# Pretrial Justice Reforms in America

Topeka, Kansas June 14, 2019

### "Legal and Evidence-Based Practices"



# the what and the why

Need to know the "fundamentals"

They instruct and guide (literally) every action in release and detention

#### Fundamentals of Bail: A Resource Guide for Pretrial Practitioners and a Framework for American Pretrial Reform



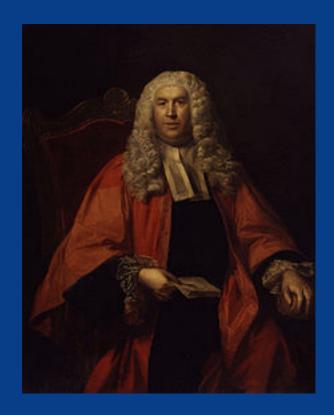
Money as a Criminal Justice Stakeholder: The Judge's Decision to Release or Detain A Defendant Pretrial

# Need To Know to Follow LEBP!

Why Change (The Problem)? History of Bail Legal Foundations Pretrial Research National Standards Terms and Phrases

### Risk

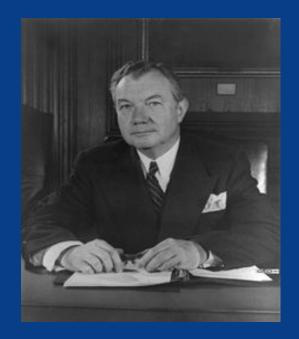
"It is better that ten guilty persons escape than that one innocent suffer."



William Blackstone

#### Risk and Bail

"Admission to bail always involves a risk . . . a calculated risk which the law takes as the price of our system of justice."



Justice Robert Jackson

#### **Justice**

"If we are to keep our democracy, there must be one commandment: Thou shalt not ration justice."

Judge Learned Hand

### The Big Issue = Money



# The Problem of Money Bail

Historically, secured bonds are new and flawed

Money often triggers/offends legal principles

Research shows no tie between money and public safety; only a legal (no empirical) tie between money and flight; money causes detention, which leads to bad outcomes

**Standards** 

### "Problems at both ends."



### "Problems at both ends."

Parkland, WA, November 29, 2009



Officers Richards, Griswold, Owens, and Renninger

### Money is Everywhere

It is the fundamental problem at bail, but it's part of our culture and even has lobbying groups dedicated to keeping it alive

But . . .



### **But Does it Have to Be?**



# Understanding Bail Reform



### "Bail/No Bail"

"Bail/No Bail" Includes the "Big Rule:" Bail Equals Release and No Bail Equals Detention



If anything is seen as abusing or interfering with this, history demands a correction

# Bail = Personal Surety System

400-500 A.D. to 1800s – unsecured bonds administered through personal surety system



### The American Overlay

Like England, "bail" equaled release with unsecured bonds and no profit or indemnification

Bail as release was incorporated into colonial charters, statutes, and constitutions

### The American Overlay

Even *more* of an emphasis on release and freedom so enlarged "bail"

And made people "bailable upfront" (discretion versus freedom and moral deterrence based on clearly articulated laws); "limiting process"

### "No Bail"

It was a state's articulation of who to detain upfront, on purpose, using prediction of flight

All "no bail" provisions are preventive detention

Whole thing worked great until . . .

### 1800s



# Switch to Commercial Surety System



1900 to present – secured bonds administered through a commercial surety system



# America in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Commercial Surety System Using Secured Bonds



Collides with "Bail/No Bail" Dichotomy

# Twentieth Century: The First Generation

1920s - 1960s

Finding Alternatives to the Traditional Money Bail System; Reducing Unnecessary Pretrial Detention of Bailable Defendants

Focused on "Bail" or Release

# Twentieth Century: The Second Generation

1960s - 1980s

Allowing Consideration of Public Safety as a Constitutionally Valid Purpose to Limit Pretrial Freedom; Defining the Nature and Scope of Preventive Detention

Focused on "No Bail" or Detention

# Why Do We Need a Third Generation?

Not all states used generational knowledge

New research helped us to understand the problems and the potential solutions

Money has continued to cause abuses to "bail" and "no bail" – history demands a correction

#### The Third Generation

Implement proper "bail" and "no bail" dichotomy using risk

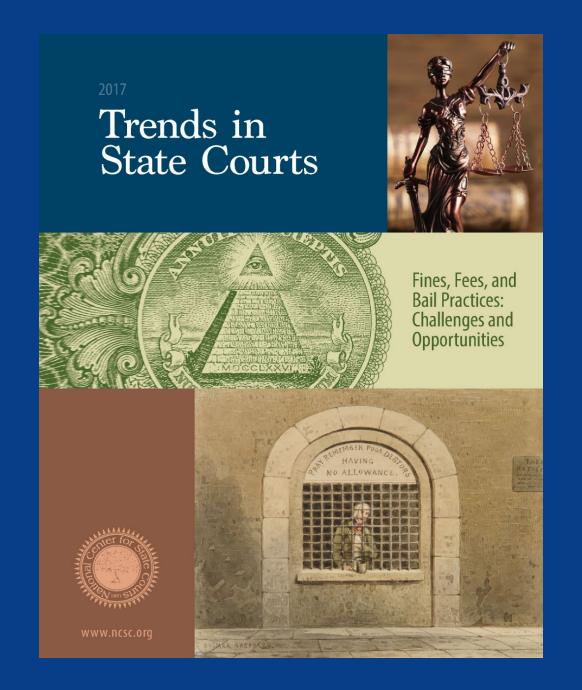
Use LEBP to do "bail" and "no bail" correctly, informed by generations one and two and current research

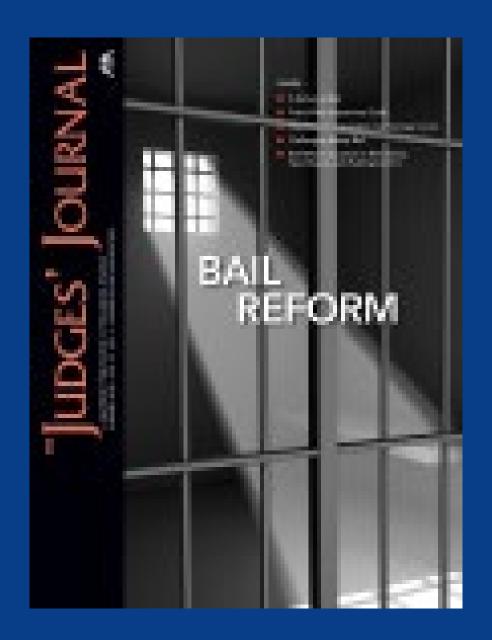
# Third Generation Advantages

Doing "bail" and "no bail" in the states at the same time

Have substantive answers

Judges are involved





# The Key to Understanding Bail Reform

Both "Bail" and "No Bail" are lawful if we do them right.



If we don't do them right, history demands correction.

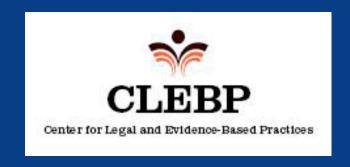
# Bail the old way – charge, money, wait around

Bail the new way – risk, less or no money, intentional

"RISK"



#### Plan B



#### "Model" Bail Laws:

Re-Drawing the Line Between Pretrial Release and Detention (and "Changing Bail Laws" in 2018)

# Summary: What Does the History Tell Us?

"Bail" was/is always about release — "No bail" was/is all about detention.

Bail that worked – unsecured bonds/personal sureties.

Interfering with "bail" or "no bail" requires reform/correction.

# What Does the History Tell Us?

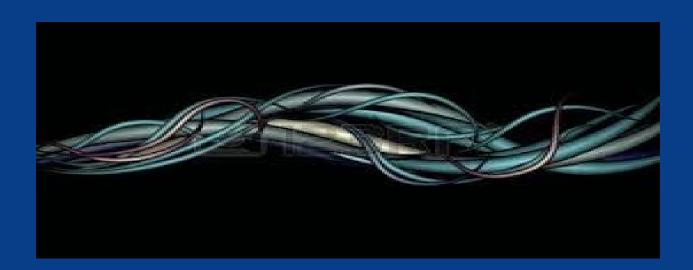
Secured money bonds have been interfering with both "bail" and "no bail" since 1900.

How to make this the last generation.

### Legal Foundations of Pretrial Justice



#### History and the Law



#### Sources of Law – Your Mix

U.S. Constitution

Federal Statutes, Federal Cases

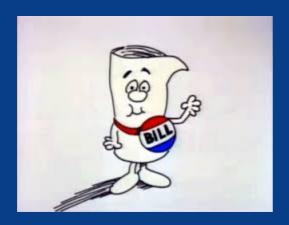
**State Constitutions** 

State Statutes, State Cases

Muni Codes

Court Rules

Admin. Regs.



### Law is Sparse But Important & Often Ignored

Two Examples:

1. Individualization

2. Detention without due process

#### First, explain this . . .

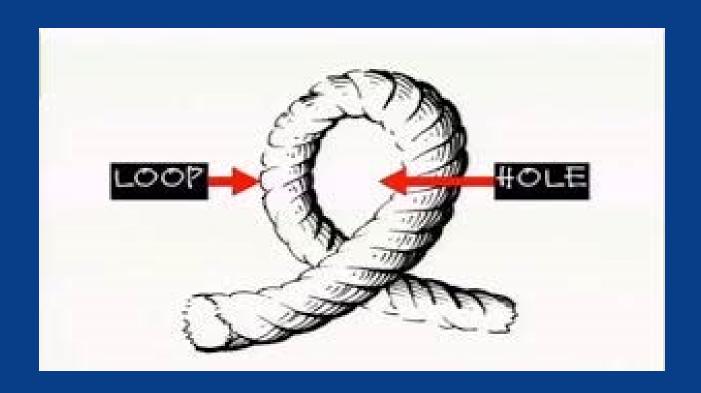
History shows that whenever bailable defendants are in jail, bail reform happens

Law is again beginning to show that keeping bailable defendants in jail is unlawful

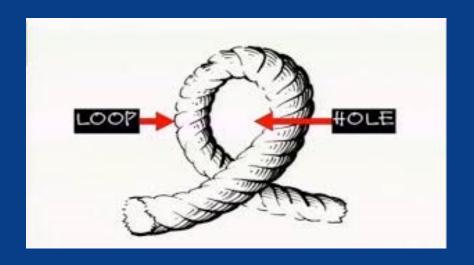
"Wait, I don't get it. We've always had 'bailable' defendants in jail. We do right now. That's not unlawful, right?"



# "Excessive Bail Loophole"



Loophole allows judges to detain anyone so long as make the right record; allows us to ignore "no bail"



Loophole Also Masked Need for Reform

#### **Important**

Even though America wanted less discretion to detain than in England, for the last 180 years judges have been able to detain virtually any defendant, and the law has allowed it to happen, making reform elusive.

#### All This is Changing!



#### Pressure to Change I

No Money to Detain "Bailable" = Liberty Interest



### The Language of Equal Protection

Certainly, keeping individuals in jail solely because they cannot pay for their release, whether via fines, fees, or a cash bond, is impermissible.

(Walker v. Calhoun, Georgia (N.D. Ga. Jan. 28, 2016))

#### Buffin v. San Francisco (2019)

"Accordingly, the Bail Schedule, which merely associates an amount of money with a specific crime, without any connection to public safety or future court appearance, cannot be deemed *necessary*."

"In fact, the use of such an arbitrary schedule may not even satisfy an analysis under a rational basis review."

### The future is more lawsuits, more groups, more legal theories

Lawsuits could take away a state's ability to detain using money. This leaves the state with it's net and process for intentional detention.

### What is Your Net? Limiting Process?

#### Pressure to Change II



#### Pressure to Change III

No justification for detention laws (not carefully limited)





### So, the "best" bail/no bail model . . .



#### **How to Start: Plan B**



#### "Model" Bail Laws:

Re-Drawing the Line Between Pretrial Release and Detention (and "Changing Bail Laws" in 2018)



You will need to dive into "risk."

#### The Three Questions

1. Whom do we release?

2. Whom do we detain?

3. How do we do it?

AND It Must All Be Legally Justified!

# The Law and History Together

#### So What is Bail?

"Bail" is a process of release (Stack)
The purpose of "bail" is to release
The purpose of "no bail" is to detain

"Bail" and "No Bail" are both lawful if done correctly

#### **Bail is Not Money**

Money is a condition of release --- a limitation on pretrial freedom

Money has separate purpose from bail

The lawful purposes of limitations on pretrial freedom are (1) court appearance and (2) public safety

### (Legal &) Evidence Based Decision Making

"Making decisions about how to achieve the *goals* of a given discipline by integrating the best available evidence."

"What works to do what?" Health/medicine Bail?



### History/Law – Goals for "Bail" or Release



Maximize Release

Maximize Court Appearance Maximize Public Safety

### History/Law – Goals for "Bail" and "No Bail"



Maximize Appropriate Placement Maximize Court Appearance Maximize Public Safety

### History/Law – Goals for "Bail" or Release



Maximize Release

Maximize Court Appearance

Maximize Public Safety

#### Research

As a Fundamental



Ex: Outcome research
Research helps you understand risk
It's Necessary for to do balancing tests

### LEBP: What Do All States Need?

Risk Assessment/ Risk Mitigation/Supervision (even though it's been done for all of bail)

Do "No Bail" (Detention) Right – Salerno

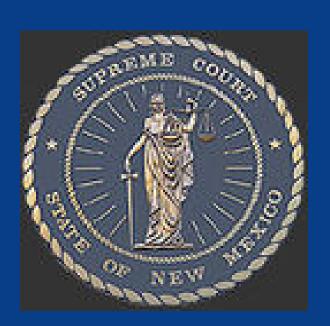
Do "Bail" (Release) Right – LEBP – Everyone Else Out Immediately, Varying Conditions

## All States Have Two Options

Improve On Their Own Or . . .

Wait And It'll Be Forced On Them (And That Won't Be Long – Federal Court, State Court – *Brown*)

# Fundamentals in Practice State v. Brown November 6, 2014



### LEBP = Know and Apply Fundamentals of Bail



Accounts for All Significant
Pretrial Justice Reform
in America

### Questions?

#### Thank You!

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