

Senate Bill 309: recommendation to revoke extended supervision, parole, or probation if a person is charged with a crime and expunging a criminal record of a crime. Senate Committee on Judiciary Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety Wednesday, September 27, 2032

Chairman Wanggaard and committee members, thank you for your time. I'm here today on behalf of victims, asking for your consideration of Senate Bill 309. This legislation addresses the rising crime in Wisconsin by promoting accountability in our corrections system.

When I learned that probation isn't immediately revoked if a previously convicted criminal is charged with another crime or that an offender can violate their probation conditions and still qualify for expungement, it frankly blew my mind. I'm in favor of second chances, but we must ensure those who have already broken our laws aren't getting opportunity after opportunity to wreak havoc on Wisconsin families. We must ensure our laws put the safety of our families and communities first.

SB 309 does just that by requiring the Department of Corrections to recommend revoking extended supervision, parole, or probation for someone charged with a new crime while on release. I want to point out that the Department of Corrections, in its fiscal estimate for this bill, has admitted that in Fiscal Year 2019, there were 6,280 criminals released on community supervision that were charged with a new crime. This is based on information from the Wisconsin Court System Circuit Court Access (CCAP). That number represents far too many victims for this problem to continue being ignored.

This bill also makes changes to existing laws around expungement. At the point a convicted criminal is on probation, they are receiving a second chance. If a judge determines probation restrictions, the offender must follow those guidelines. If an offender on probation decides not to follow those terms, he or she should not be allowed to have their records expunged.

With the passage of SB 309, anyone who has already been found guilty of a crime, even if that crime was expunged, cannot have future crimes expunged. Furthermore, any technical rule violation or breaking any probation condition would disqualify a previously convicted criminal from being granted an expungement. Finally, expungement would not be granted until one full year after completing a sentence. I believe these are small commonsense steps that encourage good behavior and show the community that an offender has earned their second chance.

I want to say it again, clearly. I believe in second chances. This bill does not impact a second chance unless the public's trust has been violated a second time. For the innocent, law-abiding people in Wisconsin who have been victims of repeat offenders we must do better. Senate Bill 309 will help us hold accountable those who have been previously convicted of a crime, yet continue to reoffend.

I know this proposal has a long history in this building, but it's time that we make this policy a reality.

Thank you again for hearing our legislation. I encourage you to support the passage of Senate Bill 309.



Testimony on Senate Bill 309 Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety

September 27, 2023

Chairman Wanggaard, and other members of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety, I wish to thank all of you for hearing Senate Bill 309 today. I also appreciated the opportunity to work with my friend and State Senator, Julian Bradley, and bring this important legislation forward for consideration.

It is no secret that we have seen some particularly abhorrent acts from individuals who are repeat offenders recently released from prison into parole or extended supervision. Senate Bill 309 would require the Department of Corrections to recommend revoking extended supervision, parole, or probation for an individual who has been charged with a new crime while on release.

Furthermore, the bill also makes several modifications to expungement. First, someone found guilty of a previous crime, even if it was expunged, would be ineligible for expungement. Additionally, any technical rule violation or breaking any probation condition would disqualify a criminal from being granted expungement. Finally, criminals would not be eligible for expungement for one year after the completion of their sentence.

While we cannot possibly prevent all violent crime from occurring, we owe it to the individuals who send us here to keep the safety of them and their neighbors at the forefront of our efforts. Furthermore, many in the public already believe elements of this bill are already on the books and are shocked to find out that they aren't.

This legislation will provide prosecutors and our judicial system with additional tools to remove dangerous criminals from our streets. I ask that you support these common sense reforms to meet the public's expectation and ensure we are keeping communities across this state safe from habitual bad actors.



Wisconsin State Public Defender

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Senate Committee on Judiciary & Public Safety Public Hearing - Senate Bill 309 Wednesday, September 27, 2023

Chairman Wanggaard & Committee Members,

Thank you for having this hearing on Senate Bill (SB) 309 related to changes to the revocation process if an individual is alleged to have committed a crime while on supervision. The State Public Defender (SPD) has concerns with the burden and standard shift in this bill that will result in a significant increase in the number of people being revoked to prison.

A previous version of this bill, 2017 Senate Bill 54, was amended to limit both the types of allegations that would result in an automatic revocation recommendation and to provide the necessary investment in building new facilities to accommodate the increase in prison populations. SB 309 returns to the original version of 2017 SB 54, with an added component that impacts the expungement process.

The primary concern is the potentially unconstitutional burden shift for extended periods of incarceration. If an individual on extended supervision is charged with a new crime and, as a result of this bill, the new crime is handled as an administrative revocation rather than a new circuit court case, the practical standard of conviction will have become "probable cause" rather than "beyond a reasonable doubt." The only burden that will have applied to the administrative law judge's decision to revoke supervision will have been the probable cause standard a prosecutor must meet to issue charges.

Added to this concern is the impact of Wisconsin's sentencing structure. Because individuals do not earn credit for time served on extended supervision, any violation during the period of supervision can result in re-incarceration for up to the full term. For an example, consider a person sentenced to a term of 10 years initial confinement followed by 10 years of extended supervision. Even under current law, if the person violates supervision during year 9, the person can be reincarcerated for 10 more years. Now consider that under the bill, if the person is charged with a relatively low level crime such as disorderly conduct, even without conviction, he or she can be revoked for the full 10 years. Effectively the person has been sentenced to a 10 year term in state prison for suspicion of a crime that carries a potential penalty of a \$1000 fine and 90 days in jail.

And while the administrative law judge would still retain discretion under the bill whether or not to revoke supervision, because of a combination of the conditions of release, the administrative hearing process for a revocation proceeding, and the burdens and standards for a revocation proceeding, this bill will lead to prison sentences that are grossly disproportionate to the alleged criminal activity. It is also worth noting that currently, 90% or more of revocation proceedings decided by an administrative law judge result in re-incarceration. Practically, that means that if a Probation and Parole Agent recommends revocation, it is almost certain to happen. SB 309 removes the current discretion of these agents to recommend alternatives to incarceration.

The provision related to expungement in SB 309 is not an evidence based approach and also presents issues that will result in litigation. Research demonstrates that increased penalties and longer sentences are not a deterrent to criminal behavior. In addition, including the provision denying expungement after the fact faces serious challenges in court. Under current Wisconsin statute, a judge can only grant expungement at sentencing. This statute would allow a process that administratively undoes a valid court order.

The Badger Institute has conducted extensive data collection and analysis on revocation in Wisconsin. Among some of the more significant findings as pertains to SB 309 are:

- The top non-criminal violations are non-reporting, non-compliance with treatment programming, and absconding. Under SB 309, the limit on expungement for technical rule violations means that people will lose access to a vital rehabilitative tool that is already out of reach for so many because they, for example, failed to inform their agent of a change in address.
- Just over half of people in prison are serving a term of revocation. Revocation is already a significant driver of the prison population. A bill such as SB 309 only threatens to dramatically escalate that without the necessary resources.
- In a study sample, 49% of revocation conduct later led to a criminal conviction, 51% did not result in an additional criminal conviction. SB 309 removes the current discretion on the 51% of alleged criminal activity that does not result in a criminal conviction. Put another way, it skips the burden of proving criminal allegations by bypassing due process of the criminal justice system to instead use an administrative process with far fewer rights and processes.

Evidence and research points to greater success achieved through a concept called dosage-based probation. In simple terms, dosage-based probation provides for more rapid but more tailored sanctions for probation violations. It recognizes the fact that even the time spent in detention pending the revocation decision (which can be anywhere from 3 to 10 days) has a detrimental impact on the person's ability to maintain employment and housing. Requiring a recommendation of revocation after new charges are issued will have several impacts which are more severe than perhaps anticipated by the author.

As part of Wisconsin's continuing efforts to expand the use of research-based practices in the area of criminal justice, justice professionals are increasingly making individualized decisions and recommendations in light of the risk level and needs of the defendant. Often, appropriate and effective programs available in the community provide for greater public safety while saving taxpayer funds.

This bill may result in a significant number of new prison terms, which will neither be cost effective nor have a substantially beneficial impact on future criminal behavior.

Thank you again for the opportunity to provide information on Senate Bill 309. If you have additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact us at 608-264-8572 or plotkina@opd.wi.gov.

ADVANCEMENT Project

September 27, 2023

Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety Wisconsin State Legislature Wisconsin State Capitol 2 East Main Street Madison, WI 53703

Re: Written Testimony in Opposition of SB 309

Chair Wanggaard and Members of the Committee:

My name is DaWuan Norwood. I serve as a Legal Fellow at Advancement Project, a multi-racial civil rights organization working to fulfill America's promise of a caring, inclusive, and just democracy. We write to this committee in opposition of SB 309, a bill which would revoke the extended supervision, parole, or probation of individuals who are charged with a crime while on release and further complicate the already difficult process of expungement.

Potential Impact of SB 309

SB 309 stands for the proposition that people who are on extended supervision, parole, or probation are guilty of crimes charged to them by way of their prior conviction(s). Such a proposition stands in direct conflict to the United States Constitution which requires that persons facing criminal prosecutions be afforded the right to a speedy trial by an impartial jury.¹ This constitutional right must be upheld for *all* citizens, including, and especially those who are on extended supervision, parole, or probation. To support this bill is to support the denial of liberty and the unjust assignment of guilt to people who have not been provided with their right to trial.

Further, SB 309 seeks to strip parole officers and supervising agents of their discretion to recommend revocation and instead calls for the automatic initiation of revocation and incarceration of an individual who has merely been charged with, not convicted of, a new crime. This law, if enacted, would remove the presumption of innocence and replace it with a certainty of guilt without due process.

Under current Wisconsin law, if an individual under supervision allegedly violates the conditions of their supervision, the supervising agent investigates and decides whether or not to recommend the revocation of that individual's supervision.² The decision to recommend revocation is one that is made under consideration of the totality of the circumstances. This remains true even when the

¹ U.S. Const. amend. VI

 $^{^2\} https://doa.wi.gov/Pages/LicensesHearings/DHACorrectionsTheRevocationProcess.aspx$

individual is actually convicted of a new crime. These decisions are best made on a case-by-case basis by the supervising agents who are more closely involved in supervision, rather than automatically imposed by the legislature. Decisions on a person's freedom should not be determined by an automatic system that prioritizes expediency over efficacy.

The enactment of SB 309 would only further exacerbate problems that exist within Wisconsin rather than addressing those problems. As of 2019, Wisconsin's supervision time is the third-longest in the United States.³ Wisconsin's typical supervision length is 3 years and 2 months, nearly double the national average.⁴ Wisconsin's supervision length creates a greater chance of revocation for individuals under supervision and can lead to an increase in prison populations. Revocations already serve as the primary cause of incarceration in Wisconsin, and the proportion of individuals reincarcerated due to revocations continues to rise.⁵ The Wisconsin Division of Community Corrections (DCC) reports that there are more than 68,000 people on extended supervision, probation, or parole.⁶ Wisconsin's high rate of supervision and lengthy supervision times, when partnered with the enactment of SB 309, will leave thousands of Wisconsin citizens vulnerable to an inevitable increase in their chances of reincarceration.

SB 309 would also impose great costs upon the state while failing to achieve any of its claimed goals. The Fiscal Estimate for SB 309 found that the increase in revocations stemming from the bill's automatic revocation language will result in a nearly \$1.8 Million increase annually for the Department of Administration's Division of Hearings and Appeals.⁷ Further, SB 309 would significantly increase the number of incarcerated individuals as Department of Corrections (DOC) facilities are already nearing capacity. As a result, it is estimated that the DOC would have to build two new facilities, each the size of Oshkosh Correctional Institution. The estimate to build just one of these facilities is approximately \$687 Million to \$839 Million.⁸ Finally, it is estimated that in its first year of enactment, SB 309 will increase to operations costs by \$72.7 Million. The DOC estimates that there will be a permanent increase to operations costs in the amount of \$209 Million after the population is annualized during the second year of enactment.⁹ There is no cognizable public benefit that exists to justify the costs incurred financially by the state, nor the financial and personal costs that will be incurred by directly impacted individuals on supervision.

Conclusion

The introduction of SB 309 serves to impose draconian provisions on archaic laws. As states across the nation explore alternative measures rooted in restoration and rehabilitation that have been proven effective in ensuring public safety, Wisconsin chooses instead to pursue tactics that only further entrap individuals in its carceral system. The introduction and potential enactment of SB 309 serves no other purpose than to perpetuate cycles of criminalization rather than to promote progress and rehabilitation for those who have been impacted by the criminal legal system. A much better use of this body's time and resources can be found in ensuring that impacted individuals on supervision are provided with resources that are conducive to their ability to survive and thrive

⁸ Id.

³ https://wisconsinwatch.org/2019/06/wisconsins-high-supervision-rate-can-cause-rather-than-prevent-longer-incarceration-studies-show/

⁴ *Id*.

⁵ Id.

⁶ https://doc.wi.gov/Pages/AboutDOC/CommunityCorrections/Default.aspx

⁷ https://docs.legis.wisconsin.gov/2023/related/fe/sb309/sb309_doc.pdf

⁹ Id.

outside of the carceral system. Some examples of these resources include access to housing, employment, health care, social services, and the restoration of voting rights. These resources have proven to be far more effective in creating and maintaining public safety and are necessary to ensure a just democracy. We urge the Committee to oppose the enactment of SB 309. If you have any questions or would like additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me at <u>dnorwood@advancementproject.org</u>.

Sincerely,

DaWuan Norwood Legal Fellow, Advancement Project



September 27, 2023

Chair Wanggaard, Vice-Chair Jacque, and Honorable Members of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety:

The American Civil Liberties Union of Wisconsin appreciates the opportunity to provide written testimony in opposition to Senate Bill 309 and Senate Bill 427.

We cannot continue to double down on harmful policies that have pushed our correctional system to a breaking point and failed to actually improve safety and material conditions in Wisconsin communities. As a reminder, we have over 21,000 people incarcerated in state prisons, about 12,000 in county jails, and nearly 63,000 people on probation, parole, and extended supervision.

Devastatingly, Wisconsin has the highest Black incarceration rate in the country. Data shows that 1 in 36 Black Wisconsinites are currently incarcerated, meaning Black people are nearly 12 times more likely to be incarcerated than white people.¹ According to a study by the Wisconsin Court System, Native American men are 28% more likely to be sentenced to prison than their white counterparts.² Wisconsin also has a higher percentage of people incarcerated for crimes committed as youth than any state in the country except Louisiana.³

We all want to live in safe and healthy communities, and legislation impacting the criminal legal system should be focused on the most effective approaches to achieving that goal. SB-309 and SB-427 would take us several steps in the wrong direction.

Senate Bill 309

This bill would require the Department of Corrections to recommend revoking a person's probation, parole, or extended supervision for just being charged with—and not convicted of—a crime. The bill also adds additional barriers to record expungement if a person has a previous conviction (including a conviction that has been expunged), if they have pending criminal charges, or if a person violated a rule or condition of probation.

¹ Clare Amari, *Wisconsin imprisons 1 in 36 Black adults. No state has a higher rate.*, Wisconsin Watch (Oct. 13, 2021), <u>https://wisconsinwatch.org/2021/10/wisconsin-imprisons-1-in-36-black-adults-no-state-has-a-higher-rate/</u>.

² DRAFT: Race and Prison Sentencing in Wisconsin: Initial Outcomes of Felony Convictions, 2009-2018 (Jan. 2020), <u>https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/20478391/race-prison-sentence-felony-report-draft 2020 02 05.pdf</u>.

³ Alexander Shur, Wisconsin has 2nd highest percentage of prisoners locked up for crimes committed as youth, Wisconsin State Journal (May 23, 2023), <u>https://madison.com/news/state-</u> regional/government-politics/wisconsin-has-2nd-highest-percentage-of-prisoners-locked-up-forcrimes-committed-as-youth/article_4a6c1600-f5b7-11ed-9186-ffd641c2443d.html.

Lowering the Constitutional Burden for Conviction

Taking away discretion from DOC agents and automatically initiating an administrative revocation to send a person to prison for being charged with a crime raises constitutional concerns. The practical burden of proof required for a period of incarceration on a new charge would essentially become "probable cause" (the standard for issuing the charge itself) rather than "beyond a reasonable doubt."

Two Billion Dollar Price Tag

According to the Fiscal Estimate completed by the Department of Corrections, SB-309 would cost a fortune:

- **Over \$1.7 million annually** for increased revocation cases adjudicated by the Department of Administration's Division of Hearings and Appeals;
- **\$1.3 to \$1.67 billion** for the construction of two new prisons to accommodate the significant increase in the incarcerated population;
- Over \$72.7 million in increased operations costs during the first year of enactment
- Over \$209 million in increased operations costs during the second year of enactment

Rather than trapping people in a revolving door of incarceration and supervision, people on parole, probation, or extended supervision should be given the support and opportunities they need to thrive in their community.

Senate Bill 427

In addition to the data collection requirements contained in SB-427, this bill would make draconian changes to state law relating to the cash bail system that ignore both the realities behind Wisconsin's bail jumping prosecutions and the legal, economic, and human impact of cash bail. Under the bill, if a defendant has a previous conviction for bail jumping, they may only be released by executing a secured bond or paying at least \$5,000 cash bail. This minimum bail amount would apply regardless of the nature of the pendant charge, the age of the previous bail jumping conviction, or whether the previous bail jumping conviction was a misdemeanor or a felony. If a defendant is accused of a "violent crime" and has a previous conviction for a violent crime, they may only be released by executing at least \$10,000 cash bail.

The Realities of Bail Jumping Charges in Wisconsin

Over the past few decades, criminal bail jumping charges have skyrocketed in Wisconsinoften "top[ping] the list of the state's most common charges."⁴ It is important to note that conduct resulting in a criminal bail jumping charge does not need to be a crime itself. Missing an appointment with a caseworker, breaking a curfew, not updating an address, missing a drug test, or relapsing could all result in a bail jumping charge if they relate to a non-monetary bail condition. Sometimes Wisconsinites are charged and convicted of multiple counts of bail jumping even if they were not convicted of the original charge.

⁴ Natalie Yahr, *Walk the line: How bail jumping became Wisconsin's 'most-charged crime*,' Cap Times (Feb. 26, 2020), <u>https://captimes.com/news/local/neighborhoods/walk-the-line-how-bail-jumping-became-wisconsins-most-charged-crime/article_8349851a-f8cd-5fc3-a659-7fc5c1885e25.html</u>.

As data from a legal and quantitative analysis published in 2018 suggests, "an underlying purpose for filing bail jumping charges may be to create leverage against defendants to induce them to plead to their original charge rather than to punish them for violating their bond conditions."⁵ The Wisconsin Justice Initiative and the Mastantuono Coffee & Thomas law firm published data on the staggering prevalence of bail jumping charges issued by several counties in 2021.⁶ The table below summarizes some of this data:

County	Percent of Misdemeanor Cases that Include Bail-Jumping Charges	Percent of Felony Cases that Include Bail-Jumping Charges
Adams	18%	36%
Ashland	21%	42%
Barron	26%	33%
Bayfield	10%	30%
Brown	23%	44%
Buffalo	6%	11%
Burnett	9%	33%
Calumet	20%	46%
Chippewa	33%	59%
Clark	17%	37%
Columbia	28%	40%
Crawford	31%	34%
Dane	11%	35%
Dodge	20%	39%
Door	21%	46%
Douglas	8%	21%
Dunn	30%	46%

⁵ Amy Johnson, *The Use of Wisconsin's Bail Jumping Statute: A Legal and Quantitative Analysis*, 2018 WIS. L. REV. 619 (2018), <u>https://repository.law.wisc.edu/s/uwlaw/media/40009</u>.

⁶ Wisconsin Justice Initiative Blog (2022), <u>https://www.wjiinc.org/blog/category/bail-jumping-project</u>.

A Two-Tiered System of "Justice"

Wisconsin's reliance on cash bail has perpetuated a two-tiered system of justice: one for the wealthy and one for everyone else. Imposing the mandatory bail requirements in SB-427 would exacerbate the inequities in the current pre-trial detention system and result in extraordinary costs to counties to support a ballooning jail population.

Spending even a few days in jail can have devastating, long-lasting consequences for presumptively innocent individuals and their families. The inability to pay cash bail hurts the very things that help someone charged with an offense succeed: employment, stable housing, and strong family and community connections. On top of the risk of job loss, eviction, and the impact on child custody and parental rights, people incarcerated pre-trial can find themselves under a mountain of system-imposed debt.

Wisconsin statutes give counties discretion to charge incarcerated people a fee for their incarceration. According to a report from the Institute for Research on Poverty (IRP), 16 of 22 counties that responded to the IRP survey charged incarcerated people a booking fee or daily rate for room and board.⁷ In 2019, Wisconsin Watch found that at least 23 Wisconsin counties assess "pay-to-stay" fees.⁸ Further, Wisconsin jails and telecommunications companies extract more money from incarcerated people and their families, with rates for phone calls as high as \$14.77 for a 15-minute call in some counties.⁹

In addition to the cascading economic and social consequences, detention poses a systemic disadvantage to people unable to afford the price of freedom pretrial. Compared to similarly situated non-detained peers, people detained pretrial are more likely to plead guilty,¹⁰ more likely to be convicted,¹¹ and more likely to have longer sentences¹² if incarcerated.

https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2021/09/10/wisconsin-phones/.

⁷ Will Maher, *Poverty Fact Sheet: Pay-to-Stay Jail Fees in Wisconsin*, Institute for Research on Poverty (2017-2018), <u>https://www.irp.wisc.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Factsheet15-Pay-to-Stay-Jail-Fees-in-WI.pdf</u>.

⁸ Izabela Zaluska, *Pay-to-stay*, other fees, can put jail inmates hundreds or thousands in debt, Wisconsin Watch (Sept. 15, 2019), <u>https://wisconsinwatch.org/2019/09/pay-to-stay/</u>.

⁹ Wanda Bertram, New data: Wisconsin jails and telecom giants profiting from high phone rates that keep families apart, Prison Policy Initiative (Sept. 10, 2021),

¹⁰ Paul Heaton, Sandra Mayson, and Megan Stevenson, *The Downstream Consequences of Misdemeanor Pretrial Detention*, 69 STAN. L. REV. 711 (2017),

https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3409&context=faculty_scholarship. ¹¹ Megan Stevenson, *Distortion of Justice: How the Inability to Pay Bail Affects Case Outcomes*, 34 J. Law, Economics, & Organization, 511 (2018),

http://home.ubalt.edu/id86mp66/PTJC/SymposiumReadings/Distortion-of-Justice_Stevenson.pdf. ¹² Meghan Sacks and Alissa Ackerman, *Bail and Sentencing: Does Pretrial Detention Lead to Harsher Punishment*?, 25 CRIM. JUST. POL'Y REV. 59 (2014), https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0887403412461501.

According to a 2013 study of cases in Kentucky, people held pretrial are four times more likely to receive a jail sentence and three times more likely to receive a prison sentence, even when controlling for other factors such as charge type, demographics, and criminal history.¹³ Not to mention, Wisconsin is in the midst of a constitutional crisis, where defendants in poverty—disproportionately people from Black and brown communities—are routinely forced to sit in jail while awaiting the appointment of counsel in violation of the Sixth Amendment.

Studies have also found that pretrial detention can be the strongest single factor influencing a convicted defendant's likelihood of being sentenced to jail or prison.¹⁴ As Chief Justice Rehnquist wrote for the majority in *United States v. Salerno*, "In our society, liberty is the norm, and detention prior to trial or without trial is the carefully limited exception." 481 U.S. 739, 755 (1987). While the U.S. Supreme Court has held that, "the presumption of innocence in favor of the accused is the undoubted law, axiomatic and elementary," the reality of cash bail in our current system means that Wisconsinites charged with a crime are not innocent until proven guilty but instead innocent until proven poor.

The ACLU of Wisconsin strongly urges committee members to vote against these proposals that would exacerbate mass incarceration and the damage it inflicts on our communities, our families, and our economy.

¹³ Christopher Lowenkamp, Marie VanNostrand, and Alexander Holsinger, *Investigating the Impact of Pretrial Detention on Sentencing Outcomes*, Laura and John Arnold Foundation (2013), <u>https://perma.cc/CKF5-RCMN</u>.