

**MICHIGAN PRISONERS, VIOLENT CRIME
AND PUBLIC SAFETY:
A PROSECUTOR'S REPORT**

The image shows the Michigan State Capitol building, a large, ornate, light-colored stone structure with a prominent central dome. The dome is topped with a tall, slender spire. The building is surrounded by lush green trees in the foreground. To the right of the building, a tall flagpole stands with the American flag and the Michigan state flag flying. The sky is a clear, bright blue.

**PAAM Corrections Committee
Prosecuting Attorneys Association of Michigan
April 2015**



Prosecuting Attorneys Association of Michigan

116 W. Ottawa Street ~ Suite 200
Lansing, Michigan 48913
(517) 334-6060 ~ FAX: 334-6351
www.michiganprosecutor.org

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Michigan Citizens:

In recent months, there has been conversation in our State regarding public safety, violent crime and the prison population.

Whenever such dialogue occurs, it is critical that basic facts be available to all citizens and other stakeholders engaged in the conversation.

In an effort to facilitate this discussion, Michigan Prosecutors ask you to review **"MICHIGAN PRISONERS, VIOLENT CRIME AND PUBLIC SAFETY: A PROSECUTOR'S REPORT."** This report provides a variety of information, including the following:

- How Michigan's violent crime rate compares to Midwest States and the nation
- How Michigan's police-to-citizen ratio compares to other states
- How Michigan performs in terms of solving crime
- The actual composition of Michigan's prison population – including over 70% assaultive felons
- The critical importance of public safety as it relates to our prison population
- A discussion on ways to impact prison costs without compromising accountability, deterrence and public safety

Prosecutors from your community as well as the rest of the State are confident that the information provided in this report will advance an accurate assessment of our prison system as it relates to violent crime and public safety.

We look forward to working with you to provide a safer Michigan for all of our residents.

Sincerely,

Victor Fitz

President – Prosecuting Attorneys Association of Michigan
Cass County Prosecutor

"All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for their equal benefit, security and protection." Michigan Constitution 1969, Article I, Section 1

MICHIGAN PRISONERS, VIOLENT CRIME AND PUBLIC SAFETY: A PROSECUTOR'S REPORT

Prosecuting Attorneys Association of Michigan

April 2015

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Michigan has the highest violent crime rate of any State in the Midwest, but the lowest ratio of law enforcement personnel to residents in the region.
- In 2013, Michigan's initial felony prison commitment rate was only 10%.
- In 2013, even after accounting for probation and parole violators, Michigan sent only 21.6% of convicted felons to prison while the national prison commitment rate was over 40%.
- Michigan inmates sentenced for an assaultive or violent offense make up more than 70% of the prison population.
- Michigan inmates sentenced for a drug offense make up less than 8% of the prison population. These offenses typically involve the distribution of dangerous drugs or possession of a significant quantity.
- In Michigan, 23% of all parolees and 24% of all probationers are rearrested within one year of release from supervision, and 50% of individuals entering prison are sentenced for violating probation or parole.
- Michigan's prison population has declined from its peak of 51,454 inmates in 2006 to 43,704 inmates in 2013.
- The Michigan Department of Corrections has reduced its number of full-time employees from 17,782 in 2006 to 14,179 in 2014.
- Despite the 15% reduction in prison population and 20% reduction in full-time employees, the MDOC budget remained flat during the same period due mainly to increased prisoner health care costs and employee economic costs.
- The Michigan Department of Corrections budget for FY 2014 was \$2.0 billion. This is less than 4% of the State's \$50.9 billion overall budget, but approximately 20% of the State's general fund budget.¹
- The Michigan Legislature enacted Public Act 465 of 2014, effective January 12, 2015, which created a Criminal Justice Policy Commission designed to study and make recommendations regarding a wide-range of criminal justice issues including those related to prisons, violent crime and public safety.



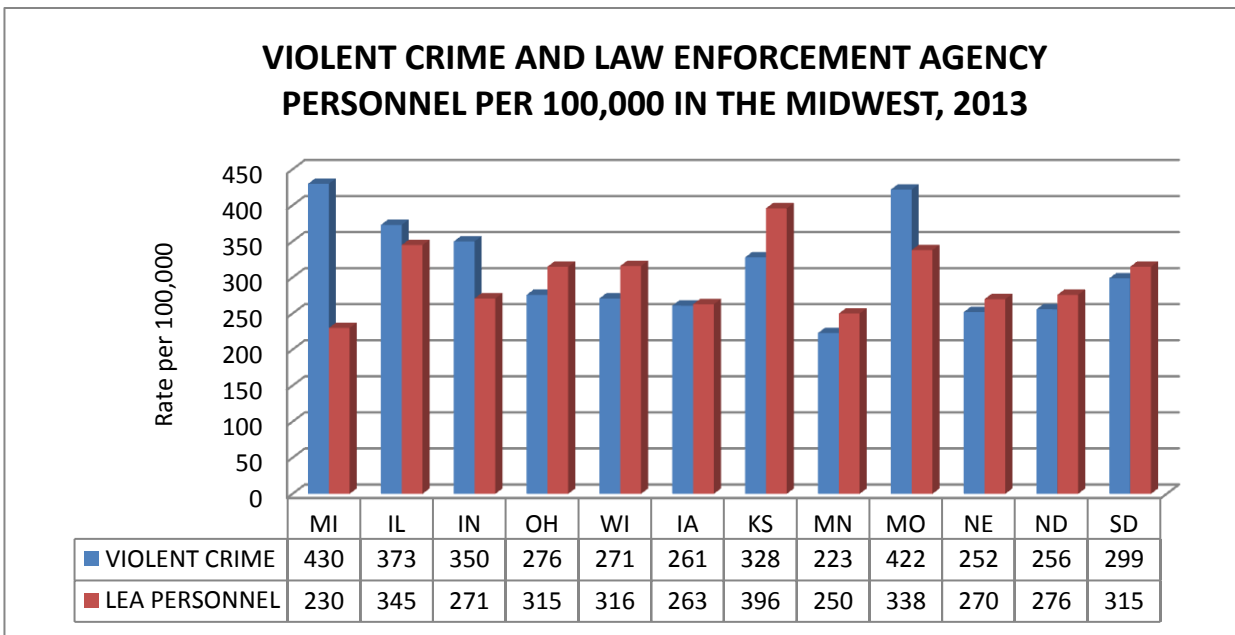
1) STATE CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE

- The Michigan Constitution clearly states in its introduction the purpose of our State Government:

“All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for their equal benefit, security and protection.”²

2) MICHIGAN’S DISTURBING CRIME PROBLEM

- Michigan has the **highest violent crime rate** in the entire Midwest.³
 - Michigan’s violent crime rate is 39.6% higher than the average of the Midwest States (IL, IN, MI, OH, WI, IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD).⁴
 - Michigan’s violent crime rate is 55.8% higher than the state of Ohio.⁵
 - Michigan’s violent crime rate is 16.8% higher than the national average.⁶
- Michigan has the **lowest ratio of law enforcement personnel to residents** of any State in the Midwest, despite having the region’s highest violent crime rate.⁷
 - Michigan’s ratio of law enforcement personnel to residents is 29% lower than the average State in the Midwest.⁸



Source: U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013 Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics, Violent Crime – Table 4, Police Employee Data – Table 77



- **Negative Trend – Law Enforcement Personnel – Michigan has seen its police force reduced by 17% since September 11, 2001 (reduced from 22,488 law enforcement officers in 2001 to 18,621 officers in 2014).**⁹
 - **Michigan** lost 3,867 law enforcement officers from 2001 to 2014.¹⁰
 - **Detroit** lost 47% of its law enforcement officers from 2000 to 2013 – police force reduced from 4,184 in 2000 to 3,037 in 2007, and further reduced to 2,356 in 2013.¹¹
 - **Flint** lost 62% of its law enforcement officers from 2000 to 2013 – police force reduced from 321 in 2000 to 261 in 2007, and further reduced to 122 in 2013.¹²
 - **Pontiac** lost 55% of its law enforcement officers from 2000 to 2010 – police force reduced from 170 in 2000 to 133 in 2007, and further reduced to 76 in 2010.**¹³
 - **Saginaw** lost 59% of its law enforcement officers from 2000 to 2013 – police force reduced from 136 in 2000 to 99 in 2007, and further reduced to 55 in 2013.¹⁴
- **Positive Trend – Violent Crime Rate – During the past 5 years, the violent crime rate in the United States has declined 14.32% while Michigan’s violent crime rate has declined 13.52% over the same time period.**

5 YEAR TREND IN VIOLENT CRIME RATES *					
	YEAR	POPULATION	VIOLENT CRIMES	VIOLENT CRIMES PER 100,000 RESIDENTS	TREND
UNITED STATES	2009	307,006,550	1,325,896	429.4	
	2013	316,128,839	1,163,146	367.9	-14.32%
MICHIGAN	2009	9,969,727	49,547	497.0	
	2013	9,895,622	42,536	429.8	-13.52%
DETROIT	2009	908,441	17,868	1966.9	
	2013	699,889	14,504	2072.3	5.40%
FLINT	2009	111,657	2,244	2009.7	
	2013	99,941	1,907	1908.1	-5.10%
PONTIAC **	2009	65,924	1,212	1838.5	
	2013	59,887	N/A	N/A	N/A
SAGINAW	2009	54,997	1,393	2532.9	
	2013	50,580	985	1947.4	-23.10%

*Source: U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009 and 2013 Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics, Violent Crime – Table 4 and Table 8.

**Pontiac Police Department dissolved on August 1, 2011, and data for Pontiac not reported in 2013 Uniform Reporting Statistics

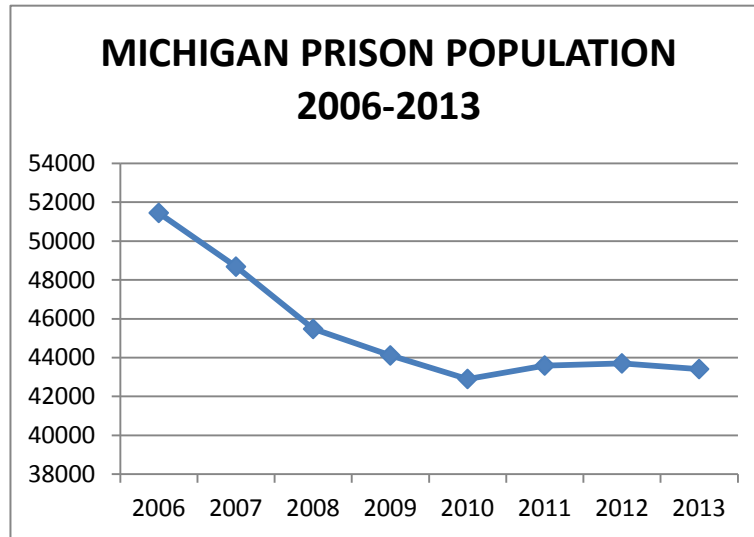


- **Despite the downward trend, Michigan’s violent crime rate in 2013 was 16.83% higher than the national rate and Detroit, Flint, Pontiac and Saginaw had a violent crime rate more than **5 times higher** than the national rate.**¹⁵
 - Still, progress has been made since 2009 when Flint, Pontiac and Saginaw were ranked as three of the top ten most dangerous cities in the United States.¹⁶ The violent crime rate has recently decreased in each of these cities due, in part, to Governor Rick Snyder’s “Secure Cities Partnership” and additional resources targeting violent crime in these areas.¹⁷ As a result, Flint, Pontiac and Saginaw no longer find themselves ranked in the top ten most dangerous U.S. cities.¹⁸
 - However, much more progress needs to occur in these cities and across the State. In 2013, for instance, although Detroit saw its violent crime rate fall by 2.5%, it is now ranked as the most dangerous city in the United States when comparing cities with a population of 200,000 or more residents.¹⁹ Even so, the Detroit Police Department reported the 2013 clearance rate for homicides rose from just 11% to 43% and almost every major crime category experienced a decline.²⁰
- **Michigan has an extremely low rate of solving violent crime.**
 - In 2013, Michigan had only a 31.6% **violent crime clearance rate** compared with the national average of 46%.²¹
 - In 2013, Michigan had only a 40% **murder clearance rate** compared with the national average of 64%.²²
 - **Michigan is ranked 49th out of 50 States** when comparing murder clearance rates from 1980 to 2012.²³
 - Michigan still has **over 11,000 unsolved murders** going back to 1980.²⁴
- **Michigan sends very few convicted felons to prison.**
 - Michigan’s **initial prison commitment rate is only 10%**. This 10% is primarily made up of violent, habitual criminals. (In 2013, there were 5,135 new prison commitments out of a total of 50,817 felony dispositions)²⁵
 - The remaining 90% of convicted felons (many of them also convicted of violent felonies) are placed in probation programs such as diversion or community service programs, or receive local jail time at their initial sentencing.²⁶
 - Even after accounting for probation and parole violators, **Michigan still sends only 21.6% of its convicted felons to prison.**²⁷ In stark contrast, the average prison commitment rate nationally for convicted felons is over 40%.²⁸



3) WHO GOES TO PRISON IN MICHIGAN?

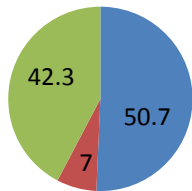
- Michigan's prison population has declined from its peak of 51,454 inmates in 2006 to 43,704 inmates in 2013.



Source: Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report

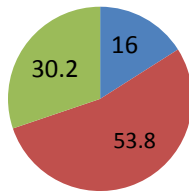
- Today, Michigan's prisons primarily hold violent and career criminals convicted of murder, rape, child molestation, home invasion, armed robbery and serious assaultive offenses.²⁹

Federal Prisons



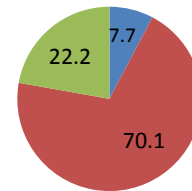
- Drug Crimes
- Assaultive Crimes
- Non-Assaultive

State Prisons



- Drug Crimes
- Assaultive Crimes
- Non-Assaultive

Michigan Prisons



- Drug Crimes
- Assaultive Crimes
- Non-Assaultive

Sources: United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Table 13 and Table 16 (Revised September 30, 2014); Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report

- Prisoners convicted of violent and assaultive crimes make up 70.1% of Michigan's inmate population compared to just 53.8% in State prisons and only 7% in Federal prisons.
 - In Michigan, few drug offenders go to prison. In 2013, of the 13,268 felons convicted in Michigan of drug offenses, only 1,420 were sentenced to prison.³⁰
 - Michigan has only 11 inmates incarcerated for possession of marijuana which constitutes less than .03% of the overall prison population.³¹



- Our prisons are not filled with shoplifters, bad check writers, drug abusers or felony drunk drivers. Michigan inmates actually serving time for non-assaultive offenses are typically incarcerated because of their career criminal status.
- **In 2013, of the 43,704 inmates in Michigan’s prisons:**
 - 30,239 inmates were in prison for what the Michigan Department of Corrections classifies as an “assaultive crime.” This constitutes 70.1% of the total prison population.³²
 - 19,040 inmates were serving time for a life offense, including 8,059 for 1st Degree Murder, 2nd Degree Murder, Open Murder/Homicide and Assault with Intent to Murder.³³
 - 5,654 inmates were in prison for Armed Robbery, Carjacking and Assault with Intent to Commit Armed Robbery.³⁴
 - 3,655 inmates were in prison for Criminal Sexual Conduct 1st Degree.³⁵
- **In Michigan, even violent offenders often do not go to prison.**
 - Example: In 2013, of those convicted for Assault with Intent to Do Great Bodily Harm Less Than Murder, 235 assailants (37%) were not sentenced to prison.³⁶
 - Example: In 2013, of those convicted for Assault with a Dangerous weapon, 1,173 assailants (69%) were not sentenced to prison.³⁷
- **Michigan’s prison population consists of 55 inmates aged 17 or younger (.13%), and of that group, 54 inmates are incarcerated for committing violent felonies.**³⁸

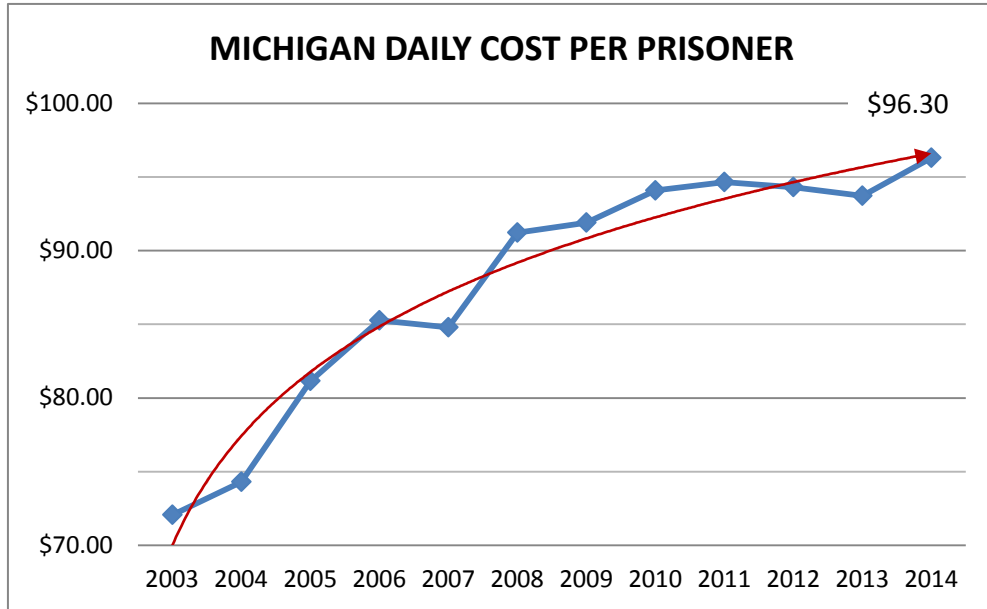
4) THE CHALLENGE OF MDOC OPERATING EXPENSES

“To realize savings in the Corrections budget, any strategies undertaken must address the cost drivers of employee demographics and prisoner health care expenses.” State Notes – Topics of Legislative Interest, Fall 2014: An Assessment of the Principal Cost Growth in the Michigan Department of Corrections, by John Maxwell, Fiscal Analyst

- **MDOC – Costs of Incarceration** - In 2014, the State of Michigan allocated approximately \$2.0 billion to fund the MDOC to provide for the custody and care of incarcerated felons and maintain oversight and supervision of parolees and felony probationers. Approximately 80% of the \$2.0 billion MDOC budget is related to the costs of incarceration.³⁹
- **Problem** – Despite a 15% reduction in the prison population and a 20% reduction in full-time employees since 2006, the MDOC budget remained flat during that same time period due mainly to increased prison health care costs and employee economic costs.⁴⁰



- **Negative Trend - In 2014, MDOC calculated the daily cost to incarcerate an inmate at \$96.30. This equates to an annual cost of \$35,149. The State of Michigan's website shows a large, red "thumbs down" for this increasing cost listed on its Public Safety Dashboard.**⁴¹



Source: Open Michigan, <http://www.michigan.gov/openmichigan> [MI Dashboards - Public Safety]

- **Michigan's cost per prisoner per day has increased by 33.6% since 2003.**⁴²
- **MDOC spending is 20% of the general fund budget, up from 5% in 1983.**⁴³

(A) Health Care Costs - In 2013, the largest percentage (14.5%) of expenditures and encumbrances in the MDOC budget was for health care/clinical expenses.⁴⁴

MIDWEST PRISON HEALTH CARE SPENDING⁴⁵

STATE	2011 COST PER INMATE	POTENTIAL ANNUAL SAVINGS
Michigan	\$7,485	
Illinois	\$3,051	\$190.2 million in savings
Indiana	\$3,858	\$155.6 million in savings
Ohio	\$5,755	\$74.2 million in savings
Wisconsin	\$7,080	\$17.4 million in savings
Iowa	\$4,310	\$136.2 million in savings
Kansas	\$5,243	\$96.2 million in savings
Minnesota	\$6,937	\$23.5 million in savings
Missouri	\$4,674	\$120.6 million in savings
Nebraska	\$7,110	\$16.1 million in savings
North Dakota	\$5,201	\$98.0 million in savings
South Dakota	\$5,026	\$105.5 million in savings
Midwest Average	\$5,477	\$86.2 million in savings

Source: State Prison Health Care Spending; A report from The Pew Charitable Trusts and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, July 2014



- **In 2011, if Michigan had spent the Midwest Average for health care costs for its 42,904 prisoners it would have saved approximately \$86.2 million.**
- **Positive Trend - Health Care Spending** – Since 2011, Michigan’s annual health care cost per inmate has decreased from \$7,485 to approximately \$6,450 in 2014.⁴⁶ This reduction resulted in a savings of approximately \$45.2 million in 2014.

(B) Supervision Costs - Parole vs. Probation - In 2013, the average number of felony probationers supervised by the Michigan Department of Corrections (47,526) was more than 3 times the average number of parolees supervised (14,521).⁴⁷

- In 2013, approximately 50% of those inmates sentenced to prison were incarcerated for violating their parole or probation.⁴⁸
- The Council of State Governments reports that between 2005 and 2012 the funding for programming and re-entry services designed to reduce recidivism among parolees increased from \$33 million to \$96 million.⁴⁹ MDOC now invests approximately 4 times more per individual to provide programming and re-entry services for parolees than the state spends on rehabilitative services for probationers.⁵⁰ Corresponding to the implementation of new strategies targeting parolees, the re-arrest rates for parolees declined by 20% from 2008 to 2011 while the re-arrest rates for probationers remained unchanged.⁵¹
- **Positive Trend – Parole Supervision** – In 2013, the ratio of parolees to residents supervised in Michigan was 10% lower than the national average and the number of parolees revoked and sentenced to prison has recently trended downward.⁵²
- **Negative Trend – Probation Supervision** – In 2013, the ratio of felony probationers to residents supervised in Michigan was 56% higher than the national average and the number of probationers revoked and sentenced to prison has recently trended upward.⁵³
- The Council of State Governments reports that, as of 2012, the average length of prison time an inmate served in Michigan past their minimum sentence had been reduced from 40% to 25%, which results in a projected annual savings of \$200 million.⁵⁴

(C) Number of Prisons – Since 2005, Michigan has closed 11 correctional facilities and 11 prison camps. However, the MDOC still operates 31 different State prisons - the vast majority housing less than 1,500 inmates.⁵⁵



5) CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **Public Safety** – Michigan has a serious public safety problem. We have the highest violent crime rate of any State in the Midwest, the lowest ratio of law enforcement personnel to residents in the region and one of the worst violent crime and murder clearance rates in the nation.
 - ✓ **Reinvest Resources** – What works? Expand Michigan’s Smart Justice plan and Governor Rick Snyder’s “Secure Cities Partnership” in its current locations and introduce it to other high crime areas across the State. This evidence-based approach adds resources to targeted violent crime areas, including sorely needed law enforcement personnel, and uses data to evaluate law enforcement, criminal justice reform and crime prevention initiatives with assistance from all levels of government.
2. **Michigan Department of Corrections** – Not a runaway budget. However, since 2006, the Michigan Department of Corrections budget has remained flat despite a 15% reduction in the prison population, a 20% reduction in full-time employees, and the closing of numerous prisons and camp facilities.
 - ✓ **Reduce Costs** - Michigan has made progress in attempting to contain the costs associated with its corrections system. Still, if Michigan’s costs were comparable to selected States in the Midwest region, millions of dollars would be available for more police, more prevention services, more education and a better Michigan.
3. **Probation and Parole Supervision** – Reform? Yes. Endanger public safety? No. In 2013, the Michigan Department of Corrections supervised three times more felony probationers than parolees with significantly different results. Re-arrest rates for parolees have recently declined by 20% while the re-arrest rates for felony probationers have remained unchanged. Additionally, the number of felony probationers revoked and sent to prison trended upward while the number of felony parolees revoked and sent to prison trended downward.
 - ✓ **Reduce Recidivism** – Michigan needs to invest more in programming for felony probationers similar to the funding allocated for re-entry programming for parolees. More intensive supervision programs, such as ‘Swift and Sure,’ and other evidence-based services should be expanded to reduce recidivism in this area.
4. **Adopt Evidence-Based Cost Analysis** – Let’s look at the whole picture. Michigan needs to commission an evidence-based, cost comparison study which analyzes all cost factors and makes formal cost cutting recommendations which do not endanger public safety.
 - ✓ **Comprehensive Study** - This study should include determining whether Michigan’s regional prison concept is a fiscally responsible mode of operation and include a serious review and cost-comparison of MDOC incarceration and administrative costs.



The Prosecuting Attorneys Association of Michigan prepared this report as part of our ongoing effort to provide relevant data regarding our criminal justice system. This report should assist in facilitating an open and honest discussion about our prisons, violent crime and public safety. We believe the success and future growth of Michigan is dependent upon businesses, families and individuals considering Michigan to be a safe place to live and work. Accordingly, any changes to our criminal justice system must first be viewed in the context of how they impact public safety. We oppose any changes that would release violent and career criminals onto our streets. We do, however, look forward to working with all interested stakeholders and support changes that positively impact our State's progress and improve public safety.

- ¹ State Budget Office, FY 2014 Executive Budget, <http://www.michigan.gov/budget>
- ² Michigan Constitution 1969, Article I, Section 1 (emphasis added).
- ³ U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr> [Crime Stats for 2013 – Violent Crime – Table 4].
- ⁴ *Id.*
- ⁵ *Id.*
- ⁶ *Id.*
- ⁷ U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr> [Crime Stats for 2013 – Police Employee Data – Table 77].
- ⁸ *Id.*
- ⁹ Michigan Commission on Law Enforcement Standards, Law Enforcement Population Trends – January 2015, <http://www.michigan.gov//mcoles> [Monthly Snapshot of Law Enforcement Officer Positions].
- ¹⁰ *Id.*
- ¹¹ U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr> [Crime Stats for 2000, 2007 and 2013 – Police Employee Data – Table 78].
- ¹² *Id.*
- ¹³ *Id.* at [Crime Stats for 2000, 2007 and 2010 – Police Employee Data – Table 78].
- ¹⁴ *Id.* at [Crime Stats for 2000, 2007 and 2013 – Police Employee Data – Table 78].
- ¹⁵ U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr> [Crime Stats for 2013 – Violent Crime – Table 4 and Table 8].
- ¹⁶ Gus Burns, Saginaw Remains Most Violent City in America Despite Overall Crime Drop, *Saginaw Daily News*, September 14, 2010 [Available at http://blog.mlive.com/saginawnews_impact/print.html?entry=/2010/02/Saginaw_violent_crime_down_ned.html].
- ¹⁷ Mark Tower, Gov. Snyder: Saginaw violent crime down 26 percent, “We’re going to stay committed,” MLIVE, January 20, 2015 [Available at www.mlive.com/news/Saginaw/index.ssf/2015/01/gov_rick_snyder_saginaw_violent.html].
- ¹⁸ Most dangerous cities in the United States in 2015: FBI [Available at <http://www.examiner.com/article/most-dangerous-cities-the-united-states-2015-fbi>].
- ¹⁹ Crime in America 2015: Top 10 Most Dangerous Cities over 200,000, Law Street – Law for Policy for Our Generation [Available at <http://lawstreetmedia.com/crime-america-2015-top-10-dangerous-cities-200000>].
- ²⁰ *Id.*
- ²¹ U.S. Department of Justice – Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr> [Crime Stats for 2013 – Clearances – National Data].
- ²² *Id.*
- ²³ Thomas Hargrove, How many unsolved murders are there? It’s greater than the population of Des Moines, *Scripps News*, January 15, 2015 [Available at <http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/>].
- ²⁴ *Id.* and Rex Hall Jr. Reducing Backlog of Unsolved Murders: A Focus for New President of State’s Prosecuting Attorney’s Association; MLIVE, December 31, 2014 [Available at www.mlive.com/news/Kalamazoo/index.ssf/2014/12/reducing_backlog_of_state's_uns].
- ²⁵ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [A1 – 2013 Criminal Court Dispositions at A-4; B6 – Commitments by Type at B-51].
- ²⁶ *Id.*
- ²⁷ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [A – Statewide Prison Commitment Rates at A-2].
- ²⁸ United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Revised September 30, 2014.
- ²⁹ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [C1 – 2013 Total Prisoner Population – All Offenses at C-14 thru C-35].
- ³⁰ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [A1b – 2013 Criminal Court Dispositions – Drug Offenses at A-8].
- ³¹ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [C1b – 2013 Total Prisoner Population – Drug Offenses at C-47].
- ³² Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [C1c – 2013 Total Prisoner Population – Assaultive Offenses at C-49].
- ³³ *Id.* at C-49 thru C-59.
- ³⁴ *Id.*



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- ³⁵ *Id.*
- ³⁶ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [A2c – 2013 Criminal Court Dispositions – Assaultive Offense at A-78]
- ³⁷ *Id.* at A-77.
- ³⁸ *Id.* MDOC e-mail response to request by PAAM.
- ³⁹ State Budget Office, FY 2014 Executive Budget [Available at <http://www.michigan.gov/budget>].
- ⁴⁰ State Notes – Topics of Legislative Interest, Fall 2014: An Assessment of the Principal Cost Growth in the Michigan Department of Corrections, by John Maxwell, Fiscal Analyst.
- ⁴¹ Michigan.gov, Open Michigan, MI Dashboard [Available at <https://midashboard.michigan.gov/stat/goals>].
- ⁴² *Id.*
- ⁴³ State Budget Office, FY 1983 Budget and FY 2014 Budget.
- ⁴⁴ *Id.*
- ⁴⁵ State Prison Health Care Spending: A Report from the Pew Charitable Trusts and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, July 2014
- ⁴⁶ *Id.*
- ⁴⁷ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [E - Probation and Parole Supervision at E5 and E6]
- ⁴⁸ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [B6– Commitments by Type at B-51].
- ⁴⁹ Council of State Governments Justice Center, Applying a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Improve Michigan’s Sentencing System – May 2014 at pg 14.
- ⁵⁰ *Id.* at pg 16.
- ⁵¹ *Id.* at pg 14.
- ⁵² *Id.* at pg 15 and National Institute of Corrections, Corrections Statistics by State [Available at <http://nicic.gov/statestats/>].
- ⁵³ *Id.* at pg 15 and National Institute of Corrections, Corrections Statistics by State [Available at <http://nicic.gov/statestats/>].
- ⁵⁴ *Id.* at pg 10.
- ⁵⁵ Michigan Department of Corrections, 2013 Statistical Report. [Prisoner Population C at C-3].

