

Examining the Pretrial Population in Charleston County, SC

2022





Supported by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

This analysis and report was funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation as part of JSP's role as site coordinator of Charleston, SC for the Safety and Justice Challenge Network, which seeks to reduce over-incarceration by changing the way America thinks about and uses jails. Core to the Challenge is a competition designed to support efforts to improve local criminal justice systems across the country that are working to safely reduce over-reliance on jails, with a particular focus on addressing disproportionate impact on low-income individuals and communities of color.

www.SafetyandJusticeChallenge.org.

We thank the CJCC, Bond and Reentry Workgroup, and other SJC partners in Charleston for their support in conducting this analysis and producing this report.

ABOUT JSP

JUSTICE SYSTEM PARTNERS

JSP is a non-profit, multidisciplinary team committed to assisting criminal and juvenile legal systems and community partners with transforming their systems. We help our partners reimagine their work by combining rigorous research, technical assistance, and knowledge of evidence-informed strategies. We infuse creativity, innovation, and passion into our work, taking an integrated approach to system transformation to help our partners operationalize meaningful change.

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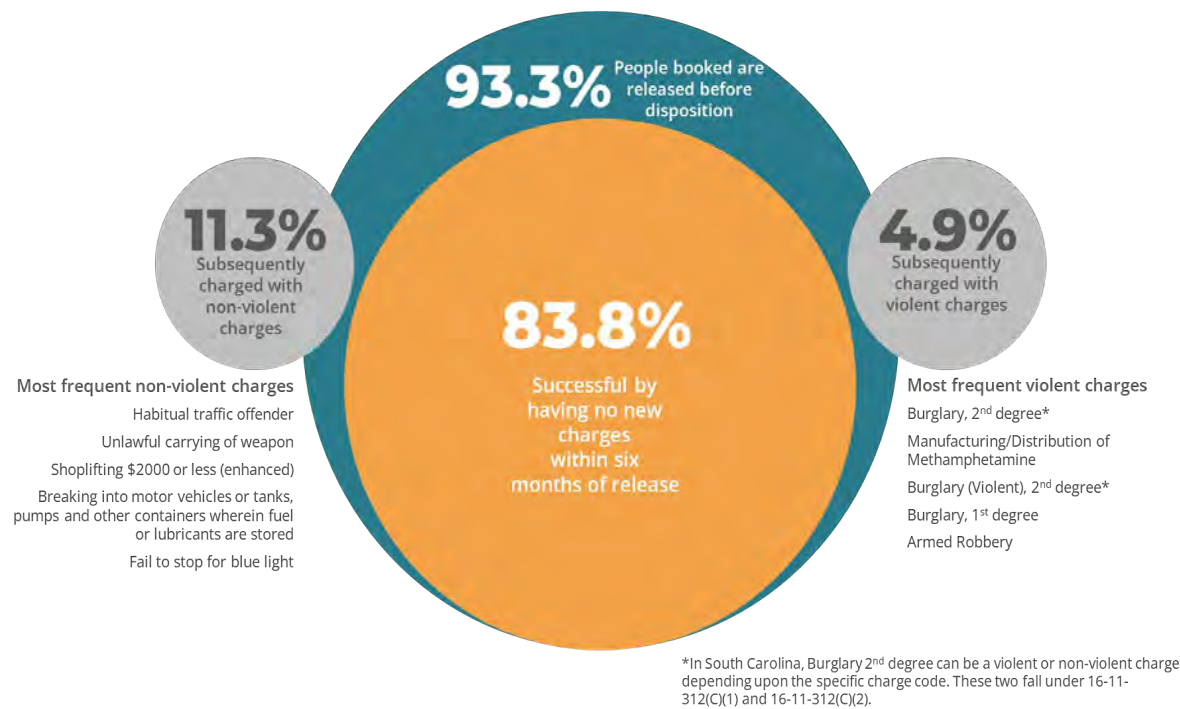
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PROJECT OVERVIEW

As a member of the Safety and Justice Challenge Network (SJC), Charleston County, SC has made great strides to safely reduce their jail population and address racial disparities through a data-driven approach.

Building on the existing Charleston County Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC) data analyses and findings, the current project aims to advance what is known about the individual, case, and system characteristics that define release before disposition and success within six months of pretrial release.





KEY FINDINGS



RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no standard definition of violence used across data analysis and public discourse.



CREATE CONSENSUS AMONG STAKEHOLDERS AROUND HOW VIOLENCE IS DEFINED

Individuals similarly situated on the examined characteristics who are released on personal recognizance are more likely than those released on financial bond to be successful (no new arrest) within the first six months of release before disposition.



RE-EXAMINE THE USE OF FINANCIAL BONDS FOR THOSE ASSESSED AS LOWER RISK OF RE-ARREST AND FAILURE TO APPEAR (LOWER CPRAI LEVELS)

Individuals similarly situated on the examined characteristics who have fewer pending charges from prior cases are more likely to be successful (no new arrest) within the first six months of release before disposition.



PRIORITIZE ADDRESSING CASE PROCESSING DELAYS

Within the first six months, 83.8% of 3,724 bookings result in success (no new arrest) during pretrial. A small group of 137 individuals (4.9% of bookings) had subsequent violent charges.



CREATE TRIGGERS FOR REVIEW OF MOST CONCERNING BOOKINGS



KEY FINDINGS



RECOMMENDATIONS

These results showed that among those with subsequent offenses, it is very difficult to identify which ones will be violent.



DIVE DEEPER INTO MOST CONCERNING BOOKINGS

Current data unable to answer *why* individuals are unsuccessful.



COLLECT NEEDS DATA FOR TARGETED BOOKINGS

OVERVIEW

Charleston County, SC

Charleston County, South Carolina covers 1,358 square miles along the eastern shore of the state. It is home to over 410,000 people, with the median age of residents being 38.4 years of age. In 2019, the median household income was \$71,531, up 6.6% from the previous year. About 65% of the resident's report being white (non-Hispanic) while 26% report being Black (non-Hispanic). Approximately 12% of the county's population lives below the poverty line.¹



In 2015, Charleston County joined the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's [Safety and Justice Challenge](#) Network (SJC). Recognizing the negative consequences and racial disparities connected to the overuse and misuse of jails^{2,3}, the SJC provides support to communities working to safely reduce jail populations and address racial inequities. Since May 2019, JSP has been the site coordinator for Charleston County to help them implement and sustain their strategies as part of the SJC. This includes providing technical assistance, guidance, and facilitation of the work. This analysis was funded by the SJC as part of JSP's role as site coordinator.

Since becoming an SJC site, the [Charleston County Criminal Justice Coordinating Council \(CJCC\)](#) and their partners have made great strides to accomplish their original aims ([2021 CJCC Annual Report](#)) and have continued to evolve their strategic plan ([Infographic FY21-23 Strategic Plan Initiatives](#)) using a data-driven approach. Some of their key accomplishments have included:

¹ <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/charleston-county-sc#about>;
<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/charlestoncountysouthcarolina>

² Subramanian, R., Delaney, R., Roberts, S., Fishman, N., & McGarry, P. (2015). Incarceration's front door: The misuse of jails in America. Vera Institute.

³ Washington II, M. (2021). Beyond Jails. Vera Institute.

- ✓ Creating a centralized database to enhance their ability to examine trends across the legal system;
- ✓ Increasing collaboration among system and community partners;
- ✓ Expanding diversion alternatives to jail;
- ✓ Developing and implementing a pretrial assessment tool to help in decision making regarding bond and release;
- ✓ Increasing Public Defender's Office representation in bond court; and
- ✓ Instituting a process for consistent Jail Population Review.

These efforts have resulted in a 40% decline in the Charleston County jail population between 2014 and 2021.

Charleston County's Pretrial Process in Context

In South Carolina, bond and release decisions are made in Centralized Bond Court, and a judge must make a bond determination within 24 hours of arrest (except for a few statutorily defined charges). There are very few cases in which the South Carolina constitution allows for bond to be denied. See the [2021 CJCC Annual Report](#) for more detail about this.

As part of the SJC, Charleston has focused much of their effort on the Centralized Bond Court's practices. One important development is the implementation of the [Pretrial Services Report \(PSR\)](#). Led by the [CJCC's Bond and Reentry Workgroup](#) with external consultants as partners, this effort resulted in a two-page document that combines summary information about the individual and the Charleston Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument (CPRAI) results. The CPRAI is a nine-item assessment developed to identify an individual's risk of failing to appear in court and re-arrest during pretrial release. The information on the PSR with the CPRAI is collected by trained pretrial analysts from an individual's previous community supervision, jail, court, and NCIC criminal history.

The PSR is one source of information to inform the bond court judge's decision-making about bond and release. Decisions are also informed by legal requirements and information provided by the state and the individuals' defense attorney.

PROJECT AIMS & QUESTIONS

Building on the [existing CJCC data analyses and findings](#), the current project aims to increase understanding about the individual, case, and system characteristics that define

- ❖ *when people booked into the jail are released before disposition or detained*
- ❖ *when people released pretrial are or are not successful.*

This report provides Charleston stakeholders with information to help guide pretrial practices and policies to help advance their bond and release decision-making.



METHODOLOGY

Data Source and Sampling

Charleston CJCC provided JSP with de-identified, individual-level administrative data to conduct this analysis. The sample of individuals included those who were booked into the Charleston County jail between January 8, 2020⁴ and December 31, 2020. The data provided included jail booking activity through May 31, 2021 and was from the CJCC's Pretrial Services Database which includes jail data, court data, and pretrial risk assessment data (i.e., Charleston County Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument (CPRAI) results).

This sample was narrowed to examine the characteristics associated with release before disposition and overall success during pretrial release.

RELEASE BEFORE DISPOSITION

To examine characteristics related to release before disposition, the sample was limited to those who were booked into the jail between January 8, 2020 and November 30, 2020. This resulted in examining 4,184 bookings involving 2,864 individuals.

SUCCESS DURING PRETRIAL

To examine success during pretrial release, the sample was limited to those who were booked into the jail and released before disposition between January 8, 2020 and November 30, 2020. This ensured they had at least six months of time in the community through May 31, 2021. This resulted in examining 3,724 bookings involving 2,614 individuals.

⁴ This data was chosen because it was when the CPRAI was fully implemented for those participating in bond court.

Navigating the Characteristic Categories



Individual characteristics are factors centered on the person.



Case characteristics are factors centered on the current case.



System characteristics are factors centered on system decisions and processing.

Defining Key Outcomes and Characteristics



OUTCOMES

Release before disposition: Measures if the results of a person being booked into the jail resulted in “release before disposition” or “no release before disposition” at the time of data collection.

Overall success: Measures if the results of a person being booked and released from the jail *did not* result in “safety failure” (new offense) or failure to appear (FTA) within six months of a release before disposition.



INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Age at booking: Measures the age of the individual at the time of each booking.

Sex: Measures an individual’s gender binary categorization of male and female as captured by the agency at the time of each booking.⁵

⁵ This does not capture self-reported gender identity. We recognize the demographic representation of our sample may be different when considering gender identity and could include representation from individuals who identify as non-binary, gender non-conforming, and/or transgender. We believe it is important for administrative data to consider the full spectrum of identity to more adequately understand individual experience and disparate outcomes, if any.

Race: Measures the individual's race as either a Person of Color (POC) or white at the time of each booking.⁶

Currently on probation/parole: Measures if an individual is currently on probation or parole at the time of booking based on the Pretrial Services Report.

Number of previous failures to appear (FTAs): Measures how many previous instances of FTAs the individual has at the time of booking and is based on the Pretrial Services Report.⁷

CPRAI risk level: Measures if an individual scored as Level 1, Level 2, Level 3, or Level 4 on the CPRAI. Individuals can receive a score ranging from -1 to 19. Categorized from lowest risk for a new arrest or FTA during pretrial to highest risk, Level 1 scores include -1 to 5, Level 2 scores include 6 to 9, Level 3 scores include 10 to 12, and Level 4 scores include 13 to 19, with Level 4 being those individuals assessed by the CPRAI as least likely to succeed in the community during pretrial.



CASE CHARACTERISTICS

Type of booking: Measures if an individual was booked as the result of a physical arrest (i.e., arrested for a new charge based on probable cause without a warrant) or an arrest warrant (i.e., arrested for a new or previous charge based on a warrant issued by the court).

Court for booking: Measures if the individual's booking is processed by the General Sessions Court (i.e., criminal court under the state's Circuit Court) or Summary Court (i.e., magistrate (county) and municipal

⁶ There were very few individuals who reported a race other than Black or white, therefore we collapsed them into a single category for purposes of this analysis. We use the term Person of Color (POC) to include individuals who are Black, Asian, Hispanic, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Pacific Islander. We recognize collapsing various races and cultural identities into a singular variable does not recognize the authenticity of each of the races individually. However, we wanted to make sure they were honored and included in the data. Additionally, race was captured as mutually exclusive categories by the agency. We cannot determine individuals in the sample who identify as bi- or multiracial. We recognize multi-identities are critical for accurately reporting the true demographic profile of the sample, the individual's experience, and disparities, if any.

⁷ This captures the instances of FTAs, not the FTAs per charging document. For instance, if someone had court for six charges and failed to appear, that is counted as a singular FTA.

(town/city) courts overseeing local criminal charges subject to lower fines and less jail time).

Public Defender (PD) representation at bond court: Measures if an individual is represented by a PD at bond court or not.

Violent charge at booking: Measures if at least one violent charge exists on the current booking or not. Violent charges are defined here as those charges that are statutorily-defined as violent (see Appendix A). These violent charges exclude charges that are considered capital or eligible for life imprisonment since they fall within a special process for bond determination.

Most severe charge on booking: Measures if most severe charge on current booking is a felony or misdemeanor. The severity is determined by JSP recoding of charges to those indicated as felony or misdemeanor by statute (see Appendix B).



SYSTEM CHARACTERISTICS

Effective bond: Measures if person booked were subject to a financial bond or personal recognizance (PR). This is referred to as an “effective” bond because it consolidates the bond decision across all charges on a case. Therefore, if an individual has multiple charges, the bond type would only be classified as a PR bond if no financial bonds were tied to any of the charges.

Number of pending charges at current booking: Measures how many current pending charges exist from prior cases at booking and comes from the research variable provided by pretrial analysts.

Pending weapons charge at booking: Measures if there is already a pending weapon charge from a prior case at the time of booking and comes from the Pretrial Services Report.

Analysis

1. We examine the characteristics of the two outcome groups of people booked that we constructed from the original data sample (i.e., release before disposition outcome group, and the success during pretrial outcome group) through descriptive statistics to better understand the representation of bookings.
2. We examine the characteristics associated with release before disposition and success using chi-square and ANOVA significance tests and effect sizes. These statistical significance tests allow us to determine which characteristics have a one-to-one association with the outcomes that is not likely occurring by chance. Alternatively, the effect sizes provide a more practical indicator of the association between the characteristics and outcomes. Effect size indicates the meaningfulness or size of the relationship between measures.
3. We examined the characteristics associated with release before disposition and success using logistic regressions. Logistic regression allows for us to examine the associations that characteristics have with these outcomes, while accounting for the impact of the other characteristics at the same time.

Examples of how to interpret the statistics

ANOVA and chi-square: Let's say we want to know if there are differences between the length of time Group A and Group B spend in jail. Using an ANOVA test we compare the mean length of time between these two groups to identify if a significant, not by chance, difference exists. Similarly, chi-square tests differences between groups when you have information in categories such as gender.

Effect size: Let's assume we found a significant difference in length of time in jail between Group A and Group B, but what we really want to know is how strong is the relationship or what is the *practical significance*. A large effect size indicates that the difference in length of time is a strong relationship.

Logistic regression: Perhaps your team believes there could be other factors contributing to this difference, such as crime severity and prior arrests. Putting all of these items into a logistic regression allows you to control for these other factors when looking at the length of time in jail. Ultimately, you may be able to say that even when individuals look similar on crime severity and prior arrest, the difference between Group A and Group B on length of time in jail is still significant.

Assuming this difference between Group A and Group B is not desired, if you find a moderate or high effect size and the difference remains significant in logistic regression, then the respective agency should work on strategies to reduce this difference.



Results

Descriptive Overview of Characteristics

Among those booked into the jail (i.e., group examining released or not), slightly over half of all bookings (n=2,166) were for individuals who had a single booking in the data. The remaining 2,018 bookings were for 698 individuals who had more than one booking during the study period. For those booked into the jail and released before disposition (i.e., group examining success), a similar distribution was found: 1,926 bookings involved individuals with only a single booking and 688 individuals involved in the remaining 1,798 bookings.



Table 1 shows the overview of these groups on the outcomes considered in this study.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Outcomes

	Booked into Jail (n= 4184)		Booked into Jail and Released before Disposition (n=3724**)	
	Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)	Missing	Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)	Missing
Release before disposition	Yes = 93.3% (3826) No = 6.7% (274)	84	N/A	
Success within 6 months release*	N/A		Yes = 83.8% (3121) No = 16.2% (603)	0

* All except one of these bookings that ended unsuccessfully were for safety failures.

** This n is less than those bookings who were released before disposition due to the cases that were removed for not having at least 6 months at risk following release when examining the outcome.

- 93.3% of bookings resulted in the release of individuals before disposition.
- 83.8% of individuals released on either financial bond or PR pretrial remained successfully in the community for the initial six months after release.



Table 2 displays an overview of the individual characteristics of these two groups considered in this study.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Individual Characteristics				
	Booked into Jail (n= 4184)		Booked into Jail and Released before Disposition (n=3724)	
	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>
Age at booking	34.7 (4184)	0	34.4 (3724)	0
Sex	Male = 80.9% (3385) Female = 19.1% (799)	0	Male = 79.8% (2972) Female = 20.2% (752)	0
Race	POC = 59.9% (2465) White = 40.1% (1653)	66	POC = 60.1% (2205) White = 39.9% (1466)	53
Currently on probation/parole*	Yes = 24.0% (936) No = 76.0% (2967)	281	Yes = 22.7% (788) No = 77.3% (2688)	248
Number of previous FTAs*	1.2 (3904)	280	1.1 (3476)	248
CPRAI Risk Level	Level 1= 31.4% (1236) Level 2= 38.8% (1529) Level 3= 20.6% (811) Level 4= 9.1% (360)	248	Level 1= 33.2% (1165) Level 2= 38.9% (1362) Level 3= 19.5% (684) Level 4= 8.4% (294)	219

*This characteristic comes from the first page of the Pretrial Services Report.

Summary of average individual characteristics:

- Average of 35 years old
- 80% male
- 60% Persons of color (POC)
- 77% not currently on probation/parole
- Average of 1.2 previous FTA
- 39% CPRAI risk level 2
- 32% CPRAI risk level 1



Table 3 provides an overview of the case characteristics of these two groups considered in this study.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Case Characteristics

	Booked into jail (n= 4184)		Booked into jail and Released before Disposition (n=3724)	
	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>
Type of booking	Physical arrest= 78.8% (3297) Arrest warrant = 21.2% (886)	1	Physical arrest= 79.0% (2940) Arrest warrant = 21.0% (783)	1
Court for booking	General Sessions = 90.2% (3775) Summary = 9.8% (409)	0	General Sessions = 89.6% (3338) Summary = 10.4% (386)	0
Public Defender representation at bond court	Yes = 32.6% (1364) No = 67.4% (2820)	0	Yes = 31.7% (1180) No = 68.3% (2544)	0
Violent charge on booking	Yes = 13.1% (548) No = 86.9% (3636)	0	Yes = 11.8% (438) No = 88.2% (3286)	0
Most severe charge on booking	Felony = 73.5% (2929) Misdemeanor = 26.5% (1057)	198	Felony = 72.4% (2563) Misdemeanor = 27.6% (979)	182

Summary of average case characteristics:

- 79% resulted from physical arrest
- 68% no PD representation
- 73% felony as most serious change
- 90% General Sessions court
- 88% no violent charge



Table 4 provides an overview of system characteristics of these two groups considered in this study.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics for System Characteristics				
	Booked into Jail (n= 4184)		Booked into Jail and Released before Disposition (n=3724)	
	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>
Effective bond	PR = 39.5% (1653) Financial = 60.5% (2531)	0	PR = 44.0% (1639) Financial = 56.3% (2085)	0
Number of pending charges at current booking**	1.5 (3870)	314	1.4 (3447)	277
Pending weapons charge at booking*	Yes = 3.6% (150) No = 96.4% (4034)	0	Yes = 3.5% (132) No = 96.5% (3592)	0

*This characteristic comes from the first page of the Pretrial Services Report.

** Research variable provided by pretrial analysts.

Summary of average system characteristics:

- 58% effective financial bond for release
- Average of 1.5 pending charges at current booking
- 96% no pending weapons charge

The specific individual items from the CPRAI are not used in the later analyses; however, these descriptions provide insight into the groups used in this analysis. Table 5 provides an overview of the CPRAI individual items for these two groups. Individuals in both groups scored, on average, seven points on the CPRAI assessment⁸. Most of the bookings involved individuals and cases which:

- Were not on community supervision
- Charged with an offense associated with a moderate risk of failure
- Did not have one or more pending charges from prior cases
- Did not have two or more failure to appears
- Did have a criminal history
- Did not have two or more violent convictions
- Were men
- Did not have two or more charges on the current incident
- Were between 25 and 44 years old

⁸ CPRAI score ranges from -1 to 19.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics for CPRAI Scoring Items				
	Bookings into Jail (n= 4184)		Bookings into Jail and Release before Disposition (n=3724)	
	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>	<i>Percentage (n)/ Mean (n)</i>	<i>Missing</i>
Supervision	Yes = 24.0% (945) No = 76.0% (2991)	248	Yes = 22.6% (792) No = 77.4% (2713)	219
Charge Type ⁹	Low = 10.1% (397) Moderate = 75.3% (2965) High = 14.6% (574)	248	Low = 10.0% (349) Moderate = 75.7% (2653) High = 14.4% (503)	219
Pending Charge(s)	Yes = 46.6% (1835) No = 53.4% (2101)	248	Yes = 44.5% (1561) No = 55.5% (1944)	219
Criminal History	Yes = 76.8% (3024) No = 23.2% (912)	248	Yes = 75.5% (2647) No = 24.5% (858)	219
Failure to Appear	Yes = 26.9% (1059) No = 76.1% (2877)	248	Yes = 25.6% (897) No = 74.4% (2608)	219
Violent Convictions	Yes = 4.6% (182) No = 95.4% (3754)	248	Yes = 4.3% (151) No = 95.7% (3354)	219
Gender	Male = 81.5% (3207) Female = 18.5% (729)	248	Male = 80.4% (2819) Female = 19.6% (686)	219
Multiple Charges	Yes = 43.8% (1724) No = 56.2% (2212)	248	Yes = 42.3% (1484) No = 57.7% (2021)	219
Current Age	<25= 20.4% (803) 25-34= 36.2% (1426) 35-44= 23.3% (919) >44= 20.0% (788)	248	<25= 20.5% (720) 25-34= 37.1% (1300) 35-44= 23.3% (817) >44= 19.1% (668)	219
Total Points	7.49 (3936)	248	7.32 (3505)	219

⁹ The developers of the CPRAI conducted analysis that separated out categories of offenses on the current incident into low, moderate, and high risk of failure to score this item. Contact CJCC if you would like to know more about these categories.

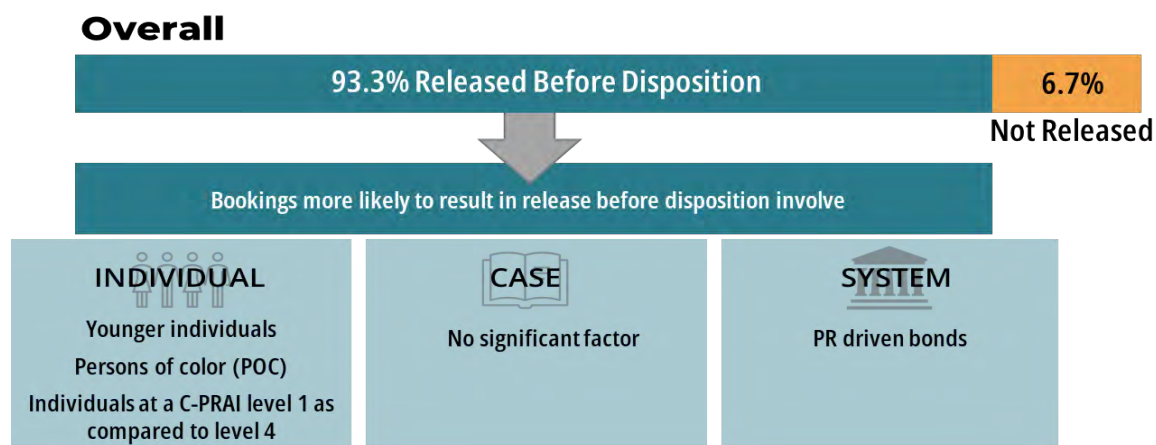
Characteristics Associated with Release

We found associations between a number of individual and system characteristics with pretrial release. These included age, sex, race, current probation/parole status, CPRAI risk level, effective bond (i.e., PR or financial bond), and the number of pending charges from prior cases at the current booking. Most of the effect sizes, or the strength of the relationship, showed no to small practical impact of these characteristics on release. Effective bond had the largest impact of any of the characteristics but was still only a small to moderate effect. See Table C1 in Appendix C for details.

What does it mean that the association is significant but the effect small?

Ultimately, this means that although a relationship statistically exists (and not by chance), the practical meaningfulness or strength of association is minimal. Meaning that the characteristic likely does not have any real greater impact on the outcome over any another. Effect size is not impacted by the size of your sample, therefore being a more practical measure of association.

To fully examine the relationship between these characteristics and pretrial release, we next ran logistic regressions. Logistic regressions provide an understanding of which factors are related to an outcome when all the other potentially impactful characteristics are accounted for in the analysis. Overall, we found that individuals booked who were younger, Persons of Color (POC), scored a CPRAI Level 1, and were released on PR bonds are more likely to be released before disposition. No case characteristics were related to this outcome. In regard to CPRAI risk level and PR release, these findings are expected in that lower risk levels and those without financial bond are expected to be released more often.

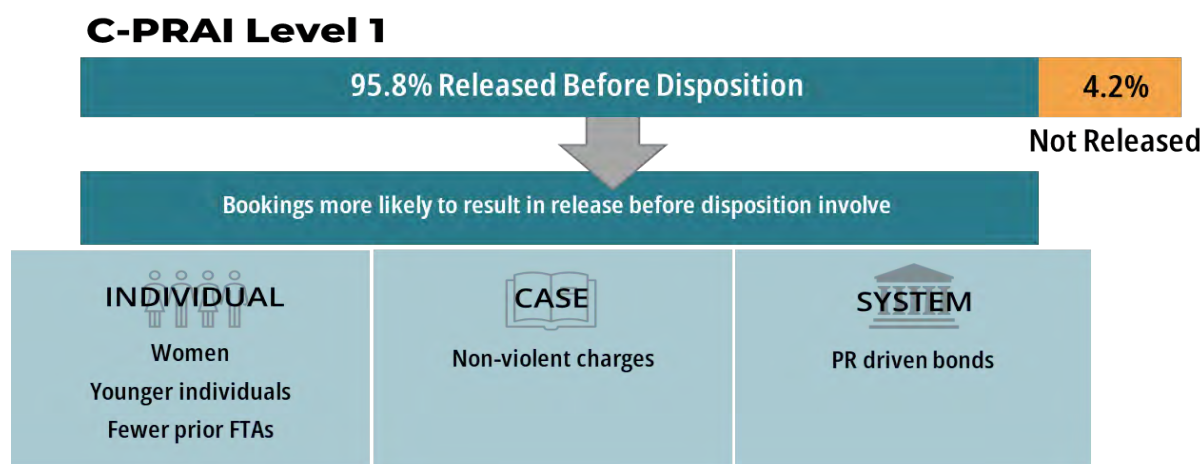


Findings based on logistic regression. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with release before disposition even once other characteristics were accounted for.

After diving deeper into CPRAI risk levels, we found individuals assessed at lower risk levels are more likely to be released before disposition. Within the risk levels, there are very few individuals who are not released; therefore, we only looked at how each characteristic was individually associated with release (i.e., does not account for influence of other characteristics at the same time).

Across all CPRAI risk levels, the individual characteristic of being younger and the system characteristic of a PR release were associated with release before disposition. PR being related to an increased likelihood of release is expected since indigency would not be a barrier. POC were released more often when their risk levels were assessed as level 2 and 4. Bookings with individuals who have fewer prior FTAs and are assessed as risk levels of 1 and 2 were more likely to be released before disposition. Only for those assessed as risk level 1 was being a woman associated with release before disposition as well as having non-violent charges. Only for those assessed as risk level 2 were those with fewer current pending charges from prior cases related to release.

The findings related to POC should be considered in context of other analyses conducted within Charleston County. The current analysis examines an isolated part of the legal system process that could potentially be impacted by other practices (e.g., defense attorney practices) that limitedly counteracts existing racial disparities in the process. Research conducted by [Stemen and colleagues \(2021\)](#) demonstrates that racial disparities do exist at the different decision points within Charleston County case processing and the impact of these disparities varies at the different stages.






Findings based on bivariate statistics due to sample size within groups. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with release before disposition but doesn't account for other characteristics.

C-PRAI Level 2



Bookings more likely to result in release before disposition involve




 INDIVIDUAL Younger individuals Persons of Color (POC) Fewer prior FTAs	 CASE No significant factor	 SYSTEM Fewer current pending charges PR driven bonds
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Findings based on bivariate statistics due to sample size within groups. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with release before disposition but doesn't account for other characteristics.

C-PRAI Level 3



Bookings more likely to result in release before disposition involve

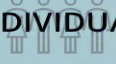


 INDIVIDUAL Younger individuals	 CASE No significant factor	 SYSTEM PR driven bonds
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Findings based on bivariate statistics due to sample size within groups. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with release before disposition but doesn't account for other characteristics.

C-PRAI Level 4



Bookings more likely to result in release before disposition involve

 INDIVIDUAL Younger individuals Persons of Color (POC)	 CASE No significant factor	 SYSTEM PR driven bonds
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Findings based on bivariate statistics due to sample size within groups. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with release before disposition but doesn't account for other characteristics.

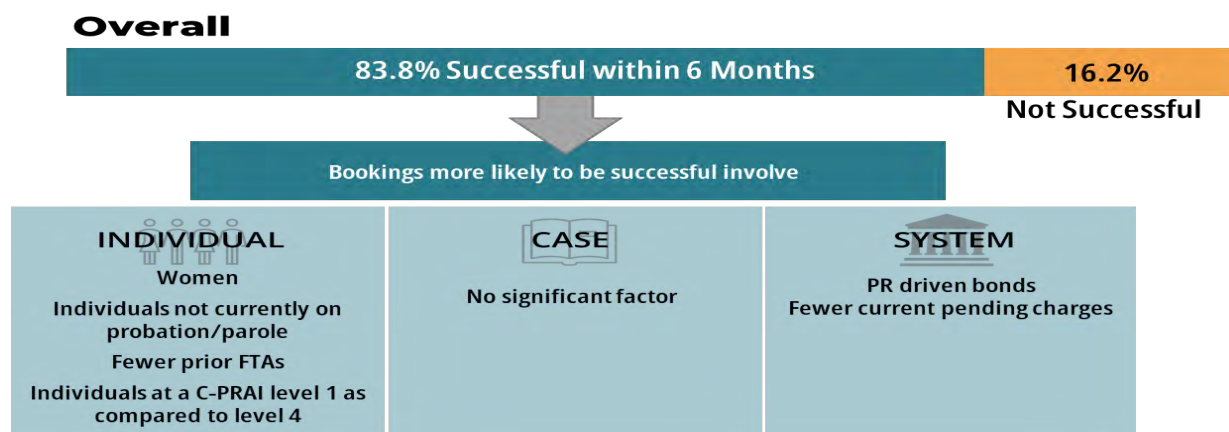
KEY TAKEAWAYS ABOUT RELEASE BEFORE DISPOSITION

- ✓ Most individuals booked were released before disposition.
- ✓ Overall and within assessed CPRAI risk levels, individual and system characteristics were associated with release before disposition.

Characteristics Associated with Success within First Six Months of Pretrial

Next, we found associations between a number of individual, case, and system characteristics and success during pretrial release into the community. These included sex, current status on probation/parole, number of prior FTAs, CPRAI risk level, court for booking, presence of a violent charge on booking, severity of charge on booking, effective bond, number of pending charges from prior cases at current booking, and pending weapons charge at booking. Most of the effect sizes for these relationships showed no to small practical impact of these characteristics on success. CPRAI risk level and number of pending charges at current booking had the largest effects but were both still only a small to moderate effects. See Table C2 in Appendix C for details.

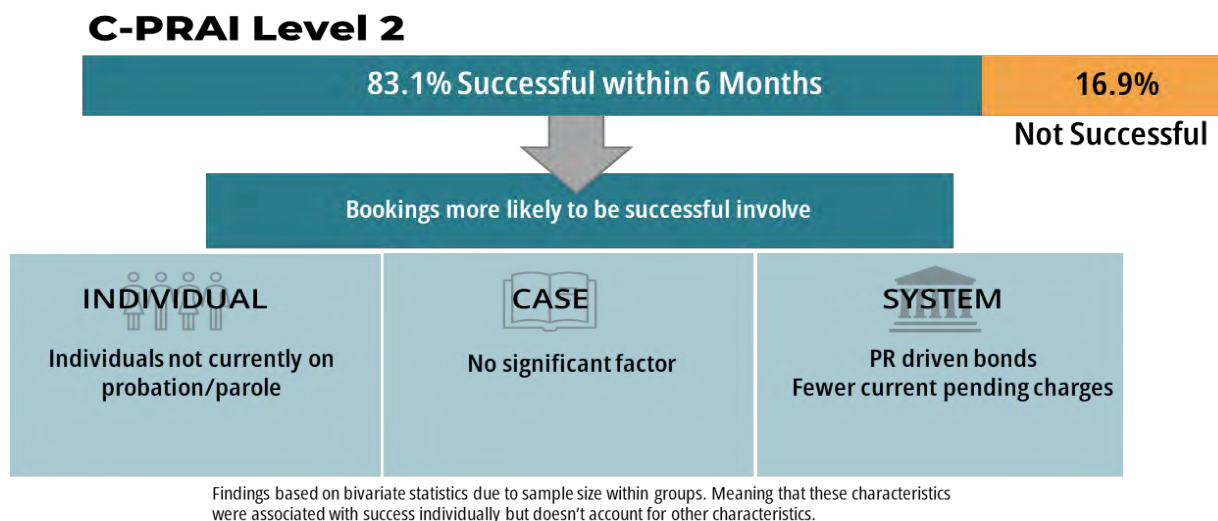
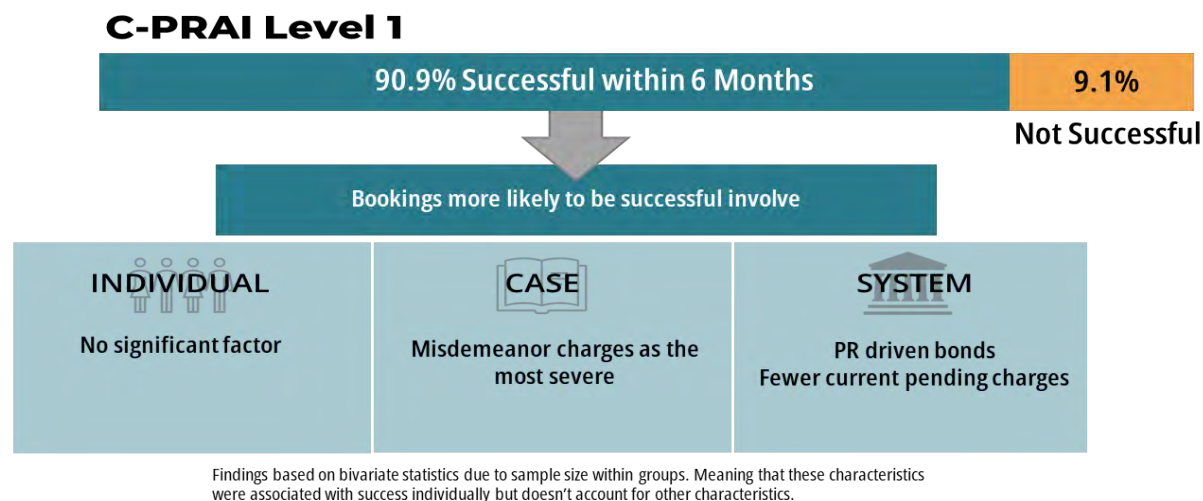
After accounting for the influence of the characteristics individually associated with success, individuals booked who were women, individuals not currently on probation or parole, those with fewer prior FTAs, those assessed as CPRAI level one, those released on PR bond, and those with fewer current pending charges from prior cases are more likely to be successful during the first six months following pretrial release.



Findings based on logistic regression. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with success after accounting for impact of other characteristics.

Within the CPRAI risk levels, we found individuals assessed at lower risk levels are more likely to be successful. Again, being mindful of the sample sizes within these groups, we only looked at how each characteristic was individually associated with success (i.e., does not account for influence of other characteristics at the same time).

Across all risk levels, individuals booked with fewer current pending charges from prior cases were more likely to be successful. Individuals booked who were released on a PR bond were more likely to be successful within Levels 1, 2, and 3. Within Level 1, individuals booked with a misdemeanor charge as the most severe were more likely to be successful. Within Level 2, individuals booked who were not currently on probation/parole were more likely to succeed, while within Level 4, individuals booked who had fewer prior FTAs were more successful.

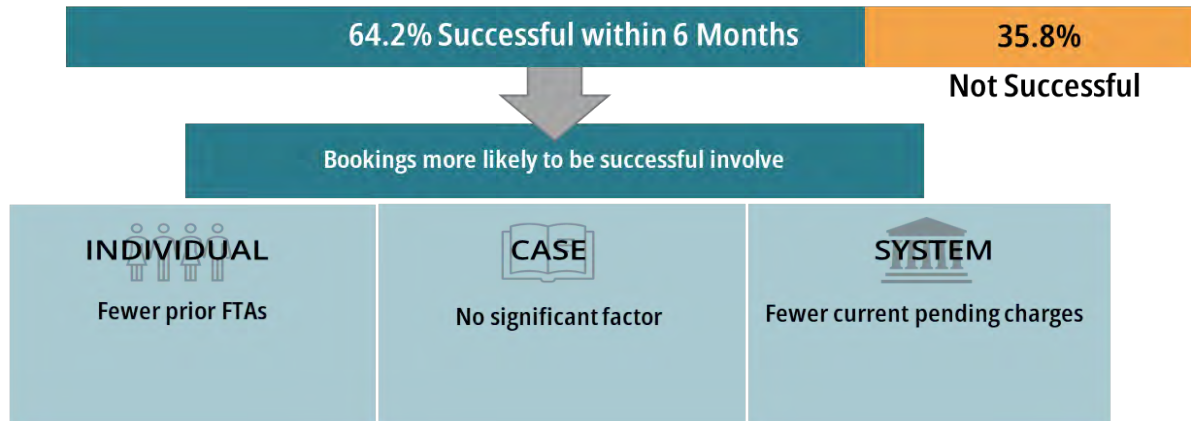


C-PRAI Level 3



Findings based on bivariate statistics due to sample size within groups. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with success individually but doesn't account for other characteristics.

C-PRAI Level 4



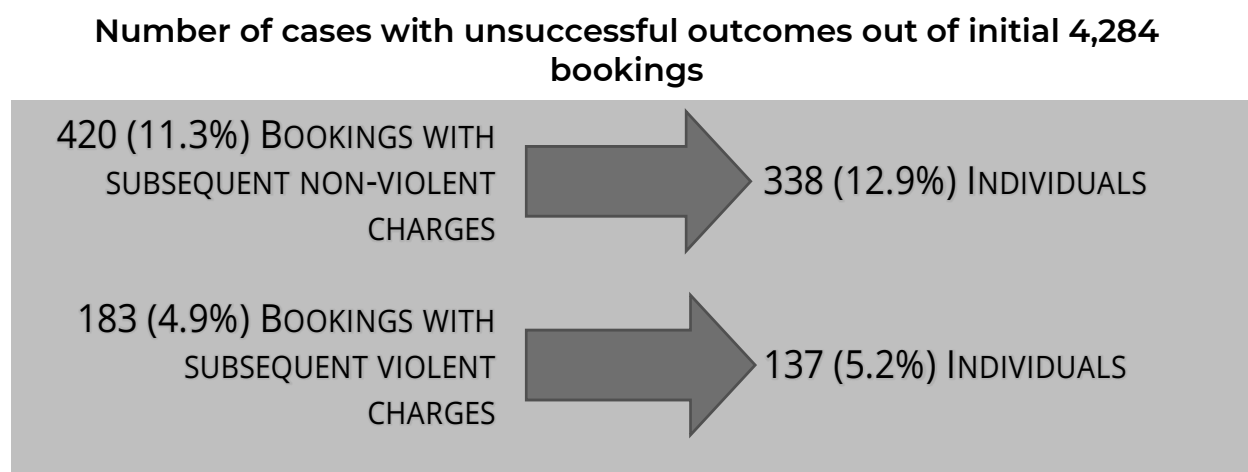
Findings based on bivariate statistics due to sample size within groups. Meaning that these characteristics were associated with success individually but doesn't account for other characteristics.

KEY TAKEAWAYS ABOUT SUCCESS ON PRETRIAL RELEASE

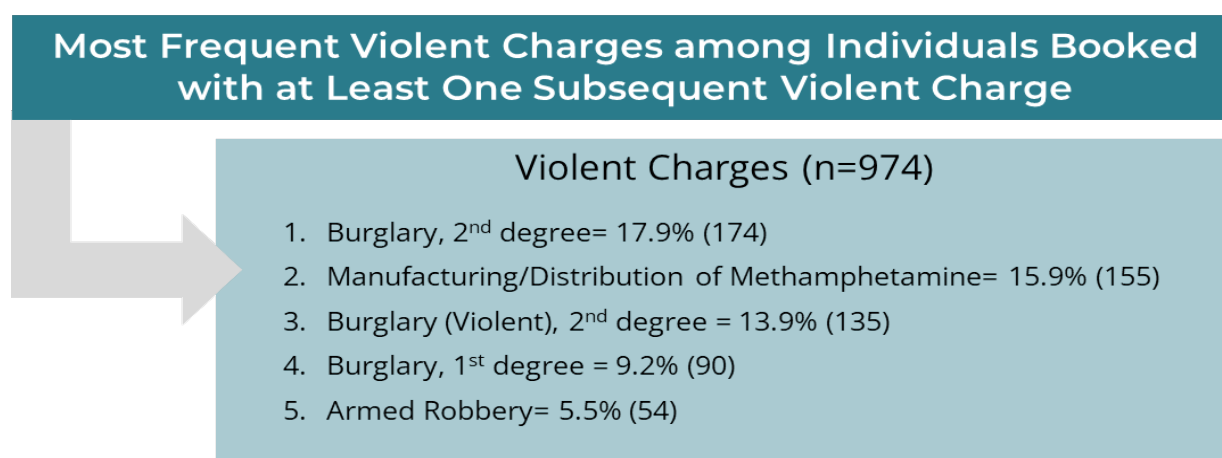
- ✓ Most individuals booked were successful (i.e., no new arrest) during the first six months of pretrial release.
- ✓ Overall and within CPRAI risk levels, system characteristics were particularly related to success within the first six months.

Exploring Characteristics for Individuals Booked with Unsuccessful Outcomes

Finally, we dove deeper into the individuals booked who had unsuccessful outcomes during the six months following their release. There were a small number of individuals responsible for the subsequent bookings, with an even smaller number with subsequent bookings for violent charges.¹⁰



Examining the types of charges among individual bookings with subsequently statutorily violent bookings (i.e., had at least one violent charge on the subsequent booking) revealed that there were 3,910 charges connected to these 183 bookings. Among these charges, 75.1% (2,936) were non-violent while 24.9% (n=974) were violent charges. Most of these violent charges were for burglary related crimes¹¹.

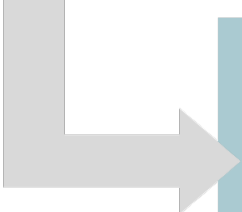


¹⁰ These could be statutorily violent charges that necessitate a special bond process (e.g., capital eligible cases) as well as any other statutorily-defined violent charge.

¹¹ In South Carolina, Burglary 2nd degree can be a violent or non-violent charge depending upon the specific charge code. These two fall under 16-11-312(C)(1) and 16-11-312(C)(2).

Most Frequent Charges among Individuals Booked with Subsequent Non-Violent Charges

Non-Violent Charges (n=3,964)

- 
1. Habitual traffic offender = 5.4% (216)
 2. Unlawful carrying of weapon = 5.4% (215)
 3. Shoplifting \$2000 or less (enhanced) = 5.3% (211)
 4. Breaking into motor vehicles or tanks, pumps and other containers wherein fuel or lubricants are stored = 4.9% (194)
 5. Fail to stop for blue light = 4.6% (183)

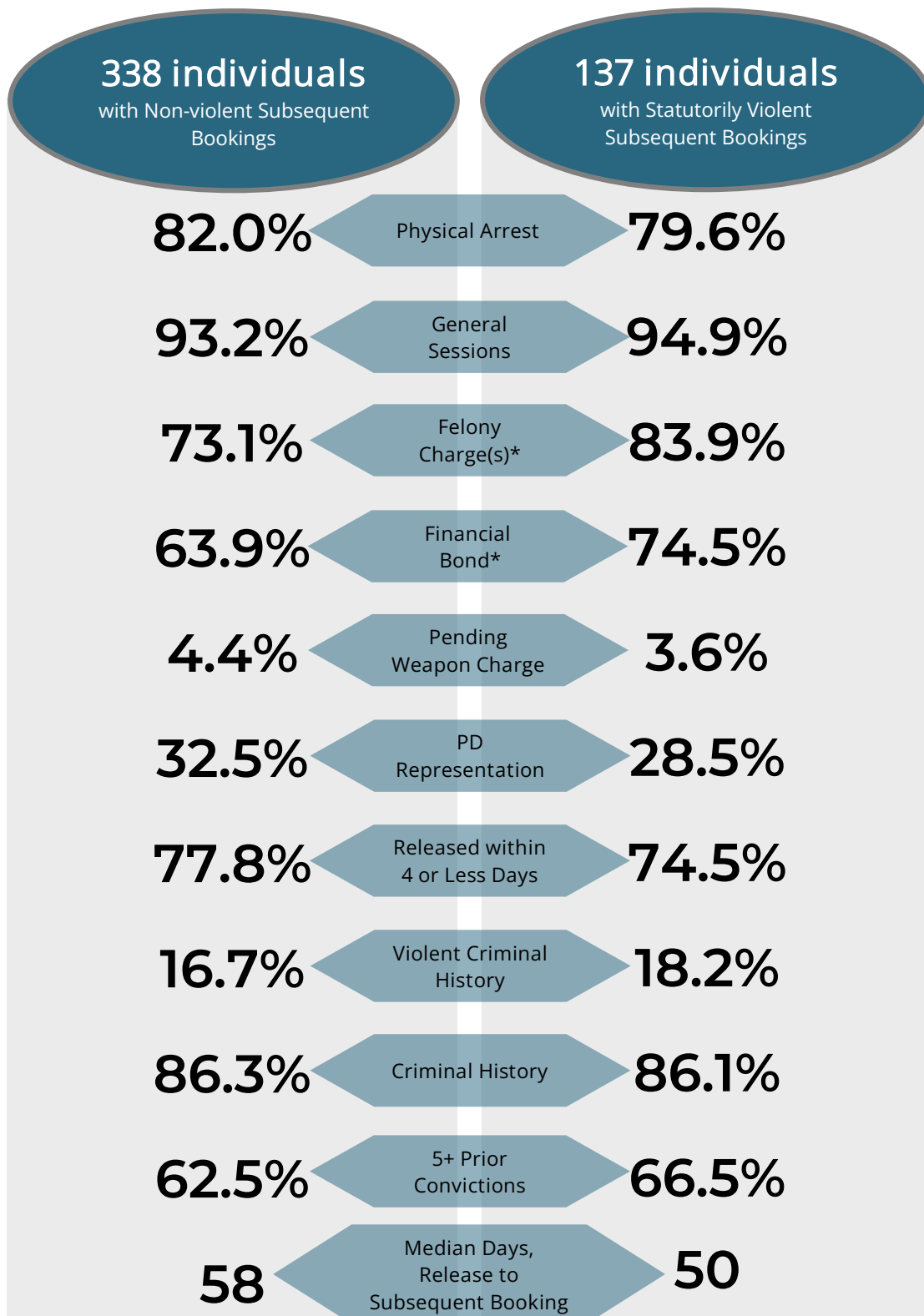
Examining the types of charges among individual bookings with subsequently non-violent bookings revealed that there were 3,9464 charges connected to these 420 bookings. The most frequent of these non-violent charges were for being a habitual traffic offender.

Taking a look at an individuals' first booking, we found very few differences between the characteristics to determine who commits subsequent violence or not. As would be expected, the most severe offense being a felony and release on a financial bond were significantly different between subsequent violent and non-violent charges. However, this finding should be considered carefully because the effect size was small for both of these. This means that practically speaking the relationship between the type of subsequent charge and these two factors is weak.

KEY TAKEAWAYS ABOUT UNSUCCESSFUL BOOKINGS

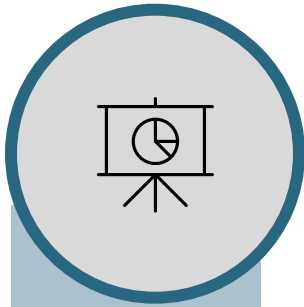
- ✓ A relatively small portion of individuals disproportionately accounted for statutorily-defined violent crimes when released before disposition.
- ✓ The most frequent statutorily-defined violent charge individuals with subsequent violent bookings had were burglary related crimes.
- ✓ Those with subsequently statutorily-defined violent or non-violent charges have similar original booking characteristics.

WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE ORIGINAL BOOKINGS FOR THESE INDIVIDUALS?



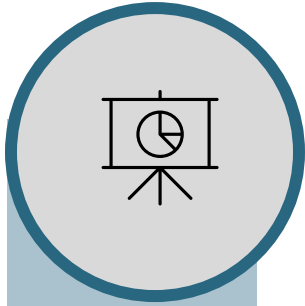


Recommendations



CREATE CONSENSUS AMONG STAKEHOLDERS AROUND HOW VIOLENCE IS DEFINED

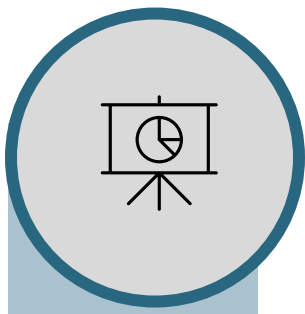
For this study, we defined violence based on the [South Carolina Code of Laws](#). We found that most individuals released before disposition are successful within the first six months of release and that a small number of individuals were charged with subsequent statutorily-defined violent offenses that occur during pretrial release. However, we recognize that in other Charleston reports and public discourse the charges considered violent may differ from the definition used here. Currently, the CJCC and stakeholders are working to compile different charges that could be defined as violent in ongoing analyses. Given the importance of understanding and responding to public safety concerns raised by violent crime, we recommend that legal system and community stakeholders convene to determine an agreed upon definition of violent crime. Once a definition of violent crime has been agreed upon, then data analyses can be used to determine the most effective, resource mindful strategies that can be used to target this small group of individuals.



RE-EXAMINE THE USE OF FINANCIAL BONDS FOR THOSE ASSESSED AS LOWER RISK OF RE-ARREST AND FAILURE TO APPEAR (LOWER CPRAI LEVELS)

Individuals released on personal recognizance (PR) bonds who were assessed at CPRAI Levels 1, 2, and 3 were more successful (i.e., no new charges) during the first six months after release than those released on financial bonds. Additionally, those with PR bonds were more likely to be released before disposition at all levels of the CPRAI. Understanding that those in the lower CPRAI risk levels should have a lower risk of failing to appear in court and re-arrest during pretrial release, there needs to be a closer examination of how the type of release (i.e., PR versus financial bond) mitigates an individual's likelihood of success among these lower risk levels. In some instances, it may be possible that financial bonds create a barrier to a timely release within the lower risk levels and are not serving public safety. Ultimately, they could be increasing subsequent failures by adding unnecessary jail days for individuals assessed as low risk.

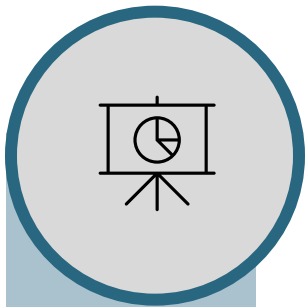
Alternatively, there could be an unmeasured factor taken into consideration during the bond decision making that supports financial bonds to help with public safety for these individuals being re-arrested more often from these lower risk levels. To further what is known about financial bond releases and risk level, we recommend that the CJCC and stakeholders continue to evaluate the need for financial bonds on individuals who are assessed at the lower levels of the CPRAI. Working on this recommendation may involve convening a group to address questions such as what are the goals for financial bonds, what are key metrics that would tell us if these goals are being met, and do these metrics already exist to examine or need to be collected.



PRIORITIZE ADDRESSING CASE PROCESSING DELAYS

We found that individuals with fewer pending charges are more likely to be successful within the first six months after release, overall and within every CPRAI risk level. Findings from the [Charleston County CJCC Annual Report \(2020\)](#) demonstrate that the median time to disposition in 2019 was 465 days. Additionally, findings from [Stemen and colleagues \(2021\)](#) show that about 20.5% of cases are completely dismissed in Charleston County. Given that many cases are dismissed and that pending charges from previous cases can negatively impact an individual's outcomes on pretrial, the next step is prioritizing the reduction of time to disposition for existing cases. This system processing delay to dispose of cases creates a negative cyclical experience for individuals– making it difficult to escape the legal system. As Charleston stakeholders work to build pretrial service options, this relationship between case processing and individuals' success makes it difficult to determine how pretrial service options would be most beneficial. An emphasis should be placed on the work being led by the CJCC's Case Processing workgroup to prioritize reducing the case processing delays before development of the pretrial service options.

Furthermore, at an individual level, collecting more information about pending charges would help inform research and practice about cases going forward. For instance, there could be more information collected on the Pretrial Services Report that would help future analyses understand more nuance about these pending charges. Such information as the exact date of the most recent pending charges, the date of last release associated with those charges, and the type of charges on that most recent instance could help inform appropriate pretrial service options going forward.

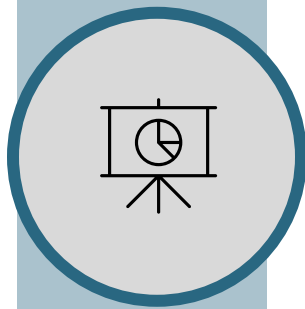


CREATE TRIGGERS FOR CASE REVIEW OF MOST CONCERNING BOOKINGS

Recognizing there is a small group of individuals responsible for the subsequent violent bookings, there should be a flag put into place to identify these individuals. For example, this flag might highlight individuals if they have a prior jail booking with pending disposition and are charged with a violent offense. This flag could be used for two purposes: pretrial release decisions and case processing decisions. For pretrial release decisions, the most intensive and restrictive pretrial resources should be prioritized for those flagged in this group. For case processing, these flagged cases should be prioritized in the queue of pending cases. Once individuals who have the most concerning bookings are flagged, there should be a structured review process to determine if any trends exist. This means that there is a clearly identified group and process to proactively address how to handle these cases both before they are released (e.g., how they will be supervised) and the case processing after they are released. This should be an ongoing process that happens quickly incorporating this new flag and agreed upon definition of violence.

At an individual level, there could be key metrics identified that can be part of the review process for these flagged cases. A few examples of metrics could be:

- The additional pending charge information recommended to be added to PSR (e.g., date of prior release, charges on most recent)
- Those who have double bond on back-to-back violent charges could be flagged on the Jail Population Review.
- Those who are re-booked within the same 48-hour period.



These types of metrics could be used to determine those most at risk of unsuccessful outcomes and addressed through the most intense pretrial service options.

At the system level, these key metrics used at the individual level for decision making could be used to determine if there are larger group trends that exist to put into place the most appropriate pretrial services to address re-occurring legal system involvement. This could involve creating a systematic mechanism to help prioritize certain cases as they move through the process. For example, potentially identifying specific metrics that could trigger a bond revocation hearing on an original booking.

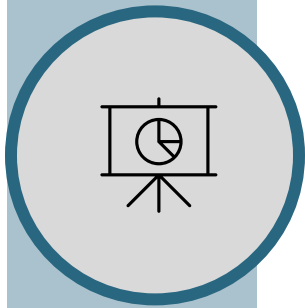
DIVE DEEPER INTO MOST CONCERNING BOOKINGS

The present analyses are limited by the available data in the original data request and can only provide a limited picture of the original booking available in the time frame. However, there is potentially a lot more history and detail that could distinguish these cases. We recommend looking more in-depth at these most concerning bookings to identify if any other characteristics may help stakeholders make more proactive decisions regarding these cases. In examining the histories of these individuals, one approach could be to construct a timeline of legal system involvement for everyone. Some of the key data points that should be examined are

- Any violent convictions: original charge descriptions, convicted charge descriptions, date of the convictions
- Prior charges filed: charge descriptions, date of arrest, date charges filed
- Prior dispositions: disposition date, type of disposition (e.g., dismissed, sentenced), reason for disposition

- Incarcerations connected to prior arrests: date booked, date released

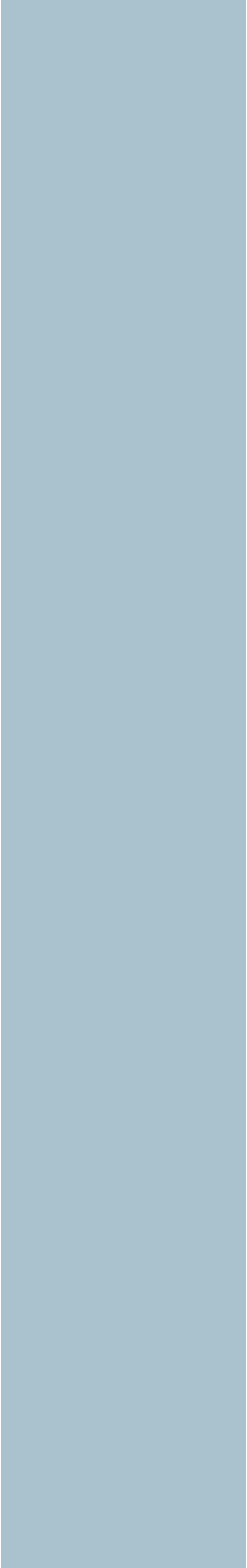
These additional data points would allow for the examination of the amount of time cases took to process for these individuals (e.g., time to disposition), the extent there is overlap between timelines for cases (i.e., pending charges factor), and how these items may combine with the specific type of charge to impact outcomes.



COLLECT NEEDS DATA FOR TARGETED BOOKINGS

A primary goal for Charleston County is to assist individuals released during the pretrial phase to return to court and remain crime free. While this current analysis was able to identify individuals who were more likely to fail, it was not able to determine *why* people failed. We recommend that there be a limited collection of needs data on people who have higher rates of failing (e.g., subsequent bookings occurring within a specified time frame, most likely to be unsuccessful). Some of the information that could be collected include:

- Number of residences in prior 12 months
- Length of time at current residence
- If the primary caretaker for anyone (children, elderly, etc.)
- Employment/employer information (e.g., name, address, start date, shift times)
- Military record (e.g., entry date, discharge date, discharge type)
- Current and historical mental health concerns (yes/no)
- Substance use concerns (e.g., self-report yes/no, opioid screen, dependence screen)
- Any existing restrictions or monitoring (e.g., probation, electronic monitoring, curfews)



Additionally, more information could be collected about potential FTAs such as reasons they have previously missed a court date or appointment.¹² Starting on September 16, 2020, individuals could 'opt in' to getting court reminders. In the available data, we saw that nearly 60% of bookings had opted in once this was available. This information would allow for a better understanding of the context around FTAs and how the court reminder system can be best utilized. Part of this information collection could also ask individuals if they would prefer to be automatically enrolled in the court reminder system.

¹² Most of the time frame included in this data analysis occurred after the COVID-19 pandemic began. During this time, returns to custody for FTAs have not been allowed by the courts, therefore making success a measure of lack of new offense.



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Appendix A: Measuring Statutory Violence

The following are the statute codes categorized as statutorily violent. Additionally, some specific crime descriptions had to be recoded according to text (instead of statute code) and these are listed as well.

16-3-10*	24-13-450	16-25-0065(A)
16-3-29	10-11-325(B)(1)*	16-3-1075(B)(1)
16-3-210(B)	16-3-615	16-3-620(2)
16-3-652	16-3-820	16-3-655(C)(1)
16-3-653	16-15-395	16-3-655(C)(2)
16-3-655*	16-15-405	16-3-655(C)(3)
16-3-656	16-15-415	16-03-0655(C)
16-3-620	16-15-425	16-3-600(B)(2)
16-3-600(B)	16-17-470(C)	
16-3-910*	16-23-720(A)(1)	
16-3-2020	16-23-720(A)(2)	
16-3-50	50-21-113(A)(2)	
16-11-330(A)	50-21-130(A)(3)	
16-11-330(B)	55-1-30(3)	
16-3-1075	56-5-750(C)(2)	
44-53-370(E)	56-5-1030(B)(3)	
44-53-375(C)	56-5-1210(A)(3)	
44-53-375	56-5-2945(A)(2)	
16-11-110(A)	57-7-20(D)*	
16-11-110(B)	58-17-4090*	
16-11-311	16-1-40*	
16-11-312(B)	16-1-80*	
16-3-810	16-3-930	
16-3-85(A)(1)*	16-03-0600	
16-3-85(A)(2)	16-03-0655(B)(1)	
16-3-95(A)	16-11-312(C)(1)	
16-3-95(B)	16-11-312(C)(2)	
16-25-65	16-15-395(D)	
16-25-20(B)	16-15-405(D)	
43-35-85(E)	16-15-410(C)	
43-35-85(F)	16-25-0020(A)(B)	

* These codes fall within a special process of no bond due to being a capital or life eligible crime and were not included in consideration as an initial booking.

DRUGS/MANUFACTURE METH 1ST
MANUFACTURE METH 1ST
DRUGS/MANUFACTURE METH
TRAFFICKING COCAINE BASE
DRUGS/TRAFFICKING METH 1ST
DRUGS/MANUFACTURE METH 1ST
TRAFFICKING FENTANYL
TRAFFICKING METHAMPHETAMINE
TRAFFIC METHAMPHETAMINE
TRAFFICKING COCAINE
TRAFFIC OF IMITATION CONTROLLE
TRAFFICKING CONTROLLED SUBSTAN
TRAFFIC MARIJUANA >10 LBS BUT
TRAFFICKING MARIJUANA 10-100 L
TRAFFIC COCAINE 28G OR MORE B
TRAFFICKING COCAINE
TRAFFIC COCAINE 1ST OFF
HEROIN ETC TRAFFIC DRUGS>4G <1
TRAFFICKING HEROIN
HEROIN ETC TRAFFIC DRUGS 1ST
TRAFFICKING MDMA
TRAF MDMA/ECSTASY 100-<500 UNI
TRAFFICKING MDMA/ECSTASY

TRAFFICKING MDMA/ECSTASY
TRAF MDMA/ECSTASY 500-<1000 UN
TRAFFICKING IN COCAINE>10G BUT
TRAFFICKING MARIJUANA>10 LBS B
TRAFFICK COCAINE
TRAFFICK HEROIN
TRAFFICK HEROIN MORPH ETC >4G
TRAFFICK HEROIN MORPH ETC >4G
TRAFFICKING METH
TRAFFICK IN HEROIN MORPH ETC
TRAFFICKING HEROIN, 28G OR MOR
TRAFFICKING COCAINE/ 400 G OR
TRAFFICKING COCAINE/10G OR MOR
TRAFFICKING METHAMPHETAMINE 10
DRUGS/MAN DIST ETC OF METHAMPH
MAN DIST ETC OF METHAMPHETAMIN
TRAFFICKING COCAINE BASE
TRAF METH/ICE/CRANK/CRACK COCA
TRAFFIC ICE CRANK CRACK COCAIN
TRAFFICKING ICE CRANK CRACK >1
TRAFFICKING COCAINE BASE 10-28

Appendix B: Measuring Misdemeanor and Felony Crimes

The statutory codes below were used to distinguish between misdemeanors and felonies.

Misdemeanors

4-11-130	16-3-1050(G)	16-17-505(3)
4-17-70	16-3-1050(H)	16-17-506
5-21-30	16-3-1720(A)	16-17-650(A)(2)
5-21-40	16-3-1720(B)	16-17-680
7-5-325	16-3-1910(O)	16-17-680(D)
7-13-1920	16-3-1920(N)	16-17-680(D)(3)
7-25-10	16-3-2080(F)	16-17-680(E)
7-25-70	16-5-40	16-17-680(F)
7-25-110	16-5-50	16-17-680(G)
7-25-120	16-7-160(1)	16-17-735(D)
7-25-160	16-7-170	16-17-770(A)(2)
7-25-170	16-11-30	16-21-60(A)
8-11-30	16-11-140	16-23-470
9-1-1160(A)	16-11-523	16-23-530
10-11-315	16-11-560	16-25-30(B)
10-11-320	16-11-570	16-25-125(E)
10-11-360	16-11-770(B)(3)	17-7-510
11-1-20	16-11-780	22-9-140
11-1-40	16-11-920(A)(3)	23-1-20
11-9-20	16-13-10	23-3-535(D)(2)
12-2-70	16-13-131(C)(1)	24-13-425(B)
12-28-1500(F)	16-13-135(E)(1)	25-7-20
12-28-1545(B)	16-13-150	29-1-30
12-28-1550(C)	16-13-180(B)(2)	35-1-508(a)(3)
12-28-1555(D)	16-13-380	35-11-725(C)
12-28-1560(D)	16-13-385(B)(2)	37-13-50
12-28-1565(C)	16-13-385(C)(2)	38-7-140
12-28-1570(C)	16-13-385(D)(2)	38-13-140
12-28-1585(C)	16-13-470(B)(1)	38-25-330
12-28-1720(C)	16-15-130	38-38-720(2)
12-28-1940(B)	16-15-250	38-43-190
12-54-44(B)(6)(c)(i)	16-17-470(A)	38-55-80
12-54-44(B)(6)(c)(ii)	16-17-470(B)(1)	38-55-150

Misdemeanors

16-3-600(A)	16-17-490	38-55-160
16-3-730	16-17-495(C)	38-55-173(B)(1)
38-55-540(A)(2)	50-1-85(4)	16-11-580(C)(1)
38-59-50	50-11-100(B)	16-11-910
39-15-750	50-13-1460	16-11-915
39-15-1190(B)(1)(a)(ii)	50-13-1470	16-11-920(A)(2)
40-5-320	50-21-112(B)(3)	16-11-930
40-5-350	50-21-117(B)(3)	16-13-65
40-5-360	54-1-40	16-13-437
40-54-80	55-3-130	16-16-20(3)(c)
43-5-40	56-1-460	16-16-20(4)
43-7-60	56-5-750(B)(1)	16-17-10
43-7-70	56-5-2930	16-17-510
43-7-80(B)	56-5-2933	16-17-560
43-33-40	56-5-2941(K)(1)(b)	16-17-610
43-35-85(G)	57-7-20(C)	16-23-465
43-35-85(H)	58-7-60(B)(2)	23-17-110
44-31-360	58-7-60(C)(2)	23-31-370
44-37-30	58-7-60(E)(2)	23-31-400(C)
44-41-36(A)	58-7-70(B)	23-35-130
44-41-350	58-7-70(C)(2)	23-41-60
44-41-470	58-7-70(D)(2)	25-1-150
44-53-370(b)(3)	58-15-875(D)(2)	25-1-2180
44-53-370(d)(3)	58-17-4040	25-7-60
44-53-375(A)	58-23-920	25-7-80
44-53-398(H)(3)	59-25-250(A)	27-29-150
44-79-120	59-41-80	30-15-50
45-9-90	59-63-450	32-1-290
46-17-460	59-102-150	34-11-90(b)
46-19-270	61-4-170	34-39-240
46-25-80	61-6-4180	34-41-120
46-41-30(1)	12-21-2540	38-2-20
46-55-60	12-21-2714	38-2-30
47-3-630	12-21-3070	38-21-340
47-3-760(B)(1)	14-7-380	38-43-160
47-3-960	16-3-410	38-43-240
47-17-100(A)	16-3-420	38-45-150
47-19-120(C)(1)	16-5-130(2)	38-47-60

Misdemeanors

47-21-80(A)	16-5-130(3)	38-48-130
47-21-250(A)	16-8-240(A)	38-51-20
48-27-250	16-9-410(C)(2)	38-55-60
48-49-60(a)	16-9-420	38-55-340
38-63-10	56-1-2070	8-13-320(10)(g)
38-73-80	56-5-5030	8-13-540(B)(2)(d)
38-77-1160	56-14-30(D)(3)	8-13-1510
39-23-80(B)(1)	56-15-310(B)(3)	8-13-1520
39-25-50(a)	56-16-140(B)(3)	9-1-40
39-33-1320	58-13-10	9-8-220
40-15-212	58-15-840	9-9-210
40-29-180	58-15-860	9-11-320
40-37-200(A)	58-23-1640(K)	10-9-260
40-43-86(EF)	61-6-4010(B)(3)	11-15-90
40-59-200	61-6-4025(c)	11-15-290
40-81-200	61-6-4030(c)	11-48-30(C)(3)
40-81-480	61-6-4040(c)	11-48-100
44-41-80(b)	61-6-4060(B)(3)	12-21-2710
44-53-40(B)	61-6-4100(c)	12-21-2830
44-53-370(b)(4)	61-6-4110(c)	12-24-70(B)
44-53-370(d)(1)	61-6-4120(c)	12-28-2345
44-53-395	61-6-4130(c)	12-51-96
44-53-1680(A)	61-6-4150(c)	12-54-44(B)(3)
44-56-130	61-6-4155(B)(3)	12-54-44(B)(4)
44-55-1360	61-6-4157(B)(1)(c)	12-54-44(B)(5)
44-93-150(C)	61-6-4160(c)	12-54-44(B)(6)(c)(iii)
44-96-100(B)	61-6-4170(B)(3)	12-54-240
44-96-450(B)	63-9-2050	13-7-80
46-33-60	1-6-100	14-7-1720
47-1-40(A)	1-7-400	14-17-580
47-1-50	2-15-120	14-23-680
48-1-90	2-17-50	16-1-55
48-1-320	2-17-130	16-3-210
48-1-340	2-17-140	16-3-530
48-23-265(C)(1)	5-21-500	16-3-610
48-27-230	6-1-120(C)	16-3-1050(A)
48-43-550(f)	7-25-20	16-3-1340
49-1-20	7-25-100	16-3-1710(B)

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50-1-85(3)	7-25-200	16-3-1720(D)
50-11-96	8-1-30	16-3-2090(D)
50-11-430	8-1-80	16-7-110
50-11-2640(B)	8-9-10	16-7-120
50-13-1440	8-9-30	16-7-150
51-3-150	8-13-320(9)(c)	16-9-260
16-9-270	16-15-325	23-37-50
16-9-320(A)	16-16-20(3)(c)	23-39-40
16-9-370(a)	16-17-310	23-50-50(B)
16-11-150(a)	16-17-420(C)	24-3-410
16-11-180	16-17-500(3)	24-3-420
16-11-700(F)	16-17-520	24-5-90
16-11-730	16-17-540	24-27-300
16-11-750	16-17-650(A)(1)	25-1-440(c)(1)
16-11-770(B)(2)	16-17-680(D)	25-1-1420
16-11-820	16-17-680(D)(2)	25-1-3067
16-11-825	16-17-680(E)	25-15-20
16-11-830	16-17-680(F)	27-18-350(D)
16-11-835	16-17-680(G)	30-2-50
16-11-840	16-17-700	33-56-140
16-11-845	16-17-720	33-56-145(A)
16-11-855	16-17-735	33-56-145(B)
16-11-910	16-17-760	33-57-170(A)
16-11-915	16-17-770(A)(1)	33-57-170(B)
16-11-920(A)(1)	16-19-10	33-57-170(C)
16-11-930	16-19-40	34-1-120
16-13-15	16-21-60(B)	34-3-70
16-13-65	16-21-70	34-3-90
16-13-165(B)(1)(a)	16-23-20	34-11-30
16-13-300	16-23-450	34-11-60
16-13-385(C)(1)	16-23-730	34-19-110
16-13-385(D)(1)	16-25-20(C)	34-25-90(b)
16-13-400	16-27-40	34-28-390
16-13-410(1)	17-15-90(2)	34-28-740
16-14-60	17-22-170	34-36-70
16-14-60(a)	17-28-350	37-5-301(a)
16-14-60(a)(2)(d)	17-29-20	37-5-301(b)
16-14-60(b)	17-30-50(B)(1)	37-5-302

Misdemeanors

16-14-60(c)	20-3-210	37-5-303
16-14-60(d)	22-9-170	37-11-120
16-14-80	23-3-475(B)(2)	38-13-200
16-15-50	23-17-40	38-27-80(d)
16-15-60	23-19-130	38-49-40
16-15-90	23-31-215(M)	39-9-200
16-15-100	23-31-225	39-11-170
16-15-315	23-35-150(3)	39-15-460
39-15-470	40-79-200(A)	44-56-490(C)
39-15-480	40-82-200	44-63-161(C)
39-15-490	41-1-60	44-93-150(C)
39-15-500	41-15-320(e)	44-96-100(B)
39-15-1190	41-25-30	44-96-450(B)
39-15-1190(B)(1)(a)(i)	41-25-40	45-9-85
39-17-340	41-25-50	46-1-50
39-19-60	41-25-60	46-1-75
39-22-90(A)(5)	41-25-70	46-10-100
39-22-90(A)(6)	41-25-80	46-23-80
39-22-90(A)(7)	42-9-360	46-41-170(1)
39-41-570	42-15-90	46-50-30
39-75-50	43-5-25	46-50-60
40-1-200	43-5-950	47-1-40(A)
40-2-200	43-35-85(A)	47-9-10
40-3-200	44-2-140	47-9-30
40-6-200	44-6-180(B)	47-9-410
40-7-200	44-6-200	47-17-60
40-8-110(K)	44-17-860	47-17-70
40-8-190	44-22-100(C)	47-17-80
40-10-200	44-22-220(C)	47-17-530
40-11-200	44-23-240	47-21-80(B)
40-18-150	44-23-1150(D)	47-21-250(B)
40-23-200	44-24-210	48-39-170(A)
40-31-20	44-26-210	50-1-125(2)
40-33-200	44-32-120(F)	50-1-125(3)
40-35-200(C)	44-34-100(F)	50-1-125(4)
40-36-200	44-41-31(C)	50-1-136
40-38-200	44-41-460(D)	50-5-1535
40-41-60	44-43-580	50-5-2305(D)

Misdemeanors

40-41-220	44-53-50(E)	50-5-2535
40-43-140	44-53-370(b)(4)	50-9-1200
40-47-112	44-53-370(d)(2)	50-11-95
40-47-200	44-53-398(H)(3)	50-11-705
40-51-220	44-53-445(D)(2)	50-11-852
40-54-80	44-53-590	50-11-1920
40-55-170	44-53-1530(2)(b)	50-11-2640(B)
40-56-200	44-53-1530(3)(a)	50-13-1410
40-63-200	44-55-80	50-13-1440
40-68-150(B)	44-56-130	50-15-80(B)
50-18-270(C)	59-69-260	58-7-60(C)(1)
50-18-285(C)	61-2-240	58-7-60(E)(1)
50-21-112(B)(2)	61-4-1530	58-7-70
50-21-130(A)(1)	61-6-4010(B)(2)	58-7-70(C)(1)
52-5-10	61-6-4025(b)	58-7-70(D)(1)
52-5-40	61-6-4030(b)	58-15-875(D)(1)
54-7-810(B)(1)	61-6-4040(b)	58-15-1110
55-1-100(F)	61-6-4060(B)(2)	58-17-2760
55-3-130	61-6-4100(b)	58-17-4030
55-3-130	61-6-4110(b)	58-17-4050
56-1-25	61-6-4120(b)	58-23-920
56-3-150	61-6-4130(b)	59-5-130
56-5-1210(A)(1)	61-6-4150(b)	63-13-430(E)
56-5-1220	61-6-4160(b)	63-13-620(E)
56-5-2780	61-6-4170(B)(2)	63-13-620(F)
56-5-2930	61-6-4200	63-13-630(E)
56-5-2933	61-8-50	63-13-630(G)
56-5-2941(K)(1)(a)	62-2-901	63-13-820(E)
56-5-4975(A)	63-3-620	63-13-820(F)
56-11-250	63-5-20	63-13-830(C)
56-17-10	63-7-940	63-13-830(D)
56-19-240	63-7-1990(A)	63-13-1010(D)
56-19-480	63-11-90	63-17-1070
56-31-50(C)	63-11-1350	
56-31-50(D)	63-13-40(B)	
57-25-145(C)	63-13-185(F)	
58-3-280	63-13-190(C)	
58-4-130	63-13-420(F)	

Felonies

10-11-325(B)(2)	44-53-370(e)(8)(b)(iii)	44-53-375(C)(2)(a)
16-3-50	44-53-370(g)(1)(b)	50-21-113(A)(2)
16-3-29	44-53-370(g)(1)(c)	50-21-130(A)(3)
16-3-652	44-53-375(B)(2)	56-5-750(C)(2)
16-3-655(C)(2)	44-53-375(B)(3)	56-5-1210(A)(3)
16-3-656	44-53-375(C)(1)(b)	56-5-2945(A)(2)
16-3-658	44-53-375(C)(2)(b)	16-3-70
16-3-910	44-53-375(E)(a)(ii)	16-3-75
16-3-920	44-53-375(E)(a)(iii)	16-3-85(C)(2)
16-3-1050(F)	44-53-375(F)(1)(e)	16-3-95(A)
16-3-1075(B)(2)	55-1-30(3)	16-3-600(B)
16-3-2020(B)(2)	56-5-1030(B)(3)	16-3-653
16-3-2020(C)	58-7-60(D)(2)	16-3-655(C)(3)
16-11-110(A)	58-7-70(E)(2)	16-3-656
16-11-330(A)	58-15-870(D)	16-3-658
16-11-380(A)	58-17-4090	16-3-810
16-11-390	10-11-325(B)(3)	16-3-1075(B)(1)
16-11-523(D)(2)	10-11-325(B)(4)	16-3-2220(B)
16-13-385(E)(2)	16-3-210(C)	16-11-330(B)
16-23-720(A)(2)	16-11-110(B)	16-11-350
24-13-450	16-23-720(A)(3)	16-11-360
25-7-30	16-23-720(B)	16-11-380(B)
25-7-40	35-11-725(A)	16-13-135(E)(2)
43-35-85(F)	35-11-725(B)	16-13-165(B)(4)(b)
16-3-1050(F)	44-53-370(e)(1)(a)(3)	16-15-395
44-53-370	44-53-370(e)(2)(b)1	16-15-415
44-53-370(e)(2)(a)2	44-53-370(e)(3)(a)1	16-25-65(B)
44-53-370(e)(2)(b)2	44-53-370(e)(5)(b)1	25-7-30
44-53-370(e)(5)(a)2	44-53-370(e)(6)(a)(2)	35-11-740(A)(1)(b)(iii)
44-53-370(e)(5)(b)2	44-53-370(e)(6)(c)	35-11-740(A)(2)(b)(iii)
44-53-370(e)(5)(a)3	44-53-370(e)(7)(b)	35-11-740(A)(3)(b)(iii)
44-53-370(e)(5)(b)3	44-53-370(e)(8)(b)(i)	44-53-370(b)(2)
44-53-370(e)(6)(d)	44-53-370(e)(8)(c)	44-53-370(e)(1)(a)2
44-53-370(e)(8)(a)(ii)	44-53-370(g)(2)(c)	44-53-370(e)(6)(b)
44-53-370(e)(8)(a)(iii)	44-53-375(E)(1)(b)(i)	44-53-370(g)(1)(a)
44-53-370(e)(8)(b)(ii)	44-53-375(E)(1)(c)(i)	44-53-370(g)(2)(b)
44-53-440	44-53-445(B)(2)	16-11-523(C)(2)

Felonies

44-53-475	44-53-577	16-11-535
44-53-475(A)(1)	50-21-113(A)(1)	16-11-580(C)(2)
44-53-475(A)(3)	56-5-2945(A)(1)	16-11-580(D)(2)
56-1-1105(B)(2)	58-7-60(D)(1)	16-11-740
58-15-870(C)	58-7-70(E)(1)	16-13-10(B)(1)
10-11-325(A)	7-25-50	16-13-30(B)(2)
16-1-55	7-25-60	16-13-40(3)
16-3-655(C)	7-25-80	16-13-50(A)(1)
16-3-1090(B)	8-1-20	16-13-70(B)(1)
16-3-1045	8-13-705	16-13-110(B)(3)
16-3-1050(E)	9-16-350	16-13-131(C)(2)
16-3-1730(C)	15-49-20(H)	16-13-165(B)(2)(b)
16-3-2020(B)(1)	16-1-55	16-13-165(B)(3)(b)
16-11-110(C)	16-1-57	16-13-165(B)(4)(a)
16-11-312	16-3-600(C)	16-13-170
16-11-312(C)(2)	16-3-615	16-13-180(3)
16-11-325	16-3-625	16-13-210(B)(1)
16-11-523(D)(1)	16-3-654	16-13-230(B)(3)
16-11-525(D)(1)	16-3-656	16-13-240(1)
16-13-385(E)(1)	16-3-820	16-13-260(1)
16-15-355	16-3-1060	16-13-290(1)
16-23-720(C)	16-3-1730(B)	16-13-385
16-23-720(D)	16-7-160(2)	16-13-420(B)(1)
16-23-720(E)	16-8-20(B)(2)	16-13-430(C)(1)
16-23-730	16-8-240(B)	16-13-440(B)(3)
16-23-750	16-8-250(B)	16-13-510
24-3-210	16-9-220	16-15-335
24-13-410(B)	16-9-320(B)	16-15-342
24-13-470	16-9-340	16-15-345
43-35-85(B)	16-9-410(C)(1)	16-15-385
43-35-85(D)	16-11-110(C)	16-15-387
16-3-1050(E)	16-11-312(C)(1)	16-15-405(D)
44-53-370(b)(1)	16-11-313	16-15-410
44-53-370	16-11-510(B)(1)	16-17-470(C)
44-53-375(B)(1)	16-11-520(B)(1)	16-17-495(D)
16-17-550	38-38-720(3)	44-53-1530(1)(b)
16-17-600(A),(B)	38-55-170(1)	44-53-1530(4)(b)
16-17-640	38-55-540(A)(4)	44-53-1680(B)

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16-17-680(C)(2)	38-55-540(A)(5)	44-53-1680(C)
16-17-680(G)	38-73-1120(C)	44-55-1510
16-21-80(3)	39-8-90(A)	45-2-40(B)(1)
16-23-220	39-9-208(B)	46-1-20(1)
16-23-230	39-15-1190(B)(1)(a)(iv)	46-1-40(1)
16-23-240	39-15-1190(B)(1)(b)(ii)	46-1-60(B)(1)
16-23-440(A)	39-22-90(A)(8)	46-1-70(B)(1)
16-23-440(B)	39-73-325	46-1-160(D)(2)
16-23-530	40-83-30(J)	47-19-120(C)(2)
16-23-750	44-23-1080(2)	48-23-265(C)(2)
16-25-20(B)	44-23-1150(C)(1)	49-1-50(C)(1)
17-13-50	44-29-145	50-21-115
23-31-340	44-52-165(A)(3)	50-21-130(A)(2)
23-31-360	44-52-165(B)(1)	55-1-30(2)
23-36-170(b)	44-52-165(B)(2)	55-1-40
24-3-910	44-53-365	56-1-1105(B)(1)
24-3-950	44-53-370(b)(2)	56-5-750(C)(1)
24-7-155	44-53-370(d)(3)	56-5-1030(B)(2)
24-13-420	44-53-370(e)(1)(a)1	56-5-1210(A)(2)
24-13-430(2)	44-53-370(e)(2)(a)1	56-5-2910
24-13-440	44-53-370(e)(4)(a)1	56-5-2941(K)(1)(c)
25-7-50	44-53-370(e)(5)(a)1	56-5-4975(C)
25-7-70	44-53-370(e)(6)(a)(1)	56-29-30(A)
32-7-100(A)(2)	44-53-370(e)(7)(a)	58-15-850
34-3-10	44-53-370(e)(8)(a)(i)	63-5-70
34-11-60	44-53-375(A)	63-13-200
34-13-90	44-53-375(C)(1)(a)	63-19-1670
35-1-508(a)(1)	44-53-375(E)(1)(a)(i)	2-2-100
35-11-740(A)(1)(b)(ii)	44-53-376(B)	2-2-120
35-11-740(A)(2)(b)(ii)	44-53-378	7-25-50
35-11-740(A)(3)(b)(ii)	44-53-398(H)(5)	7-25-60
36-9-410(C)(3)	44-53-440	7-25-190
37-6-119(E)(3)	44-53-445(B)(1)	8-13-725(B)
8-14-60	16-9-260	16-13-420(B)(2)
8-29-10(F)	16-9-270	16-13-430(C)(2)
11-48-90(A)	16-9-460	16-13-440(B)(2)
12-21-2716	16-11-20	16-13-470(B)(2)
12-21-4150	16-11-125	16-13-480

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12-21-6000(B)	16-11-130	16-13-510(E)
12-21-6040(A)	16-11-150	16-13-512(C)(2)
12-54-44(B)(1)	16-11-170	16-13-525(D)
12-54-44(B)(2)	16-11-190	16-14-20
12-54-44(B)(6)(a)(i)	16-11-313(B)	16-14-40
12-54-44(B)(6)(a)(ii)	16-11-510(B)(2)	16-14-60(a)
12-54-44(B)(6)(b)	16-11-520(B)(2)	16-14-60(g)
16-1-55	16-11-523(C)(2)	16-14-70
16-3-60	16-11-617	16-14-80(B)(2)
16-3-95(B)	16-11-725(B)(2)	16-14-100
16-3-755(B)	16-11-780	16-15-10
16-3-755(D)	16-11-910	16-15-120
16-3-1040(A)	16-11-915	16-15-305(A)
16-3-1050(B)	16-11-930	16-15-425(C)
16-3-1050(C)	16-13-10(B)(1)	16-16-20(2)
16-3-1050(D)	16-13-30(B)(2)	16-17-410
16-3-1080(A)	16-13-40(2)	16-17-470(B)(2)
16-3-1085(D)(1)	16-13-50(A)(2)	16-17-495(B)
16-3-1720(C)	16-13-70(B)(2)	16-17-600(C)
16-3-1730(A)	16-13-110(B)(2)	16-17-680(E)
16-3-1910(O)	16-13-160	16-17-722(B)
16-3-1920(N)	16-13-165(B)(1)(b)	16-17-770(A)(3)
16-3-2080(F)	16-13-165(B)(2)(a)	16-21-10
16-5-10	16-13-165(B)(3)(a)	16-21-40(A)(2)
16-5-130(1)	16-13-210(B)(2)	16-21-40(A)(4)
16-8-20(B)(1)	16-13-230(B)(2)	16-21-80(2)
16-8-240(A)	16-13-240(2)	16-23-30
16-9-10(B)(1)	16-13-260(2)	16-23-50(A)(1)
16-9-30	16-13-385(B)(3)	16-23-410
16-9-210	16-13-385(C)(3)	16-23-415
16-9-230	16-13-385(D)(3)	16-23-420
16-23-430	33-57-170(A)	44-43-375(A)
16-23-480	33-57-170(B)	44-43-380
16-23-490	33-57-170(C)	44-53-40(B)
16-23-500(B)	34-3-110(B)	44-53-365
16-23-520	35-1-508(a)(2)	44-53-370(b)(2)
16-23-740	35-11-740(A)(1)(b)(i)	44-53-370(b)(3)
16-25-20(B)(3)	35-11-740(A)(2)(b)(i)	44-53-370(d)(1)

Felonies

16-25-20	35-11-740(A)(3)(b)(i)	44-63-161(B)
16-25-30(B)	36-9-410(C)(2)	45-2-40(B)(2)
16-25-125(E)	36-9-501(c)	46-1-20(2)
16-27-30	37-6-119(E)(2)	46-1-40(2)
16-27-40	38-9-150	46-1-60(B)(2)
17-13-170	38-13-170	46-1-70(B)(2)
17-15-90(1)	38-43-245	46-1-75(B)(2)
17-30-50(A)	38-55-170(2)	46-1-160(D)(2)
17-30-55(A)	38-55-540(A)(3)	46-41-30(2)
20-4-60(B)(2)	39-15-1190(B)(1)(a)(iii)	47-1-40(B)
20-4-375(A)	39-15-1190(B)(1)(b)(i)	47-3-630
23-3-470(B)(3)	39-22-90(A)(1)	47-3-760(B)(2)
23-3-475(B)(3)	39-22-90(A)(2)	49-1-50(C)(2)
23-3-510(2)	39-22-90(A)(3)	50-11-95(D)
23-3-535(D)(3)	39-22-90(A)(4)	54-7-815
23-3-540(I)	39-22-90(A)(9)	55-1-30(1)
23-3-540(L)	39-23-80(B)(2)	56-1-1100
23-3-550	39-23-80(B)(3)	56-1-2070
23-3-650(C)	40-5-310	56-5-750(B)(2)
23-31-160	41-8-70	56-5-1030(B)(1)
23-31-190	43-35-85(B)	58-7-60(B)(3)
23-31-1040	43-35-85(C)	58-7-60(C)(1)
23-36-170(a)	43-35-85(D)	58-7-60(E)(3)
23-50-50(B)	16-3-1050(B)	58-7-70(B)
24-1-270	16-3-1050(C)	58-7-70(C)(3)
27-32-120(B)	16-3-1050(D)	58-7-70(D)(3)
32-7-100(A)(2)	44-23-1150(C)(2)	58-13-740
33-56-145(A)	44-41-80	58-15-820
33-56-145(B)	44-41-85(A)	58-15-875(D)(3)
56-5-2780(B)(2)	44-53-370(d)(3)	58-17-4100
56-5-2930	44-53-375(A)	59-150-260(A)
56-5-2933	44-53-376(B)	59-150-260(B)
56-5-4975(B)	44-53-378(B)	59-150-270(A)
56-29-30(B)	44-53-380	59-150-400(D)
56-29-30(C)(1)	44-53-390	63-13-1110(C)
56-29-30(D)	44-53-395	
56-29-30(E)	44-53-398(H)(5)	
57-1-40	44-53-1530(1)(a)	

Appendix C: Significance Tests and Effect Sizes

Table C1: Overall Significance Tests and Effect Sizes for Release Before Disposition Outcome

	Bivariate Statistics		Logistic Regression		
	Significance Test	Effect Size	Odds Ratio	p-value	95% C.I.
Individual Characteristics					
Age at booking	$F(1, 4098) = 30.76, p < .001$	Eta = 0.007	0.95	< .001	0.94,0.97
Sex	$\chi^2(1, N = 4100) = 10.02, p = .002$	CC = 0.049	1.03	.874	0.68,1.56
Race	$\chi^2(1, N = 4035) = 6.20, p = .013$	CC = 0.039	0.61	< .001	0.46,0.80
Currently on probation/parole	$\chi^2(1, N = 3824) = 10.70, p = .001$	CC = 0.053	1.14	.474	0.80,1.64
Number of previous FTAs	$F(1, 3823) = 28.65, p < .001$	Eta = 0.007	0.98	.598	0.92,1.05
CPRAI Risk Level	$\chi^2(3, N = 3857) = 32.86, p < .001$	CC = 0.092	N/A	N/A	N/A
CPRAI Risk Level 1	N/A	N/A	2.14	.035	1.05,4.33
CPRAI Risk Level 2	N/A	N/A	1.57	.109	0.90,2.74
CPRAI Risk Level 3	N/A	N/A	1.13	.612	0.70,1.84
Case Characteristics					
Type of booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 4099) = 0.17, p = .680$	CC = 0.006	N/A	N/A	N/A
Court for booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 4100) = 2.30, p = .129$	CC = 0.024	N/A	N/A	N/A
Public Defender representation at bond court	$\chi^2(1, N = 4100) = 0.75, p = .386$	CC = 0.014	N/A	N/A	N/A
Violent charge on booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 4100) = 2.76, p = .097$	CC = 0.026	N/A	N/A	N/A
Most severe charge on booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 3902) = .41, p = .522$	CC = 0.010	N/A	N/A	N/A
System Characteristics					
Effective bond	$\chi^2(1, N = 4100) = 173.82, p < .001$	CC = 0.202	0.030	< .001	0.013,0.069
Number of pending charges at current booking	$F(1, 3789) = 21.44, p < .001$	Eta = 0.006	0.991	.696	0.944,1.04
Pending weapons charge at booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 4100) = 0.61, p = .434$	CC = 0.012	N/A	N/A	N/A

CC = Contingency Coefficient (small effect = .1, moderate effect= .29, large effect= .45)

Eta = Eta Squared (small effect = .01, moderate effect= .06, large effect= .14)

Table C2: Overall Significance Tests and Effect Sizes for Success Outcome

	Bivariate Statistics		Logistic Regressions		
	Significance Test	Effect Size	Odds Ratio	p-value	95% C.I.
Individual Characteristics					
Age at booking	$F(1, 3722) = 0.49, p = .483$	Eta = 0.000	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sex	$\chi^2(1, N = 3724) = 26.85, p < .001$	CC = 0.085	0.69	.010	0.52,0.91
Race	$\chi^2(1, N = 3671) = 1.54, p = .215$	CC = 0.020	N/A	N/A	N/A
Currently on probation/parole	$\chi^2(1, N = 3476) = 69.08, p < .001$	CC = 0.140	1.43	.005	1.11,1.84
Number of previous FTAs	$F(1,3474) = 72.17, p < .001$	Eta = 0.020	1.06	.014	1.01,1.11
CPRAI Risk Level	$\chi^2(3, N = 3505) = 152.20, p < .001$	CC = 0.204	N/A	N/A	N/A
CPRAI Risk Level 1	N/A	N/A	0.53	.007	0.33,0.84
CPRAI Risk Level 2	N/A	N/A	0.71	.073	0.49,1.03
CPRAI Risk Level 3	N/A	N/A	0.82	.242	0.59,1.14
Case Characteristics					
Type of booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 3723) = 1.40, p = .238$	CC = 0.019	N/A	N/A	N/A
Court for booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 3724) = 17.30, p < .001$	CC = 0.068	0.74	.240	0.45,1.22
Public Defender representation at bond court	$\chi^2(1, N = 3724) = 1.77, p = .183$	CC = 0.022	N/A	N/A	N/A
Violent charge on booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 3724) = 7.69, p = .006$	CC = 0.045	1.11	.470	0.84,1.47
Most severe charge on booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 3542) = 17.81, p < .001$	CC = 0.071	1.17	.223	0.91,1.52
System Characteristics					
Effective bond	$\chi^2(1, N = 3724) = 59.93, p < .001$	CC = 0.126	1.30	.021	1.04,1.62
Number of pending charges at current booking	$F(1, 3445) = 151.85, p < .001$	Eta = 0.042	1.15	<.001	1.11,1.19
Pending weapons charge at booking	$\chi^2(1, N = 3724) = 5.36, p = .021$	CC = 0.038	0.73	.175	0.46,1.15

CC = Contingency Coefficient

Eta = Eta Squared