
Colorado

Criminal Justice Reform Coalition

*Prevention, treatment, and alternatives work
Prison should be the last resort*

January 25, 2007

Governor Bill Ritter
Ms. Stephanie Villafuerte, Deputy Chief of Staff
136 State Capitol
Denver, CO 80203

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Dear Governor Ritter and Ms. Villafuerte:

Thank you for the opportunity to offer our suggestions on strategies to manage growth in the prison population in Colorado. We appreciate and share your commitment to exploring new ideas for reducing the need for additional prison beds while ensuring greater public safety. We also believe that it is possible to simultaneously reduce growth in the prison population, improve the success rate in community placements (probation, parole, community corrections), and strengthen neighborhoods, families and individuals.

If we could balance prison admissions with releases, we would alleviate the need to spend hundreds of millions of dollars in prison construction. This isn't as farfetched an objective as it might seem. In 2006, the DOC prison population grew by 85 people per month, on average. To achieve zero growth under this scenario, we would need to reduce prison admissions by 85 people a month. If this approach were to be apportioned across counties in Colorado based on the percentage of prison admissions from that county, you see that this potential goal is not unachievable and could quite manageable. Obviously, the monthly growth in the prison population is a dynamic figure so this example below is hypothetical. Our point is that small reductions in admissions can have a very dramatic effect.

County	% of DOC admissions by county of conviction	Reduction in prison admissions by county per month (# of people) to achieve zero growth in prison population (other variables being constant)
Denver	20%	17
El Paso	13%	11
Jefferson	11%	9
Arapahoe	10%	9
Adams	10%	9
Larimer	6%	5
Mesa	5%	4
Pueblo	5%	4
Weld	5%	4
Boulder	3%	3
All other	12%	10

Your emphasis on reducing the revocation and recidivism rates is right on target as a very effective strategy both to improve outcomes in these community placements, slow growth in the prison population and enhance public safety. Currently, the revocation rates are 65% for people on mandatory paroleⁱ, 52% for people on discretionary paroleⁱⁱ, 37% for people on probationⁱⁱⁱ, and 38% for people in community corrections^{iv}. Overwhelmingly, these revocations are for technical violations of the conditions of placement. A much smaller percentage of failures on community placements are due to the commission of a new offense: 16% for people on parole, 5% for people on probation, and 2% for people in community corrections.^v

Over the past few years, CCJRC has been involved in a number of projects related to prisoner re-entry from a community level. I share this information with you to demonstrate our organizational commitment to helping reduce revocation and recidivism rates.

- We are part of the network of community and faith-based organizations that provide re-entry services to people leaving prison and jail. We were involved in advocating for funding and developing a one-stop re-entry center in Denver and participated in the Denver Reintegration Coalition.
- We are nearing completion of an 18 month research project in partnership with the Piton Foundation and several academics on the experiences of people on parole in Denver, including people's needs, their difficulties, and the causes behind both success and failure on parole. Our methodology has included surveying people currently on parole in Denver, people currently back in prison as the result of a parole revocation and five, issue-specific focus groups. The findings of this research project should be available in February 2007.
- We are nearing completion of a two year project to develop a comprehensive re-entry guide. Although CCJRC is spearheading this project, we have closely collaborated with numerous other stakeholders including the DOC, Community Corrections, the Parole Board, other relevant government agencies, community-based service providers, people on parole, former prisoners, and their families. We hope to have the publication available by April 2007 and will distribute 20,000 copies at no cost to people in prison and on parole.
- We were part of the effort that developed and supported Senate Bill 03-252.
- Annually, CCJRC fields over 1,000 requests from people in prison, people on parole, family members, service providers, and DOC case managers requesting re-entry information and community resource referrals.

Some Strategies for Managing Prison Population

The following is a description of some of CCJRC's suggestions for ways to manage growth in the prison population. It is certainly not exhaustive. In the interest of time, we have not included the ideas that were presented by the Joint Budget Committee to Governor Owens or some new ideas that are circulating that you are already aware of including the creation of a sentencing commission.

SUGGESTION 1: Reduce revocation rates for people on probation, parole, and community corrections.

We believe that successfully reducing revocation rates is complex and involves a number of components including:

- A. Set aggressive but reasonable benchmarks for the desired reduction in revocation rate.

B. Conduct research to document the reasons why people are revoked in community placements and to evaluate outcomes of any strategies or programs funded.

C. Develop a comprehensive approach that is aimed at reducing recidivism and revocation rates across the criminal justice system to include probation, community corrections and parole.

D. Adopt a “Justice Reinvestment” approach by doing mapping and needs assessments in neighborhoods that have a high prevalence rate of resident involvement in the criminal justice system and using this information to target public and private investment in community development.

E. Build bridges between prisons and the community by instituting comprehensive re-entry planning, adequately funding public and private re-entry services, and creating employment opportunities.

F. Implement intentional revocation intervention strategies.

G. Address barriers to successful reintegration.

Each of these components is discussed below.

SUGGESTION 1A. Set aggressive but reasonable benchmarks for the desired reduction in revocation rates. It is not inconceivable to set a target of reducing the revocation rates by 20% or more with concerted effort and allocation of the necessary resources. Setting specific benchmarks also sets performance measures that can be analyzed and evaluated.

SUGGESTION 1B. Conduct research to document the reasons why people are revoked in community placements and to evaluate outcomes of any strategies or programs funded to achieve a reduction in recidivism or revocation rates. Although there has been some research done that documents the trends in revocation rates (ie: up or down) and types of revocations (technical vs. new crime), I am not aware of a comprehensive research project that has drilled down to specifically identify why people are revoked (ie: the specific violation or violations that resulted in a revocation action), and the extent to which intermediate sanctions are used, what those intermediate sanctions are and whether they are consistently used. I think this information is critical to allowing us to develop data-driven policies. Strong research and evaluation also creates the necessary feedback loop to see if policies objectives are being met or when adjustments need to be made.

SUGGESTION 1C. Develop a comprehensive approach that is aimed at reducing recidivism and revocation rates across the criminal justice system to include probation, community corrections and parole. Although the systemic cultures in these various community placements are different, many of the dynamics for revocation are the same or very similar among these sub-systems. Many of the needs of people in these various community placements are also quite similar. We believe that it is more strategic and potentially more effective and cost-efficient to address revocation rates across the criminal justice system and not look at the sub-systems in isolation from one another.

SUGGESTION 1D. Adopt a “Justice Reinvestment” approach by doing mapping and needs assessments in neighborhoods that have a high prevalence rate of resident involvement in the criminal justice system and using this information to target public and private investment in community development. Justice Reinvestment acknowledges that people don’t live in a vacuum and they don’t return from prison or jail into a vacuum. People live in communities and

neighborhoods and the strength of those neighborhoods and communities plays an important role in enhancing public safety and providing opportunities for crime prevention, early intervention, and successful reintegration for people following incarceration. Justice Reinvestment urges that “steps be taken to reduce spending on prisons and invest a portion of the savings into the infrastructure and civic institutions of high impact neighborhoods to empower the residents to improve the quality of their lives.”^{vi}

One of the critical components to a Justice Reinvestment approach is an understanding that, invariably, a high percentage of people involved in the criminal justice system live in a handful of neighborhoods in any particular city (aka “high impact” neighborhoods). Systematic data collection is the underpinning of a Justice Reinvestment approach. This data collection includes:

- Mapping to identify what neighborhoods people involved in the criminal justice system come from and return to after incarceration.
- Conducting an individual needs assessment to identify the strengths and needs of people involved in the criminal justice system that live in these “high impact” neighborhoods.
- Conducting a community needs assessment to identify the strengths and needs of the community and how successful it is in “absorbing” people released from incarceration or otherwise involved in the criminal justice system. This assessment involves an assessment of the quality and accessibility of important civil infrastructure such as education, employment, housing, substance abuse and mental health treatment, family intervention services, health care, child care, religious/faith centers, etc.

This data collection helps guide the public and private investment in community development and economic revitalization projects in these “high impact” neighborhoods to ensure that resources are specifically targeted to address the needs identified.

SUGGESTION 1E. Build bridges between prisons and the community by instituting comprehensive re-entry planning, adequately funding public and private re-entry services, and creating employment opportunities.

- Better pre-release planning. In our observation many, if not most, of the people leaving prison (and probably jail) are inadequately prepared and do not have a comprehensive, individualized re-entry plan. This is one of the main reasons why CCJRC decided to develop the re-entry guide. One area that we believe needs particular attention is the high prevalence of homelessness among people leaving DOC, particularly in the Denver metro area. Our research has indicated that the two main reasons for homelessness among parolees in Denver are: (1) a rejection of a parole plan pursuant to the DOC regulation on “non-association” when a member of the household has a criminal conviction; and (2) the parolee has no family or friends in the area in which they are released to. Although we understand the intent of the non-association rule, when it results in someone being placed in a shelter (with many other parolees, former prisoners, or others with a criminal record) rather than at home, the logic is lost.
- Public funding for community and faith based re-entry programs. We cannot state strongly enough the vital role that the community and faith based organizations play in successful re-entry and recidivism reduction efforts. These partnerships between the private and public sector are the cornerstone of almost all re-entry and recidivism reduction efforts across the country. In Colorado, this network of community-based re-entry programs is very limited to non-existent, particularly outside of Denver, and

receives little to no state funding that I am aware of. These community-based programs can fill a unique niche. They have a rich web of relationships in the community that help people find employment and housing, but there is also a significant intangible benefit that is hard to quantify. These community based programs can help people feel like they are connected to the community and that they are part of the community. This sense of belonging is a critical component to successful reentry and recidivism reduction and is a direct antidote to what many parolees report as a sense of loneliness and isolation. Many of these community programs are also staffed by former prisoners and this peer-to-peer approach can be highly effective. Also, the community providers and the relationships that develop can exist beyond a person's involvement in the criminal justice system. Probation officers and parole officers can be a great resource and source of support – so long as you are on parole or probation.

- Create employment opportunities within the public sector and cultivate more employment opportunities within the private sector.^{vii} There is a significant and understandable hesitation among private-sector employers to hire people with a criminal record. However, this hesitation is also creating a situation of un-employability among many with a criminal record, particularly if they have recently been released from prison. We have heard from a number of employers that they would be willing to be the second employer of someone released from prison but would not be likely to be the first employer. Although there has been effort made through the Department of Labor and other government agencies to try to provide job training and job referrals, we don't believe achieving high employment levels of people with criminal records will be achieved through these methods alone. Creating public sector jobs that affirmatively hire people with criminal records, if even on a short-term or apprenticeship basis, will help people build their resume, their skills and their employability to private sector employers. Unless people can find and keep gainful employment, people will not succeed and we will not see a significant decrease in the recidivism rates over time.

SUGGESTION 1F. Implement intentional revocation intervention strategies. One promising approach was recently developed by Connecticut's probation department and funded by the Legislature in response to their Governor's call to reduce recidivism. The probation department developed a "Technical Violation Unit" which is described as follows:

"People who are failing under standard probation supervision are referred by their probation officer through the chief probation office of their unit. Caseloads are capped at 25 people. For the next 30 to 60 days participants receive services from contract providers under tightened supervision requirements. During a second phase the person's progress to stabilization is assessed. If the result is positive, the person will be prepared for transfer back to a standard probation caseload."

The Technical Violation Unit was evaluated both by the Legislative Program Review and a research team at Central Connecticut State University. The evaluators found that "the total violation rate for people referred to the TVU (counting both technical violations and those involving a new arrest) was 59%. The program's evaluators assumed that all of them would have actually been violated in the absence of the TVU alternative. If they are correct, the reduction they report in violations is encouraging."^{viii}

The probation department in Connecticut also developed another program called the “Probation Transition Program” that provided intensive re-entry services to people serving a split sentence of a term of imprisonment followed by a term of probation. The PTP unit operated in partnership with a nonprofit agency that met with people prior to their release to identify the specific needs for reentry services. A service plan was developed that might cover housing, employment, substance abuse treatment and mental health treatment. Once released, participants received an average of four months of intensive case management before being transferred to a standard probation caseload. The caseload for program was also capped at 25 participants per probation officer. This program was also evaluated and found that, following release from prison, the technical violation rate for PTP participants (14 percent) was significantly lower than for the comparison group (26%). The rates of violations that involved a new arrest were lower for participants than the comparison group indicating that lower violation rates in the program did not result in increasing new arrests.^{ix}

We believe that both the PTP and TVU programs could serve as models both for better pre-release preparedness and revocation intervention for people on probation, parole or in community corrections.

We also believe that any serious effort to reduce revocation rates also need to include a reevaluation of current caseloads for parole officers, probation officers and DOC case managers. Their caseloads have increased over the past few years. There is a clear correlation between higher revocation rates and higher caseloads. These professionals need manageable caseloads in order to perform at the highest functioning.

SUGGESTION 1G. Address barriers to successful reintegration. People leaving prison or jail face many barriers that inhibit their ability to successfully reintegrate. Some of these barriers were designed intentionally but others might have been unintentional.

One of the major struggles we hear from people on parole (and probation and in community corrections) is their inability to afford all the costs associated with their supervision, fines, and program requirements, especially when they haven’t found gainful or steady employment.

One suggestion we have is to provide a “grace” period for a specific time (up to 3 months or until someone finds steady employment) before they are required to pay for their supervision, fines, program requirements, restitution, and child support.

CCJRC also recommends a change to state law so that child support payments would be automatically suspended during a term of incarceration, unless they are employed in a correctional industry program that pays meaningful wages. People in prison are largely unaware that child support orders continue automatically if they are subsequently incarcerated. In order to reduce this child support order, a person in prison would have to request an adjustment through the Child Support Enforcement Unit or file a child support modification with the Court. Our understanding is that, generally, the lowest the child support order will be lowered to is \$50 a month, although there have been some exceptions statewide. Some courts are interpreting incarceration as a type of voluntary underemployment and denying request for a modification outright. The consequence of this is that many people leave prison with significant child support arrearages that triggers all sorts of implications upon their release. Wages can be garnished,

driver's licenses and professional licenses can be suspended, and people can be jailed for contempt of court. CCJRC strongly advocates that parents honor the moral and financial obligation to care for their children. But it is true, particularly for people on parole, that they aren't necessarily dead-beats.... they may be dead-broke.

We also recommend a change to state law that requires that 20% of all deposits into a person's prison account be deducted for restitution and/or child support payments. While we understand and share the desire to hold people accountable for these responsibilities, we suggest that it would be more productive to have that 20% deduction be placed in mandatory savings that would be available to the person upon their release from prison. This could supplement the \$100 gate money or could replace the need to provide the gate money, if the savings was more than \$100. This strategy could also save the DOC money it spends on emergency housing vouchers and other cash assistance. Also, most people in prison rely on family or friends to send them money. By attaching 20% of these deposits for restitution and/or child support, the policy just shifts the financial burden from the person in prison to the family member.

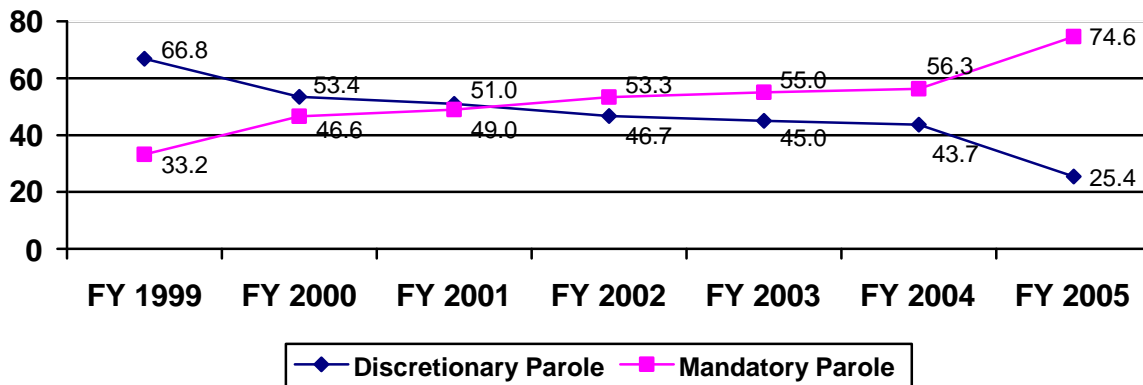
Many people leaving prison struggle to be able to get identification documents. I imagine that you are familiar with this issue. We suggest that DOC case managers be required to work with all people leaving prison on obtaining documents like birth certificates, social security cards, DD-214, prior to their release. These documents could be held in the inmate file and only given to the person in prison upon their release. We also believe state regulation should be changed to require that a state DOC identification card is one form of acceptable identification for obtaining a state identification or driver's license along with other supporting documents.

Finally, CCJRC supports the notion of creating some mechanism in state statute that allows a person to request sealing and/or expungement of a criminal record after a period of time in which they can show evidence of rehabilitation. One of the permanent consequences of having a criminal record is the discrimination people face in obtaining employment and housing due to the much more widespread use of background checks among even small employers. We understand that this issue involves a balance of interests between the public's right to know and the person's right to privacy. However, the long-term stigma associated with having a criminal record is undeniable and has a very negative, practical consequence, oftentimes, for the rest of someone's life. If we believe as a society that people can repay their debt to society then there needs to be a mechanism that acknowledges that that debt is paid in full. Record sealing/expungement is one such mechanism.

SUGGESTION 2: Parole more people prior to their Mandatory Release Date.

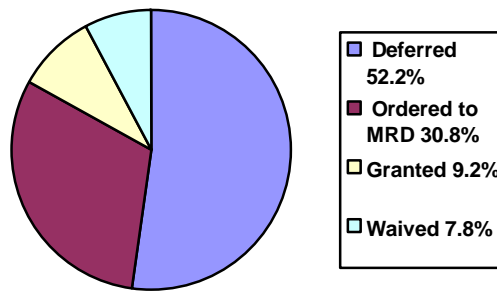
Colorado is unique in that it operates two distinct paroling mechanisms simultaneously: discretionary and mandatory parole. The rationale for enacting mandatory parole in 1993 was a concern by the Legislature that people in prison were waiving their parole hearing, serving their entire sentence, and being released without any period of supervision. The Legislature felt that a period of supervision was important and promoted greater public safety. We do not disagree with the intention. Under the discretionary parole model, the Parole Board would need to grant someone parole in order to supervise them in the community upon release. By enacting mandatory parole, the Legislature took away the incentive the Parole Board would have for releasing people to discretionary parole. Consequently, the granting of discretionary parole declined significantly, as evidenced by the graph below.

Type of Parole as Percent All Paroles^x



In the most recent report available from the Parole Board, only 9% of people in prison were released in 2004-05 prior to their mandatory release date (MRD) as indicated below.

2004-2005 Board of Parole Application Hearings^{xi}



In 2004-05, the Parole Board processed 16,118 parole applications in 2004-2005. Of these, almost 31% were ordered released on their mandatory release date. A little over half had their application deferred, or denied. A little over 9% were granted early release to parole. Almost 8% of those eligible for a parole hearing turned down, or waived, their right to a hearing.

**Inmate Releases to Parole
Fiscal Years 1997 through 2005^{xii}**

Fiscal year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Discretionary Parole	2,639	2,714	2,744	2,091	2,216	1,999	2,122	2,345	1,598
<i>Annual % Increase (over prior year)</i>		2.8%	1.1%	-23.8%	6.0%	-9.8%	6.2%	10.5%	-31.9%
Mandatory Parole	623	962	1363	1824	2127	2280	2630	3019	4688
<i>Annual % Increase</i>		54.4%	41.7%	33.8%	16.6%	7.2%	15.4%	14.8%	55.3%
Total Releases to Parole	3,262	3,676	4,107	3,915	4,343	4,279	4,752	5,364	6,286
<i>Annual % Increase</i>		12.7%	11.7%	-4.7%	10.9%	1.5%	11.1%	12.9%	17.2%

Greater use of discretionary parole for those that have met the criteria is a significant and legitimate strategy for managing growth in the prison population. **Hypothetically, given the data from the Parole Board's 2004/05 report, if they were to increase the parole release rates for discretionary parole from 9% (1,450 people released on discretionary parole) to 15% (2,470 people released on discretionary parole), that change alone would virtually balance admissions with releases and abate the need for massive expenditures in prison expansion.**

CCJRC also believes that it would be useful to discuss with the Parole Board members their rationale behind this declining use of discretionary parole and have the Legislature consider enacting more specific guidelines under which a person is presumed to be appropriate for early release on discretionary parole.

SUGGESTION 3: Repeal the current model of Mandatory Parole.

CCJRC advocates that the Legislature amend the mandatory parole laws to require that the period of supervision be included within the presumptive sentence and not consecutive to it. For example, if someone is given a 10 year sentence, they still could have a PED date pursuant to current law but they would hit a Mandatory Parole Date that was within 18 months (for example) of their statutory release date. The original intent of the 1993 legislation is maintained because everyone would be required to serve a period of time of supervision following release but you don't have run the risk of having someone do more time in prison (if revoked on parole) than the total length of the original prison sentence.

SUGGESTION 4: Lower the crime classification for use/possession of drugs to a misdemeanor.

We certainly appreciate your support in securing the passage of Senate Bill 03-318 that, among other things, lowered the felony classification for possession of a gram or less of controlled substance to a Class 6 felony. However, SB 318 does not appear to have slowed growth rate in the prison population, although this is difficult to isolate the impact of one bill from all the other factors that influence a prison population growth rate.

We believe a felony is too high of a crime classification for drug use/personal possession. It is our understanding that a person could be sentenced to a jail sentence for conviction of a misdemeanor for as long as they could be sentenced to jail for a Class 6 felony. Since that is the case, it appears that the potential punishments could be the same. The distinct advantage to have people serve that sentence in a jail, rather than a prison, is significant. People's families are more accessible and they are able to stay in closer contact with one another. Local service providers (government agencies, nonprofit sector, private sector and faith-based providers) can more easily provide services to people in jail and continuity of those services can occur more easily after release. Also, in the jail system, unlike the prison system, there is the potential to allow people to progress through a step-down transition through work release prior to their discharge. This transitional phase, allows for people to gain employment prior to their discharge which can have a significant impact on their success rates following release.

SUGGESTION 5: Increase funding for mental health and substance abuse treatment.

For decades, Colorado has not even come close to adequately funding substance abuse and mental health treatment, despite ranking as a state with a higher than average incidence of drug or alcohol abuse. We cannot stress this recommendation more and our ardent request that your administration prioritize bringing substance abuse and mental health treatment up to the per capita national average, at a minimum.

As you are aware, a 2001 study by the National Center for Alcohol and Substance Abuse found that Colorado has the lowest per capita spending on substance abuse prevention, treatment, and research out of the 46 reporting states.^{xiii} Substance abuse in Denver is considerably more severe than in the nation as a whole. A 2002 study of substance abuse patterns in Denver revealed that:

- Rates of binge drinking and chronic drinking are about 40% higher than national rates
- Denver residents are hospitalized for alcohol-related illnesses at nearly twice the national average
- Denver arrests and incarcerates drug offenders at more than twice the national rate
- Substance abuse costs Denver residents, businesses and government at least \$1.5 billion a year^{xiv}

The correlation between untreated substance abuse and crime is undeniable. Substance abuse is also a significant contributing factor to failure rates on community placements. The DOC has also reported that the number of people with mental illness in prison is growing and projects that by 2008, one in five people in prison will suffer from a serious mental illness.^{xv} We cannot afford to ignore the serious mental health concerns of the people of Colorado. Failing to provide adequate access to treatment is both inhumane and costly in terms of human suffering, loss of productivity, victimization, and growing criminal justice expenditures.

SUGGESTION 6: Repeal mandatory, consecutive sentence for “escape” when the factual basis is other than an escape from a prison or jail.

It is our understanding that under current state law, people convicted of “escape” face a mandatory, consecutive sentence even if the factual basis involves failing to return to a halfway house or cutting off an ankle bracelet while on ISP. While we understand that these behaviors should not be condoned or ignored, we believe that there should be a lesser charge available that does not carry a mandatory, consecutive sentence. Judges should be given the discretion to evaluate the facts of the circumstances and determine the appropriate sentence.

SUGGESTION 7: Expand eligibility for earned time.

It is our understanding that under current state law, people are *ineligible* to receive earned time in the following circumstances: (1) when they are returned to prison for a parole violation; (2) once they are re-paroled following incarceration for a parole violation and (3) if they are on parole related to a conviction for certain violent offenses. CCJRC believes that earned time is a valuable incentive that a person must earn due to their conduct, behavior and compliance with program requirements. One strategy to reduce the average length of stay in prison and on parole is to allow the award of earned time in the aforementioned circumstances. Not only could this reduce the cost of incarceration it could also provide a strong incentive for compliance.

SUGGESTION 8: Conduct additional research into the causes behind the disproportionate increase in the growth rate of the women’s prison population and the overrepresentation of people of color in the criminal justice system.

In order to fully understand the dynamics behind growth in the prison population, we believe it would be helpful to ask the Division of Criminal Justice to research why the women’s prison population is growing at a rate that outpaces the men’s. This is a phenomenon that is happening in states across the country but there has been little research done to ascertain why. Similarly, CCJRC suggests that the Division of Criminal Justice also research why there is overrepresentation of people of color in the criminal justice system. African Americans comprise 3.8% of the general population in Colorado but 21% of the prison population and Latino/as comprise 17% of the general population in Colorado but 30% of the prison population. Given the significant disproportionality in the incarceration rates by ethnicity, this research would be in the interest of both civil rights and justice.

Thank you for your time and consideration of our suggestions. We believe that it will take a concerted effort and cross-collaboration between the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government in partnership with the private sector, non-profit sector and faith based organizations to achieve the goals you have stated. We look forward to the opportunity to work with you and your administration.

For your reference, you may be interested in reading the enclosed reports including, a ReEntry Mapping Briefing on “*Informing and Engaging Communities through ReEntry Mapping*” by the Urban Institute (January 2007)(http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311411_Informing_and_Engaging.pdf), “*Justice Reinvestment: Three states’ strategies for building healthier, stronger, safer neighborhoods*” by Justice Strategies (November 2006) and “*Building Bridges: From Conviction to Employment, A Proposal to Reinvest Corrections Savings in an Employment Initiative* by the Council of State Governments (Submitted to the Connecticut General Assembly in January 2003)(http://www.csgeast.org/programs/criminal_justice/BuildingBridges.pdf).

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Yours truly,

Christie Donner
Executive Director

ⁱ Colorado Department of Corrections, *Statistical Report, Fiscal Year 2004* at 65.

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ Colorado Judicial Branch, State Court Administrator’s Office, Research and Evaluation Unit, Division of Probation Services, “*Pre-release Termination and Post-release Recidivism Rate for Colorado’s Probationers: FY 2004 Releases*, at v (October 11, 2005).

^{iv} Colorado Association of Community Corrections Boards, *Fact Sheet July 1, 2005-June 30, 2006*.

^v Colorado Department of Corrections, *Statistical Report, Fiscal Year 2004* at 31; Colorado Judicial Branch, State Court Administrator’s Office, Research and Evaluation Unit, Division of Probation Services, “*Pre-release Termination and Post-release Recidivism Rate for Colorado’s Probationers: FY 2004 Releases*, at v (October 11, 2005); Colorado Association of Community Corrections Boards, *Fact Sheet July 1, 2005-June 30, 2006*

^{vi} Greene, Judy, Kevin Pranis, “Justice Reinvestment: Three states’ strategies for building healthier, stronger, safer neighborhoods”, Justice Strategies at 2 (November 2006).

^{vii} Please see “Building Bridges: From Conviction to Employment, A Proposal to Reinvest Corrections Savings in an Employment Initiative” by the Council of State Governments (Submitted to the Connecticut General Assembly in January 2003).

^{viii} The description of the Connecticut programs and evaluation results is included in “Justice Reinvestment” at 14-15.

^{ix} Ibid.

^x Colorado Department of Corrections, *Statistical Bulletins* OPA 06-3, 05-3, 04-3, 03-2, 02-3, 00-2, 99-1.

^{xi} Colorado Board of Parole *Annual Report Fiscal Year 2005*, p. 26.

^{xii} Colorado Department of Corrections, *Budget Hearing* January 9, 200 at 37.

^{xiii} Columbia University, National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse, *Shoveling up: The Impact of Substance Abuse on State Budgets* (2001) at 25.

^{xiv} Drug Strategies, *Denver: On the Horizon, Reducing Substance Abuse and Addiction* (2002) at 2.

^{xv} Colorado Department of Corrections, *Budget Request, 2004-05*, at 625.