

Assessing North Carolina's Changes to Supervision Revocation Policy

Justice Reinvestment Initiative

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From 2000 to 2010, North Carolina's prison population grew 29 percent. As of 2010, the population was projected to increase another 10 percent by 2020 at a cost to taxpayers of \$378 million (Harvell, Russo, and Thomson 2019). To address this projected growth, North Carolina's state leaders requested assistance through the Justice Reinvestment Initiative (JRI), a public-private partnership funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the Pew Charitable Trusts. The Council of State Governments (CSG) Justice Center provided technical assistance and research support to a bipartisan, interbranch working group, which it helped to employ a data-driven justice reinvestment approach to develop a statewide policy framework. The framework was intended to help North Carolina safely reduce corrections spending to use resources more efficiently and reinvest in strategies to increase public safety (Council of State Governments Justice Center 2011).

The CSG Justice Center found that probation revocations were a major contributor to prison admissions: in 2009, 53 percent of prison admissions in North Carolina were for probation revocations, and 76 percent of these did not involve a conviction for a new offense. Probation and parole officers also had limited options for responding to technical violations of supervision other than revocation to prison (Council of State Governments Justice Center 2011). In light of these findings, the CSG Justice Center reviewed options for addressing supervision revocations with more effective and less costly responses.

In June 2011, then-governor Beverly Perdue signed House Bill 642, also known as the Justice Reinvestment Act (JRA). The legislation added options for responding to supervision violations and reducing revocations to prison. Among other policy changes, North Carolina expanded the authority of probation and parole officers to impose graduated sanctions (including brief jail stays) in response to violations and instituted a cap on time served in prison for technical violations of supervision (also referred to as a cap on revocation time). To achieve these policy goals and as part of JRA implementation, the state created Confinement in Response to Violation (CRV) centers to detain people subject to the 90-day cap on revocation time and to provide structured cognitive behavioral and substance use interventions (Council of State Governments Justice Center 2014).

In this brief, we examine supervision outcomes (including revocation) for people on probation, post-release supervision, and parole supervision before and after CRV centers were implemented and began operating. Using data from the North Carolina Department of Public Safety (DPS), we analyze trends in supervision violations and responses between 2010 and 2017. We also summarize the results of a survey of DPS probation staff's views of the CRV policy. Key findings include the following:

- After caps on revocation time were adopted and the CRV policy was implemented, revocations to prison fell 35 percent, from 24,652 in 2011 to 15,948 in 2017.
- Since the CRV policy was implemented, nonincarceration responses have occurred earlier in the supervision term, while incarceration has been used more slowly than it was before the CRV terms were implemented. The share of revocations involving absconding and new crimes has increased, and the share of revocations for technical violations has fallen 85 percent.
- Confinement in Response to Violation terms are used for people on probation and those on post-release supervision. Revocation dispositions are down for both types of supervision, though post-release supervision still has consistently higher revocation rates.
- The Department of Public Safety has trained probation and parole officers on responding to technical violations, including the use of CRV terms. Officers consider CRV terms a significant change in practice: they see them as an alternative to revocation and feel that, overall, they have helped them respond to technical violations effectively.

Background

In 2010, North Carolina's prison population had grown almost 30 percent in the previous decade and was projected to grow another 10 percent by 2020. This growth was expected to cost the state an additional \$378 million (Harvell, Russo, and Thomson 2019). Rather than build new prisons, the state engaged in JRI and received technical assistance from the CSG Justice Center, in partnership with the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Bureau of Justice Assistance. A bipartisan group of state leaders studied the corrections system and recommended ways to reduce prison population growth and invest in better public safety options.

The bipartisan group of leaders found that high rates of failure among people on supervision and insufficient substance use treatment resources were systemic problems contributing to prison population growth. Probation revocations in particular were driving prison admissions: in 2009, more than 50 percent of people sent to prison were sent because of a probation revocation. Three-quarters of those admissions were for technical revocations, that is, revocations resulting from violations of the conditions of supervision (not from new convictions). Furthermore, probation and parole officers had too few options for responding to violations (e.g., drug test failures, missed appointments) and supervision practices were of a uniform intensity without regard to the risks or needs of people on probation. This lack of options meant that ineffective (and sometimes very expensive) responses were used rather than more effective and cheaper ones. Moreover, the funding formula for behavioral health services resulted in too few people on probation receiving needed substance use and mental health treatment. Lastly, with parole supervision having been eliminated in the mid-1990s, 85 percent of people leaving prison in North Carolina were leaving without any supervision (Council of State Governments Justice Center 2014).

In 2011, then-governor Perdue signed the Justice Reinvestment Act into law to improve the corrections system and public safety in the state. The legislation enacted wide-ranging policy reforms, which included changes to some sentencing and jail policies and numerous provisions related to community supervision. The law prioritized substance use treatment for people with the greatest need, ensured supervision for those exiting prison, and made several improvements to the probation system. Those improvements included enhanced training, real-time data collection, and new supervision measures meant to make responses to violations more effective and reduce incarceration. New supervision measures included expanded delegated authority for DPS officers to respond to violations with graduated sanctions, and new responses—including two- to three-day jail sanctions and 90-day revocation terms—for technical violations (Council of State Governments Justice Center 2014).

Using data on all supervision terms that started between 2010 and 2017, the Urban Institute analyzed trends in supervision starts, supervision violations, and DPS responses. We also surveyed more than 800 probation officers and chief probation officers in spring 2019 about their perspectives on the CRV terms and responses to technical violations.

We sought to use these data to answer the following research questions:

- What impact have CRV terms had on incarceration responses for violations of supervision?
- How long are people spending on supervision before receiving a CRV term or revocation?
- What types of violations and how many violations are associated with a CRV term or revocation?
- Are CRV terms and revocations used differently for people on probation and those on postrelease supervision?
- What are probation officers' perceptions of the implementation of CRV terms?

BOX 1

Key Terms

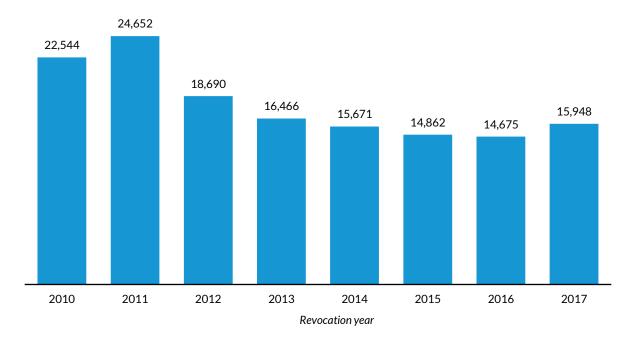
We use several key terms in this analysis, including the following:

- Violation refers to the failure to comply with one or more of the rules or conditions of supervision. A technical violation is one that does not involve a new crime or absconding from supervision.
- A response is an action taken by a supervision officer or a court in response to a violation.
 Responses include everything from continuation of supervision and verbal reprimands to more severe sanctions.
- Delegated authority is statutory authority for probation officers to impose certain sanctions without court approval. Probation officers may impose a wide range of sanctions, including community service, increased reporting, drug testing, electronic monitoring, and jail confinement. Sanctions imposed under delegated authority must be approved by a chief probation officer, and people on supervision have the right to court review if they choose to contest the violation.
- A quick dip is a brief period of jail confinement that can be ordered through delegated authority.
 Jail sanctions cannot be longer than three days and cannot total more than 18 days during the supervision term.
- A CRV term is a 90-day incarceration sanction that can be served in a CRV center or state prison. Per JRA, probation and post-release supervision can no longer be revoked for a technical violation unless the person has already served two 90-day incarceration sanctions. Supervision can still be revoked for new crimes, for absconding, and, in post-release supervision, for any violation by someone convicted of an offense for which registration as a sex offender is required.
- Revocation refers to the imposition of the suspended prison sentence for someone on probation and to the return to prison for someone who has been released on post-release or parole supervision.
- An incarceration sanction refers to a violation response that involves a period of confinement in a jail, CRV center, or prison (that is, a quick dip, CRV term, or revocation).

Findings

Revocations from supervision have fallen since JRA was implemented. From 2011 to 2017, revocations of supervision fell 35 percent, from 24,652 to 15,948 (figure 1). Revocation rates—that is, the share of people who begin supervision who are revoked—have also decreased, from 29 percent for those who started supervision in 2011 to 21 percent for those who started in 2017.

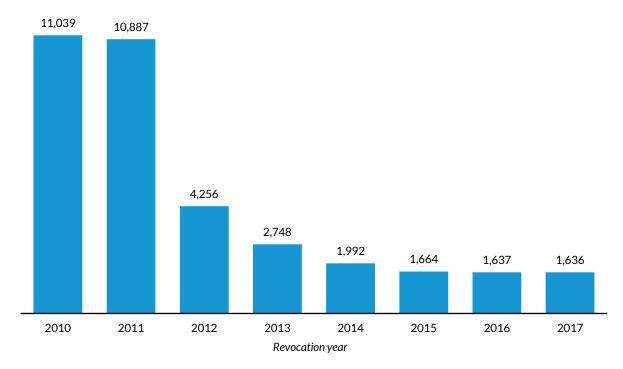
FIGURE 1
Revocations from Supervision Fell 35 Percent from 2011 to 2017
Number of yearly revocations from supervision



Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

Furthermore, the number of revocations made in response to technical violations (more specifically, in response to failure-to-comply violations only) fell from 10,887 in 2011 to just 1,636 in 2017, an 85-percent drop (figure 2). Failure-to-comply violations include all violation types except new crimes and absconding.

FIGURE 2
Revocations from Supervision for Failure-to-Comply Violations Fell 85 Percent from 2011 to 2017
Number of yearly failure-to-comply revocation dispositions from supervision



Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

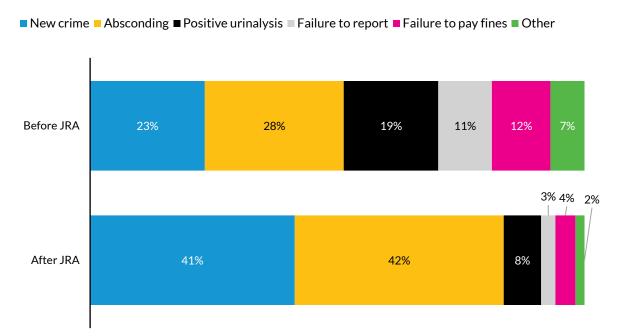
The types of violations resulting in revocation also changed considerably after JRA was enacted. Before JRA, revocations for failure-to-comply violations only constituted 49 percent of all revocations; since it was enacted, they have accounted for just 16 percent, and an increasing share has resulted from new crimes and absconding. A new crime has been the most serious violation for 41 percent of revocations, and absconding has been the most serious violation for 42 percent (figure 3). Before JRA, a new crime was the most serious violation for 23 percent of revocations, and absconding was the most serious violation for 28 percent.

Revocations often have multiple associated violations: since JRA, 94 percent of revocations have had more than one associated violation, and the average revocation involves five. For revocations involving multiple violations, failure to pay supervision fines and fees was associated with 71 percent of revocations, failure to report to the supervision officer was associated with 49 percent, and failure to pass a drug test was associated with 34 percent. These less serious violations are still contributing to many revocations, even when they are not the most serious associated violation.

FIGURE 3

Since the Justice Reinvestment Act, Absconding and New Crimes Have Been the Most Serious Violations in Larger Shares of Revocations

Most serious violation type associated with revocation



Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety. **Note:** JRA = Justice Reinvestment Act.

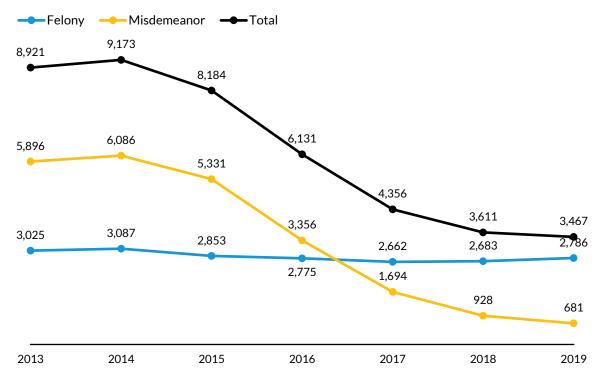
BOX 2

Policy Changes Involving CRV Terms

In the past 10 years, North Carolina has made a series of changes to the statutes governing its revocation law and policy, and some of these changes were made through JRA. Adopted in 2011, the legislation provided several new options for officers to respond to violations of supervision. These included expanded delegated authority for graduated sanctions, brief periods of jail confinement, and a cap on revocation time for technical violations, implemented in the form of CRV sanctions.

Originally, 90-day CRV terms could be imposed on people convicted of a felony or misdemeanor offense. In 2015, the policy changed: after December 1 of that year, CRV terms could no longer be imposed on people convicted of a misdemeanor offense (with the exception of impaired driving). After this change, the number of CRV dispositions for people with misdemeanor convictions fell sharply.

FIGURE 4
Total CRV Dispositions Fell Four Consecutive Years
Yearly CRV responses



Source: Table 7 of the North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission's *Justice Reinvestment Act Implementation Evaluation Report* 2020.

Note: CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation.

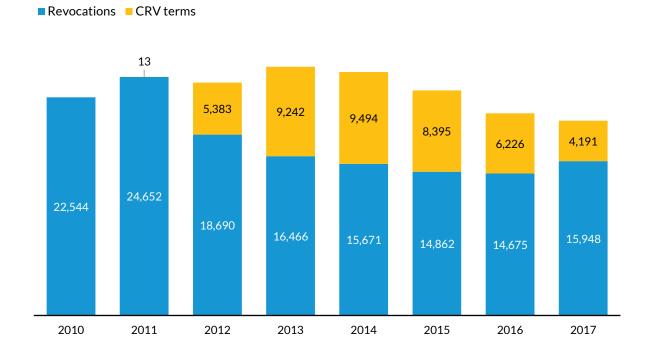
The North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission reported that CRV dispositions declined in four consecutive years, with large decreases occurring after 2015. In 2014, the state had 9,173 CRV responses; in 2019, it had just 3,467, a decrease of more than 62 percent. Furthermore, data show that whereas CRV responses for people on felony supervision fell 10 percent (from 3,087 to 2,786) during this period, CRV responses for people on misdemeanor supervision fell 89 percent (from 6,086 to just 681; figure 4) (NCSPAC 2020a).

Supervision practices changed after JRA was implemented. Supervision officers and the courts have more options to respond to violations of supervision because of JRA, which allowed officers to use graduated sanctions and reserve costly revocations for more serious violations. Consequently, the number of supervision responses increased from 61,575 in 2011 to 85,887 in 2017.

New responses include 90-day CRV terms intended to replace revocations for technical violations of supervision conditions. Although CRV responses increased from 2012 through 2014, they have since steadily decreased. Most of this decrease is related to a policy change that eliminated the use of CRV terms for people convicted of misdemeanor offenses. The use of CRV terms for felony probation has

been fairly stable (see box 2). Moreover, the change in policy and creation of CRV terms appear to have contributed to the decrease in revocations, and the number of revocations in 2011 (24,652) was greater than the number of revocations plus CRV dispositions in 2017 (20,139; figure 5).

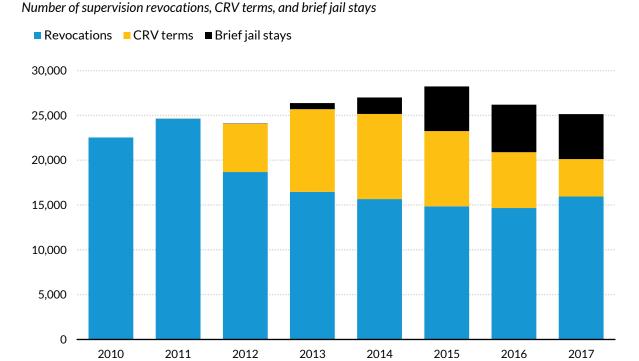
FIGURE 5
The Number of CRV Dispositions Fell from 2014 to 2017
Yearly revocations and CRV responses



Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety. **Note:** CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation.

Although the imposition of CRV and revocation responses has decreased since JRA was implemented, the total number of incarceration sanctions has increased. When including quick dips—the brief periods of jail confinement now allowed through delegated authority—the total number of incarceration sanctions was higher each of the past five years than in 2011, the year in which reforms began (figure 6).

FIGURE 6
After the Justice Reinvestment Act, CRV Terms and Brief Jail Stays Replaced Some Revocations, but Incarceration Sanctions Increased Overall



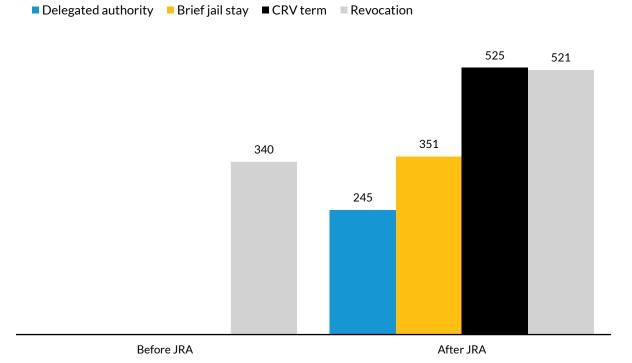
Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety. **Note:** CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation.

Across all supervision types, responses to supervision violations are occurring earlier in people's supervision terms than before JRA reforms. As part of JRA, DPS adopted graduated sanctions and trained probation and parole officers to use "swift and certain" responses for violations. Officers are encouraged to respond to violations as quickly as possible and to impose additional supervision conditions and sanctions, including increased reporting, community service, curfews, and quick dips. Responses are intended to increase in severity, with the least restrictive sanctions employed before more restrictive options (e.g., quick dips). Consequently, the average amount of time between supervision start and the first response fell from 333 days in 2011 to 197 in 2017 for people on all types of supervision who received a violation response. However, the average amount of time between supervision start and an incarceration sanction increased from 340 days before JRA for revocations to 351 days for brief jail stays, 525 days for CRV sanctions, and 521 days for revocations (figure 7).

FIGURE 7

Average Amount of Time between Supervision Start and Incarceration Sanctions Has Increased since the Justice Reinvestment Act

Mean number of days until response of delegated authority, brief jail stay, CRV term, and revocation



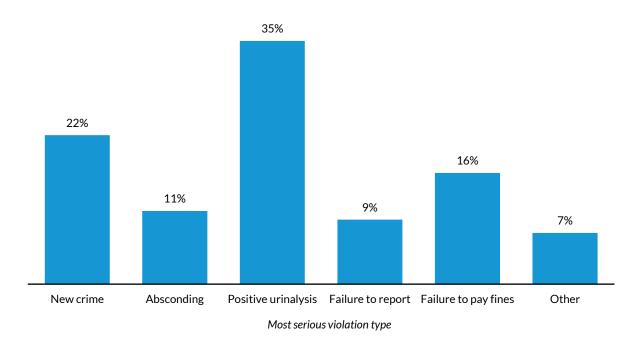
Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety. **Notes:** CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation. JRA = Justice Reinvestment Act. The "Before JRA" category is lacking data on delegated authority, brief jail stays ("quick dips"), and CRV dispositions because these were implemented after JRA reforms.

The implementation of brief jail sanctions and CRV terms appears to be contributing to the aforementioned change in the types of violations leading to revocation. That is, because officers can use brief jail stays and CRV terms in response to violations, certain violations that would previously have resulted in revocation no longer do (again, larger shares of revocations have resulted from absconding and new crimes since JRA).

The most serious violations resulting in CRV terms are often failure-to-comply violations, such as failure to pay fines and fees (16 percent), failure to report (9 percent), and failed drug tests (35 percent; figure 8). In fact, a failed drug test is the most serious violation for roughly a third of CRV responses (35 percent), compared with 8 percent of revocations. Although CRV responses were intended to reduce revocations for these less serious violations, they are also a tool for addressing more serious violations with an incarceration sanction short of full revocation. Indeed, new crimes have accounted for 22 percent of the most serious violations leading to CRV responses, and absconding has accounted for 11 percent.

FIGURE 8

Most Serious Violations Leading to CRV Response since the Justice Reinvestment Act

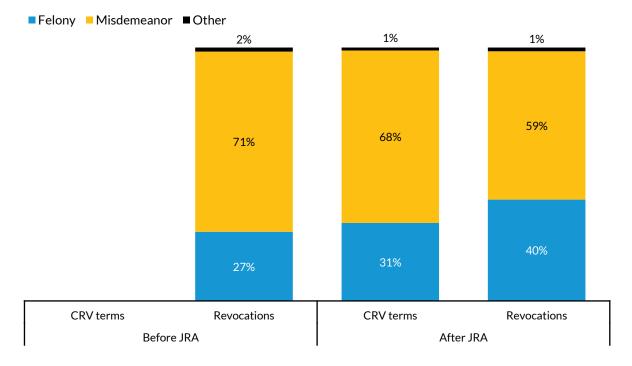


Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety. **Note:** CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation.

In addition, since JRA was implemented, a greater share of revocations for new crime violations has resulted from new felony offenses than from misdemeanors (figure 9). That said, the vast majority of CRV terms and revocations resulting from new crimes are occurring in response to misdemeanor offenses that otherwise would be unlikely to result in a prison sentence.

FIGURE 9
Greater Shares of Revocations Have Occurred in Response to New Felony Crimes since the Justice Reinvestment Act





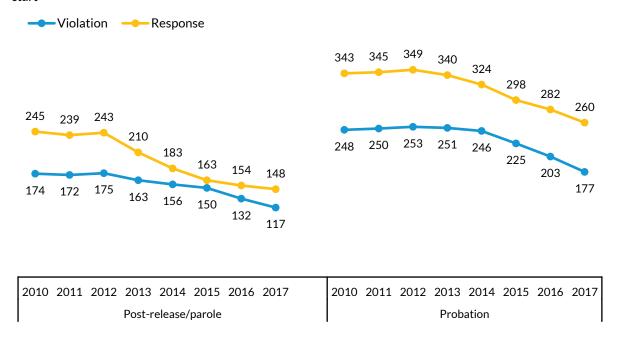
Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

Notes: CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation. JRA = Justice Reinvestment Act. "Other" refers to new crimes classified as drug offenses or as driving while intoxicated that were not specified as being felonies or misdemeanors. The "Before JRA" category is lacking data on CRV dispositions because CRV responses were implemented after JRA reforms.

Differences persist between people on probation and people on post-release supervision. People in North Carolina can be placed on supervision because of a probation sentence, a post-release supervision term, or a parole term. People on post-release and parole supervision tend to have more serious offenses associated with their supervision terms than people on probation. Moreover, in most cases, post-release supervision terms are shorter than probation sentences. Since JRA, the median number of days to the first violation and response has been lower for all supervision types. However, people on post-release and parole supervision experience a first violation and response far sooner on average than people on probation (figure 10).

FIGURE 10

The Average Amount of Time to First Violation and Response Fell after the Justice Reinvestment Act Median number of days between supervision start and first violation and disposition, by year of supervision start



Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

Notes: JRA = Justice Reinvestment Act.

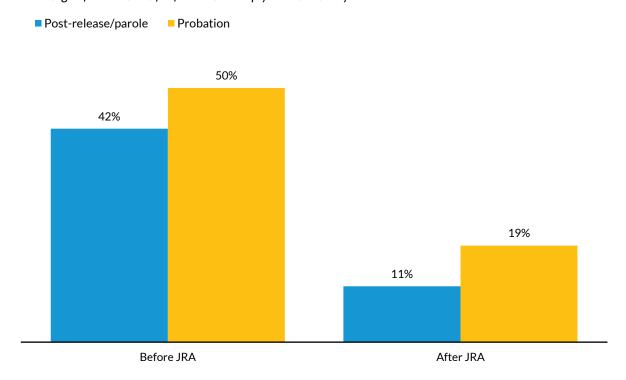
Although CRV responses occur at similar rates for people on probation and people on post-release supervision, revocation rates and the seriousness of the violations do differ for people in these groups. For example, although revocation rates fell for all populations after JRA was implemented, revocation rates were higher in 2017 among people on post-release supervision (26 percent) than among people on probation supervision (19 percent).²

Furthermore, people released from incarceration to supervision had more serious violations associated with all types of responses, and violations and responses occurred earlier in the supervision term. Notably, although revocations for failure to comply have fallen 30 percentage points since JRA, people on probation still experience revocation for this type of violation at much higher rates than people on post-release supervision and people on parole (figure 11).

FIGURE 11

Revocations for Failure to Comply Fell Sharply for People on Post-release Supervision/Parole and People on Probation

Percentage of revocations for failure-to-comply violations only



Source: Urban Institute analysis of data provided by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

Note: JRA = Justice Reinvestment Act.

BOX 3

Recent Changes to CRV Centers

Policy for and capacity of CRV centers continue to evolve in North Carolina. In 2014, CRV facilities were opened in Burke and Robeson Counties. In 2019, a CRV facility for women was opened in Davidson County. These facilities were intended to provide cognitive behavioral treatment and other programming targeted to the CRV population.

People who have pending charges for more serious crimes or who have certain chronic medical issues, substance use needs, and mental health treatment needs are ineligible for CRV centers (NCSPAC 2020b). Until recently, most CRV terms were served in CRV centers. In 2019, the Robeson County facility was temporarily closed because staff needed to be moved to understaffed prisons, and the Burke County facility temporarily closed in spring 2020 because of the COVID-19 pandemic.^a The Department of Public Safety is aiming to reopen these facilities, and more recent data are needed to determine whether these closures have impacted trends in supervision, including the imposition of CRV terms

^a By the end of 2018, 792 people were serving a CRV disposition, but only 19 percent (151 people) were detained in a CRV center.

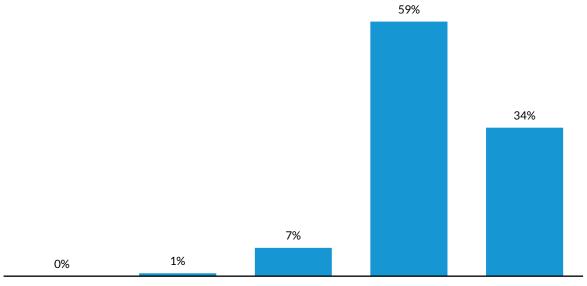
Probation officers believe that CRV responses have helped them better respond to violations. North

Carolina has invested heavily in JRA implementation, including training probation and parole officers on how to respond to technical violations. Ninety-four percent of probation officers we surveyed reported that they had received training on CRV responses. Of those hired before JRA, 93 percent consider JRA a significant change in practice that has helped them better respond to technical violations (figure 12).

FIGURE 12

Ninety-Three Percent of Probation Officers Hired before the Justice Reinvestment Act Consider It a Significant Change in Practice

On a scale of 1–5, how much did practices change for probation staff after the implementation of JRA?



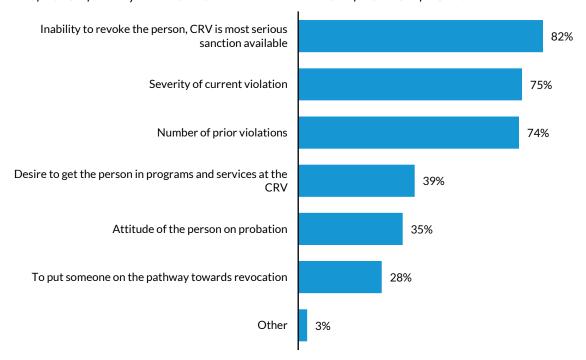
1 - nothing changed 2 - a few practices and 3 - some practices 4 - a lot of practices 5 - most practices and policies changed and policies changed policies changed

Source: Urban survey of North Carolina Department of Public Safety probation officers, administered between April 30, 2019, and May 14, 2019.

Notes: JRA = Justice Reinvestment Act. N = 459.

Implementation of the CRV responses has limited probation officers' ability to recommend revocation for technical violations. Eighty-two percent reported that "inability to revoke" is a major reason for recommending CRV terms, suggesting that CRV terms are replacing more punitive responses, including full revocation. Although most probation officers view this change positively, support is less strong among those with law enforcement backgrounds and those hired before JRA. Probation officers with law enforcement backgrounds and those who view CRV responses as a tool for punishment reported being less in favor of CRV responses than those with backgrounds in social work or behavioral health (figure 13).

When Considering the Use of CRV Terms, Most Probation Officers Consider the Severity and Number of Prior Violations and Whether a CRV Term Is the Most Serious Sanction Available What factors influence your decision to make a recommendation for the use of a CRV?



Source: Urban survey of North Carolina Department of Public Safety probation officers, administered between April 30, 2019, and May 14, 2019.

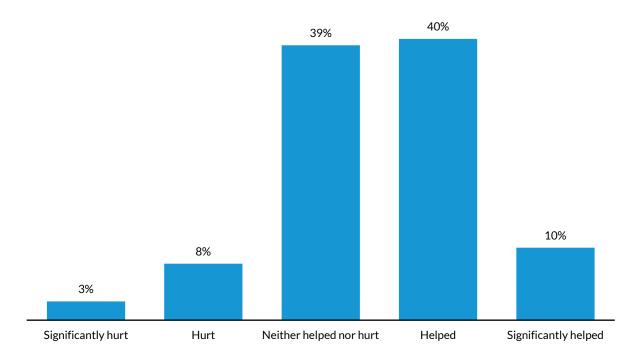
Notes: CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation. N = 726. Respondents could select more than one response, so percentages total to more than 100 percent.

Probation officers consider the implementation of CRV responses a significant change in practice that has helped them better respond to technical violations. Fifty percent of respondents said that CRV terms have helped them respond to technical violations, whereas only 11 percent said the CRV terms have hurt; roughly 40 percent were neutral about the effect (figure 14).

FIGURE 14

More Respondents Said CRV Terms Have Helped Than Said CRV Terms Have Hurt Their Effectiveness

Overall, to what degree have CRVs helped or hurt your effectiveness in responding to technical violations?



Source: Urban survey of North Carolina Department of Public Safety probation officers, administered between April 30, 2019, and May 14, 2019.

Notes: CRV = Confinement in Response to Violation. N = 786.

Conclusion and Recommendations

As North Carolina anticipated, after it implemented the Justice Reinvestment Act, it saw a decline in revocations from supervision, a major driver of the state's prison population growth in the previous decade. Revocations from supervision fell 35 percent after JRA, contributing to the state prison population's overall decline.

Furthermore, because supervision officers have more options to respond to violations, violations are being addressed earlier in the supervision term, and the fact that the average amount of time to an incarceration sanction has increased means less punitive and less expensive options are being used in its place. Officers are using revocations more in response to serious violations (i.e., absconding and new crimes) and less in response to technical violations of supervision conditions (revocations for technical violations decreased 85 percent between 2011 and 2017). Overall, supervision officers consider the added response options helpful and consider CRV terms an important alternative to revocation.

Despite these improvements, some concerning findings from our analysis are worth noting. Nearly one-fifth of revocations (16 percent) are occurring in response to technical violations, and in 2017, overall revocations increased for the first time since 2011.³ Because North Carolina has been seeking ways to change the behavior of people on supervision before revocations are imposed, that 2017 increase in revocations suggests (particularly because some of those revocations occurred for technical violations) that probation and parole officers may have been imposing graduated sanctions and/or recommending CRV terms less frequently. These trends will be important to watch given projections showing the state's prison population is increasing again. According to the North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission, the state's prison population is projected to grow from 35,855 in June 2020 to 38,613 in June 2029, an increase of nearly 8 percent (NCSPAC 2020a).

North Carolina could work to ensure its prison resources are used for those more likely to pose a risk to public safety by building on its cap on revocation time and by further reducing revocations for technical violations. A recent report from the Pew Charitable Trusts and a leading group of community supervision experts recommends eliminating revocations for technical violations, such as failed drug tests and failure to pay supervision fines and fees (Pew 2020). The report also recommends reclassifying certain offenses from felonies to misdemeanors, shortening supervision terms, eliminating certain fines and fees, and enacting other reforms that would allow states to focus correctional resources on people who pose the greatest risk to public safety. States other than North Carolina have adopted many of these policy changes with positive results. Louisiana, for example, implemented a cap on revocation time that restricts incarceration to 15, 30, and 45 days before a person's suspended sentence can be imposed, and it also reduced probation terms to a year or less for many convictions (Pew 2020).

Lastly, DPS data systems did not allow for an analysis of prison admissions for supervision violations, prison time served, total incarceration, and recidivism. This limited the scope of our analysis and prevents more robust analysis of the drivers of incarceration. North Carolina should improve its data systems to allow for better tracking and a more robust examination of the impact of revocations on prison admissions and population trends.

Appendix. Data and Methodology

Urban reviewed publicly available reports from DPS and the North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission to document trends in revocations and CRV dispositions. In addition, we conducted original data analysis of extracts from the DPS database, including individual-level data on supervision violations and responses. The Department of Public Safety provided data on all supervision terms that began between 2008 and 2017. These data included separate files for supervision, demographics, criminal history, violations, and incarceration. There were no direct links between unique supervision terms and corresponding violations or incarceration stays. Matching efforts were not successful, so data limitations prevented analysis of prison admissions for supervision violations, prison time served, total incarceration, and recidivism.

In addition, Urban administered a survey to probation officers to better understand their perceptions of CRV terms and other tools available for responding to technical violations. The survey was administered through Qualtrics and developed with input from DPS. It was sent to every probation officer at the line level and supervisory level within DPS. The survey was open from April 30, 2019, to May 14, 2019, was sent to 2,100 probation staff members, and yielded 840 responses (a 40-percent response rate). Seventy-three percent of respondents were probation officers, 23 percent were chief probation officers, 3 percent were field specialists, and 1 percent had another or unknown position or title.

Notes

- Under JRA, people released from prison with a conviction for a Class F-I offense receive 9 months of post-release supervision, and those with a Class B1-E offense receive 12 months (increased from 9 months). People with convictions that require registering as a sex offender receive 5 years of post-release supervision. Before the law change, most people released for Class F-I offenses did not receive supervision and thus were not subject to revocations for violations of supervision.
- Revocation rates among people on post-release supervision fell from 48 percent in 2011 to 26 percent in 2017, and revocation rates among people on probation supervision fell from 26 percent in 2011 to 19 percent in 2017.
- Data on revocations from the North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission suggest that revocations of probation and post-release supervision fell in each of the past two years after increasing in 2017.

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