Monthly Indicator Report - Chart 2a Compilation

The Research Unit in the Criminal Justice policy & Planning Division (CJPPD) at CT OPM publishes the Monthly Indicators Report. The report, which features operational data gathered from a variety of criminal justice agencies in the state, tracks developments and emerging issues related to criminal justice in Connecticut. The report also tracks the prison population against OPM's annual, February forecast of the prison population.

Although the Monthly Indicators Report format is largely fixed, several years ago, OPM decided to set aside a half page in each to explore a range of topics that might deserve more attention. These short pieces are published here. Please direct any questions or comments to ivan.kuzyk@ct.gov.

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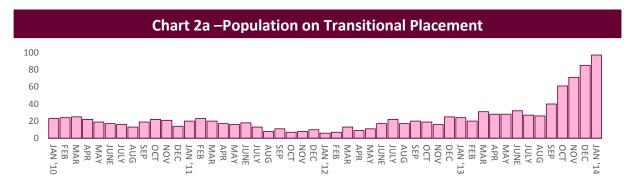
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JANUARY 2014



Transitional Placement is a program that allows parole-ineligible offenders who would benefit from a period of structured supervision to be transferred to an approved private residence after satisfactory performance in a residential program. Offenders selected for Transitional Placement are approved at the discretion of the Commissioner of Correction or his designee.

As the prison population began to swell over expected levels during the spring of 2013, the DOC began to investigate the options available for easing population pressures in the prisons. Since little could be done to move a large number of parole cases forward in the short term, Transitional Placement was identified as the means of moving many low-risk offenders out of halfway house beds, thus freeing up those fixed slots for appropriate offenders who were in prison. Between January 2012 and January 2014, the number of offenders on Transitional Placement grew from 6 to 97.

FEBRUARY 2014

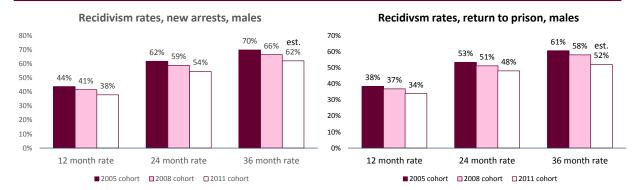


To even a casual observer, the prison system and the larger criminal justice system seem to move to their own internal rhythms. By the season, the prison population rises and falls in predictable ways. Large, atypical swings generally have less to do with external factors like the incidence of crime than they do with to the operational dynamics of the criminal justice machinery.

In chart 2a, we observe data on the number of sentenced prisoners admitted to prison, on a monthly basis, since January 2008. Steady-as-a-heartbeat, the number of sentenced admissions drops every November and December only to rebound sharply during the month of January. The slower, year-to-year, declines in admissions, reflects longer-term, structural changes to the system.

MARCH 2014

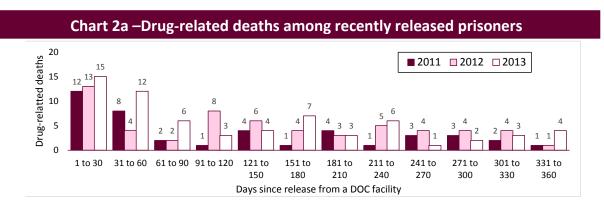
Chart 2a -Recidivism rates among males prisoners released in 2005, 2008 and 2011



In February, OPM calculated the recidivism rates of male, sentenced offenders who were released or discharged from prison in 2005, 2008 and 2011. Two measures of recidivism were evaluated: new arrests and return-to-prison. Returns-to-prison includes remands from community supervision, new admissions on pre-trial status or prison admissions to begin a new sentence of incarceration.

The analysis revealed that recidivism rates have been declining in the state since 2005. The causes for these positive developments are not immediately clear. One could certainly theorize that greater reliance on offender risk assessments and improved community supervision, both by DOC and CSSD, have contributed to fewer people returning to the criminal justice system after prison.

APRIL 2014



Drug-related deaths in the state rose dramatically in 2013. Many of these deaths involved heroin. OPM analyzed mortality data from the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner and discovered that about 45% of drug-death victims in 2011, 2012 and 2013, were former inmates. That ex-prisoners, who make up such a small proportion of the general population, account for over 40% of statewide drug deaths reveals the complex interplay that exists between substance abuse and the criminal justice system.

Approximately 35% of the DOC inmates, who have been evaluated, were assigned substance abuse treatment need scores of 4 or 5. A score of 4 or 5 indicates serious substance abuse issues requiring intensive inpatient or outpatient treatment. The DOC recognizes the need to maintain programming capacity in this critical area. In addition, the Department recently unveiled a methadone maintenance pilot program at the New Haven jail in collaboration with the APT Foundation.

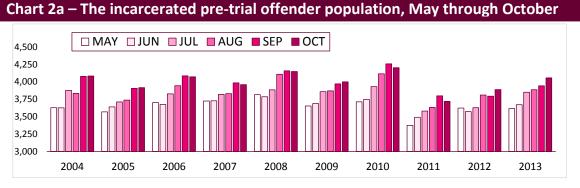
MAY 2014



Transitional Placement (TP) allows certain offenders - at the discretion of the Commissioner of Correction or his designee - to be transferred to an approved community or private residence after satisfactory performance in a residential program. According to the Department, TP is to be utilized for Parole-ineligible offenders or those offenders who would benefit from a period of structured supervision following halfway house placement.

Over the last year, the DOC has significantly increased its use of the TP program in an attempt to mitigate the effects of reduced Parole-grant rates on the prison population. Maintaining a reasonable balance between the number of offenders who are incarcerated and those offenders who are supervised in the community is one the major challenges associated with running the state's prison system in a safe and effective manner.

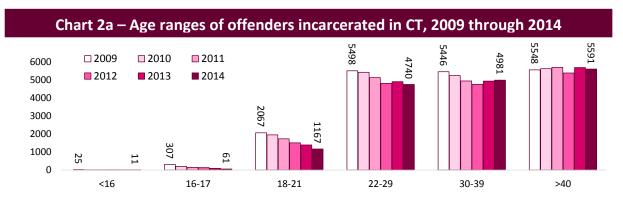
JUNE 2014



The state's prison population ebbs and flows to strong seasonal rhythms. Chart 2a presents ten years of data on the growth in the number of pre-trial offenders held in DOC facilities each year between May 1 and October 1. Over the last 10 years, the pre-trial population grows, on average, by 9.9% between May and October. In 2010, the pre-trial population grew by 13.2%, the largest increase during the decade, due, in part, to minor staffing reductions at the Judicial Branch's Jail Re-Interview Program (JRIP). A reduction in a just handful of JRIP positions resulted in the utilization of several thousand extra prisoner-bed-days over the course of that summer.

On June 1, 2014, there were 3,408 pre-trial offenders incarcerated in Connecticut jails and prisons. Last year on the same date, 3,671 pre-trial offenders were in state prisons (see Table 2). Between April and May of this year, the number of pre-trial offenders admitted to prison jumped by 10.8%, from 1,487 to 1,647 (see Table 3).

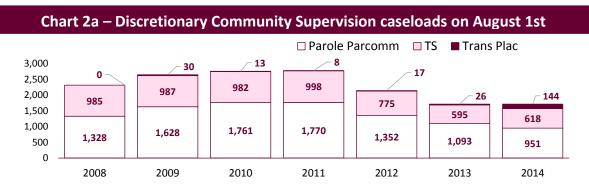
JULY 2014



The state's prison population is aging. Between July 1, 2009 and July 1st of this year, the prison population declined by 12.4%, from 18,891 to 16,551. During this same period, the number of inmates aged 18-to-21 dropped by 43.5% and the number of 16- and 17-year olds in prison – the group most impacted by raise the age legislation – fell by 80.1%.

While the number of prisoners aged 40 or older has remained relatively constant - as a percentage of the total prison population - this group increased from 29% of all inmates to 34% since 2009. Since younger offenders generally recidivate at higher rates than older ones, this development may have contributed to the moderate reductions in prisoner recidivism rates we have witnessed in recent years.

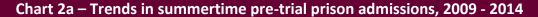
AUGUST 2014

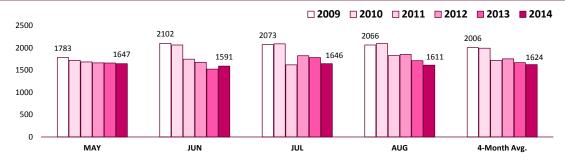


The number of offenders completing their prison sentences in discretionary community supervision programs has decreased dramatically over the last three years. On August 1st, 2011, 2,809 offenders were on either Parole (including Parcom), Transitional Supervision or Transfer Placement status. By 2014, that figure had fallen to 1,713, a 38.2% drop.

Although the sentenced prison population declined during the same period, it fell much less precipitously – from 13,523 to 12,451 – a 7.9% drop. In 2011, there were 4.9 sentenced offenders incarcerated for every offender in a non-residential community supervision program. By 2014, that ratio had jumped to 7.3 offenders in prison for every community placement. Several factors appear to be driving this change. Legislation, passed last year, and procedural changes at the Board of Pardons and Paroles have certainly affected the flow of offenders to Parole. Less clear are the factors that have pushed down the number of offenders on Transitional Supervision.

SEPTEMBER 2014





Pre-trial prison admissions during the months of May through August have fallen off in recent years. In 2009, approximately 2,000 pre-trial offenders were admitted to prison each month between May 1st and September 1st. This year, the average number of admissions was 1,624, a 19.1% decline.

The reasons for this development are not immediately apparent although the trend itself may help to explain why the prison population has not grown at the rate OPM forecast in February. Coincidently, perhaps, statewide criminal arrests during the same four-month period declined as well. In 2009, police agencies in the State reported 44,941 criminal arrests. During the same period in 2014, they reported only 32,585 arrests, a 27.5% drop.

The historical data reveals a useful rule-of-thumb relationship between criminal arrests and pre-trial admits. In a typical month, one DOC pre-trial admit is clocked for every five criminal arrests reported.

OCTOBER 2014

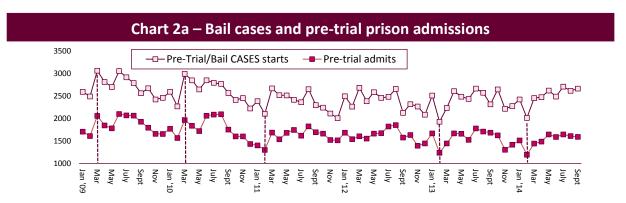


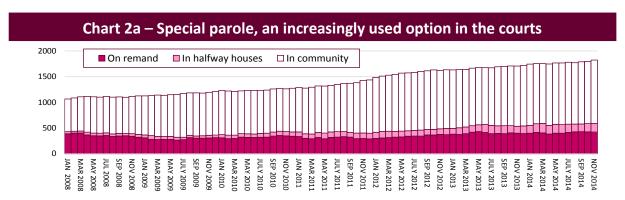
Chart 2 is a rather complicated and perhaps confusing attempt to portray the aggregated movement of offenders through the state's criminal justice system each month.

For new criminal cases, the front end of the system is reflected in the number of new arrest dockets filed with the courts. Following arrest, offenders may be released on their own recognizance or they made be issued a surety bond to guarantee their appearance at court.

Offenders unable to post bond are generally admitted to a DOC facility to await the disposition of their cases. Chart 2a illustrates how the volume of bail cases opened each month fluctuates in roughly the same pattern as pre-trial prison admissions.

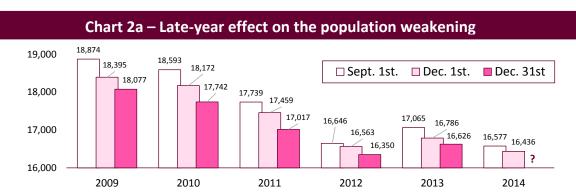
Between 2009 and 2013, the number of arrests recorded annually dropped by 23.7%. The number of new bail cases, however, declined by only 11.2%. Pre-trial prison admissions were down 15.9% during the same period.

NOVEMBER 2014



In recent years, OPM has reported on significant declines for some important criminal justice measures. Statewide arrests have been dropping, so too have general parole and probation caseloads. The number of crime reports are also down as are the number of people being admitted to prison. One indicator, however, has bucked this general trend: the number of offenders on special parole status continues to grow. Between January 2008 and November 2014, the number of offenders on special parole status grew by 71%. Judges and prosecutors appear to be increasingly turning to special parole, instead of probation, as a post-incarceration community supervision option. Ostensibly designed to provide authorities with a simpler, more-straightforward mechanism to remand offenders than the probation violation process, special parole is putting greater demands on DOC's capacity to manage offenders in the community. In July 2013, the number of special parolees surpassed the number of general parolees for the first time ever. Since then, the gap has widened (see chart 8).

DECEMBER 2014



The state's prison population is influenced by a variety of internal and external constraints and forces. In addition, prison population also ebbs and flows over the course of the year, in rhythm with the changing seasons.

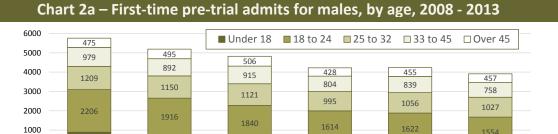
Over the last 10 years the prison population has generally spiked during January, reaching a peak in February before leveling off during the spring. As summer begins, the prison population typically grows until late-September or early October before dropping off as the year winds down.

In recent years, when the number of inmates exceeded 17,500, it was not uncommon for the prison population to tumble by over 700 between September 1st and December 31st. A drop on this scale was welcome relief, helping to alleviate crowding issues in some facilities. With smaller prison populations, like those being managed today, it appears unrealistic to expect such large, end-of-the-year drops in the total inmate count. In 2009, 2010 and 2011, the prison population lost 790 prisoners, on average, between Sept. 1st and the end of the year. In 2012 and 2013, the average loss in the same period was 368 inmates.

JANUARY 2015

0

887



118

262

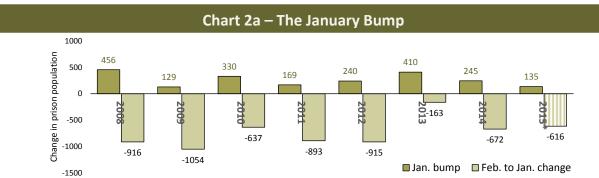
382

The state's prison population has been dropping for several years. On January 1st, 2008, the state's prisons held 19,438 inmates. This year, 16,167 people were in prison, a 16.8% decline.

During the same period, the size of the pre-trial population has also dropped but by a less dramatic 10.6%. Even though the decrease was smaller, there is reason to be optimistic; the number of new people being admitted to prison as pre-trial detainees appears to be decreasing. In 2008, 5,756 men, who had never been in prison before, were admitted as pre-trial offenders. In 2014, the number of new men being admitted to prison dropped to 3,786, a 34 % decrease.

Simply put, almost 2,000 fewer new people entered prison in 2014 than in 2008. Complete data on persons admitted to prison on pre-trial status by age and gender is only available through 2013. That data shows that the reduction in new people entering the prison system is disproportionately affecting younger adults. In 2008, 3,093 men under the age of 25, with no prison histories, were admitted on pre-trial status. By 2013, that number had fallen to 1,672, a 46% decrease.

FEBRUARY 2015



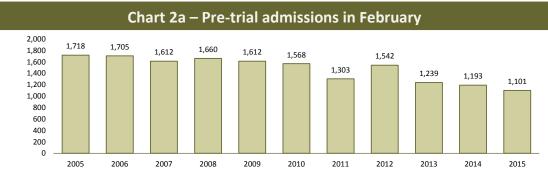
Recently, the prison population has declined each year during the late fall only to rebound strongly after January 1st, when the courts return with vigor after a long holiday lull. The number of offenders picking up sentences spikes in January and the subsequent increase in the prison population has become known as "the January bump".

Since 2008, the prison population has increased every January. This year's increase of 135 prisoners appears relatively modest in comparison to recent years. In the past the prison population has expanded by upwards of 400 prisoners in a single month.

Because of the January bump, early February is the time of the year when the prison population peaks. The chart above shows the range of January population increases going back to 2008, and the subsequent decrease in the number of prisoners between February 1st and the following January.

OPM recently completed it prison population forecast for the coming year. If accurate, the prison population could decline to 15,686 by January 1, 2016, a projection of 616 people.

MARCH 2015



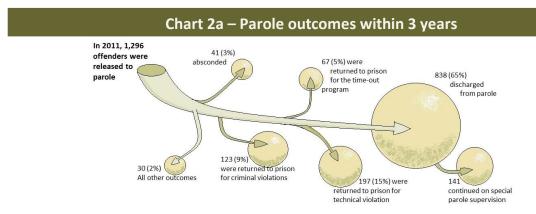
Over the last 10 years, the prison population in

Connecticut has declined significantly. A major factor has been a relatively steady drop in the number of people admitted to prison each year. In February 2005, 1,718 people were admitted to prison as pre-trial detainees. This February 1,101 were admitted, an overall 35% reduction over the last decade.

No single factor can be credited for the impressive drop in admissions. Significant changes to the bail process, designed and implemented by CSSD, have certainly been critical. An overall drop in the number of statewide criminal arrests has also contributed to these declining numbers.

The number of new people being admitted to prison in recent years has also been dropping. Table 5b tracks persons admitted to prison on pre-trial status who have no prior history of incarceration with the CT DOC. An analysis performed by OPM revealed that the percentage of new people being admitted to prison has been declining for several years. In 2008, 29.3% people admitted, pre-trial, had no prior history with DOC. By 2014, that number had fallen to 25.6%

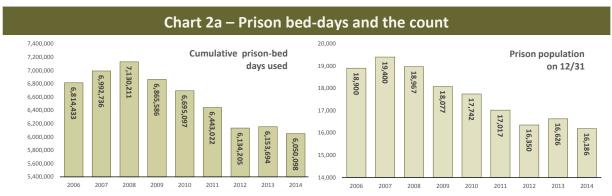
APRIL 2015



In 2011, 1,296 offenders were released from prisons and halfway houses to parole. Over the next three years, 65% of these individuals successfully discharged the remainder of their sentences in a community setting. This represents a solid improvement over 2008, when only 57% completed the terms of their parole successfully. Technical violations were also down between 2008 and 2011, from 23% to 15%.

Of the 197 parolees who were remanded to prison for technical violations in 2011, 22 were returned facing new criminal charges. Of the remaining 175 technical violators, 164 served out the remainder of their sentences in prison; only 11 – or 6 % of the total - ever made it back into a community supervision setting. In fact a higher percentage of criminal violators, in 2011, (15%) made it back into the community. This analysis does not include TS, halfway house or other releases.

MAY 2015

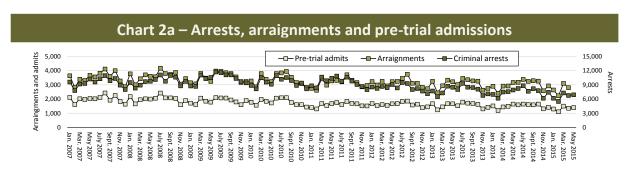


In recent years, the state's prison population has dropped significantly. The most direct measure of this decline can be seen in historical daily-count data published by DOC and OPM. What is less obvious is what these declines mean in terms of system capacity and cost.

The graph on the right in Chart 2a contains data for the prison population on December 31 for the years 2006 through 2014. On the left is a graph of the cumulative prison bed-days for the same years. A prison bed-day represents one prisoner occupying a prison bed for a single day. Thinking in bed-days allows us to better understand total demand on system resources.

Between 2008 and 2014, the number of prison bed-days used at the DOC fell from 7.1M to 6.1M, a 15% decrease. Assigning a cost of \$50 per each bed-day, suggests savings to be in the range of \$54M. A million bed-days is equivalent to incarcerating 2.740 offenders for one year.

JUNE 2015



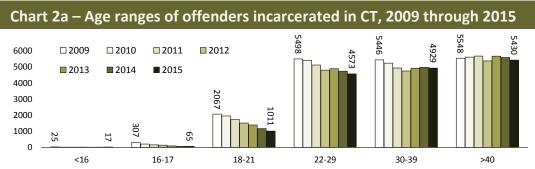
The Monthly Indicators Report will now publish data on the number of court arraignments that take place across the state each month. Arraignments (see chart 2a) are more closely correlated with pre-trial admits than the number of arrests.

The trend lines in chart 2a illustrate how stable the state's criminal justice system is. In the short term, the system is strongly self-stabilizing. Over the longer term, however, significant changes can be observed.

In January 2007, for example, approximately 59 people were admitted to prison, pre-trial, for every 100 arraignments. By January 2015, only 45 people were admitted to prison per 100 arraignments. This, reduction in admits may go a long way towards explaining why pre-trial admissions have been dropping over the last few years.

In recent years, the Judicial Branch has prioritized efforts to improve the efficiency and fairness of the bail system. The Branch's CSSD has revised its bail-risk assessment and weighted metrics to better inform and enhance the bail decision making process. The result: more defendants are diverted from jail while their cases are pending. This has been accomplished without subsequent increases in new arrests or FTAs.

JULY 2015

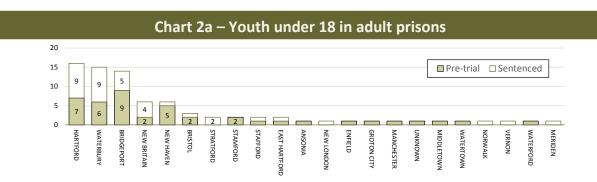


A chart similar to the one shown above, covering the years 2009 through 2014, appeared in the July 2014 issue of this report. In that issue we noted that while the total prison population between 2009 and 2014 had dropped by 12.4%, the decline in the number of younger prisoners was even more pronounced.

We have updated last year's chart to include 2015. Between 2009 and 2015, the total prison population declined by 15.4%. While this drop in the total prison population is noteworthy, the declining number of younger prisoners is even more dramatic. Between July 1, 2009 and July 1, 2015, the number of prisoners aged 18 to 21 fell from 2,067 to 1,011, an impressive 51.1% decrease. The number of prisoners between ages of 22 and 29 dropped by 16.8%. In contrast, the over-40 prison population declined by only 2.1%

These trends bode well for the state's criminal justice system as we move forward. Recidivism is generally most pronounced among younger offenders and the youth of an offender at the time of their first incarceration is a strong predictor of subsequent incarceration.

AUGUST 2015



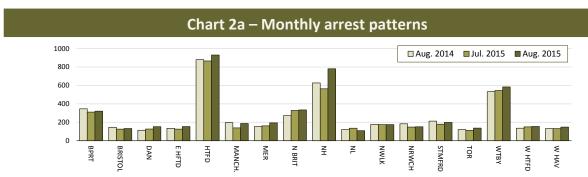
In this section, in the July issue of this paper, we reported that the number of offenders, under the age of 18, incarcerated in adult prisons in the state fell from 332 to 85 between 2009 and 2015, a 74% decrease.

On August 13, 2015, 80 offenders under the age of 18 were incarcerated in adult prison facilities in Connecticut; 37 were serving sentences, 43 were on pre-trial status. Forty-five (45) out of the 80 incarcerated youth came from just 3 towns, Hartford (16), Waterbury (15), and Bridgeport (14). In contrast, only 6 incarcerated youths were from New Haven.

Out of 80 young prisoners, only one was female. Seventy percent (70%) of these young prisoners were black. Among sentenced prisoners, the percentage of blacks jumped to 81%.

For the 43 pre-trial offenders bonds ranged from \$7,500 to \$2M. Two-thirds of pre-trial detainees came from either Hartford, Waterbury, Bridgeport, New Britain or New Haven.

SEPTEMBER 2015



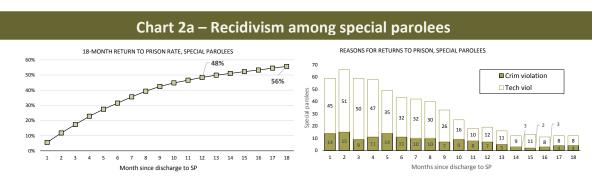
As noted on page 1, the number of arrests jumped by 11% between July and August. At present, this is not a cause for concern because the number of statewide arraignments declined during the same period. This suggests either a glitch in the arrest data, or that these added arrests were not considered serious enough by the courts to be continued past presentment.

Chart 2a contains monthly arrest data for the 17 municipal police departments that regularly report over 100 arrests per month. Not surprisingly, Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury have very high levels of arrests relative to their populations.

The New Britain police report as many arrests as Bridgeport and many more than Stamford, despite the fact both Bridgeport and Stamford are considerably larger. The data indicates that arrests in Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury all increased between July and August.

Statewide, there were 837 more arrests reported in August than in July. These 17 police departments accounted for 520, or 62%, of these increased arrests. The jump in New Haven alone accounted for roughly a quarter of the statewide entire increase.

OCTOBER 2015



A DOC inmate recently contacted OPM asking for recidivism data comparing probationers and special parolees. It appears that prisoners disagree about the efficacy and the relative merits and flaws associated with both types of supervision.

Since such an analysis does not currently exist, and because it seemed a reasonable question, OPM asked the DOC for data for all offenders who had been discharged to special parole between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2013. A cohort of 1,060 offenders was quickly identified. The results of a preliminary analysis of return-to-prison rates were surprising and thought provoking.

Among offenders discharged to special parole during 2012 and 2013, 48% were returned to prison within a year. A large majority, 75%, were returned to prison for technical violations. Contrast this against the 34% of all offenders leaving prison in 2008 who returned within a year.

Over the last 5 years, the number of special parolees in prison on remand status has increased by 58%. On October 1, 2015, 546 special parolees were in prison, remanded. On that same day there were four prison facilities (Garner, Brooklyn, Northern and Walker RSMU) with fewer prisoners. OPM will take a more thorough look at this issue in the months ahead.

NOVEMBER 2015

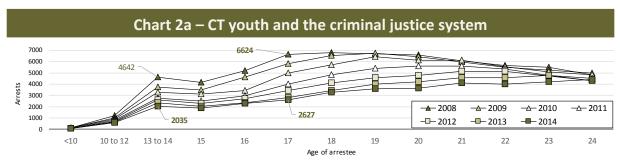
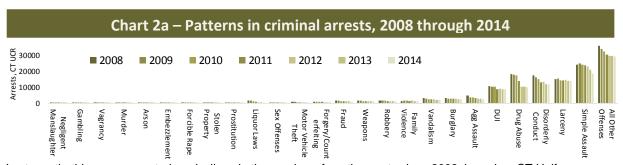


Chart 2a plots statewide, juvenile and adult arrest age for the years 2008 through 2014. The data was compiled from "Crime in Connecticut" reports published annually by the CT State Police (online at: http://www.dpsdata.ct.gov/dps/ucr/ucr.aspx).

The chart reveals that arrests of young people are down considerably since 2008. In 2008, for example, 6,624 17-year olds were arrested in CT. That number has declined in every year since. In 2014, only 2,627 17-year olds were arrested, an astounding 60% reduction in six years. The reason for these declines is still being debated. Citing brain development science, Gov. Malloy, this month, called for a conversation focused on raising the age of juvenile jurisdiction to 21, and alternative ways to handle offenders who are under the age of 25. Although a number of states use hybrid sentencing schemes for offenders under age 25, no state has considered raising the juvenile age above 18.

We have already seen a dramatic drop in young people imprisoned in the state (see Monthly Indicators Report, July 2015). Although the long-term implications of these proposed changes are difficult to predict at this time, Connecticut's recent experience raising the juvenile jurisdiction age from 16 to 18 has demonstrated the potential for both reducing crime and significantly affecting the adult prison population.

DECEMBER 2015



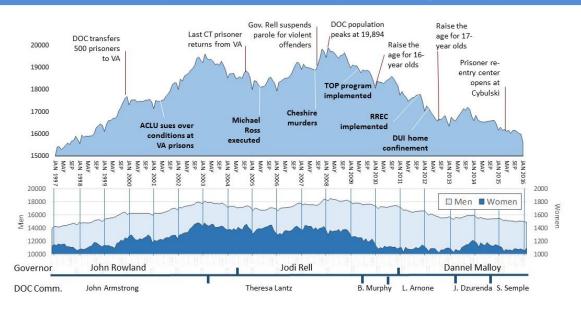
Last month, this paper reported on declines in the number of youth arrests since 2008, based on CT Uniform Crime Report data. This month, we look at the same data with a focus on changes in arrests by crime type.

Six offense categories account for roughly 85% of arrests. The six include: DUI arrests, Drug Arrests, Disorderly Conduct, Larceny, Simple Assault and a catch-all category, All Other Offenses. All Other Offenses includes approximately 1,400 state or local laws not captured elsewhere. The offenses range from interfering with an officer to willful avoidance of tax on tobacco sales. The most common offense is Failure to Appear. Between 2008 and 2014, total arrests in the state were down by 26%. There was significant variation, however, in arrest declines by offense type. Family violence offenses were the only offense group exhibiting an increase (2%) between 2008 and 2014. Arrests for Murder, Rape, Sex offenses, Robbery and Aggravated Assault were all down (-23%, -22%, -33%, -24% and -49%).

The state also reported large drops in arrests for Gambling, -64%, Vagrancy, -61%, Liquor laws, -76%, and Drug charges, -46%. A pdf of this information is available on-line (see Highlights on page 1).

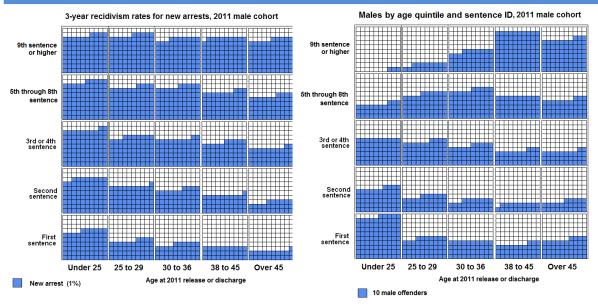
JANUARY 2016

Chart 2a – The CT prison population, January 1997 through January 2016



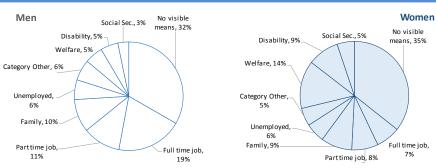
FEBRUARY 2016





MARCH 2016

Chart 2a – Means of support, pre-trial prisoners, 2011



As part of an on-study study of the state's pre-trial prison population, OPM obtained data from the DOC on 15,898 people who were admitted to prison on pre-trial status during 2011.

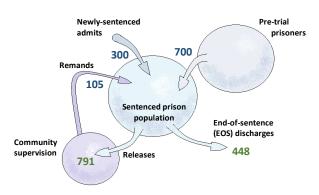
Court Support Services Division (CSSD), in the Judicial Branch, agreed to try to match this data with a variety of information collected by their Jail Re-interview Program (JRIP). Each month, JRIP staff interview almost every pre-trial detainee in an attempt to ease the jail population through bail modifications or appropriate programming. CSSD was able to match JRIP data with 13,059 persons in our 2011 pre-trial cohort. The data in chart 2a contains information on major means-of-support for 97% of the men and women in the sample. Among men, 32% reported no visible means of support. Among women the figure was 35%. Only 19% of men had a full-time job. For women the figure was 7%. This information may help to explain why many pre-trial prisoners remain incarcerated with - what on the face of it appear to be - very low bonds.

APRIL 2016

Chart 2a - Churn among the DOC's sentenced population, March 2016

On March 1, 2016, there sentenced prisoners in A month later, on April 1, 11,755, a drop of 95 totals like these, though capture the constant, and movement and change the sentenced

Although the total population dropped by 95 of March, almost 800 prisoners were released March to serve out the



were 11,846 CT DOC facilities. 2016, there were inmates. Monthly useful, fail to significant, taking place within population.

sentenced during the month sentenced from prison during remainder of their

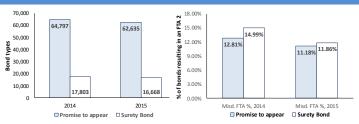
sentences in community supervision programs. Another 450, or so, were discharged at the end of their sentences (EOS).

Balancing these 1,250 releases and discharges were approximately 1,100 additions to the sentenced-prison population. These 1,100 offenders were either newly sentenced or had been remanded to custody.

During March, approximately 2,300 offenders -out of a population of roughly 11,800 sentenced prisoners - either entered or left the sentenced prison population. In other words, one in five sentenced prisoners was replaced during March, a monthly churn rate of 19.5%.

MAY 2016





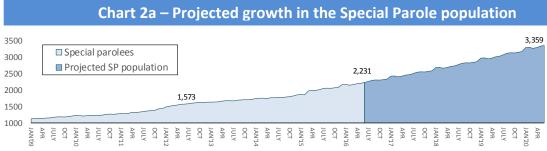
The Legislature is currently considering changes to the state's bail system that would largely eliminate court-imposed, cash bonds for most misdemeanor offenses.

For decades, opponents of cash bonds have argued that the bail system unduly punishes the poor without adequate evidence to demonstrate increased public safety. The bail industry counters that without their services, the pre-trial prison population would inevitably mushroom, and for those offenders released without bail, failure-to-appear (FTA) rates would sky-rocket.

OPM recently reviewed Judicial Branch data on offenders released to bond in 2014 and 2015. This data suggests that misdemeanor FTA rates, in fact are slightly higher among offenders with surety bonds compared to offenders who were released on promise-to-appear agreements. Though not definitive, this data bolsters those who assert that current FTA rates will not be adversely affected.

It is too early to project the impact of proposed bail-reform legislation on the size of the state's jail population given the dynamics of the Connecticut's pre-trial system.

JUNE 2016



In November 2014, this paper reported on a disquieting expansion in the size of the state's special parole population. At that time, the state had 1,822 special parolees. Today there are over 2,200* and the data suggests that the number of offenders sentenced to special parole is accelerating.

Since last June, the state's special parole population - both in the community and on remand - is up 10.4%. Were this rate-of-increase to continue unchecked, OPM estimates there will be 3,359 special parolees in CT by June 1, 2020.

Records for the 11,500 offenders currently serving a prison sentence in a DOC facility indicate that 2,628, or 23%, will serve a term of special parole when they leave prison. If we add the increasing use of special parole as an option in sentencing and the high remand rate for technical violations among special parolees (see Monthly Indications Report, October 2015), it might be reasonable to wonder whether OPM's estimate for June 2020 is too conservative.

This issue will not resolve itself on its own. The relevant parties should consider; reviewing the state's expectations of special parole, seek to identify the types of offenders that are most appropriate for special parole supervision, and to review current sentencing guidelines and practices.

^{*}in the community, in halfway houses and on prison remand.