Case Studies: Experience From the Field

In 1994 researchers visited four day reporting programs, each reflecting common features of DRC's as well as distinct individual characteristics (such as, large size, State or local level of operation, and colocation of services). This section presents a look at the development and operation of these programs.

Connecticut Judicial Department Office of Alternative Sanctions

Background and Program Implementation

Day reporting emerged in Connecticut in the early 1980's, as changes in the State's sentencing policies led to jail and prison crowding. In 1981 the State legislature abolished indeterminate sentences and discretionary parole release, allowing judges to fix prison terms within statutory maximum or minimum limits for convicted felons. Inmates served their fixed terms, without parole release. Under this law, fixed sentences were longer, on average, than the prior prison terms for similar offenders.

As crowding worsened, State policymakers sought ways to reduce prison populations. The legislature passed an emergency release law in 1985, providing a "safety valve" releasing process when prison populations exceeded capacity, and the commissioner of corrections used supervised home release (SHR)-a form of furlough-to reduce crowding. At around this time officials in the Department of Corrections (DOC) also learned about British day centers, an alternative correctional sanction that provided community supervision and treatment services for offenders. Convinced that day reporting could reduce jail and prison crowding, DOC officials contracted with the Connecticut Prison Association (CPA), a private reform and service organization, to plan and implement a pilot day reporting program in Hartford. The center opened in 1985 and was termed an alternative incarceration center (AIC), emphasizing the program's strict surveillance provisions and "get tough" theme. Judges pushed for the expansion of AIC's into other cities, and by 1989 the DOC had contracted with private vendors to operate seven additional AIC's around the State. By 1994 Connecticut had spent about \$8 million on 17 AIC's.

The first AIC's in Connecticut aimed primarily to reduce prison and jail crowding. Accordingly, the early programs recruited clients from three primary sources: (1) State prisoners released on SHR before their minimum parole dates, (2) detainees denied bail and confined in jails while awaiting trial, and (3) offenders sentenced to probation with participation in AIC as a condition. The secondary objective of the original AIC's was to provide offenders with services and treatment. In order to target individuals who, given past practice, typically would have been confined, the vendors operating these AIC's developed detailed criteria for offender eligibility and selection based on analysis of local sentencing patterns.

Despite the use of both SHR and the AIC's, prison and jail crowding continued to increase. DOC officials used SHR more frequently and earlier in inmates' prison terms. Although the AIC's recruited most of their clients from SHR, the number of inmates placed on SHR eventually far exceeded the capacity of the AIC's. By the end of 1989, about 6,000 inmates were on SHR. Some reportedly served as little as 10 percent of their fixed prison terms before SHR was granted.

Critics argued that the widespread use of SHR undermined the certainty and severity of punishment intended in the 1981 determinate sentencing law. In response to heated debate over strategies to ease prison crowding, a Commission on Crowding in 1989 proposed (1) expanding prison and jail capacity, (2) ensuring that incarcerated offenders would serve longer terms, and (3) increasing the number and range of alternatives to incarceration so that confinement sentences would be reserved for serious and habitual offenders. The commission's recommendations went into effect in 1990. Two statutory goals were to divert 4,230 offenders from confinement by 1994 and to lengthen the duration of prison sentences actually served (for those with sentences of two or more years) to 50 percent by 1995. Hundreds of millions of dollars were provided to build new prison and jail beds and to expand alternative sanctions. In addition, the Office of Alternative Sanctions (OAS) was created within the judicial department and charged with developing a range of nonconfinement sentencing options (including AIC's, responsibility for which was taken away from the DOC).

For offenders with prison sentences of two or more years, the 1990 reforms reinstated discretionary parole release after offenders have served half the judicially imposed sentence. A new civilian parole board also was created and directed by law to make releasing decisions based not on prison crowding but on offenders' risk, behavior while confined, need, and merit. For offenders with prison sentences of less than two years, the reforms provided automatic release at 50 percent of maximum term, minus good time. Finally, the reforms abolished SHR for offenders sentenced to prison after 1990. The correctional system at the time of the site visit was operating at its capacity of about 10,000 (which was expected to go up another 1,000 by 1995). To continue to operate at or under capacity, however, the parole board must release 75 to 80 percent of offenders at their initial eligibility. Currently, only about 60 percent are released at their first eligibility.

Purpose and Target Population

The primary purpose of AIC's, reducing jail and prison populations, has remained the same. However, since 1990 when the newly formed OAS assumed management of day reporting, AIC's no longer admit inmates released early from prison to SHR, although they continue to accept pretrial defendants denied bail who otherwise would be jailed pending trial, as well as offenders sentenced to probation. Also, OAS officials decided not to develop strict AIC guidelines that judges might construe as limiting their discretion; hence, the earlier practice of selective offender targeting was abandoned. Nevertheless, Connecticut officials continue to emphasize selection of offenders at decision points where existing mechanisms and practices will maximize recruitment of offenders who otherwise would have been confined (for instance, at the pretrial stage).

Between July 1992 and March 1994, AIC offenders in pretrial status averaged 55 percent of the AIC population.

During this same timespan the number of residual cases on SHR declined significantly, while the number of probation violators and direct court sentence cases increased dramatically among the AIC population. Overall, in calendar year 1993, AIC's admitted 7,333 offenders.

Offenders must report five times a week ... if they are unemployed, and three times a week if they are employed full-time or attending school.

Program Features

Supervision. Connecticut's AIC's enforce a highly strict level of surveillance. Offenders must report five times a week to their AIC if they are unemployed, and three times a week if they are employed full-time or attending school. Offenders also must undergo substance abuse testing and counseling as requested by the AIC, notify the AIC staff within 24 hours of any change of address or employment status, and perform community service. Other conditions are set and enforced as required by the court. Offenders can participate in an AIC for up to six months.

Services. The OAS coordinates with other agencies to provide services and programs at AIC's. For instance, AIC's have access to 150 transitional housing beds, which can be used by offenders as needed (the offender must transfer to an area where the transitional beds are available). Some agencies colocate their staff at Connecticut AIC's and deliver services on-site. For instance, Families-in-Crisis (a private agency) contracts with the judicial department to provide family counseling services on-site at each AIC, and several AIC's run by Community Action Programs house other social service agencies to enhance service delivery options.

Community service requirements. Connecticut's AIC's emphasize high-visibility group community service projects. When the State park system cut maintenance budgets, the OAS provided AIC community service crews for routine park maintenance. In 1993 AIC clients sold tickets and performed other support functions at the Nutmeg State Games, the statewide Olympic-style sports festival. AIC offenders also recently worked alongside community members to build a neighborhood playground. The experience was so successful that the playground's designer agreed to use AIC community service workers at several other playground projects.

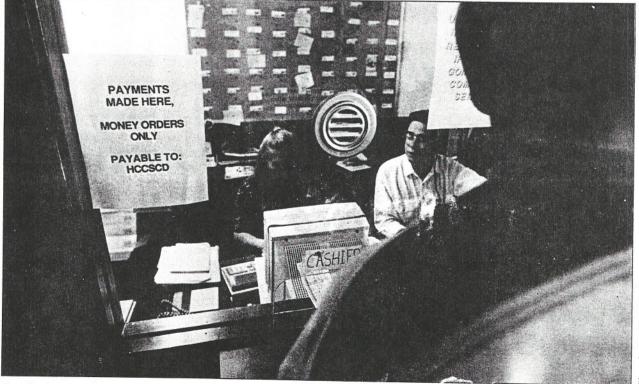
... AIC pretrial cases have a higher appearance rate, a lower recidivism rate, and a lower incarceration rate at sentencing than similar cases not placed at the AIC.

Information on Impact

Connecticut officials have been generally successful in gaining approval for AIC sites, but they concede that some AIC's are in unattractive neighborhoods or inadequate facilities. In 1993 the legislature allocated \$2.4 million to upgrade facilities housing AIC's. The OAS has set minimum standards for AIC's (they are included in volume 2 of this report) and made plans to start inspecting AIC's in 1994 for conformance.

AIC's are being evaluated by the Justice Education Center (JEC) to determine if diversion goals are met. A JEC study of the pretrial population has found that AIC pretrial cases have a higher appearance rate, a lower recidivism rate, and a lower incarceration rate at sentencing than similar cases not placed at the AIC.¹⁹ (The executive summary of this study is included in volume 2.) In 1993, however, AIC's gave unsatisfactory discharges to 2,556 AIC offenders (34.9 percent of admissions), primarily for violations of AIC rules or conditions of supervision. A study of AIC's diversion of sentenced offenders was expected to be completed in 1995. Also, JEC soon will begin a longitudinal study of AIC offender outcomes.

Day reporting has met with some skepticism. Critics maintain that the quality of the programs is uneven. In addition, some in Connecticut see AIC's as competitors of established justice agencies for limited available funding. For example, probation funding and staffing have not increased for several years, despite a growing and increasingly difficult caseload. Some probation officers reportedly complain that, with additional funding, they could provide the same or better supervision as the AIC's. Bail commissioners sometimes protest that AIC's divert some offenders from pretrial confinement after a bail commissioner has decided they should not be released. Nevertheless, day reporting has become an integral aspect of Connecticut's correctional system.



A probationer on day reporting pays supervision fees and restitution.

Photo by Porter Gifford

Harris County (Texas) Community Supervision and Corrections Department

Background and Program Implementation

Day reporting is one of many punitive options in the fourtier continuum of sanctions used by the Harris County Community Supervision and Corrections Department (HCCSCD). Tier 1 includes total confinement in jails or other physically secure facilities, while Tier 2 consists of residential sanctions, including community corrections centers and residential treatment programs. Tier 3 encompasses several levels of community supervision, including day reporting, and Tier 4 includes unsupervised probation. Day reporting is the most intensive form of community supervision in Tier 3, earning it the name Super Intensive Probation Program (SIPP).

Day reporting in Harris County began just a few years ago. In 1990 the director of HCCSCD assembled a delegation of six Houston judges to visit the Hampden County Day Reporting Center in Springfield, Massachusetts. Impressed, the judges ordered the development of a similar program for Harris County, stressing both strict control and plentiful services. SIPP South, in downtown Houston, was the first DRC implemented, funded by the Community Justice Assistance Division of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice. As part of the settlement of a lawsuit challenging conditions in the county jail, the court also ordered the county to reduce the jail population and submit a plan showing how it would do so. The court also ordered the State legislature to pay for new programs in that plan to divert jail inmates. HCCSCD submitted a plan to augment SIPP by 1,000 slots, expand the Harris County correctional boot camp, and build 1,200 new beds in community corrections centers.

Purpose and Target Population

SIPP's goals are (1) to stabilize offenders' behavior so they can make progress on their supervision plans and move as quickly as possible to lower supervision levels, (2) to reduce jail crowding, and (3) to protect the public.

The HCCSCD day reporting program was promoted and funded primarily to reduce the jail population, but judges resisted having constraints on their sentencing discretion. Therefore, rather than use detailed eligibility criteria and selection processes that might appear to limit judicial discretion, HCCSCD focuses on (1) using SIPP as a reentry program for graduates of the department's residential programs and (2) recruiting offenders from decision points at which a confinement outcome is highly likely, such as at revocation hearings. HCCSCD staff screen every case that involves an offender who has been directly sentenced to SIPP. If they encounter an offender who does not fall into high-risk/high-need categories on the department's assessment instruments, they develop a plan for judicial approval transferring the offender to a less intrusive level of supervision.

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Because of the scale of the program, HCCSCD has developed several *specialized caseloads* within SIPP. They include:

Mentally ill/mentally retarded offenders. The SIPP programs can serve 250 mentally ill or mentally retarded offenders. These cases come from three sources:
(1) as referrals from Project Action, a residential

Specialized Caseloads

Harris County has developed specialized caseloads within SIPP for:

Mentally ill/mentally retarded offenders.

Stalkers.

Sex offenders.

Graduates of institutional drug treatment programs.

Probationers in an alternative campus.

Boot camp graduates.

Offenders on both probation and parole.

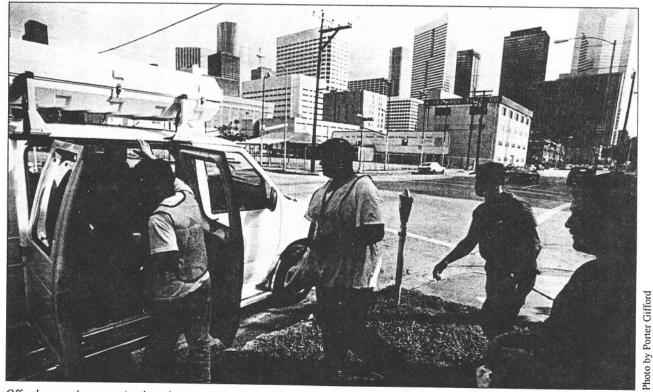
treatment program for mentally ill or impaired offenders, (2) as the result of direct court sentences, and (3) as an alternative to revocation from a Tier 2 or Tier 3 placement. For this group, staff emphasize crisis intervention more strongly, monitor offenders' intake of prescribed medications, make more frequent referrals for services, and exercise more patience in dealing with offenders.

- Stalkers. This group, which consists of offenders who are subject to restraining orders, has a higher level of field contacts as well as more intensive and lengthy curfew requirements.
- Sex offenders. About 125 positions are available for sex offenders who are in community-based treatment.
- Graduates of institutional drug treatment programs. The Texas Department of Corrections operates Substance abuse Felony Punishment Facilities (SAFPF), which provide treatment for drug-involved offenders. Probationers who do not adjust satisfactorily to supervision can be placed in these low-security facilities for up to one year while still on probation.

- Probationers in an alternative campus. The public schools have created alternative campuses for 17- to 19-year-old felony probationers who are still in school.
- Boot camp graduates. Each platoon of graduates participates in weekly group meetings at the SIPP and performs group community service. The program's intent is to prolong the esprit de corps generated in the boot camp.
- Offenders on both probation and parole. All parolees who are also on probation are on a specialized SIPP caseload.

Program Features

Harris County operates two SIPP units, one in the North Region (northern Houston) and one in the South Region (downtown Houston). SIPP North has an intended capacity of 1,000 offenders and is located next to a freeway in a black/Hispanic low-income area. It shares a county office building with several human service agencies. SIPP South, with an intended capacity of 750 offenders, is located in an



Offenders on day reporting board a van to go to a community service worksite.

older commercial area on the edge of downtown Houston at what used to be a new-car dealership. On the day of the site visit, the total caseload of the two units was slightly over 2,000; hence, the capacity of these DRC's is somewhat elastic. These are the largest day reporting programs identified by the mail survey of known DRC's in 1994.

Supervision. Using information developed during offenders' assessments, supervision plans are developed upon entry to SIPP. While in SIPP offenders are subject to the following conditions:

- In phase one, offenders must report daily, in person, to the SIPP office, unless they are working, in which case they must contact staff daily by phone or staff must visit them at their home or workplace. In phase two, they must report three times a week, and in phase three, they must report once a week.
- Offenders must take a drug-use test during their first visit and are subject to random testing twice a month thereafter, tapering to once a month during later phases.
- Offenders must make court-ordered payments for such things as fines, fees, and restitution.
- All offenders must perform 50 or more hours of community service if so ordered by the courts.

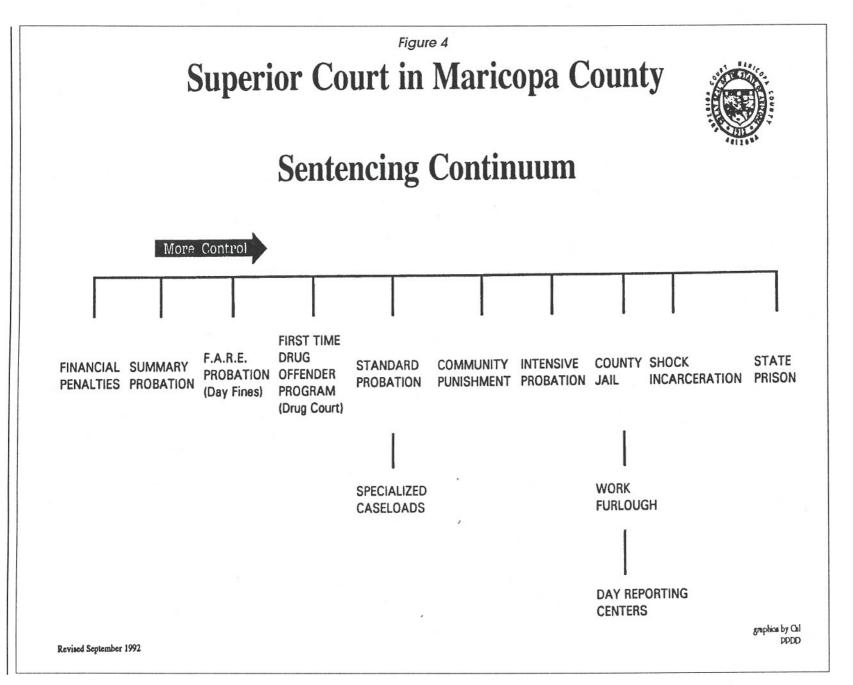
Other conditions vary according to content of the supervision plan, specific requirements in the court's order, and the characteristics of specialized caseloads. For example, boot camp graduates are subject to more drug-use testing and group reporting, whereas stalkers face longer and more rigorously enforced curfew.

SIPP offices are open from 7 a.m. until 7 p.m. Monday through Thursday and 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday. Durations in SIPP vary from 90 days to one year, depending on how individual offenders progress. Most offenders remain in SIPP three to six months.

Services. The following programs and services are available at each of the SIPP offices:

 Substance abuse evaluations and assessments. A certified substance abuse counselor is on-site twice a week to evaluate offenders, and a licensed therapist is on-site one day a week to evaluate mentally impaired offenders for substance abuse programming.

- Education lab. If offenders read below a sixth-grade level, they are required to attend the education lab, which has 15 computer stations and is open daily until 8 p.m. Education labs also are provided in all HCCSCD residential programs, so offenders who enter SIPP as residential program graduates can continue working on their educational objectives.
- Support group meetings. Graduates of residential programs who (before discharge from the residential facility) were deemed at high risk for recidivism attend weekly support group meetings. Facilitated by licensed counselors, these meetings are intended to reinforce behaviors learned in the residential facilities.
- Individual and group therapy. One licensed therapist is on-site one day a week at each SIPP office to provide group and individual therapy. A psychologist is on-site all week at each location to conduct psychological evaluations and to conduct individual and group therapy.
- Vocational intervention program. HCCSCD contracts with the Texas Employment Commission to provide employment readiness classes for offenders and to make employment referrals.
- Urinalysis. Each SIPP office has trained monitors who conduct on-site testing.
- Life skills training. Each SIPP office (and all residential programs) offers a core program to help offenders overcome patterns that contributed to their criminal behavior. In addition, the program teaches employability and job retention skills.
- Intensive mental health case management. Project Action caseworkers (funded by the Texas Council on Offenders with Mental Impairments) work closely with SIPP counselors to help mentally impaired offenders use community mental health services, Medicare and Medicaid services, inpatient hospitalization, community health care, substance abuse counseling, job placement and assistance, and crisis intervention.
- Health and personal growth education. HCCSCD provides educational information to offenders using a variety of media, including videos or speakers on such topics as AIDS awareness, conflict resolution, parenting skills, nutrition, addiction, and employment skills.



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Case Studies

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Community service. HCCSCD's community service program encompasses more than just SIPP participants—HCCSCD has over 4,500 offenders on community service crews (and many more performing individual community service) at any given time. HCCSCD has 60 12-passenger vans, stored and maintained at SIPP South, to transport community service work crews. Skilled workers constructed a large portion of HCCSCD's new community corrections facility, for example, and also helped to build a new nature center in the county park system. Unskilled offenders typically perform cleanup tasks.

Reducing Revocation

Although young, Harris County's day reporting programs already have become vital to the county's strategy to reduce jail and prison populations. HCCSCD officials consider probationers as failures only if their supervision is revoked and they are committed to prison. Day reporting serves as part of HCCSCD's aggressive development of a broad array of sanctions to prevent such "failures." Day reporting and other intermediate sanctions enable offenders who do not adjust well to supervision at one level to move to another by court order without revocation of probation. HCCSCD frequently uses changes in levels of supervision or between community and residential supervision to sanction violative behavior or noncompliance with conditions of supervision. Officials stressed that the policy is in place so that every effort can be made to avoid revocation, by adjusting offenders within the department's continuum of sanctions, if they exhibit unsatisfactory adjustment.

Maricopa County (Arizona) Adult Probation Department Day Reporting Centers

Background and Program Implementation

Although established only in 1992, day reporting is now an integral component of the adult sentencing and corrections continuum in Maricopa County, Arizona (see figure 4). The current population of Maricopa County is 1.3 million; of this total, approximately 1 million reside in Phoenix. Although *reported* crime actually has decreased slightly in recent years, crime is a volatile political issue in Maricopa

County. Efforts to "crack down" on lawbreakers have increased court backlog and jail crowding.

In 1992 a jail-population-management team was established to respond to a Federal court order to immediately reduce the population of the county jail. The management team developed two initiatives to reduce crowding:

- A court liaison program was initiated to speed up the processing of violation hearings and to use intermediate sanctions as a halfway-back mechanism for probation violators.
- A day reporting center program was implemented that targeted probation violators and offenders within 650 days of release from jail.

Apparently as a result of these two initiatives, the jail population was reduced by about 10 percent between August 1992 and June 1994. While there is still a jail-crowding problem, the county is in compliance with the existing Federal court order and neither program has generated negative media fallout.

Maricopa County funded these programs by reallocating existing resources and by developing new funding options-for example, raising the charge for housing a Federal inmate from \$38 per day to \$78 per day, persuading the State legislature to approve the use of funds from a 1986 bond issue for DRC facility acquisition, and using \$150,000 in Bureau of Justice Assistance money. Finally, the county initiated a creative colocation strategy with a wide range of local treatment providers. The 1986 bond issue money could be used only to obtain or improve the physical plant, not to support the programs. In order to address this shortfall, DRC developers offered free rent in their buildings to treatment providers in exchange for slots in their programs for DRC offenders. The total cost of DRC development and court liaison programs was split equally between new funding sources (youthful-offenders funds, higher Federal reimbursements, and the State bond for work furloughs) and old ones (existing county jail and adult probation budgets).

At the time of the site visit, the county faced an unexpected deficit of \$86 million. Permanent funding for the DRC program is a serious issue that will need to be addressed in 1995, but it appears that the program has broad-based political support, largely because of the efforts of the jail-population-management team.

Purpose

According to the latest program description provided by the Maricopa County Adult Probation Department,

the mission of the Maricopa County Adult Probation Department Day Reporting Center is to furlough selected offenders from incarceration into a program of strict community supervision and structured reintegration services.²⁰

In conjunction with this general mission statement, six goals were identified: (1) to expand the continuum of communitybased sanctions and various treatment options available to the court; (2) to provide a safe and cost-effective method of reintegrating nonviolent probation inmates into the community; (3) to provide a broad spectrum of structured reintegration services to nonviolent inmates serving commitments in the county jail; (4) to reduce the daily census of probation inmates in the county jail; (5) to provide highly structured supervision, sanctions, and services coordinated from a central locus; and (6) to serve as a clearinghouse for probationer treatment programs and services.

Target Population

The initial target population for the DRC program in Maricopa County consisted of nonviolent offenders with identifiable treatment needs (educational, vocational, employment, substance abuse) who were serving split sentences (that is, jail followed by probation). Approximately 600 offenders meet the general criteria for the DRC/work furlough program each month, but because of the restrictive selection and review process only about 50 new offenders are placed in the program. About half of these offenders are referred directly from jail; the remainder move from work furlough status to DRC status (see the caseflow diagram in volume 2). In addition, roughly three or four offenders are referred to the DRC program each month from the STEP (short-term enhanced probation) program, which targets jail-bound probation violators.

According to the most recent program description, to be eligible for this program probationers must meet the following criteria:

- Not pose a serious risk to the community.
- Be furlough-eligible per terms and conditions of probation.

- Have an acceptable, verifiable address.
- Display a nonviolent pattern of behavior.
- Not be in need of long-term residential treatment.
- Have access to transportation.
- Be willing to participate in the program.
- Not have charges pending that would prevent participation in the program.²¹

The caseflow process in Maricopa County is summarized in figure 5. The seven reasons for rejection during initial screening are a history of violence, commission of a violent offense, use of a weapon or injury to the victim, sex offender status, pending court appearances for other charges, mandatory treatment required in a residential facility, and escape risk. The screening mechanisms currently in place appear to focus on the elimination of high-stakes cases—those offenders whose placement in the program could inflame public opinion if it were publicized.

Program Features

Maricopa County's day reporting program has three neighborhood offices. The East Day Reporting Center, which opened in August 1992, is located in Mesa, an area with a population slightly greater than 350,000. This program shares facility space with ISP and field service program administrators, the community punishments program, and the community services program. The stated capacity of the DRC program is 90. On the day of the site visit, however, only 45 DRC offenders were in the program.

The Central DRC, which opened in April 1994, is located in the Garfield Adult Probation and Community Center. The Garfield area has been targeted for the "Weed and Seed" Federal initiative, largely because police receive an average of 900 gang-related calls each month. As was true at the East DRC, the Garfield DRC was operating under capacity (45 offenders in a program designed for 90).

The third DRC, located in the western section of Maricopa County, opened in January 1993 and was still operating in temporary quarters as of spring 1994. The county had recently purchased an old 40,000 square-foot mall to house the program, however, and this new facility was scheduled to open in September 1994. About 40 offenders were in the program, and capacity was expected to increase to 90 in the fall of 1994. The Maricopa County DRC program was originally modeled after the DRC program in Hampden County, Massachusetts. Nonetheless, the Maricopa model is unique in the manner by which offenders move through the three phases of the program and in the strategies used to develop and administer treatment for DRC offenders.

Supervision. The Maricopa County DRC program has three phases. During Phase 1 (orientation), which lasts one to two weeks and emphasizes direct supervision of offenders, offenders must be seen at least five times per week, including two field visits and a residence verification. The program officer (PO) develops a case management supervision plan by the end of Phase 1, while the supervision officer (SO) reviews the offender's daily itinerary and establishes a surveillance plan.

Phase 2 lasts for six to eight weeks, depending on the specific problems and needs identified during the initial offender assessment. Contact levels are relaxed during Phase 2 (only two contacts per week are required), based on the premise that *treatment* (rather than control) is the most effective community protection strategy currently available. Nevertheless, the PO and SO can and do increase contact levels based on their assessment of the client's surveillance needs. They also make unscheduled home visits, conduct complex phone-based curfew checks, and order offenders to submit to regular urinalysis and Breathalyzer testing.

During the final phase of the DRC program in Maricopa County, the offender makes the transition from the program traditional probation caseloads. During this phase, which lasts approximately two weeks, the DRC supervision team, the offender, and the newly assigned probation officer meet to review basic case management and treatment issues. The DRC supervision team still conducts at least two field contacts per week, while completing any other surveillance activities deemed appropriate. At any point up to the day of the offender's release from jail status, a violation of program rules could result in rollback to jail.

Services. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Maricopa County's DRC program is the wide range of private, nonprofit treatment providers that have been brought together at each DRC site by the lure of free rent. For example, the East DRC was offering the following treatment resources to offenders:

- Job placement and job readiness programs.
- Education/literacy programs.

- Self-help/support groups (Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous).
- Intensive counseling for chemical/alcohol dependency.
- Community service programs.
- · Other counseling/treatment programs (focusing on
- health, life skills, and family, for example).

Each supervision team has a caseload of approximately 30 probationers from three sources (DRC/furlough, STEP, and the youth offender program). The supervision team must decide how to apply the various available surveillance techniques to individual offenders, as well as how to assess, implement, and monitor each offender's treatment plan. According to the most recent DRC program description,

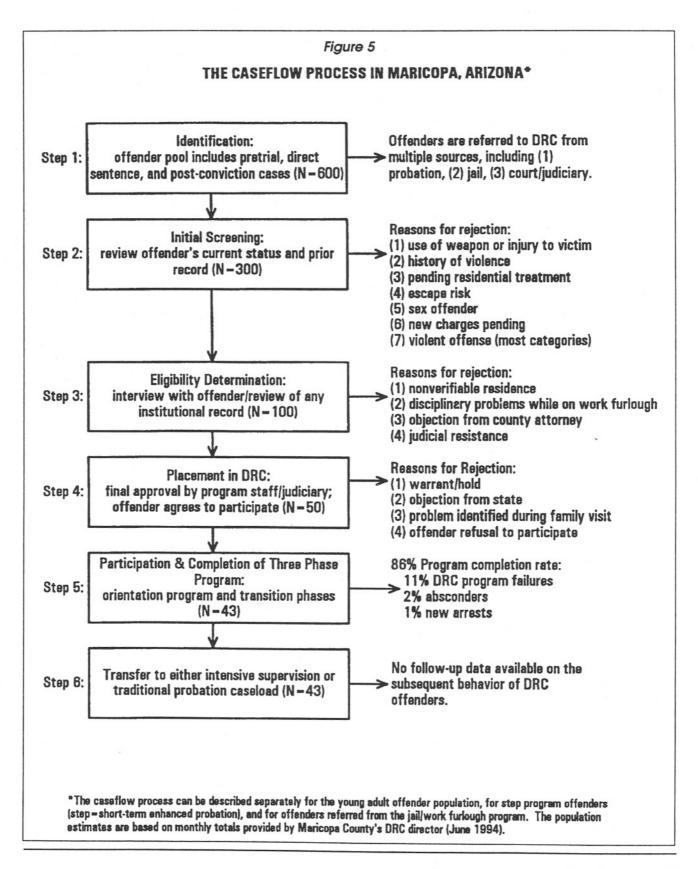
during the day, the participant will follow an hourby-hour schedule of courses offered at the Day Reporting Center and other community-based agencies and/or participate in a job search program until employed. Participants with employment will follow daily itineraries which include their jobs. Courses offered at the Day Reporting Center Program will address a variety of needs, including drug and alcohol counseling, literacy and GED classes, and family and health [education classes].²²

In addition, many offenders must complete several hours of community service. During Phase 2 of the DRC program, any community service hours completed are applied to the *probation* portion of the offender's sentence, even though the offender is technically still in the institutional phase of his or her split sentence.

Eighty-six percent... of the ... offenders who were terminated from supervision ... were "successful" ... no new arrests, incidents of absconding, or serious rule violations resulting in return to jail.

Information on Impact

To date, no formal evaluation has been completed on the Maricopa County DRC program, but program data are available on the performance of offenders while under supervision and the general impact of the program on the jail-crowding problem. Eighty-six percent (673) of the 780 offenders who were terminated from supervision (in Phases



1 through 3) were "successful" (that is, there were no new arrests, incidents of absconding, or serious rule violations resulting in return to jail). In fact, there have been only five new arrests (1 percent of all completions), 16 absconders (2 percent), and 86 returns to jail (11 percent). Given the high level of surveillance and control built into the program model, the return rate of 11 percent is actually quite low, especially when compared to ISP evaluation results.

... since its inception in 1992, the DRC program has "saved" the county the equivalent of 35,426 days in jail. Based on the \$37 average per diem cost for housing a county inmate in Maricopa County, the estimated cost savings total \$1.3 million.

According to DRC records, the "successful" offender spends an average of 44.8 days under Phase 2 DRC supervision, as compared with 27.5 days for unsuccessful offenders. Successful program completion rates increase with offender age (for example, 94 percent of the offenders 46 and over were successful, as opposed to 80 percent of the offenders 25 and under). It also appears that successful program completion rates are higher for some conviction offense types (for instance, 92 percent of persons convicted of crimes against persons, and 94 percent of persons convicted of DUI—driving under the influence—offenses were successful, versus 79 percent of the property offenders, 78 percent of the offenders convicted of "other" felony offenses).

Program staff have estimated that, since its inception in 1992, the DRC program has "saved" the county the equivalent of 35,426 days in jail. Based on the \$37 average per diem cost for housing a county inmate in Maricopa County, the estimated cost savings total \$1.3 million. According to current calculations provided by the probation department, the daily cost of placement in a DRC program is \$16. If this estimate is accurate, it represents a significant potential cost savings to the county; however, any statements about the effectiveness of the DRC program—in terms of corrections cost, diversionary impact, or recidivism reduction—would be premature, as the necessary evaluation research has yet to be completed.

Hampden County (Massachusetts) Day Reporting Center

Background and Program Implementation

The Hampden County Day Reporting Center (DRC), which opened in October 1986, was one of the first DRC's established in the United States. Since that time, over 1,200 offenders have entered this program. The Hampden County DRC arose as a strategy for reducing high jail and prison populations. In the mid-1980's, the Hampden County Jail and House of Correction were operating at over 200 percent of rated capacity, and the sheriff was under pressure to ease the crowding situation. The directors of the Crime and Justice Foundation-a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to developing alternatives to prisons and jails-suggested that he consider experimenting with a program modeled after the British day centers, which combined strict (centralized) control strategies with comprehensive offender treatment programming. The sheriff was impressed with the British model's goals and strategies, and Hampden County subsequently developed its own program with a grant from the State department of correction.

... the program's mission is to provide a costeffective intermediate sanction for offenders at both the front end (that is, at the point of pretrial release or direct sentence) and the back end (the early release or halfway-back stage) of the corrections system.

Purpose

While the Hampden County DRC's initial purpose was to reduce jail crowding, today the program's mission is to provide a cost-effective intermediate sanction for offenders at both the front end (that is, at the point of pretrial release or direct sentence) and the back end (the early release or halfway-back stage) of the corrections system. According to the program director, its most important goal is to structure offenders' reintegration to the community. The program assumes that offender employment and treatment are the keys to reducing recidivism. It also relies on extensive surveillance and controls (in most cases using electronic monitoring) to ensure community security.

Target Population

The primary offenders targeted for Hampden County's DRC are nonviolent substance abusers. Possession and possession with intent to sell are the two main conviction offenses for the DRC population, characterizing 50 percent of all offenders. The Hampden County DRC recruits participants at a number of discrete points in the criminal justice process-pretrial detention, direct sentences, probation, federal correctional facilities, and the county jail. Defendants who are jailed because they are unable to make bail may be placed in the DRC if they meet eligibility requirements. The DRC program also considers for admission county offenders who are referred directly from intensive supervision caseloads under an "experimental" agreement with the Office of the Commissioner of Probation. Finally, Federal offenders serving time at the Hampden County Correctional Facility may also be referred to the program, along with Federal offenders directly sentenced to electronic monitoring.

For the sentenced offender population, the selection process involves three steps:

- Identification. Institutional casework staff review all new intake cases during the first week of the offender's incarceration.
- *Review*. DRC classification unit members review the pool of identified "program-eligible" offenders.
- Selection. DRC staff and administration determine the final placement pool, based on both a program assessment (including the offender's offense and risk to the community, institutional record, and treatment needs or plans) and a home visit by the DRC program's security staff.

Sentence length affects program eligibility. For example, an offender with a two-month sentence may be referred to the DRC after serving 30 days, while an offender with a 30-month sentence is eligible for referral to the DRC after serving 13 months. In addition, several offenders, usually those who have been convicted of nonviolent offenses, are referred directly to the DRC by the judge, bypassing the usual review process. The number of direct judicial referrals was expected to increase significantly after introduction of a new, direct sentence DRC program in August 1994.

Program Features

Size. According to the program director, the intended capacity of the DRC is 150 offenders per day. In general, the program has remained full since its inception. In 1993, however, owing to changes in the staffing and location of the program, the targeted admission goals were not met for two groups—sentenced offenders and ISP participants although the number of pretrial offenders exceeded the program's goals.

The Hampden County DRC cost \$5,000 per slot in 1993, compared to \$60,000 per bed per year in the county jail.

Location, funding, and staff. The Hampden County DRC is designed to be easily accessible and is actually located at three sites. The main office is on the grounds of the Hampden County Correctional Center, which houses the center's administration as well as the security/electronic monitoring and intake/orientation components. Field offices are also located in downtown Springfield and at Springfield district and superior courts.

The operating cost was \$800,000 in 1993, or a per-slot cost of slightly less than \$5,000 per year. By comparison, the cost of incarceration in a county facility is over \$60,000 per bed, per year. State funding covers 75 percent of the Hampden County DRC's costs, while additional support comes from the county, contracts with the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and various State and Federal grants.

At the time of the site visit, the program had 18 staff providing both treatment and security for the DRC. At the field office in Springfield, program staff provide services such as drug and alcohol treatment, family counseling, general equivalency diploma (GED) and English as a second language (ESL) classes, and anger management training. Students and interns are used in all aspects of the DRC's treatment programming and for on-site security, while security staff are responsible for electronically monitoring offenders and conducting random spot checks at offenders' homes and places of work.

Supervision. The Hampden County DRC offers the most intensive form of community supervision available for offenders in the area. The most intensive form of regular probation supervision provides two contacts per month. On average, the overall duration of day reporting is four months. During this time, the offender progresses through four program phases, each lasting approximately one month (see the program's 1994 DRC handbook in Volume 2 of this report for details).

After the Phase 1 orientation is complete, the most intensive "community supervision" phase begins. The requirements during Phase 2 are seven in-office contacts per week, four to five field contacts each week by community corrections officers, curfew every night at 9 p.m., one to two drug tests per week, and 16 to 20 hours of community service per week if unemployed and four to six hours per week if employed. Other requirements include four to five field Breathalyzer tests per week, two GED classes per week (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours each), and participation in a family program each week (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours each). In Phases 3 and 4, offenders have fewer contact requirements and may participate in additional activities in the community.

Services. The Hampden County program uses its own staff to provide most treatment to offenders. DRC staff receive close to 100 hours per year in specialized training on a variety of issues. At the time of the site visit, staff were responsible for counseling offenders, providing substance abuse treatment, leading a required four-week family intervention program, and coordinating community service activities for all offenders. The Springfield Employment Resource Center has been contracted "to assist participants with specialized employment needs,"²³ and selected providers (AIDS support groups, Alcoholics Anonymous, and Narcotics Anonymous, among others) are allowed to offer services to offenders on-site that are not provided by DRC staff.

Information on Impact

Although the Hampden County DRC has been in operation since 1986, no formal evaluation has been conducted to date. Program data suggest, however, that the majority of DRC offenders successfully complete the program. For the 1986-1992 period, program completion rates hovered around 80 percent, with the majority of program failures the result of technical violations (such as positive drug test results or failure to follow daily itinerary) rather than rearrest for new criminal activity. Overall, however, program completion rates dropped significantly in 1993 (from 79 percent to 68 percent), partly because of changes in program staffing and location. In addition, the 1993 Annual Report observes that the completion rate remains low (50 percent) for pretrial detainees. According to the program director, the level and pattern of revocations-especially the early program rule violations-is consistent with the primary goal of the program, reintegration, as well as the secondary goal of reducing jail crowding. The program has a structured hierarchy of sanctions in place that do not require immediate incarceration for rule violators.24