

*PRISONERS IN 2016 AND THE PROSPECTS FOR AN END
TO MASS INCARCERATION*

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Introduction

In 2010, after nearly 40 years of unbroken increases, the United States experienced its first decrease in the total number of sentenced state and federal prisoners. With but one interruption in 2013, the national prison population continued to decrease through the end of 2016. Political leaders, criminal justice advocates, conference hosts and speakers, roundtable participants and foundation leaders were quick to celebrate these decreases and to credit favored programs and approaches for reversing long-running increases in prison incarceration.

A 7 May 2018 editorial in *The Washington Post* “Mass Incarceration no more?” expressed optimism:

There’s good news on a subject usually associated with the social ill of the United States: incarceration. According to newly released Justice Department Statistics, the prison population fell 1.4% in 2016.... a decline of almost 7 percent since the prison population hit an all-time high...at the end of 2009.¹

But optimism is misplaced. At the end of 2016 this nation was far from reducing prison populations at a pace that would end mass incarceration in the foreseeable future, if at all. Only a handful of states have significantly, seriously reduced prison populations. At the current rate of change in the nation as a whole, it will take decades to accomplish the goals announced by prominent reform organizations: a prison population under one million; a prison population half its present size.

The situation will not improve on its own. The prospects for a more rapid deincarceration are poor unless and until many more states deploy strategies that have been effective in the handful of states that are significantly reducing prison numbers.

The current situation is also indefensible. Mass incarceration is unnecessary, as the rest of the world demonstrates to be true. It’s like a disease that infects primarily the United States, except that were mass incarceration treated as a disease, few among us would tolerate a lackadaisical, 1% a year reduction especially when, as different states have proven, reductions at rates of -3%, -4%, -5% annually, and even higher, are well within reach of a government motivated to act.

In this report, I identify 13 states that have significantly reduced incarceration. I also identify 14 states that, while not yet having significantly reduced prison populations, have at times demonstrated a capacity for doing so. Looking ahead, perhaps ten of the 13 states that have been significantly reducing prison populations and four of those which have clearly shown some potential for doing so are likely to reduce prison populations sufficiently to contribute to a serious national decrease in prison populations.

¹ Editorial Board, “Mass Incarceration no more?” *The Washington Post* (7 May 2018) p. A22; at <https://wapo.st/2K64Uan>

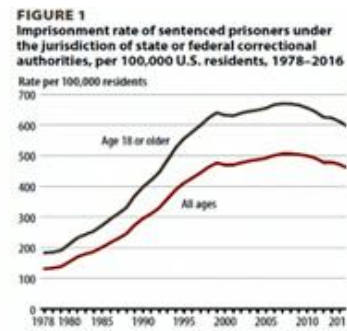
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It is, I believe, important to know which states have been successful, and which have not. There is a great lesson in states with successes. Governors, state leaders and local officials have a choice: to reduce prison populations or not. The *Washington Post* Editorial Board was on point when it concluded its editorial with an admonishment: when it comes to the states reducing prison incarceration, “the numbers prove, they can do it.”

The Bureau of Justice Statistics’ *Bulletin: Prisoners in 2016*

In January 2018. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) released its annual compilation of prisoner data, *Bulletin: Prisoners in 2016*.

For the sixth year out of the previous seven, the overall prison population decreased. A graph on the first page of the *Bulletin*, shown to the right, portrays a downward drifting trend in rates of incarceration following a sharp end to the rapid increases in prison populations that ran right up to about 1998-1999. If the mind’s eye is predisposed to see balance or reciprocity, the graph might suggest that the nation is on the brink of a decrease in prison populations, a tumble downward to match the meteoric increases of the 1980’s and 1990’s.



And it’s true: the numbers reported in *Bulletin, Prisoners in 2016* and previous editions in the series, depict a decreasing prisoner population which can be described many ways:

- From January 1, 2016 to December 31, 2016:
 - The number of sentenced² federal and state prisoners decreased from 1,476,847 by 18,674, or -1.3% to 1,458,173.
 - Prison populations decreased in 33 states—more states than experienced decreases in any previous year. The average decrease among those 33 states was -3.0%. The average increase in 17 states was about half as large at +1.7%.
 - In eight of the 33 states prison populations decreased by -5.0% or more.
- By the end of 2016, thirteen states had reduced the number of prisoners to less than their number at the end of 2000.
- As of the end of 2016, a historically large number of states had experienced at least some decrease in prison populations from previous high end-of-year counts:
 - In 42 states prison populations at the end of 2016 were lower than they had been at the end of at least one previous year. These 42 states had decreased their prison populations from their highest end-of-year numbers by 147,439.

² For those who want to know, the BJS Bulletins “Prisoners in [year]” employ two different counts of the number of prisoners: “jurisdiction” and “sentenced” prisoners. I work with the latter because it more accurately reflects sentencing trends, because it is the only number that makes sense if you are comparing the half-dozen smaller states that combine prison and jail populations in the “jurisdiction” count, and because it is the set of numbers that BJS uses to calculate prison incarceration rates. So my numbers look slightly different from reports using the “jurisdiction” counts the BJS uses in its press releases and summaries and which are often reported in news articles. Generally trends are very similar, with the exception of the smaller states with unified correctional systems.

- The remaining eight states, fewer in number than in any year since prison numbers started to climb in the mid 1970's, added a historically modest 2,867 to their prison populations.

Moreover, the rate at which prison populations have been decreasing appears to have been accelerating since 2009, although only slightly:

- The number of sentenced prisoners in the United States decreased by -1.3% in 2016. This was less of a decrease than the -2.1% decrease in 2015 but larger than the -0.9% average annual decrease since 2010. (See Table Appendix B)

Spokespersons for organizations that track incarceration were quick to highlight a 2% decrease in the rates of incarceration in 2016. Similarly highlighted: rates of imprisonment in the states decreased by as much as -35% (in Alaska) and by double digits in 21 states. It has also been noted that the rate of incarceration for black Americans decreased faster than the rate for white Americans.³

An anemic downward pace

But from the perspective of anyone who yearns for an end to mass incarceration, *Prisoners in 2016* was not a source of great joy.

The downturn documented in *Prisoners in 2016*, while tangible and perhaps marking an end to three-and-a-half decades of rampant increases, is anemic to the point of listlessness:

- If prison populations continue to decrease only at the 2014-2016 rate of -1.4%, there will still be more than a million people incarcerated in prison in 2042, a long 26 years from now.
- At a -1.4% rate of decrease, the United States won't achieve the goal of groups such as [#Cut50.org](#) to reduce prison populations to half of what they are today for another 50 years, in 2068.
- Slower rates of decrease will of course extend this time. The Sentencing Project projects 75 years to accomplish reform objectives.⁴ The Vera Institute just published an estimate of an overall -1.0% decrease in prison populations in 2017.⁵ If that rate prevails and

³ Adam Gelb, "National Prison Rate Continues to Decline Amid Sentencing, Re-Entry Reforms," (Pew Trust 16 Jan 2018). The Pew Trusts and others often measure changes in the rates of incarceration. I tend to stay away from "rates" to compare incarceration for several reasons including that the number of sentenced prisoners reflects sentencing practices in a state or the federal system. In addition, rates of incarceration present a distorted picture when the relative size of the general population change, masking an upward or downward trend in prison incarceration – M. C. Young.

⁴ The Sentencing Project observed that, "[T]he overall impact of reforms has been quite modest," helpfully notes the falling crime rates, and suggests an even slower decline in prison populations than we do. See, Nazgol Ghandnoosh, Ph.D. "Can We Wait 75 Years to Cut the Prison Population in Half?", The Sentencing Project (March 8, 2018); accessible at <https://bit.ly/2HsSqbx>

⁵ Oliver Hinds, Jacob Kang-Brown, Olive Lu. *People in Prison in 2017*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2018. Accessed at <https://www.vera.org/publications/people-in-prison-2017> *People in Prison* reports "jurisdictional" populations which are not comparable to the "sentenced" prisoners population count used in this report (see note 2, above.) In their discussion of "methodology," the authors identify two different ways to count prisoners: "jurisdictional" and "custody" populations, the latter using a methodology applied in the BJS *Correctional Populations in the United States* series. The authors also state that the jurisdictional count "is the most accurate representation of the scope of incarceration." This may be true between jurisdictional and custodial counts, but not between jurisdictional and sentenced prisoner counts used in this report.

continues going forward, the bleak forecast of the Sentencing Project would seem to be on target.

Prospects for decreasing prison populations

Of course, the speed at which prison populations decrease won't hold steady at -0.9%, -1.4% or any other rate. Prison populations could increase (as they did in 2013) or decrease at a much faster pace than they are now. We really can't predict, and "projections" of future prison populations have frequently proven inaccurate.

But from the numbers and from real world observation, we can make an educated guess about the prospects for future changes in prison populations. I have done so in the past.

In January 2012, just a couple of years after the prison numbers started to decrease, I took a close look at prison populations reported in the *Bulletin: Prisoners in 2010*. I concluded, "The evidence is far less convincing that states are on the verge of reducing prison populations at anything approaching a pace that will have an impact on mass incarceration."⁶

Six years later, in May 2018, we have a half-dozen more years' of experience and data, a half-dozen more BJS *Bulletins*, and six more years of reforms, initiatives, conferences, "summits," federal appropriations and grants, "data-driven" solutions, "best practices," and celebrations over promising changes in the way we lock people up in America.

So it is a disappointment to reach much the same conclusion as six years ago, that this country is not yet moving in the direction of ending mass incarceration, at least in this lifetime. Indeed, unless governors, state leaders and local officials change the way they go about the business of reducing prison populations, the nation will be hard pressed to sustain even a -1.4% decrease in the coming years.

For this analysis, I looked at the states and federal prisons in three different groups:

- Group 1: 13 states that have significantly reduced prison incarceration; including just seven of the 13 that have disproportionately contributed to overall decreases in incarceration;
- Group 2: 14 states and the federal government that have sporadically or episodically reduced prison incarceration at significant rates; and
- Group 3: 23 states that have yet to significantly reduce prison populations, including eight that ended 2016 with their highest prison populations to date.

Group 1: 13 States with Significant Reductions

The first group consists of the 13 states in which prison populations at the end of 2016 were less than they were at the end of 2000.

In comparison to other groups, we observe the following about Group 1 states:

- A. These 13 states held 75,760 fewer sentenced prisoners at the end of 2016 than they had at the end of 2000, a -12.6% decrease.

⁶ Malcolm C. Young, "Getting Prison Numbers Down – For Good," *The Crime Report* (1 January 2012) available at: <https://bit.ly/2EA2EsM>

- B. The prison populations in New York and New Jersey began decreasing in 1999. Their prison populations were never again larger than they were at the end of 2000. The other eleven states, most notably California, increased prison populations after 2000 before they began to substantially reduce them. The total number by which the 13 Group 1 states reduced prison populations from their highest levels to the end-of-year count in 2016 is 113,050, three quarters (76.7%) of the 147,439 by which all states decreased prison populations from their highest end-of-the-year count.
- C. We looked particularly closely at changes in prison populations across all 17 years from the end of 2000 to the end of 2016, over seven years from 2010 to 2016, during three years from 2014 to 2016, and in 2016. (See, Table Appendix C for individual state data and Table Appendix D summarizing information for state groups.)

Group 1 States	Change in prisoners 2000 - 2016
California	-30,072
New York	-19,579
New Jersey	-9,998
Michigan	-6,596
Connecticut	-2,790
Maryland	-2,669
Illinois	-1,624
Massachusetts	-985
South Carolina	-646
Mississippi	-573
Texas	-105
Vermont	-84
Alaska	-39

Changes in the second two periods and 2016 most closely relate to the state’s current situation.

During the seven year period 2010 - 2016, Group 1 states’ average annual change in prison populations was a -2.2% decrease. This relatively large average decrease was driven by 69 times that Group 1 states decreased sentenced prison populations, as reported for the end of each year to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, at an average rate of -3.8%.⁷ During the same time, Group 1 states increased prison populations 22 times at a smaller average rate, +2.9%. (This information is shown in Appendix Table D for all groups.)

- D. During the three years 2014 to 2016 the end-of-year prison population in the 13 Group 1 states decreased on average -3.4%. (The decrease which would have been -2.9% except for a -22.6% decrease in Alaska in 2014.). Driving the decrease were 34 annual decreases averaging -4.3% offset by only five increases at, on average, a smaller +2.9%. In 2016, Group 1 states decreased prison populations by on average -3.0%.
- E. We also looked at the numerical changes in the numbers of prisoners in the same time period. (See, right hand columns of Table Appendix D.) The 13 Group 1 states reduced their combined prison populations by 76,220 or 12.7% in the seven years from 2010 to 2016 for an annualized average decrease of -1.8%.
 From 2014 to 2016 Group 1 states decreased prison populations by -29,285 or -5.3%, for the same annualized decrease of -1.8%. But in 2016, Group 1 states ‘prison population decreased by only 5,717 or -1.1%, a possible bellwether of a slowdown in the rate at which Group 1 states have been decreasing prison populations.
- F. Because of the decrease in prison populations among Group 1 states, from the end of 2000 to the end of 2016 Group 1 states’ proportion of all state prisoners diminished from 50.0% to 40.8%.

⁷ In this report, average percent change in prison populations for multiple states, as those in groups and sub-groups, are the mathematical average of all increases or decreases that occurred during the indicated time period for the states in the designated group or sub-group.

At least seven Group 1 states disproportionately contributed to decreases in the national prison populations. We look in particular at states that reduced their own prison populations by more than 1,000 after the end of 2000: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey and New York. These seven states:

- Reduced their collective prison populations by 73,328 between 2000 and the end of 2016, or 96.9% of the -75,760 prisoners by which all 13 Group 1 states reduced their collective prison populations below 2000 levels.⁸
- Collectively reduced prison populations from their highest end-of-year counts to their count at the end of 2016 by -96,810, two-thirds (65.6%) of the -147,439 by which all states decreased prison populations from their highest end-of-the-year count.
- During the seven years 2010 to 2016 these seven states reported 40 end-of-year decreases in prison populations averaging -3.2% to the Bureau of Justice Assistance. The same states reported only nine annual increases averaging +1.9%.
- During the three years 2014 to 2016 these seven states decreased prison populations 20 times at an average rate of -3.0%, and increased prison populations only one time, by +0.9% (California in 2016). And in 2016, six of the seven states decreased prison populations by on average -4.2%, offset only by California's -0.9% increase.
- The sub-set of seven states reduced their combined prison populations by 64,230 or -16.9% in the seven years from 2010 to 2016, for an annualized decrease of -2.4%.

The seven states reduced prison populations by -21,657 or -6.4% in the three years 2014 to 2016, for an annualized rate of -2.1%.

The seven states reduced prison populations by 6,086 or -1.9% in 2016, marking a slightly lower decrease than in the immediate past. But, demonstrating the extent to which the seven states contribute to decreases in the national prison population, those 6,086 prisoners constituted more than half (53.1%) of the 11,468 decrease in total state sentenced prisoners reported for 2016.

There are two distinct patterns in the way states decreased prison populations in the 13 states. Each results in significant reductions in prison populations.

The first pattern is characterized by an extended series of moderate but consistent decreases:

- New York and New Jersey decreased prison populations in 16 and 15 out of 17 years, respectively. The average annual decrease each year was a modest -2.1% for New York and a slightly more robust -2.7% for New Jersey.⁹ In New York, the largest one-year decrease in prison numbers was -3.8%. Year-to-year change in New Jersey was somewhat more volatile, ranging between a 2.2% increase and a -5.5% decrease. Steadily over time, then, New York and New Jersey reduced prison populations by 19,579 and 9,998, respectively, for a total of 29,577 individuals from 2000 to 2016. These two states

⁸ We could also identify the states that made the most significant decreases according to the proportion of the prison population. In 2016, seven states reduced their end-of-2000 prison populations below their prison population at the end of 2000 by more than 10%. These states accounted for 72,689 or 96.1% of the 75,760 prisoners by which the 13 states reduced their collective prison populations. These seven states are the same as the seven which reduced populations by more than 1,000, except that Massachusetts would substitute for Illinois.

⁹ New York and New Jersey actually started to reduce reducing prison populations in 1999.

were over time responsible for almost two fifths (39.0%) of the 75,760 by which all 13 states decreased prison populations after 2000.

The second pattern is characterized by much larger annual decreases over several years, sometimes following, but in any case being followed by, moderate decreases and no more than minimal increases:

- Under orders from a federal District Court affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in *Brown v. Plata*,¹⁰ California achieved consecutive decreases in excess of 9% in 2011 and 2012 and an average annual decrease of -4.4% from 2010 to 2015. In this manner California decreased its prison population by 40,926 in six years.¹¹
- Led by Governor Pat Malloy, Connecticut purposefully decreased prison populations by up to -5.7% in 2011 and -7.6% in 2016, for an average -3.9% decrease per year over eight years, from 2009 to 2016.
- Michigan brought about decreases of up to -6.7% in 2009 and on average -3.6% from 2007 to 2011 with its Michigan Prison Reentry Initiative (MPRI), lowering its prison population by 8,673 or by 16.8% over five years for an average decrease per year of -3.3%.
- Under the leadership of Republican Governor Rauner, who shortly after his election in 2012 announced a goal of reducing the state's prison population by 25%, Illinois offset recent politically-driven increases in state prison populations by reducing its prison population by 5,691 or -11.5% from the end of 2012 to the end of 2016. The average of annual decreases during this four year period was -3.0%.
- Vermont decreased its prison population by 495 or -28.7% over seven years, from the end of 2009 to 2016. The average annual decrease was -4.6%, with a one year increase of +3.9% in 2013 and a one year decrease of -14.5% two years later, in 2015.

These five states demonstrate that determined executive leadership can foster an environment and put in place policies which will reduce prison populations at rates that range from -3.0% to -4.4%, -5% or even higher, over several years and with a significant, lasting impact.

The prospects that the majority of the 13 states will continue to decrease prison populations are good:

- Although Massachusetts has the second lowest incarceration rate in the country (after Maine), the Vera Institute predicts further decreases in its prison populations as the state puts additional reforms in place.¹²

¹⁰ *Brown v Plata* 563 U. S. 493 (2011)

¹¹ These remarkable numbers should not be interpreted as an unadulterated victory for deincarceration. Through policy changes described as "realignment," the state reduced its prison population with regulated releases but also transfers to county jails. According to the Vera Institute in 2013, California still has not addressed the underlying causes of over-incarceration. See, Don Spector, "The unfulfilled promise of Realignment in California," Think Justice Blog, (July 22, 2013 at <https://bit.ly/2wckJdh>)

¹² See, Oliver Hinds, Jacob Kang-Brown, Olive Lu. *People in Prison in 2017*, op. cit. at note 5. Brian Fraga, Sweeping Reforms to the Criminal Justice System Could Soon Reach Governor Charlie Baker's Desk, Boston *Herald News* (21 November 2017), accessible at <https://bit.ly/2jsdLY3> Numbers appear to be decreasing further; see Massachusetts Department of Corrections Quarterly Snapshot of the Prison Population (December 2017) at <https://bit.ly/2JTij5n>

- New Jersey will likely continue to decrease its prison population as a secondary result of pretrial reforms signed into law by Governor Christie in 2014 to take effect in 2017.¹³
- New York State has the infrastructure and skill-sets with which to extend its consistent reduction in prison populations to “upstate” areas of the state, which have so far lacked will and desire to close prisons thought to be an important source of employment in rural areas. Further decreases are likely if New York officials can encourage a decrease in prison commitments from rural areas outside of New York City.¹⁴

But the prospects for continued decreases in about five of the 13 states are far less rosy:

- California, which accounted for -43,602 or 29.6% of the 147,439 by which all states decreased prison populations from their previous highest end-of-year count to their populations at the end of 2016, is no longer under the federal court order in *Brown v. LaPlata*. In 2016, the state increased its prison population by +0.9%. The increase in 2016 may be the beginning of an upward trend: corrections officials predict an annual +0.8% increase in coming years.¹⁵
- Connecticut reduced its prison population under the leadership of, and in large part through executive actions by, Democratic Governor Pat Malloy against significant political opposition. Malloy terms out in 2018, and knowledgeable observers question whether the reforms he instituted will last long after he leaves office.¹⁶
- In Illinois, Republican Governor Rauner proceeded toward meeting his goals on the strength of reforms at the local level, including in Democratic Cook County. Rauner incurred little opposition from the same Republican politicians that savaged his Democratic predecessor’s more modest efforts to reduce incarceration in 2009 - 2010.¹⁷ Rauner is in a tough reelection campaign, and he recently clouded his reforming vision for prisons with a call to reinstate the death penalty in Illinois. Were he to lose his bid for reelection, it is not a complete given that a Democratic administration would carry his plan forward.
- Texas has decreased its very large prison population by 6,749 or 4.1% since the end of 2010, decreasing populations in four years by on average -1.5% and increasing them in three years by a slightly smaller +1.2%. Over the seven years from 2010 to 2016, the state decreased prison populations annually by -0.4% on average. At the end of 2015, Texas’s sentenced prisoner population was 757 less than it was at the end of 2000, but in 2016 a +0.4% increase ended two years of decreases and left the state just 105 prisoners shy of the number in its prisons at the end of 2000. Prospects that future decreases will

¹³ “Nowhere has progress [in bail reform] been more evident than in the state of New Jersey, the only state to score an A on the Pretrial Justice Institute’s state scorecard,” Kirsten West Savali, “Placing a Price Tag on Freedom; the Evils of the Money Bail System,” *The Root* (February 15, 2018) at <https://bit.ly/2Eu9xIP>

¹⁴ Judith Greene, Justice Strategies, summarizing research and her highly informed observations; conversations in New York City 1 March 2018.

¹⁵ California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation *Fall 2016 Population Projections* (January 2017) p. v.

¹⁶ Josh Jacobs, “How Long Can Connecticut’s Prison Reform Last?” *The Atlantic* (July 15, 2017) at <https://theatlantic.com/2tysoMp>

¹⁷ See my report, “Setting the Record Straight: The Truth about ‘Early Release’ from Illinois Prisons,” Northwestern University Law School (27 October 2010), at <https://bit.ly/2wgBtAa>

exceed modest rates (-.5 to -1.5%) are diminished because the legislature is reported to have been considering enacting new sentencing enhancements proposed in 2016.¹⁸

- Mississippi decreased prison populations eight times by on average -4.2% and increased prison populations nine times by on average +4.9%. A large -13.8% reduction in 2014 can be attributed to a criminal justice reform bill that brought the prison population below the level it was at the end of year 2000. Two smaller increases occurred in 2015 and 2016, reportedly due to judges who increased the number of probation and parole violators they sentenced to prison, despite the introduction of alternative correctional programming.¹⁹ Prospects for continued impact from the 2014 bill seem uncertain.

If, as appears likely, California increases its prison population in coming years and Texas, Mississippi, Illinois or Connecticut flag, the Group 1 states will cease providing the large share of prison decreases nationally. To offset the loss, any or all of Texas, Mississippi, Michigan and South Carolina would have to decrease prison populations consistently over time and at rates close to the -3.5% rate by which Michigan decreased prison populations in 2016 or the -3.5% rate by which Connecticut reduced its prison populations over the last four years. New York and New Jersey can be expected to continue decreasing prison populations, but their persistent but moderate rates won't make up for the loss of California's outsized annual decreases.

Going forward, we identify ten Group 1 states that seem most likely to continue to reduce their prison populations. These state are:

Alaska	Massachusetts	New York
Connecticut	Michigan	South Carolina
Illinois	New Jersey	Vermont
Maryland		

¹⁸ Derek Cohen, *Policy Perspective: Texas' Mandatory Sentencing Enhancements*, Texas Public Policy Foundation (June 2016). The Vera survey estimates another modest -0.7% decrease in Texas' prison population in 2017.

¹⁹ Jamie E. Gates, "MDOC sees unexpected rise in inmate numbers," Clarion-Ledger (Jackson, MS) August 29, 2016; on line at <https://on.thec-l.com/2s88lqm>; Jerry Mitchell, "Prison population in Mississippi heading up, despite reforms," Clarion-Ledger, 13 January 2018; on line at <https://on.thec-l.com/2ILbeI2>

Group 2: 14 States with Minimal Reductions and Mixed Results

The second group of 14 states consists of those in which the year-end 2016 number did not drop below the year-end 2000 number but in which prison populations decreased from a year-end number in a previous year to a lower year-end number in 2016. Admitting to some arbitrariness, I assigned states to the second group which either reduced the highest year-end count by more than 1,000 or by more than -10%.

Group 2 States	Decrease from previous highest end of year count
Louisiana	-4,524
Indiana	-4,375
Florida	-4,332
Alabama	-3,638
Colorado	-3,412
Georgia	-2,452
Pennsylvania	-2,390
Oklahoma	-1,628
North Carolina	-1,173
Rhode Island	-492
Hawaii	-793
Utah	-891
Idaho	-866
Maine	-202

We observe the following about Group 2 states:

- A. At the end of 2016, the total prison population in these states was larger by 74,359 or +23.3% than the total prison population for this group at the end of 2000.²⁰ Annualized, Group 2 states increased their prison population by on average +1.1% each year. The 74,359 added by these states comes close to canceling out the -75,760 by which Group 1 states reduced prison populations.
- B. Group 2 states reduced prison populations from their highest levels in a prior year to the end-of-year count in 2016 by a total of 31,168, just over one quarter (27.6%) of the 113,050 by which Group 1 states reduced prison populations from their highest count and about one-fifth (21.1%) of the 147,439 prisoners by which 42 states decreased prison populations from their highest end-of-year count to their number at the end of 2016.
- C. Some of the Group 2 states are increasing the rate at which they reduce prison populations. From 2010 to 2016 the 14 states annually reduced prison populations 58 times at an average rate of -2.9% and annually increased prison populations about a third as often, 40 times, and at a smaller average increase of +2.2%.
- D. During the most recent three years 2014 to 2016 Group 2 states decreased prison populations 31 times at an average rate of -3.8% while increasing prison populations 11 times by an average of +3.3%. In other words, Group 2 states increased prison populations about one-fourth (26.2%) of the time and decreased prison populations nearly three-quarters of the time (73.8%).
- E. In the seven years from 2010 to 2016 the 14 Group 2 states reduced their combined prison populations by 21,334 or by -5.1% for an annualized decrease of -0.7%. In the three years from 2014 to 2016, Group 2 states decreased prison populations by -20,941 or -5.1%, for a larger annualized decrease of -1.7%. Then in 2016 Group 2 states decreased prison populations from the previous year by 8,244 or -2.1%, thus outpacing both Group 1 states' -1.1% decrease and the seven state subset of Group 1 states' -1.9% decrease in the same time period.
- F. The recent decreases in Group 2 prison populations, though significant in comparison to annual changes in the other state groups, have thus far barely put a dent in the prison populations Group 2 states added after 2000. At the end of 2016, prison populations in

²⁰ The division among states is inexact. At the end of 2016, two smaller states, Hawaii and Rhode Island, were just 76 and 64 short of having reduced prison numbers to below their number at the end of 2000, although they had achieved overall reductions of short of -17.9% and -19.5%.

Group 2 states were 74,359 or +23.3% larger than they were in 2000. Group 2's share of the total state prison population increased from 26.5% in 2000 to 30.5% in 2016.

At least nine of the 14 Group 2 states demonstrated capacity to significantly reduce prison populations. From 2010 to 2016:

- Four states decreased prison populations in five or more of the seven years by on average -2.7% or more: Colorado (-3.0%); Hawaii (-3.3%); Indiana (-3.7%); and, Rhode Island (-4.8%).
- Five states decreased their sentenced prisoner populations in each of the three most recent years (2014, 2015 and 2016) by more than -2.7%: Alabama -3.9%; Idaho -3.5%; Indiana -5.1%; Louisiana -3.2%; and Utah - 4.3%. (Alabama and Louisiana achieved four years of decreases, having also decreased prison populations in 2013).
- Oklahoma decreased its prison population in only two years out of the last seven, but it did decrease its prison count by -5.8% in 2016.

Five Group 2 states reduced prison populations at larger rates, but for fewer years, or at lower rates for more years:

- Two states reduced prison numbers in 2014, 2015 and 2016: Florida by on average -1.0%; and, Pennsylvania by on average -1.5%.
- In addition to Oklahoma, Hawaii and Rhode Island decreased prison numbers in 2016, by -3.7% and -5.8% respectively.
- Indiana reduced its prison population by -6.6% two years' running, in 2015 and then again in 2016, while Alabama reduced its prison populations by -6.6% in 2016.

However, because these decreases were often episodic, their impact was offset by increases that preceded or followed them. Some of the one or two year decreases experienced by Group 2 states were less consequential than they seemed to be at the time. For example, increases during the last one or two years interrupted previous years of decreases in five states: Georgia with an increase of +2.6%; Maine with an increase of +4.2%, Idaho with an increase of +1.7%; and in 2015 Hawaii at +2.9% and Rhode Island at +14.7%.

The prospects for a more systematic reduction of prison populations in the Group 2 states are uncertain. According to a sampling of reports, reforms in several states have encountered political opposition. Some of the opposition is attributed to the alleged failure by state government to provide alternatives such as treatment for drug abuse or mental health problems. Opposition is also based on claims that released prison inmates will return to criminal activities. For example:

- In Louisiana, advocates have been concerned that legislators will roll back recently enacted reforms designed to reduce incarceration.²¹

²¹ Julia O'Donoghue, "Louisiana criminal justice savings may go to cover existing inmate housing" The Times-Picayune and Nola.com 9 April 2018; at <https://bit.ly/2HVYZba>; Elain Ellerbe, "There is room for additional criminal justice reforms in Louisiana, but is there political will?" Right on Crime (March 8, 2018); at <https://bit.ly/2jBFDcK>

- In Utah, promising reforms that relied on treatment and housing programs are at risk because of a lack of funding for alternative programs, including Medicaid expansion.²²
- In Florida, critical legislative reforms have not led to the reductions in prison populations for which advocates hoped. According to news reports, the Department of Corrections has covered deficits in the costs of prison health care and the purchase of prescription drugs by diverting funds originally budgeted for alternative housing, treatment for substance abuse and other reentry services, likely leading to increased incarceration of the individuals who were to receive these services.²³

Based on performance over the past two years, Group 2 states are realistically within reach of achieving an annual -2.7% decrease in prison populations, with nearly half of Group 2 states having exceeded that target in the last two years:

- In 2015, seven Group 2 states decreased prison populations by more than -2.7%, including two smaller states (Idaho and Maine) that reduced populations by -9.8% and -13.6%, respectively. The seven states that did not reduce prison populations by as much as -2.7%, including three that increased prison populations, pulled the numbers down to the point that the decrease in prison numbers for all Group 2 states was -2.2%.
- In 2016, five Group 2 states achieved decreases of -2.7% or larger and one, North Carolina, came close at -2.6%. The eight other Group 2 states, which did not reduce prison populations by as much as -2.7%, including three that increased prison populations, dragged down the percent change in prison populations for all Group 2 states to -2.1%.

Moving forward, at least three and possibly four Group 2 states have experienced decreases in prison populations in recent years and have demonstrated a capacity to reduce prison populations by larger numbers in the near future. These states include:

Alabama
Indiana
Louisiana
Utah*

Utah has an asterisk because, despite Utah's strong -4.3% average annual decrease over the last three years, news reports suggest a political backlash against recent reforms may be developing.

If the United States is to end mass incarceration, these four and the other nine Group 2 states will have to reduce prison populations by on average close to -2.7% each year, consistently over time.

The Federal system

The federal prison system fits the criteria for the second group of states. At the end of 2016 the federal prison population of 171,482 was -25,568 or -13.0% less than it had been at its highest point, 197,050 at the end of 2011.

²² Alan Neuhauser, "Can Utah Make Justice Reform Work," U. S. News online (6 March 2018) at <http://bit.ly/2D71x0e>

²³ "Florida Session Ends with Legislators Committed to Work for True Criminal Justice Reform" Community Resources for Justice (March 13, 2018) at: <https://bit.ly/2KDg6fw>; Editorial: "Florida shoots itself in the foot on prison policy," *Orlando Sentinel* (4 May 2018); at <https://bit.ly/2KEtHDv>

- For two years, the federal prison population decreased quite slowly, by -0.2% in 2012 and by -0.8% in 2013.
- In the three years 2014 – 2016 the federal prison populations decreased 12.1% or at an annualized rate of -4.0%. Decreases were the result of: (1) reductions in drug sentences applied retroactively which took effect in November 2015; (2) changes in charging policies the effects of which will take longer to see; and, (3) the small fraction of the recipients of President Obama’s sentence commutations who were released in 2016.

Prospects for continued decreases in the federal prison population are fading. A long- and hard-fought effort to pass bi-partisan federal sentencing reforms that would have reduced some federal sentences, championed by a coalition of conservative and liberal Senators but opposed by Attorney General Jeff Sessions and Senator Mitch McConnell, seems stopped in its tracks. The Trump White House is now only backing “prison reform” that is limited to increased credit for time served and some measures to improve reentry. If passed, the prison bill could result in the immediate release of 4,000 federal prisoners but would make no change in length of sentences. Thus, its capacity to contribute to meaningful reductions in the federal prison population across time would be sharply curtailed. Meanwhile, the advocacy community is divided over whether to support a limited prison reform bill or to demand passage of a bill that reduces sentence length in the federal system.

Regardless of the outcome of legislation in Congress that might reduce the prison population, other policies already initiated by the Trump administration and Attorney General Sessions are certain to add to the federal prison population:

- Attorney General Sessions, an ardent opponent of sentencing reform while a United States Senator, instructed all Assistant United States Attorneys to charge the most serious offense and seek the longest sentence available, reversing a policy put in place by Obama’s Attorney General Eric Holder.
- Under Attorney General Sessions, the BOP has reduced reentry support services, already inadequate, that were supposed to be available at BOP’s contract halfway houses. In addition, BOP extended the time that must be served before a prisoner will be released to a halfway house.
- U. S. Attorneys are reportedly bringing federal drug charges against individuals who prosecutors in the states declined to prosecute, apparently on instructions from the Department of Justice. If true, federal courts could become cluttered with relatively minor drug cases, some of which would result in federal prison terms.
- No one expects President Trump to issue clemency or commute sentences of any save a few of his political allies.

During the last four years, reductions in the federal prison population have made an outsized contribution to the decrease in the total national prison population. Looking ahead, if the national prison populations is going to be reduced, states will have to further reduce their prison populations in order to offset an anticipated increase in federal prison populations.²⁴

²⁴ The Vera Institute report provides an estimate that the federal prison population decreased again in 2017. Because policy changes take time to impact prison populations, a decrease in 2017 is not surprising but is unlikely to extend after 2018; see, Oliver Hinds, Jacob Kang-Brown, and Olive Lu. *People in Prison in 2017*, op. cit. at note 5.

Group 3: 23 States with Little or No Record of Progress

The third group of 23 states includes eight that ended 2016 with the highest prison populations in their history: Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, South Dakota, Washington and West Virginia. These eight states have just kept increasing their prison populations. In the last seven years they increased prison populations twice as many times as they decreased prison population.

Historically, and as a counter-trend, three of these eight states actually reduced prison populations three years running: Kansas 2005 – 2008; Kentucky 2008 – 2010; and, Missouri 2005 – 2007. However, in each instance prison numbers rebounded in the years that followed.

The other 15 Group 3 states have not done much better, ending the year 2016 with a total prison population that was a meager -1.2% below the total of their largest previous end-of-year prison populations.

In comparison to Group 1 and 2 states, the following can be observed regarding the Group 3 states:

- A. At the end of 2016, the total prison population in the 23 Group 3 states was 86,866 or 37.3% larger than it had been at the end of 2000. For 17 years Group 3 states increased their prisoner populations by an annualized rate of +2.2%.
- B. The total number by which Group 3 states reduced prison populations from their highest levels to the end-of-year count in 2016 was -354! The eight states in which end-of-year 2016 prison populations were higher than in any previous year added 2,867 to their prison populations. Setting aside the added population, the other 15 states in Group 3 reduced their prison population by -3,221 or -2.0% of the 147,439 decrease among the 42 states that reduced prison populations prior to 2016.
- C. During the seven year period 2010 to 2016, Group 3 states reduced annual prison populations 52 times at an average rate of -1.9%, a smaller average decrease than occurred in Group 1 and Group 2. Group 3 states increased prison populations 109 times at an average rate of +2.6%, larger than the -1.9% decrease but notably less than the increase in Group 1 states (+2.9%).
- D. During the three years 2014 to 2016 Group 3 states reduced end of year prison populations 22 times at an average rate of just -1.2%, considerably smaller than the average decreases in Groups 1 states (-4.3%) and Group 2 states (-3.8%).

During 2014 to 2016, Group 3 states increased prison populations 47 times at an average rate of +2.5%, a smaller increase than the average increase for Group 1 states (+2.9%) and for Group 2 states (+3.3%). As was the case the seven year period 2010 to 2016, a

Group 3 States	Increase in Prison Population 2000 - 2016
Iowa	1,043
New Hampshire	561
Delaware	153
Wisconsin	1,808
Nebraska	1,419
Wyoming	694
Tennessee	6,037
Arkansas	5,625
Minnesota	4,354
Virginia	8,170
Oregon	4,597
New Mexico	2,306
Arizona	15,437
North Dakota	785
Ohio	6,342
Missouri	4,942
Kansas	1,284
West Virginia	3,367
Montana	709
Nevada	3,574
South Dakota	1,207
Washington	4,353
Kentucky	8,099

little over two-thirds (68.1%) of Group 3 states' annual changes were increases while less than one-third (31.9%) were decreases.

- E. Looking at the actual decrease in number of prisoners in the selected time periods, we see that in the seven years 2010 to 2016, Group 3 states increased their combined prison populations by 18,557 or +5.3% for an +0.8% annualized average increase.

From 2014 to 2016 Group 1 states increased prison populations by +11,612 or +3.2% for an annualized rate of +1.1%. In 2016, Group 3 states' prison population increased by 2,493 or +0.7%, close to the +0.8% seven year average.

- F. From the end of 2000 to the end of 2016, Group 3 states' proportion of the total state prison population increased from 23.5% to 28.7%. With an increased share of the total prison population, the impact of changes up or down in Group 3 states' prison population increases proportionally.

The increases in prison populations in the 23 Group 3 states work against the decreases in Group 1 state prison populations, the Group 1 decreases having already been neutralized by increases in Group 2 states' prison populations. As long as Group 3 states continue collectively to increase their prison populations the other 27 states would mathematically be required to decrease their prison populations by higher rates just to compensate for the increases in Group 3 state prison populations. For example, assuming Group 3 states continue to increase their prison populations:

- In order to maintain a national decrease of just -1.4%, all Group 1 and 2 states and the federal system would have to decrease prison populations by -2.0% or more. This is achievable because Group 1 and 2 states and the federal system met or exceeded a -2.0% decrease in 2016. But it's only achievable if states and the federal system maintain the rate of decreases achieved in 2016. For the reasons given above, Group 1 states and the federal system are unlikely to reduce prison populations by the same rates as they have in 2014 – 2016.
- In order to achieve the target -2.7% annual decrease, all Group 1 and 2 states and the federal system would have to decrease prison populations at an annual rate of -4.1%. This rate has been reached or exceeded on average only over the most recent three years by the federal system (-4.2%) and among Group 1 states that annually reduced prison incarceration 34 times from 2014 to 2016 (-4.3%).

In 2016, five individual Group 1 states exceeded a -4.1% decrease (Connecticut -7.6%; Alaska -7.6%; Illinois -5.6%; Massachusetts -5.1%; and, Vermont -4.%) , as did five Group 2 states (Indiana -6.6%; Alabama -6.6%; Rhode Island -5.8%; Oklahoma -5.8%; and, Utah -4.7%).

If, as we expect, California has ended its outsized decrease in its prison population and if the federal prison population will soon start to increase, the rate of decrease for other states will need to be greater than -4.1% in order to achieve a -2.7% annual decrease in the national prison population.

One could spin out scenarios indefinitely. But the point is made. To achieve even a -2.7% annual decrease in prison populations, Group 1 and 2 states will have to expand, not just maintain, current efforts to reduce prison populations. Group 3 states will need to change their behavior else they will drag the national effort downward, leaving us pretty much where we are, or worse: a nation unable to end mass incarceration in our lifetimes. Changing behavior in Group

3 states will be a challenge because Group 3 states are not so much increasing prison populations as they are failing to decrease prison populations. The low rates at which decreases occur in Group 3 states reveal a lack of capacity to reduce prison populations.

New developments that may contribute to a decrease in prison numbers

There is always hope that new developments might bring about significant reductions in prison numbers.

- One such development involves changes in practices introduced by reform prosecutors, of whom the standout examples are Larry Krasner in Philadelphia and Kimberly M. Foxx in Cook County, Illinois. Their elections signal a voter rejection of “tough on crime” and “lock-em-up” policies that have driven prison incarceration, a hopeful change in itself.

Prosecutors have immense power and discretion. They choose the charges to be filed against defendants. They can shift goals for their departments from obtaining as many convictions and long prison sentences as possible to achieving just outcomes, preserving fairness and salvaging lives. The actions taken by reforming prosecutors have immediate and profound impact on the number of people entering jails and prisons.

- Another development lies in an emerging appreciation of the relationship between local jail incarceration and prison incarceration by, among others, the McArthur Foundation, which is funding local justice reform through its Safety and Justice Challenge. As borne out by the experience in Illinois under Governor Rauner’s initiatives and, historically, in New York City, changes in jail populations indirectly affect prison sentences and, therefore, prison populations. Were bail reform to sweep the nation, there would likely be a significant reduction in prison numbers as well as in jail counts.
- Similarly, reforms in policing should reduce the use of jails, and therefore indirectly if not directly, the number of people who are sentenced to prison.

The attention being paid these developments reflect a belated understanding that incarceration is locally determined and that the extent of its use varies widely within as well as across state boundaries.

An additional development is the influx of new foundations and private funders, hedge fund owners, web-based entrepreneurs, entertainers and sports figures who have committed their attention and considerable resources to tackling issues in criminal justice with the ultimate goal of ending mass incarceration. For better or worse, decisions by these influential funders, including the choice of reforms or issues to which they direct resources, will affect progress toward reducing prison population.

Conclusion

From 2010 to 2016, the number of state and federal prisoners decreased on average each year by -0.9%. In the three most recent years, 2014 to 2016, the rate of decrease accelerated slightly, to about -1.4%. Yet even if this higher rate is sustained, prisons in the United States will hold more than 1 million prisoners for another 25 years, until 2043, and the current prison population will be reduced to half its current size, a goal of leading advocates, by 2068, fifty years from now.

Advocates for an end to mass incarceration face severe realities described in this report. Key states and the federal system, which have driven the nation's decrease in prison populations in recent years, may not continue to do so, shifting the burden to the remaining handful of states that continue to reduce prison populations. There are but ten of these states:

Alaska	Massachusetts	New York,
Connecticut	Michigan	South Carolina
Illinois	New Jersey	Vermont
Maryland		

A middle group of states include at least nine which have demonstrated a capacity to decrease prison populations, but have yet to do so with the persistence that will bring about results on a scale needed to move the nation away from mass incarceration. The efforts in these states must be encouraged and intensified if there is to be any chance of increasing the rate at which the nation's prison population has decreased. Among these, three to four have experienced decreases in prison populations in recent years and have demonstrated a capacity to reduce prison populations by larger numbers, and more consistently, in the near future:

Alabama	Louisiana
Indiana	Utah, albeit facing political obstacles

Then there are 23 states housing more than one fourth (28.7%) of the nation's prison population that have not been reducing prison populations at all. Some of these show little prospect of doing so. If the nation's prison population is to be decreased, these states must begin to reduce prison populations. Otherwise, their failure to reduce incarceration shifts an additional burden to the states that have succeeded or that have shown a capacity to succeed at reducing prison populations.

The fact that a minority of states have significantly reduced prison populations and another small number of states have demonstrated a capacity to do so is encouraging. They are proof that there are methods which will work, some quite rapidly, to produce decreases above 4% and 5%. They provide examples of political will overcoming opposition and of public officials' success in implementing strategies that work.

We can quantify this. The evidence is that states and the federal government have demonstrated a capacity to reduce prison populations by a rate of at least -2.7% per year under different conditions and in different ways. If all 50 states and the federal system were to reduce prison incarceration by, on average, -2.7% it would still take the nation until 2031 or 13 years to reduce its prisoner population to less than one million. A -2.7% reduction in prison populations would still require a quarter century, until 2043, to reduce the prison population to half its current number. This is a long time, but past experience shows that the goal is doable, realistic, and far better than what we have done until this point. And, it should be possible to improve upon the -2.7% rate.

But at the same time, prospects for decreasing prison populations are poor if a large number of states remain saddled with approaches and reform strategies that have failed to substantially bring down prison populations, as is the case in more than half of the states. A reexamination of the effectiveness of strategies for reducing prison populations is in order. Hope for an end to mass incarceration can't be grounded in a fiction that an annual 1% reduction in prisoners will get us anywhere, that reforms have been succeeding when in fact they have not, or that successes

of limited duration or in a few jurisdictions will end mass incarceration in the country as whole. Governors, national and state leaders, and local officials should welcome fresh analysis, turn for guidance to states which have achieved significant, lasting reductions in prison incarceration, and steer clear of approaches that have failed to produce results.

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EXPLANATION OF APPENDED TABLES

Four tables are attached in Appendices A – D. These tables are an integral part of this report. They amplify, and provide additional details about, the data discussed in the text of the report. Readers may find that the best way to make use of these tables is to take a few minutes to familiarize themselves with each.

Table Appendix A: The number of sentenced prisoners in the federal system and in all 50 states as reported in its annual Bulletins by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. BJS occasionally corrects data initially provided in subsequent Bulletins. To capture the corrected data, the data entered in this table is usually taken from the BJS report issued two years following the end of the year for which the data is reported.

States are listed in order according to their position within the three Groups described in this report. This order is preserved in each of the three tables which present state data.

The highest reported end-of-year prison population for each state is bold and underlined.

Table Appendix B: Percent change in sentenced prisoner populations. The annual percent change shown in this table is calculated from the sentenced prisoner data in Table Appendix A. The annual percent changes in sentenced prisoner populations reported by BJS is not always updated when BJS corrects prison populations. For this reason, the annual percent change shown in Table Appendix B may not be the same as percent changes reported in BJS Bulletins.

Table Appendix C: In this unique tabulation, state are grouped according to measurements showing changes in prison populations. This grouping is used throughout the report.

The shaded sections in the four left-hand numerical columns indicate the data by which states were sorted and grouped.

The three sets of columns on the right two-thirds of Table Appendix C show the number of annual increases and decreases for each state and group, the average percent change for each of those annual increase or decrease, and the average change in the state's prisoner population.

For example, in the seventeen years from 2000 to the end of 2016, California decreased its prison population as reported at the end of the year 10 times at an average of -3.2% and increased its prison population as reported at the end of the year seven times by on average +1.8%. The "Average Change" column shows that in these 17 years from 2000 to 2016 the average change in California's prison population was a decrease of -1.1%.

Average changes for groups of states are mathematically determined averages of all changes by the states in each group for the time period and for all states included in the group, not the average of the changes shown for individual states. Average changes reported for groups of states are displayed with heavy borders.

Table Appendix D: Table shows the number of annual increases and decreases in the federal system, for all 50 states, for the seven state sub-set of Group 1, and for the three groups in the four time periods on which this report focuses: 17 years from 2000 to 2016; seven years from 2010 to 2016; three years from 2014 to 2016, and in 2016.

This data provides some insight into the dynamics of change in prison populations. For example, decreases in prison populations in the seven state sub-set of Group 1 are the result of the frequency of decreases as much as the size of the decreases. In contrast, increasing prison populations in Group 3 are attributable to the relatively small decreases in prison populations, when they occur, as much as to large increases in prison populations; compare increases in Group 1 and Group 3 in the 2010-2016 and 2012 – 2016 period.

Table Appendix D also shows changes in prison populations, percent change and annualized rate of change, for the same time periods for the federal system and groups of states.

PRISONERS IN 2016 – TABLE APPENDIX A

	Jurisdiction/ State	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	U.S. Total	1,296,991	1,326,270	1,345,217	1,380,516	1,408,361	1,433,728	1,462,866	1,504,660	1,532,850	1,547,742	1,553,574	1,552,669	1,538,847	1,511,480	1,520,403	1,507,781	1,476,847	1,458,173
	Federal	114,275	125,044	136,509	143,040	151,919	159,137	166,173	173,533	179,204	182,333	187,886	190,641	197,050	196,574	195,098	191,374	178,688	171,482
	State TOTAL	1,182,716	1,201,226	1,208,708	1,237,476	1,256,442	1,274,591	1,296,693	1,331,127	1,353,646	1,365,409	1,365,688	1,362,028	1,341,797	1,314,906	1,325,305	1,316,407	1,298,159	1,286,691
GROUP 1	California	160,517	160,412	157,295	159,984	162,678	164,933	168,982	173,942	172,856	172,583	170,131	164,213	149,025	134,211	135,981	135,711	129,205	130,340
	New York	72,899	70,199	67,533	67,065	65,198	63,751	62,485	62,974	62,174	59,959	58,455	56,461	55,262	54,073	53,428	52,399	51,606	50,620
	New Jersey	31,493	29,784	28,142	27,891	27,246	26,757	27,359	27,371	26,827	25,953	25,382	25,007	23,834	23,225	22,452	21,590	20,489	19,786
	Michigan	46,617	47,718	48,849	50,591	49,358	48,883	49,546	51,577	50,233	48,738	45,478	44,113	42,904	43,594	43,704	43,359	42,628	41,122
	Connecticut	13,032	13,155	13,276	14,082	13,587	13,240	13,121	13,746	14,397	14,271	13,466	13,308	12,549	11,961	12,162	11,735	11,220	10,365
	Maryland	22,184	22,490	22,842	23,274	23,230	22,696	22,143	22,316	22,780	22,749	21,868	22,275	22,252	21,281	20,988	20,733	20,408	19,821
	Illinois	44,660	45,281	44,348	42,693	43,418	44,054	44,919	45,106	45,215	45,474	45,161	48,418	48,427	49,348	48,653	48,278	46,240	43,657
	Massachusetts	10,282	9,479	9,355	8,947	8,814	8,688	9,081	9,472	9,872	10,166	10,070	10,027	10,316	9,999	9,643	9,486	8,954	8,494
	South Carolina	21,228	21,017	21,606	22,837	22,942	22,730	22,464	22,861	23,314	23,456	23,486	22,822	22,233	21,725	21,443	20,830	20,392	20,371
	Mississippi	17,410	19,239	20,476	21,397	19,569	19,469	19,355	19,219	21,502	21,698	20,768	20,366	20,585	21,426	20,742	17,876	18,236	18,666
	Texas	154,865	158,008	153,056	151,782	156,534	157,617	159,255	162,193	161,695	163,016	162,186	164,652	163,552	157,900	160,295	158,589	157,251	157,903
	Vermont	1,178	1,313	1,313	1,321	1,401	1,451	1,542	1,634	1,617	1,618	1,724	1,649	1,598	1,516	1,575	1,508	1,290	1,229
	Alaska	2,325	2,128	2,196	2,577	2,629	2,632	2,781	3,116	3,072	2,966	2,508	2,775	2,894	2,974	2,682	2,075	2,261	2,089
		Gp. 1 TOTAL	598,690	600,223	590,287	594,441	596,604	596,901	603,113	615,527	612,647	600,683	596,086	575,431	553,233	553,748	544,169	530,180	524,463
GROUP 2	Louisiana	34,066	35,207	35,810	36,032	36,047	36,939	36,083	36,376	37,341	37,804	39,780	39,444	39,709	40,170	39,298	38,022	36,347	35,646
	Indiana	19,260	19,811	20,883	21,542	23,007	23,939	24,416	26,055	27,114	28,301	28,788	28,012	28,890	28,822	29,905	29,261	27,334	25,530
	Florida	69,594	71,318	72,404	75,204	82,003	85,530	89,766	92,874	98,219	102,388	103,915	104,306	103,055	101,930	103,028	102,870	101,424	99,974
	Alabama	24,109	26,034	26,138	27,532	27,272	25,257	27,526	28,605	29,730	29,694	30,723	30,739	31,271	31,437	31,354	30,766	29,762	27,799
	Colorado	15,670	16,833	17,448	18,833	19,671	20,293	21,456	22,481	22,841	23,274	22,795	22,815	21,978	20,462	20,371	20,646	20,041	19,862
	Georgia	42,008	44,141	45,904	47,424	47,200	51,089	48,741	52,781	54,232	52,705	55,516	54,685	53,955	53,990	53,478	52,485	51,700	53,064
	Pennsylvania	36,525	36,844	38,057	40,164	40,880	42,345	43,998	45,446	49,047	51,316	51,075	51,390	50,918	51,211	50,423	49,578	49,000	
	Oklahoma	22,393	23,181	22,780	22,702	22,448	22,913	24,414	23,889	24,197	24,210	24,396	24,514	24,024	24,830	27,173	27,261	28,114	26,486
	North Carolina	26,672	27,043	27,628	28,613	29,394	30,683	31,522	32,219	33,016	34,229	34,863	35,436	35,102	34,983	35,181	35,769	35,523	34,596
	Rhode Island	1,908	1,966	1,926	2,045	1,983	1,894	2,025	2,149	2,481	2,522	2,220	2,086	2,065	1,999	2,039	1,880	2,156	2,030
	Hawaii	3,817	3,553	3,670	3,840	4,167	4,174	4,422	4,373	4,367	4,304	4,119	3,939	3,910	3,819	3,619	3,663	3,769	3,629
	Utah	5,164	5,541	5,254	5,475	5,681	5,915	6,275	6,340	6,421	6,426	6,524	6,795	6,877	6,960	7,072	7,027	6,488	6,181
	Idaho	4,842	5,535	5,984	5,746	5,737	6,375	6,818	7,124	7,319	7,290	7,400	7,431	7,739	7,985	8,242	8,039	7,255	7,376
	Maine	1,663	1,635	1,641	1,817	1,951	1,961	1,995	1,997	1,950	1,985	1,980	1,942	1,952	1,932	1,972	2,030	1,754	1,828
	Gp. 2 TOTAL	307,691	318,642	325,527	336,969	347,441	357,893	367,191	380,182	393,549	404,179	414,335	413,219	411,917	410,237	413,942	410,142	401,245	393,001
GROUP 3	Iowa	7,232	7,955	7,962	8,398	8,546	8,525	8,737	8,838	8,732	8,766	8,813	9,388	9,057	8,686	8,654	8,798	8,816	8,998
	New Hampshire	2,257	2,257	2,392	2,451	2,434	2,448	2,520	2,737	2,930	2,702	2,731	2,761	2,614	2,790	2,848	2,915	2,897	2,818
	Delaware	3,730	3,937	4,033	3,659	4,122	4,087	3,972	4,195	4,201	4,067	3,971	3,961	4,003	4,129	4,112	4,141	4,188	4,090
	Wisconsin	19,699	20,336	21,033	21,644	22,065	22,189	21,927	22,618	22,307	22,443	22,332	21,973	21,998	20,474	21,285	21,404	21,763	22,144
	Nebraska	3,632	3,816	3,865	3,972	3,976	4,038	4,330	4,204	4,329	4,424	4,392	4,498	4,511	4,594	4,929	5,347	5,312	5,235
	Wyoming	1,713	1,680	1,684	1,737	1,872	1,980	2,047	2,114	2,084	2,024	2,075	2,112	2,183	2,204	2,310	2,383	2,424	2,374
	Tennessee	22,502	22,166	23,671	24,989	25,403	25,884	26,369	25,745	26,267	27,228	26,965	27,451	28,479	28,411	28,521	28,769	28,172	28,203
	Arkansas	11,336	11,851	12,496	12,999	13,244	13,668	13,383	13,713	14,310	14,660	15,144	16,147	16,037	14,615	17,159	17,819	17,656	17,476
	Minnesota	5,955	6,238	6,606	7,129	7,865	8,758	9,108	9,468	9,980	9,986	9,796	9,800	9,938	10,289	10,637	10,798	10,592	
	Virginia	29,088	29,643	31,662	34,973	35,067	35,564	35,344	36,688	37,984	38,216	38,059	37,410	38,130	37,044	36,982	37,544	38,403	37,813
	Oregon	9,840	10,553	11,368	12,080	12,695	13,167	13,390	13,667	13,918	14,131	14,365	14,831	14,459	14,801	15,180	15,060	15,230	15,150
	New Mexico	4,730	4,666	5,408	5,631	5,934	6,111	6,292	6,361	6,225	6,315	6,320	6,614	6,687	6,574	6,855	6,994	6,860	6,972
	Arizona	23,944	25,412	26,463	28,008	29,722	31,106	31,411	33,557	35,490	37,188	38,529	38,423	38,370	38,402	39,062	40,175	40,952	40,849
	North Dakota	866	994	1,027	1,025	1,147	1,238	1,363	1,416	1,452	1,486	1,487	1,423	1,512	1,507	1,603	1,783	1,779	
	Ohio	46,842	45,833	45,281	45,646	44,778	44,806	45,854	49,166	50,731	51,686	51,606	51,712	50,964	50,876	51,729	51,519	52,233	52,175
	Missouri	26,133	27,519	28,736	30,080	30,275	30,803	30,146	29,844	30,175	30,554	30,614	30,829	31,244	31,338	32,328	32,461	32,461	
	Kansas	8,567	8,344	8,577	8,935	9,132	8,966	9,068	8,816	8,696	8,539	8,641	9,051	9,327	9,398	9,506	9,563	9,578	9,628
	West Virginia	3,532	3,795	4,164	4,504	4,715	5,026	5,292	5,719	6,049	6,019	6,313	6,642	6,803	7,027	6,812	6,881	7,118	7,162
	Montana	2,951	3,105	3,323	3,323	3,620	3,164	3,509	3,563	3,431	3,517	3,605	3,716	3,678	3,609	3,642	3,699	3,685	3,814
Nevada																			

PRISONERS IN 2016 – TABLE APPENDIX B

	Jurisdiction/ State	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	U.S.	2.3%	1.4%	2.6%	2.0%	1.8%	2.0%	2.9%	1.9%	1.0%	0.4%	-0.1%	-0.9%	-1.8%	0.6%	-0.8%	-2.1%	-1.3%
	Federal	9.4%	9.2%	4.8%	6.2%	4.8%	4.4%	4.4%	3.3%	1.7%	3.0%	1.5%	3.4%	-0.2%	-0.8%	-1.9%	-6.6%	-4.0%
	State TOTAL	1.6%	0.6%	2.4%	1.5%	1.4%	1.7%	2.7%	1.7%	0.9%	0.02%	-0.27%	-1.5%	-2.0%	0.8%	-0.7%	-1.4%	-0.9%
GROUP 1	California	-0.1%	-1.9%	1.7%	1.7%	1.4%	2.5%	2.9%	-0.6%	-0.2%	-1.4%	-3.5%	-9.2%	-9.9%	1.3%	-0.2%	-4.8%	0.9%
	New York	-3.7%	-3.8%	-0.7%	-2.8%	-2.2%	-2.0%	0.8%	-1.3%	-3.6%	-2.5%	-3.4%	-2.1%	-2.2%	-1.2%	-1.9%	-1.5%	-1.9%
	New Jersey	-5.4%	-5.5%	-0.9%	-2.3%	-1.8%	2.2%	0.0%	-2.0%	-3.3%	-2.2%	-1.5%	-4.7%	-2.6%	-3.3%	-3.8%	-5.1%	-3.4%
	Michigan	2.4%	2.4%	3.6%	-2.4%	-1.0%	1.4%	4.1%	-2.6%	-3.0%	-6.7%	-3.0%	-2.7%	1.6%	0.3%	-0.8%	-1.7%	-3.5%
	Connecticut	0.9%	0.9%	6.1%	-3.5%	-2.6%	-0.9%	4.8%	4.7%	-0.9%	-5.6%	-1.2%	-5.7%	-4.7%	1.7%	-3.5%	-4.4%	-7.6%
	Maryland	1.4%	1.6%	1.9%	-0.2%	-2.3%	-2.4%	0.8%	2.1%	-0.1%	-3.9%	1.9%	-0.1%	-4.4%	-1.4%	-1.2%	-1.6%	-2.9%
	Illinois	1.4%	-2.1%	-3.7%	1.7%	1.5%	2.0%	0.4%	0.2%	0.6%	-0.7%	7.2%	0.0%	1.9%	-1.4%	-0.8%	-4.2%	-5.6%
	Massachusetts	-7.8%	-1.3%	-4.4%	-1.5%	-1.4%	4.5%	4.3%	4.2%	3.0%	-0.9%	-0.4%	2.9%	-3.1%	-3.6%	-1.6%	-5.6%	-5.1%
	South Carolina	-1.0%	2.8%	5.7%	0.5%	-0.9%	-1.2%	1.8%	2.0%	0.6%	0.1%	-2.8%	-2.6%	-2.3%	-1.3%	-2.9%	-2.1%	-0.1%
	Mississippi	10.5%	6.4%	4.5%	-8.5%	-0.5%	-0.7%	-0.6%	11.9%	0.9%	-4.3%	-1.9%	1.1%	4.1%	-3.2%	-13.8%	2.0%	2.4%
	Texas	2.0%	-3.1%	-0.8%	3.1%	0.7%	1.0%	1.8%	-0.3%	0.8%	-0.5%	1.5%	-0.7%	-3.5%	1.5%	-1.1%	-0.8%	0.4%
	Vermont	11.5%	0.0%	0.6%	6.1%	3.6%	6.3%	6.0%	-1.0%	0.1%	6.6%	-4.4%	-3.1%	-5.1%	3.9%	-4.3%	-14.5%	-4.7%
	Alaska	-8.5%	3.2%	17.3%	2.0%	0.1%	5.7%	12.0%	-1.4%	-3.5%	-15.4%	10.6%	4.3%	2.8%	-9.8%	-22.6%	9.0%	-7.6%
	GROUP 2	Louisiana	3.3%	1.7%	0.6%	0.0%	2.5%	-2.3%	0.8%	2.7%	1.2%	5.2%	-0.8%	0.7%	1.2%	-2.2%	-3.2%	-4.4%
Indiana		2.9%	5.4%	3.2%	6.8%	4.1%	2.0%	6.7%	4.1%	4.4%	1.7%	-2.7%	3.1%	-0.2%	3.8%	-2.2%	-6.6%	-6.6%
Florida		2.5%	1.5%	3.9%	9.0%	4.3%	5.0%	3.5%	5.8%	4.2%	1.5%	0.4%	-1.2%	-1.1%	1.1%	-0.2%	-1.4%	-1.4%
Alabama		8.0%	0.4%	5.3%	-0.9%	-7.4%	6.9%	1.9%	3.9%	3.8%	3.5%	0.1%	1.7%	0.5%	-0.3%	-1.9%	-3.3%	-6.6%
Colorado		7.4%	3.7%	7.9%	4.4%	3.2%	5.7%	4.8%	1.6%	1.9%	-2.1%	0.1%	-3.7%	-6.9%	-0.4%	1.3%	-2.9%	-0.9%
Georgia		5.1%	4.0%	3.3%	-0.5%	8.2%	-4.6%	8.3%	2.7%	-2.8%	5.3%	-1.5%	-1.3%	0.1%	-0.9%	-1.9%	-1.5%	2.6%
Pennsylvania		0.9%	3.3%	5.5%	1.8%	0.1%	3.5%	3.9%	3.3%	7.9%	4.6%	-0.5%	0.6%	-0.9%	0.6%	-1.5%	-1.7%	-1.2%
Oklahoma		3.5%	-1.7%	-0.3%	-1.1%	2.1%	6.6%	-2.2%	1.3%	0.1%	0.8%	0.5%	-2.0%	3.4%	9.4%	0.3%	3.1%	-5.8%
North Carolina		1.4%	2.2%	3.6%	2.7%	4.4%	2.7%	2.2%	2.5%	3.7%	1.9%	1.6%	-0.9%	-0.3%	0.6%	1.7%	-0.7%	-2.6%
Rhode Island		3.0%	-2.0%	6.2%	-3.0%	-4.5%	6.9%	6.1%	15.4%	1.7%	-12.0%	-6.0%	-1.0%	-3.2%	2.0%	-7.8%	14.7%	-5.8%
Hawaii		-6.9%	3.3%	4.6%	8.5%	0.2%	5.9%	-1.1%	-0.1%	-1.4%	-4.3%	-4.4%	-0.7%	-2.3%	-5.3%	1.2%	2.9%	-3.7%
Utah		7.3%	-5.2%	4.2%	3.8%	4.1%	4.1%	1.0%	1.3%	0.1%	1.5%	4.2%	1.2%	1.2%	1.6%	-0.6%	-7.7%	-4.7%
Idaho		14.3%	8.1%	-4.0%	-0.2%	11.1%	6.9%	4.5%	2.7%	-0.4%	1.5%	0.4%	4.1%	3.2%	3.2%	-2.5%	-9.8%	1.7%
Maine		-1.7%	0.4%	10.7%	7.4%	0.5%	-2.9%	4.8%	-2.4%	1.8%	-0.3%	-1.9%	0.5%	-1.0%	2.1%	2.9%	-13.6%	4.2%
GROUP 3	Iowa	10.0%	0.1%	5.5%	1.8%	-0.2%	2.5%	1.2%	-1.2%	0.4%	0.5%	6.5%	-3.5%	-4.1%	-0.4%	1.7%	0.2%	2.1%
	New Hampshire	0.0%	6.0%	2.5%	-0.7%	0.6%	2.9%	8.6%	7.1%	-7.8%	1.1%	1.1%	-5.3%	6.7%	2.1%	2.4%	-0.6%	-2.7%
	Delaware	5.5%	2.4%	-9.3%	12.7%	-0.8%	-2.8%	5.6%	0.1%	-3.2%	-2.4%	-0.3%	1.1%	3.1%	-0.4%	0.7%	1.1%	-2.3%
	Wisconsin	3.2%	3.4%	2.9%	1.9%	0.6%	-1.2%	3.2%	-1.4%	0.6%	-0.5%	-1.6%	0.1%	-6.9%	4.0%	0.6%	1.7%	1.8%
	Nebraska	5.1%	1.3%	2.8%	0.1%	1.6%	7.2%	-2.9%	3.0%	2.2%	-0.7%	2.4%	0.3%	1.8%	7.3%	8.5%	-0.7%	-1.4%
	Wyoming	-1.9%	0.2%	3.1%	7.8%	5.8%	3.4%	3.3%	-1.4%	0.0%	-0.4%	1.8%	3.4%	1.0%	4.8%	3.2%	1.7%	-2.1%
	Tennessee	-1.5%	6.8%	5.6%	1.7%	1.9%	1.9%	-2.4%	2.0%	3.7%	-1.0%	1.8%	3.7%	-0.2%	0.4%	0.9%	-2.1%	0.1%
	Arkansas	4.5%	5.4%	4.0%	1.9%	3.2%	-2.1%	2.5%	4.4%	2.4%	3.3%	6.6%	-0.7%	-8.9%	17.4%	3.8%	-0.9%	-1.0%
	Minnesota	4.8%	5.9%	7.9%	10.3%	11.4%	6.0%	-1.9%	4.0%	4.7%	0.8%	-1.9%	0.0%	1.4%	3.5%	3.4%	1.5%	-1.9%
	Virginia	1.9%	6.8%	10.5%	0.3%	1.4%	-0.6%	3.8%	3.5%	0.6%	-0.4%	-1.7%	1.9%	-2.8%	-0.2%	1.5%	2.3%	-1.5%
	Oregon	7.2%	7.7%	6.3%	5.1%	3.7%	1.7%	2.1%	1.8%	1.5%	1.7%	3.2%	-2.5%	2.4%	2.6%	-0.8%	1.1%	-0.5%
	New Mexico	-1.4%	15.9%	4.1%	5.4%	3.0%	3.0%	1.1%	-2.1%	1.4%	0.1%	4.7%	3.6%	-4.1%	1.7%	2.6%	2.0%	-0.3%
	Arizona	6.1%	4.1%	5.8%	6.1%	4.7%	1.0%	6.8%	5.8%	4.8%	3.6%	-0.3%	-0.1%	0.1%	1.7%	2.8%	1.9%	-0.3%
	North Dakota	14.8%	3.3%	-0.2%	11.9%	7.9%	7.2%	3.9%	3.9%	2.5%	2.3%	0.1%	-4.3%	6.3%	-0.3%	6.4%	11.2%	-0.2%
Ohio	-2.2%	-1.2%	0.8%	-1.9%	0.1%	2.3%	7.2%	3.2%	1.9%	-0.2%	0.2%	-1.4%	-0.2%	1.7%	-0.4%	1.4%	-0.1%	
GROUP 4	Missouri	5.3%	4.4%	4.7%	0.6%	2.6%	-0.8%	-2.1%	-1.0%	1.1%	1.3%	0.2%	0.7%	1.3%	0.9%	1.3%	1.2%	0.4%
	Kansas	-2.6%	2.8%	4.2%	2.2%	-1.8%	1.1%	-2.8%	-1.4%	-1.8%	1.2%	4.7%	3.0%	0.8%	1.1%	0.6%	0.2%	0.5%
	West Virginia	7.4%	9.7%	8.2%	4.7%	6.6%	5.3%	8.1%	5.8%	-0.5%	4.9%	5.2%	2.4%	3.3%	-3.1%	1.0%	3.4%	0.6%
	Montana	5.2%	7.2%	-0.2%	8.9%	-12.6%	10.9%	1.5%	-3.7%	2.5%	2.5%	3.1%	-1.0%	-1.9%	0.9%	1.6%	-0.4%	3.5%
	Nevada	6.9%	1.7%	2.4%	0.6%	7.0%	3.2%	9.5%	3.9%	-3.8%	-2.0%	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.3%	-3.9%	4.3%	5.4%
	South Dakota	4.6%	6.4%	4.7%	3.6%	2.4%	11.9%	-3.0%	-1.3%	0.8%	2.9%	0.0%	2.9%	3.2%	0.8%	-1.8%	-1.3%	7.4%
	Washington	0.7%	2.4%	6.0%	0.7%	2.9%	5.0%	0.9%	1.6%	1.0%	1.5%	0.1%	-2.2%	-3.1%	4.0%	0.6%	0.8%	4.5%
	Kentucky	-2.6%	1.2%	3.1%	4.0%	5.9%	12.1%	1.6%	11.8%	-3.5%	-1.8%	-3.6%	5.1%	2.5%	-5.3%	3.1%	3.5%	6.1%

PRISONERS IN 2016 – TABLE APPENDIX C

Jurisdiction/ State	Measure of Decreases in Prison Populations				17 Years: 2000 - 2016					Seven Years: 2010 - 2016					Three Years: 2014 - 2016					2016	
	Change in prisoners 2000 - 2016	Per Cent Change	Decrease from highest end-of-year count	Per Cent Decrease from highest end-of-year count	Number of Years- Decrease	Avg. size of Decrease	Number of Years- Increase	Avg. size of Increase	Average Change	Number of Years- Decrease	Avg. size of Decrease	Number of Years- Increase	Avg. size of Increase	Average Change	Number of Years- Decrease	Avg. size of Decrease	Number of Years- Increase	Avg. size of Increase	Average Change	Change in 2016	
U.S. Total	131,903	9.9%	-95,401	-6.1%	6	-1.1%	11	1.7%	0.7%	6	-1.1%	1	0.6%	-0.9%	3	-1.4%	0	-	-1.4%	-1.3%	
Federal	46,438	37.1%	-25,568	-13.0%	5	-2.7%	12	4.7%	2.5%	5	-2.7%	2	2.4%	-1.2%	3	-4.2%	0	-	-4.2%	-4.0%	
State TOTAL	85,465	7.1%	-78,997	-5.8%	6	-1.1%	11	1.4%	0.5%	6	-1.1%	1	0.8%	-0.8%	3	-1.0%	0	-	-1.0%	-0.9%	
Group 1	California	-30,072	-18.7%	-43,602	-25.1%	10	-3.2%	7	1.8%	-1.1%	5	-5.5%	2	1.1%	-3.6%	2	-2.5%	1	0.9%	-1.4%	0.9%
	New York	-19,579	-27.9%	-19,579	-27.9%	16	-2.3%	1	0.8%	-2.1%	7	-2.0%	0	-	-2.0%	3	-1.8%	0	-	-1.8%	-1.9%
	New Jersey	-9,998	-33.6%	-9,998	-33.6%	15	-3.2%	2	1.1%	-2.7%	7	-3.5%	0	-	-3.5%	3	-4.1%	0	-	-4.1%	-3.4%
	Michigan	-6,596	-13.8%	-10,455	-20.3%	10	-2.7%	7	2.2%	-1.7%	5	-2.4%	2	0.9%	-1.4%	3	-2.0%	0	-	-2.0%	-3.5%
	Connecticut	-2,790	-21.2%	-4,032	-28.0%	11	-3.7%	6	3.2%	-1.3%	6	-4.5%	1	1.7%	-3.6%	3	-5.2%	0	-	-5.2%	-7.6%
	Maryland	-2,669	-11.9%	-3,453	-14.8%	11	-1.9%	6	1.6%	-0.6%	6	-1.9%	1	1.9%	-1.4%	3	-1.9%	0	-	-1.9%	-2.9%
	Illinois	-1,624	-3.6%	-5,691	-11.5%	7	-2.6%	10	1.7%	-0.1%	4	-3.0%	3	3.0%	-0.4%	3	-3.5%	0	-	-3.5%	-5.6%
	Sub-set 7 States	-73,328	-18.7%	-96,810	N/A	80	-2.8%	39	2.0%	-1.2%	40	-3.2%	9	1.9%	-2.3%	20	-3.0%	1	0.9%	-2.8%	-3.4%
	Massachusetts	-985	-10.4%	-1,822	-17.7%	12	-3.1%	5	3.8%	-1.1%	6	-3.2%	1	2.9%	-2.4%	3	-4.1%	0	-	-4.1%	-5.1%
	South Carolina	-646	-3.1%	-3,115	-13.3%	10	-1.7%	7	1.9%	-0.2%	7	-2.0%	0	-	-2.0%	3	-1.7%	0	-	-1.7%	-0.1%
	Mississippi	-573	-3.0%	-3,032	-14.0%	8	-4.2%	9	4.9%	0.6%	3	-6.3%	4	2.4%	-1.3%	1	-13.8%	2	2.2%	-3.1%	2.4%
	Texas	-105	-0.1%	-6,749	-4.1%	8	-1.4%	9	1.4%	0.1%	4	-1.5%	3	1.2%	-0.4%	2	-1.0%	1	0.4%	-0.5%	0.4%
	Vermont	-84	-6.4%	-495	-28.7%	7	-5.3%	10	4.4%	0.4%	6	-6.0%	1	3.9%	-4.6%	3	-7.8%	0	-	-7.8%	-4.7%
Alaska	-39	-1.8%	-1,027	-33.0%	7	-9.8%	10	6.7%	-0.1%	3	-13.4%	4	6.7%	-1.9%	2	-15.1%	1	9.0%	-7.1%	-7.6%	
Gp. 1 Total/Avg.	-75,760	-12.6%	-113,050	N/A	132	-3.2%	89	3.1%	-0.7%	69	-3.8%	22	2.9%	-2.2%	34	-4.3%	5	2.9%	-3.4%	-3.0%	
Group 2	Louisiana	439	1.2%	-4,524	-11.3%	6	-2.5%	11	1.8%	0.3%	5	-2.5%	2	0.9%	-1.5%	3	-3.2%	0	-	-3.2%	-1.9%
	Indiana	5,719	28.9%	-4,375	-14.6%	5	-3.7%	12	4.0%	1.8%	5	-3.7%	2	3.4%	-1.6%	3	-5.1%	0	-	-5.1%	-6.6%
	Florida	28,656	40.2%	-4,332	-4.2%	5	-1.1%	12	3.5%	2.2%	5	-1.1%	2	0.7%	-0.5%	3	-1.0%	0	-	-1.0%	-1.4%
	Alabama	1,765	6.8%	-3,638	-11.6%	6	-3.4%	11	3.3%	0.9%	4	-3.0%	3	0.8%	-1.4%	3	-3.9%	0	-	-3.9%	-6.6%
	Colorado	3,029	18.0%	-3,412	-14.7%	6	-2.8%	11	3.8%	1.5%	5	-3.0%	2	0.7%	-1.9%	2	-1.9%	1	1.3%	-0.8%	-0.9%
	Georgia	8,923	20.2%	-2,452	-4.4%	8	-1.9%	9	4.4%	1.5%	5	-1.4%	2	1.4%	-0.6%	2	-1.7%	1	2.6%	-0.2%	2.6%
	Pennsylvania	12,156	33.0%	-2,390	-4.7%	5	-1.2%	12	3.0%	1.8%	5	-1.2%	2	0.6%	-0.7%	3	-1.5%	0	-	-1.5%	-1.2%
	Oklahoma	3,305	14.3%	-1,628	-5.8%	6	-2.2%	11	2.8%	1.0%	2	-3.9%	5	3.3%	1.3%	1	-5.8%	2	1.7%	-0.8%	-5.8%
	North Carolina	7,553	27.9%	-1,173	-3.3%	4	-1.1%	13	2.4%	1.6%	4	-1.1%	3	1.3%	-0.1%	2	-1.6%	1	1.7%	-0.5%	-2.6%
	Rhode Island	64	3.3%	-492	-19.5%	9	-5.0%	8	7.0%	0.6%	5	-4.8%	2	8.3%	-1.0%	2	-6.8%	1	14.7%	0.3%	-5.8%
	Hawaii	76	2.1%	-793	-17.9%	10	-3.0%	7	3.8%	-0.2%	5	-3.3%	2	2.1%	-1.8%	1	-3.7%	2	2.1%	0.1%	-3.7%
	Utah	640	11.6%	-891	-12.6%	4	-4.6%	13	2.9%	1.1%	3	-4.3%	4	2.0%	-0.7%	3	-4.3%	0	-	-4.3%	-4.7%
	Idaho	1,841	33.3%	-866	-10.5%	5	-3.3%	12	5.2%	2.7%	2	-6.1%	5	2.5%	0.1%	2	-6.1%	1	1.7%	-3.5%	1.7%
	Maine	193	11.8%	-202	-10.0%	7	-3.4%	10	3.5%	0.7%	3	-5.5%	4	2.4%	-1.0%	1	-13.6%	2	3.6%	-2.1%	4.2%
	Gp. 2 Total/Avg.	74,359	23.3%	-31,168	N/A	86	-2.9%	152	3.6%	1.2%	58	-2.9%	40	2.2%	-0.8%	31	-3.8%	11	3.3%	-1.9%	-2.3%
Group 3	Iowa	1,043	13.1%	-390	-4.2%	5	-1.9%	12	2.7%	1.3%	3	-2.7%	4	2.6%	0.4%	0	-	3	1.3%	1.3%	2.1%
	New Hampshire	561	24.9%	-112	-3.8%	5	-3.4%	12	3.4%	1.4%	3	-2.9%	4	3.1%	0.5%	2	-1.7%	1	2.4%	-0.3%	-2.7%
	Delaware	153	3.9%	-111	-2.6%	8	-2.7%	9	3.6%	0.6%	3	-1.0%	4	1.5%	0.4%	1	-2.3%	2	0.9%	-0.2%	-2.3%
	Wisconsin	1,808	8.9%	-474	-2.1%	5	-2.3%	12	2.0%	0.7%	2	-4.3%	5	1.6%	-0.1%	0	-	3	1.3%	1.3%	1.8%
	Nebraska	1,419	37.2%	-112	-2.1%	4	-1.4%	13	3.3%	2.2%	2	-1.1%	5	4.1%	2.6%	2	-1.1%	1	8.5%	2.1%	-1.4%
	Wyoming	694	41.3%	-50	-2.1%	4	-1.5%	13	3.0%	2.0%	1	-2.1%	6	2.6%	2.0%	1	-2.1%	2	2.4%	0.9%	-2.1%
	Tennessee	6,037	27.2%	-566	-2.0%	5	-1.4%	12	2.5%	1.4%	2	-1.2%	5	1.4%	0.7%	1	-2.1%	2	0.5%	-0.4%	0.1%
	Arkansas	5,625	47.5%	-343	-1.9%	5	-2.7%	12	5.0%	2.7%	4	-2.9%	3	9.3%	2.3%	2	-1.0%	1	3.8%	0.6%	-1.0%
	Minnesota	4,354	69.8%	-206	-1.9%	3	-1.9%	14	4.7%	3.5%	2	-1.9%	5	2.0%	0.9%	1	-1.9%	2	2.4%	1.0%	-1.9%
	Virginia	8,170	27.6%	-590	-1.5%	6	-1.2%	11	3.1%	1.6%	4	-1.6%	3	1.9%	-0.1%	1	-1.5%	2	1.9%	0.8%	-1.5%
	Oregon	4,597	43.6%	-80	-0.5%	3	-1.3%	14	3.4%	2.6%	3	-1.3%	4	2.3%	0.8%	2	-0.7%	1	1.1%	-0.1%	-0.5%
	New Mexico	2,306	49.4%	-22	-0.3%	4	-2.0%	13	3.7%	2.4%	2	-2.2%	5	2.9%	1.4%	1	-0.3%	2	2.3%	1.4%	-0.3%
	Arizona	15,437	60.7%	-103	-0.3%	3	-0.2%	14	4.0%	3.2%	3	-0.2%	4	1.6%	0.8%	1	-0.3%	2	2.4%	1.5%	-0.3%
	North Dakota	785	79.0%	-4	-0.2%	4	-1.3%	13	6.2%	4.4%	3	-1.6%	4	6.0%	2.7%	1	-0.2%	2	8.8%	5.8%	-0.2%
	Ohio	6,342	13.8%	-58	-0.1%	8	-0.9%	9	2.1%	0.7%	4	-0.5%	3	1.1%	0.2%	2	-0.3%	1	1.4%	0.3%	-0.1%
	Missouri	4,942	18.0%	133	0.4%	3	-1.3%	14	1.9%	1.3%	0	-	7	0.9%	0.9%	0	-	3	1.0%	1.0%	0.4%
	Kansas	1,284	15.4%	50	0.5%	5	-2.1%	12	1.9%	0.7%	0	-	7	1.6%	1.6%	0	-	3	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%
	West Virginia	3,367	88.7%	44	0.6%	2	-1.8%	15	5.1%	4.3%	1	-3.1%	6	2.7%	1.8%	0	-	3	1.7%	1.7%	0.6%
	Montana	709	22.8%	98	2.6%	6	-3.3%	11	4.3%	1.7%	3	-1.1%	4	2.3%	0.8%	1	-0.4%	2	2.5%	1.6%	3.5%
	Nevada	3,574	35.5%	392	3.0%	3	-3.2%	14	3.4%	2.3%	1	-3.9%	6	2.2%	1.3%	1	-3.9%	2	4.8%	1.9%	5.4%
South Dakota	1,207	46.2%	148	4.0%	4	-1.9%	13	4.0%	2.6%	2	-1.6%	5	2.9%	1.6%	2	-1.6%	1	7.4%	1.4%	7.4%	
Washington	4,353	29.7%	807	4.4%	2	-2.7%	15	2.2%	1.6%	2	-2.7%	5	2.0%	0.7%	0	-	3	2.0%	2.0%	4.5%	
Kentucky	8,099	54.3%	1,195	5.5%	5	-2.8%	12	5.1%	2.5%	3	-2.9%	4	4.2%	1.3%	0	-	3	4.6%	4.6%	6.1%	
Gp. 3 Total/Avg.	86,866	30.8%	-354	N/A	102	-2.0%	289	3.5%	2.1%	52	-1.9%	108	2.7%	1.1%	22	-1.2%	47	2.5%	1.3%	0.8%	
TOTAL STATE	131,903		-147,439	< 42 states	320		530		1.1%	179		170		-0.3%	87		63		1.1%		

PRISONERS IN 2016 – TABLE APPENDIX D

Period/ Years	Jurisdiction/ Group	Annual Decreases in Prison Population			Annual Increases in Prison Population			Average	Numerical Change in Prison Populations		
		Number of annual decreases	Average amount of decrease	Percent which were decreases	Number of annual increases	Average amount of increase	Percent which were increases	Annual Percent Change *	Change in Prison Population	Percent Change in Prison Population	Annualized Percent Change in Prison Population
2000 - 2016: 17 Years	Federal	5	-2.7%	29.4%	12	4.7%	70.6%	2.5%	46,438	37.1%	2.2%
	State Total	320	-2.8%	37.6%	530	3.5%	62.4%	1.1%	85,465	7.1%	0.4%
	Seven States	80	-2.8%	67.2%	39	2.0%	32.8%	-1.2%	-73,328	-18.7%	-1.1%
	Group 1	132	-3.2%	59.7%	89	3.1%	40.3%	-0.7%	-75,760	-12.6%	-0.7%
	Group 2	86	-2.9%	36.1%	152	3.6%	63.9%	1.2%	74,359	18.0%	1.1%
	Group 3	102	-2.0%	26.1%	289	3.5%	73.9%	2.1%	86,866	37.3%	2.2%
2010 - 2016: 7 Years	Federal	5	-2.7%	71.4%	2	2.4%	28.6%	-1.2%	-16,404	-8.7%	-1.2%
	State Total	179	-3.0%	51.1%	171	2.5%	48.9%	-0.3%	-78,997	-5.8%	-0.8%
	Seven States	40	-3.2%	81.6%	9	1.9%	18.4%	-2.3%	-64,230	-16.9%	-2.4%
	Group 1	69	-3.8%	75.8%	22	2.9%	24.2%	-2.2%	-76,220	-12.7%	-1.8%
	Group 2	58	-2.9%	59.2%	40	2.2%	40.8%	-0.8%	-21,334	-5.1%	-0.7%
	Group 3	52	-1.9%	32.3%	109	2.6%	67.7%	1.1%	18,557	5.3%	0.8%
2014 - 2016: 3 Years	Federal	3	-4.2%	100.0%	0	-	0.0%	-4.2%	-23,616	-12.1%	-4.0%
	State Total	87	-3.3%	58.0%	63	2.7%	42.0%	-0.8%	-38,614	-2.9%	-1.0%
	Seven States	20	-3.0%	95.2%	1	0.9%	4.8%	-2.8%	-21,657	-6.4%	-2.1%
	Group 1	34	-4.3%	87.2%	5	2.9%	12.8%	-3.4%	-29,285	-5.3%	-1.8%
	Group 2	31	-3.8%	73.8%	11	3.3%	26.2%	-1.9%	-20,941	-5.1%	-1.7%
	Group 3	22	-1.2%	31.9%	47	2.5%	68.1%	1.3%	11,612	3.2%	1.1%
2016 One Year	Federal	1	-1.3%	100.0%	0	-	0.0%	-4.0%	-7,206	-4.2%	-4.2%
	State Total	33	-3.0%	66.0%	17	2.6%	34.0%	-1.1%	-11,468	-0.9%	-0.9%
	Seven States	6	-4.2%	85.7%	1	0.9%	14.3%	-3.4%	-6,086	-1.9%	-1.9%
	Group 1	10	-4.3%	76.9%	3	1.2%	23.1%	-3.0%	-5,717	-1.1%	-1.1%
	Group 2	11	-3.8%	78.6%	3	2.8%	21.4%	-2.3%	-8,244	-2.1%	-2.1%
	Group 3	12	-1.2%	52.2%	11	2.9%	47.8%	0.8%	2,493	0.7%	0.7%

* Average Annual Percent Change Is the mathematical average of each change, increase or decrease, in the time period and for the federal system or group indicated.