to explore the existence of evidence based and cost beneficial policy options to building new prisons. The study looked at policy options that could potentially reduce the future need for prison beds, save money for state and local taxpayers, and contribute to lower crime rates. The following table (Table 9) shows a number of adult correction programs that have a positive benefit to cost ratio, taking into consideration the monetized benefits to crime victims and taxpayers, compared to the marginal cost of the specific program. Programs that address education, job training, and substance abuse with intensive supervision have the greatest positive benefit to cost ratios. Conversely, programs lacking educational or treatment components have lower cost-benefits per offender.

¹⁸ Since the offender is responsible for the cost of the bracelet, the only extra cost of AHC is monitoring and expanded treatment, estimated at \$1,000 per offender per year. The avoided cost is therefore \$16,000 per offender (\$17,000 minus \$1,000) times 24 offenders per year which equals \$384,000 annually.

Table 9

Reducing Crime With Evidence-Based Options: What Works, and Benefits & Costs		
Programs for People in the Adult Offender System	Estimated Effect on Crime Outcomes (over standard corrections model)	Total Benefits Minus Costs per Participant
Vocational education in prison	-9.0%	\$13,738
Intensive supervision; treatment-oriented programs	-16.7%	\$11,563
General education in prison (basic education or post-secondary)	-7.0%	\$10,669
Cognitive-behavioral therapy in prison or community	-6.3%	\$10,299
Drug treatment in community	-9.3%	\$10,054
Correctional industries in prison	-5.9%	\$9,439
Drug treatment in prison (therapeutic communities or outpatient)	-5.7%	\$7,836
Adult drug courts	-8.0%	\$4,767
Employment and job training in the community	-4.3%	\$4,359
Electronic monitoring to offset jail time	0%	\$870

Source: Washington State Institute for Public Policy, October 2006

For example, adult drug courts in Washington State, on average, reduce recidivism by 8% over their standard corrections model. This reduction in crime represents some cost avoidance benefit to crime victims and taxpayers. Once the marginal costs of operating the program is subtracted, the total benefit minus costs for an average adult drug court program is \$4,767 per offender. A comprehensive table of the alternative programs analyzed in this study can be found in the appendix.

The Need for Better Management Information

The data needed to effectively analyze past and present corrections populations has become increasingly harder to discover. The State of New Hampshire Department of Corrections recently ceased publishing monthly public information on the characteristics of the state inmate population due to a new inmate tracking system.¹⁹ In addition, there is considerable inertia in the courts, law enforcement, and corrections systems while administrative staff is waiting for the “promise” of the J-ONE, Odyssey, and CORIS computer systems. None of these computer systems will be worthwhile unless they are used as effective management tools and unless human resources and management are dedicated to their success. For example:

- The Department of Corrections’ adoption of the CORIS system in June 2008 consolidates reporting from the prisons and field services – the Academy, parole, and probation – into one inmate management database. But, the system currently has no monthly reporting capability. CORIS in New Hampshire has only one dedicated IT staff person to support the CORIS system for the Corrections Department inside the walls. The IT support person has no corrections experience, and there are no plans for corrections staff and IT support to work together to adapt or improve the CORIS system. CORIS is unlikely to create real improvement in corrections management until there are sufficient resources devoted to training IT staff. The State of Maine has a several-year head start using CORIS for their Department of Corrections and only now is using CORIS as an effective information management system for both inmates and staff. There is no similar planning effort scheduled in New Hampshire.
- J-ONE (Justice - One Network Environment) was introduced in New Hampshire in 2001, and was funded by a \$3 million Federal grant in 2003. The J-ONE system goal was to link all local law enforcement in New Hampshire with the court system through one computer network. When the Center was preparing the prison population projection model we were advised by several parties within the corrections system that J-ONE will contain all of the information (arrests, court sentencing, corrections) that one would need to forecast prison population, but that J-ONE would not be ready within the time frame required by the Center. J-ONE seemed active from 2003 to 2005, but the number of reports submitted through J-ONE to the Courts actually declined from 2005 through 2007.²⁰ According to the J-ONE website, as of August 2007, only ten percent of local law enforcement (30 towns and one county) were J-ONE participants.²¹ J-ONE received an additional Federal grant of \$2.3 million in 2008. This is another case where lack of

¹⁹ The Department of Corrections had produced monthly data reports which summarize changes through the last day of each month. The monthly reports were produced by APS/GLINK, which was replaced in June 2008 by CORIS. New Hampshire’s new CORIS system, while no doubt an effective tool for managing inmate populations, is currently not capable of generating the monthly reports formerly produced by the retired APS/GLINK system, including important information on prison admissions, releases, age of the population, type of offense, etc. For example, managers within the Department of Corrections have not yet decided how to categorize offenders managed by CORIS by controlling crime (whether by sentence length or severity of the offense).

²⁰ <http://www.nh.gov/safety/infotech/jone/documents/JONETransactions.pdf>

²¹ <http://www.nh.gov/safety/infotech/jone/currentparticipants.html>

administrative and managerial commitment between local and state law enforcement may doom an information system to failure again.

- In early 2004 the Judicial Branch signed a \$1.9 million contract with Tyler Technologies Inc. of Dallas, Texas to provide the state's trial courts with the Odyssey case management system, which would allow judges and staff to share information and documents electronically among the 65 trial courts across the state. The New Hampshire Judicial Branch launched the new case management system in Concord District Court in January 2006, putting into operation for the first time a long-awaited, state-of-the art computer system for tracking court cases and administrative data.²² As of August 2008 only one-half of New Hampshire's Courts were part of the Odyssey system.²³ The IT administrator of the J-ONE system was hired in 2008 by the Administrative Office of the Courts to ramp up the Odyssey system and complete the Odyssey rollout.

Finally, New Hampshire's ten County Houses of Corrections, responsible for holding offenders sentenced to one year or less in prison, do not publish consistent data on the size of their inmate populations, let alone statistics by type of crime, length of sentence, inmate age and other demographic characteristics. This is particularly important because county corrections costs represent about forty percent of the total state and county spending on corrections in New Hampshire.

Discussion

In the corrections system, expenditures are driven largely by the number of prisoners that require supervision. Over the last 20 years, prison populations have increased dramatically. Most agree that there are primarily two reasons for this growth. The first is the implementation of "Truth-In-Sentencing" begun in 1982, which significantly increased the length of time people spend in prison. The second cause of growth in the number of people in the state prison is recidivism. In FY2008, the Department of Corrections and Parole Board admitted 514 people to the state prisons for parole violations. This represented one-third of the total admissions to the state prison system in fiscal year 2008.

There are many options available to policy makers attempting to counteract the growth in the prison population. These include:

- Increase the use of the Academy Program, an alternative sentencing program for people with substance abuse issues, and limit use to prison bound offenders;
- Expand the use of administrative home confinement;
- Expand the use of alternative sentencing and treatment programs for non-violent offenses such as drug and alcohol, habitual offenders, and property crimes;
- Eliminate mandatory sentencing to provide judges with discretion in sentencing.

²² <http://www.courts.state.nh.us/press/odyssey.htm>

²³ http://www.courts.state.nh.us/supreme/newsletter/spring_08/odyssey.htm

Appendix 1²⁴

Exhibit 4

Reducing Crime With Evidence-Based Options: What Works, and Benefits & Costs

Washington State Institute for Public Policy Estimates as of October, 2006	Effect on Crime Outcomes <small>Percent change in crime outcomes, & the number of evidence-based studies on which the estimate is based (in parentheses)</small>	Benefits and Costs <small>(Per Participant, Net Present Value, 2006 Dollars)</small>			
		Benefits to Crime Victims <small>(of the reduction in crime)</small>	Benefits to Taxpayers <small>(of the reduction in crime)</small>	Costs <small>(marginal program cost, compared to the cost of alternative)</small>	Benefits (total) Minus Costs <small>(per participant)</small>
		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Notes: "n/e" means not estimated at this time. Prevention program costs are partial program costs, pro-rated to match crime outcomes.					
Programs for People in the Adult Offender System					
Vocational education in prison	-9.0% (4)	\$8,114	\$6,806	\$1,182	\$13,738
Intensive supervision: treatment-oriented programs	-16.7% (11)	\$9,318	\$9,369	\$7,124	\$11,563
General education in prison (basic education or post-secondary)	-7.0% (17)	\$6,325	\$5,306	\$962	\$10,669
Cognitive-behavioral therapy in prison or community	-6.3% (25)	\$5,658	\$4,746	\$105	\$10,299
Drug treatment in community	-9.3% (6)	\$5,133	\$5,495	\$574	\$10,054
Correctional industries in prison	-5.9% (4)	\$5,360	\$4,496	\$417	\$9,439
Drug treatment in prison (therapeutic communities or outpatient)	-5.7% (20)	\$5,133	\$4,306	\$1,604	\$7,535
Adult drug courts	-8.0% (57)	\$4,395	\$4,705	\$4,333	\$4,767
Employment and job training in the community	-4.3% (16)	\$2,373	\$2,386	\$400	\$4,359
Electronic monitoring to offset jail time	0% (9)	\$0	\$0	-\$870	\$870
Sex offender treatment in prison with aftercare	-7.0% (6)	\$6,442	\$2,885	\$12,585	-\$3,258
Intensive supervision: surveillance-oriented programs	0% (23)	\$0	\$0	\$3,747	-\$3,747
Washington's Dangerously Mentally Ill Offender program	-20.0% (1)	\$18,020	\$15,116	n/e	n/e
Drug treatment in jail	-4.5% (9)	\$2,481	\$2,656	n/e	n/e
Adult boot camps	0% (22)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Domestic violence education/cognitive-behavioral treatment	0% (9)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Jail diversion for mentally ill offenders	0% (1)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Life Skills education programs for adults	0% (4)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Programs for Youth in the Juvenile Offender System					
Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care (v. regular group care)	-22.0% (3)	\$51,828	\$32,915	\$6,945	\$77,798
Adolescent Diversion Project (for lower risk offenders)	-19.9% (6)	\$24,328	\$18,208	\$1,913	\$40,623
Family Integrated Transitions	-13.0% (1)	\$30,708	\$19,502	\$9,665	\$40,545
Functional Family Therapy on probation	-15.9% (7)	\$19,529	\$14,617	\$2,325	\$31,821
Multisystemic Therapy	-10.5% (10)	\$12,855	\$9,622	\$4,264	\$18,213
Aggression Replacement Training	-7.3% (4)	\$8,897	\$6,659	\$897	\$14,660
Teen courts	-11.1% (5)	\$5,907	\$4,238	\$936	\$9,208
Juvenile boot camp to offset institution time	0% (14)	\$0	\$0	-\$8,077	\$8,077
Juvenile sex offender treatment	-10.2% (5)	\$32,615	\$8,377	\$33,064	\$7,929
Restorative justice for low-risk offenders	-8.7% (21)	\$4,628	\$3,320	\$880	\$7,067
Interagency coordination programs	-2.5% (15)	\$3,084	\$2,308	\$205	\$5,185
Juvenile drug courts	-3.5% (15)	\$4,232	\$3,167	\$2,777	\$4,622
Regular surveillance-oriented parole (v. no parole supervision)	0% (2)	\$0	\$0	\$1,201	-\$1,201
Juvenile intensive probation supervision programs	0% (3)	\$0	\$0	\$1,598	-\$1,598
Juvenile wilderness challenge	0% (9)	\$0	\$0	\$3,085	-\$3,085
Juvenile intensive parole supervision	0% (10)	\$0	\$0	\$6,460	-\$6,460
Scared Straight	-6.8% (10)	-\$8,355	-\$6,253	\$58	-\$14,667
Counseling/psychotherapy for juvenile offenders	-18.9% (6)	\$23,126	\$17,309	n/e	n/e
Juvenile education programs	-17.5% (3)	\$41,181	\$26,153	n/e	n/e
Other family-based therapy programs	-12.2% (12)	\$15,006	\$11,231	n/e	n/e
Team Child	-10.9% (2)	\$5,759	\$4,131	n/e	n/e
Juvenile behavior modification	-8.2% (4)	\$19,271	\$12,238	n/e	n/e
Life skills education programs for juvenile offenders	-2.7% (3)	\$6,441	\$4,091	n/e	n/e
Diversion progs. with services (v. regular juvenile court)	-2.7% (20)	\$1,441	\$1,034	n/e	n/e
Juvenile cognitive-behavioral treatment	-2.5% (8)	\$3,123	\$2,337	n/e	n/e
Court supervision vs. simple release without services	0% (8)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Diversion programs with services (v. simple release)	0% (7)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Juvenile intensive probation (as alternative to incarceration)	0% (5)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Guided Group Interaction	0% (4)	\$0	\$0	n/e	n/e
Prevention Programs (crime reduction effects only)					
Nurse Family Partnership-Mothers	-56.2% (1)	\$11,531	\$8,161	\$5,409	\$14,283
Nurse Family Partnership-Children	-16.4% (1)	\$8,632	\$4,922	\$733	\$12,822
Pre-K education for low income 3 & 4 year olds	-14.2% (8)	\$8,145	\$4,644	\$593	\$12,196
Seattle Social Development Project	-18.6% (1)	\$1,605	\$4,341	n/e	n/e
High school graduation	-10.4% (1)	\$1,738	\$2,851	n/e	n/e
Guiding Good Choices	-9.1% (1)	\$570	\$2,092	n/e	n/e
Parent-Child Interaction Therapy	-3.7% (1)	\$268	\$784	n/e	n/e
Program types in need of additional research & development before we can conclude they do or do not reduce crime outcomes:					
Programs needing more research for people in the adult offender system					
Case management in the community for drug offenders	0% (13)				Findings are mixed for this broad grouping of programs.
COSA (Faith-based supervision of sex offenders)	-22.3% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Day fines (compared to standard probation)	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Domestic violence courts	0% (2)				Too few evaluations to date.
Faith-based programs	0% (5)				Too few evaluations to date.
Intensive supervision of sex offenders in the community	0% (4)				Findings are mixed for this broad grouping of programs.
Medical treatment of sex offenders	-21.4% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Mixed treatment of sex offenders in the community	0% (2)				Too few evaluations to date.
Regular parole supervision vs. no parole supervision	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Restorative justice programs for lower risk adult offenders	0% (6)				Findings are mixed for this broad grouping of programs.
Therapeutic community programs for mentally ill offenders	-20.8% (2)				Too few evaluations to date.
Work release programs (from prison)	-4.3% (4)				Too few recent evaluations.
Programs needing more research for youth in the juvenile offender system					
Dialectical Behavior Therapy	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Increased drug testing (on parole) vs. minimal drug testing	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Juvenile curfews	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Juvenile day reporting	0% (2)				Too few evaluations to date.
Juvenile jobs programs	0% (3)				Too few recent evaluations.
Juvenile therapeutic communities	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.
Mentoring in juvenile justice	0% (1)				Too few evaluations to date.

²⁴ Table from: Aos S, Miller M, and Drake E. (2006). *Evidence-Based Public Policy Options to Reduce Future Prison Construction, Criminal Justice Costs, and Crime Rates*. Olympia: Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

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