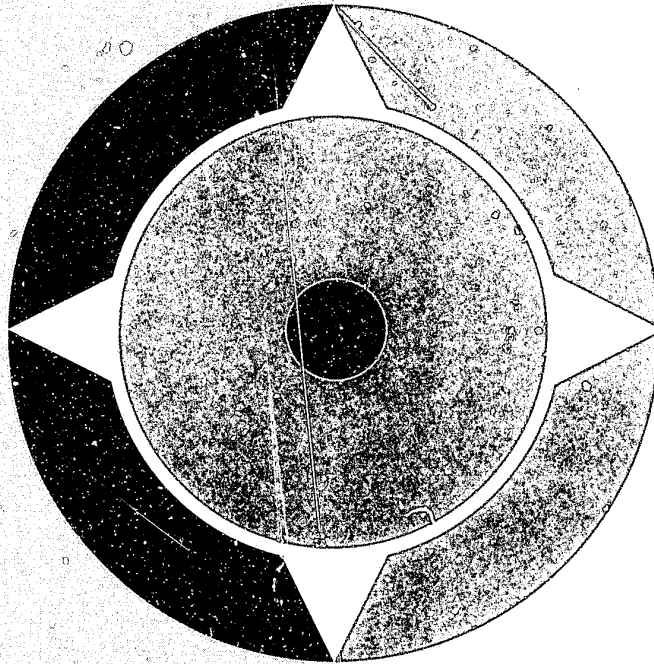


U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
National Institute of Justice



National Institute of Justice

Issues and Practices



155060

Day Reporting Centers

Volume 1

About the National Institute of Justice

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ), a component of the Office of Justice Programs, is the research and development agency of the U.S. Department of Justice. NIJ was established to prevent and reduce crime and to improve the criminal justice system. Specific mandates established by Congress in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended, and the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 direct the National Institute of Justice to:

- *Sponsor special projects, and research and development programs* that will improve and strengthen the criminal justice system and reduce or prevent crime.
- *Conduct national demonstration projects* that employ innovative or promising approaches for improving criminal justice.
- *Develop new technologies* to fight crime and improve criminal justice.
- *Evaluate the effectiveness of criminal justice programs* and identify programs that promise to be successful if continued or repeated.
- *Recommend actions* that can be taken by Federal, State, and local governments as well as by private organizations to improve criminal justice.
- *Carry out research on criminal behavior.*
- *Develop new methods of crime prevention* and reduction of crime and delinquency.
- The research and development program that resulted in the creation of police body armor that has meant the difference between life and death to hundreds of police officers.
- Pioneering scientific advances such as the research and development of DNA analysis to positively identify suspects and eliminate the innocent from suspicion.
- The evaluation of innovative justice programs to determine what works, including drug enforcement, community policing, community anti-drug initiatives, prosecution of complex drug cases, drug testing throughout the criminal justice system, and user accountability programs.
- Creation of a corrections information-sharing system that enables State and local officials to exchange more efficient and cost-effective concepts and techniques for planning, financing, and constructing new prisons and jails.
- Operation of the world's largest criminal justice information clearinghouse, a resource used by State and local officials across the Nation and by criminal justice agencies in foreign countries.

The National Institute of Justice has a long history of accomplishments, including the following:

- Basic research on career criminals that led to development of special police and prosecutor units to deal with repeat offenders.
- Research that confirmed the link between drugs and crime.

The Institute Director, who is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, establishes the Institute's objectives, guided by the priorities of the Office of Justice Programs, the Department of Justice, and the needs of the criminal justice field. The Institute actively solicits the views of criminal justice professionals to identify their most critical problems. Dedicated to the priorities of Federal, State, and local criminal justice agencies, research and development at the National Institute of Justice continues to search for answers to what works and why in the Nation's war on drugs and crime.

NOV 1 1995

ACQUISITIONS

Day Reporting Centers

Volume 1

by
Dale Parent
Jim Byrne
Vered Tsarfaty
Laura Valade
Julie Esselman

September 1995

Issues and Practices in Criminal Justice is a publication series of the National Institute of Justice. Each report presents the program options and management issues in a topic area, based on a review of research and evaluation findings, operational experience, and expert opinion on the subject. The intent is to provide information to make informed choices in planning, implementing, and improving programs and practice in criminal justice.

National Institute of Justice

Jeremy Travis
Director

Marilyn Moses
Cheryl Crawford
Program Monitors

Advisory Panel

Larance Coleman
Director
Harris County Adult Probation Department
49 San Jacinto Street
Houston, TX 77002

Arthur Lurigio, Ph.D.
Director of Research
Cook County Adult Probation Department
2690 South California
Chicago, IL 60608

Elizabeth Curtin
Director of Community Corrections
Crime and Justice Foundation
95 Berkeley Street
Boston, MA 02116

Prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice by Abt Associates Inc., under contract #OJP-94-C-007. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

The National Institute of Justice is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

Foreword

In response to record numbers of convicted offenders and widespread prison crowding, American correctional officials in recent years have expanded the range of intermediate sanctions that fall between traditional probation and complete incarceration. House arrest, intensive supervision, curfew, and other intermediate sanctions fulfill many purposes. They provide graduated punishments that may be more appropriate than either probation or prison for some offenses, and they maintain a higher level of offender control and accountability than does standard probation or parole supervision. In addition, intermediate sanctions may provide enhanced levels of treatment or services for problems common among criminal offenders, such as drug abuse, low educational levels, and unemployment. Finally, when used in lieu of confinement, intermediate sanctions may reduce prison or jail populations and associated costs.

Day reporting centers (DRC's) represent a promising new intermediate sanction that is being widely implemented in the United States. A 1990 study by the National Institute of Justice found only 13 DRC's in the United States, whereas the present survey found at least 114, in 22 states. DRC's uniquely emphasize both strict surveillance and high levels of treatment and other services to offenders. This dual emphasis distinguishes day reporting from other intermedi-

ate sanctions, such as intensive supervision programs (ISP's), another recent innovation, which has focused primarily on surveillance alone.

This study documents key features of existing DRC's and describes important trends in their development. For example, while most of the first DRC's in the United States were established in the mid-1980's as private operations (under contracts with executive agencies), more recent programs typically are operated by local governments (often by judicial districts). Whereas older programs mostly admit sentenced inmates released early from prison or jail, newer programs primarily target offenders from pretrial confinement or probation. And, contrary to the original programs' distinction of emphasizing supervision and services equally, newer DRC's tend to give more emphasis to supervision. Clearly, day reporting is an intermediate sanction in a state of evolution. Yet its rapid growth and growing implementation by public correctional agencies suggest that this innovative concept has moved quickly into the mainstream of American correctional practice.

Jeremy Travis
Director
National Institute of Justice

155060

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this ~~copyrighted~~ material has been granted by

Public Domain/OJP/NIJ

U.S. Department of Justice

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the ~~copyright~~ owner.

Acknowledgements

Abt Associates Inc. is especially indebted to several persons whose contributions greatly improved this project and made our work much easier.

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) convened an advisory board consisting of:

Larance Coleman
Director
Harris County Community Supervision
and Correction Department
Houston, Texas

Elizabeth Curtin
Director of Community Corrections
Crime and Justice Foundation
Boston, Massachusetts

Arthur Lurigio, Ph.D.
Director of Research
Adult Probation Department
Cook County (Chicago), Illinois

Advisors met to identify issues that needed to be addressed and to frame questions to be covered in a mail survey. Later, advisors reviewed data collection instruments and critiqued

the draft report. Special thanks are also due to State and local officials who hosted visits to their day reporting programs, including:

Bill Carbone, Director
James Greene, Technical Assistance
and Training Consultant
Office of Alternative Sanctions
Connecticut Judicial Department
Hartford, Connecticut

Larance Coleman, Director
Harris County Community Supervision
and Corrections Department
Houston, Texas

Norm Helber, Chief Probation Officer
Maricopa County Adult Probation Department
Phoenix, Arizona

Kevin Warwick, Director
Hampden County Day Reporting Center
Springfield, Massachusetts

Marilyn Moses, our NIJ project monitor, provided oversight, guidance, and wise counsel as the project progressed.

Table of Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Executive Summary	xi
Introduction to This Study	1
Background and Purpose	1
Methodology	1
Organization	2
Origins of Day Reporting Centers	3
Day Reporting in the United States Before 1990	7
Day Reporting in the United States Since 1990	9
Common Features of Day Reporting	9
Goals	9
Surveillance	11
Services	13
Variable Features of Day Reporting	15
Administration: Public or Private?	15
Staffing	17
Operating Costs	18
Size of Enrollment	18
Criteria for Eligibility	19
Community Service and Restitution	21
Termination Rates	22

Case Studies: Experience From the Field	25
Connecticut Judicial Department Office of Alternative Sanctions	25
Background and Program Implementation	25
Purpose and Target Population	26
Program Features	26
Information on Impact	27
Harris County (Texas) Community Supervision and Corrections Department	28
Background and Program Implementation	28
Purpose and Target Population	28
Program Features	29
Reducing Revocation	32
Maricopa County (Arizona) Adult Probation Department	32
Background and Program Implementation	32
Purpose	33
Target Population	33
Program Features	33
Information on Impact	34
Hampden County (Massachusetts) Day Reporting Center	36
Background and Program Implementation	36
Purpose	36
Target Population	37
Program Features	37
Information on Impact	38
An Emerging Model of Day Reporting?	39
Key Issues for the Future	41
Ensuring Offenders' Access to Services	41
Responding to Nonconformance	41
Conducting Evaluations	42
Endnotes	44

List of Figures

Figure 1	Distribution of Day Reporting Centers in the United States by State	10
Figure 2	Ownership Status of Older Versus Newer DRC's	16
Figure 3	Geographic Scope of Older Versus Newer DRC's	17
Figure 4	Superior Court in Maricopa County Sentencing Continuum	31
Figure 5	The Caseflow Process in Maricopa, Arizona	35

List of Tables

Table 1	Respondents' Ratings of DRC Goals	9
Table 2	Types and Locations of Services Offered by DRC's	13
Table 3	Sources of Payment for Services at DRC's	15
Table 4	Average Daily Cost per Offender in DRC's	18
Table 5	Legal Status of Offenders in DRC's	18
Table 6	Distribution of Offenders Entering DRC's from Prison, Jail, and the Community	19
Table 7	DRC Eligibility of Offenders Charged With or Convicted of Various Types of Crimes	20
Table 8	DRC Removal Policy for Various Types of Rule Violations	22

Executive Summary

The day reporting center (DRC) is an intermediate sanction that blends high levels of control with intensive delivery of services needed by offenders. The development of DRC's in the United States during the 1980's grew out of Great Britain's popular use of day centers, as American correctional administrators sought ways to reduce rising jail and prison populations and associated costs.

This report updates a 1990 study that identified 13 DRC's across the country. The authors developed a nationwide listing of DRC's by contacting practitioners who had visited three pioneering centers in Massachusetts and Connecticut and inquiring whether they had established similar programs. Supplementing this list through a telephone survey of probation and parole officials in states *not* represented by the visitors, 114 DRC's were found in 22 States by mid-1994. To obtain information about these programs, researchers mailed survey forms, to which 47 percent (54/114) of the DRC directors responded. In addition, the authors conducted site visits to four DRC's.

The major findings from the survey and site visits are summarized here:

- DRC growth has been substantial in the past decade. Thirty-one of the 54 responding programs opened after 1991. Many States are now considering expanding existing DRC's, introducing new programs, or both.
- The primary goal of most DRC's is to provide offenders with access to treatment services. Older DRC's (those that opened before 1992), however, give greater emphasis to providing treatment and services than do newer programs. The secondary goal of most DRC's is to reduce jail or prison crowding.
- Many DRC's operate in distinct phases, in which offenders move from higher to lower levels of control based on their progress in treatment and compliance with supervisory guidelines. Most DRC programs have a five- to six-month duration.
- Although all DRC programs provide intense levels of surveillance, the number and types of required contacts vary greatly (for example, face-to-face contact; telephone contact; and home, office, and other field visits), as does the monitoring of certain behaviors, such as drug use.
- Most DRC's provide a wide array of on-site treatment and services. Colocation of services—siting staff from social service agencies at the DRC—is becoming a common feature, particularly among the newer programs operating in the public sector. Drug abuse treatment is one of the more common services provided by DRC's, but it usually is delivered off-site by other agencies.
- Older DRC's are primarily operated by private vendors, whereas more recently established DRC's are generally operated by public agencies. Thirty-one of the 54 DRC's are public programs; almost three-fourths of the DRC's established since 1991 are public, mostly local programs. Most public DRC's are administered by judicial agencies.
- The average daily cost per offender of DRC's surveyed is \$35.04, but there is much interjurisdictional variation in operating costs.
- The average daily population of DRC's is 85, and the average number of admissions each year is 255. There is a substantial range in DRC size and annual admissions; the biggest program has capacity for over 1,750 offenders.
- DRC programs accept offenders from several referral sources. Older DRC's typically target offenders from the back end of the corrections system (such as early releases from prison or jail), while newer DRC's tend to target offenders from the front end (for example, pretrial release, direct sentence/intermediate sanction, and halfway-back sanctions for probation and parole violators).

-
- DRC's do not generally exclude serious offenders (based on conviction offense, prior offense history, or both) from the initial screening process; however, many programs appear to be selecting nonserious, drug- and alcohol-using offenders who do not require residential treatment.
 - Two-thirds of the responding DRC's require offenders to perform community service, but the level and type of community service performed differs greatly from jurisdiction to jurisdiction.
 - Negative termination rates are high—an average of 50 percent—but vary widely (from 14 percent to 86 percent) among the DRC programs surveyed. Private DRC's are more likely than public ones to terminate enrolled offenders quickly when they are charged with a new crime, fail to participate in treatment, or violate other DRC rules.
 - No systematic experimental (or quasi-experimental) research has been completed to date on DRC's, so administrators are forced to make programmatic decisions (such as the appropriate balance between surveillance and treatment) with incomplete information on important questions such as cost, recidivism reduction, and diversionary impact.

Introduction to This Study

The day reporting center (DRC) is a recent innovation in American corrections that emerged in the mid-1980's as a new form of intermediate sanction. In response to escalating prison and jail populations, the first DRC's in this country became operational in 1986 in Connecticut and Massachusetts. As recently as 1990 only 13 DRC's could be located across the United States.¹ By the end of 1994, however, at least 114 DRC's were operational, in 22 States, while several other State and local jurisdictions were planning to open a DRC in the near future.

This report examines the development and implementation of DRC's in the United States. Using data from two primary sources—results of a nationwide mail survey and case studies based on four indepth DRC site visits—the study draws a portrait of current DRC activities and provides an assessment of the future of day reporting as an intermediate sanction. The report is divided into two volumes. The first volume presents an overview of the development and features of DRC's across the country, along with profiles of the four visited centers. The second volume provides more detailed descriptions of survey results and samples of specific program materials that may be helpful to practitioners, policymakers, and researchers who are considering implementing this promising alternative correctional sanction.

Background and Purpose

In 1989, at the request of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), Abt Associates Inc. (Abt) conducted a preliminary descriptive analysis of existing day reporting programs in the United States.² Very little program documentation or literature on DRC theory was available, a shortcoming that hindered the development of a clear definition of day reporting. Further complicating the picture was the fact that many elements of day reporting resemble other community correctional options, such as halfway houses and intensive supervision programs (ISP's). Despite these limitations, Abt constructed a broad preliminary definition based on the sparse literature on DRC's and other fragmentary information about developing practices in the United States. These criteria were used to distinguish DRC's from other intermediate sanctions:

- Offenders must report on a regular and frequent basis as a condition of release or supervision in order to account for their presence of movements or to participate in programs, services, or activities offered at the center.
- The number of contacts per week must be higher than the level of community supervision that offenders would otherwise have.
- The program must provide or broker services, activities, or treatments that either are not available to non-DRC clients or are available in a more focused and intensive manner than for non-DRC clients.

The 13 DRC's that were identified in 1990 had been open for only a short time (an average of 14 months). The study found considerable diversity among even this small number of programs; although the DRC's fit the working definition, no clearer and more detailed model of practice emerged. At that time, day reporting had not yet developed widely enough and had not stabilized sufficiently to exhibit distinct patterns.

Recognizing that the number of DRC's appeared to have increased rapidly since 1990, NIJ in 1993 asked Abt to conduct a second study, updating the findings from the earlier investigation and identifying key directions that day reporting had taken. The current study thus had three primary purposes: (1) to document the further growth of day reporting since the 1990 study, (2) to identify important characteristics of existing programs, and (3) to determine if a clear model of day reporting is emerging in practice.

Methodology

First, to identify existing programs, researchers contacted several of the DRC's that had been described in the 1990 report. Three pioneering DRC's in Massachusetts and Connecticut have hosted visitors from other jurisdictions interested in starting day reporting programs. Using lists maintained by the three programs, researchers contacted the visitors to learn whether they had indeed established a DRC and if other day reporting programs had been established in



An offender on day reporting meets with his probation officer.

their jurisdictions. The investigators also queried probation and parole officials in States not represented by visitors to the three DRC's about the existence of DRC's in their States. These combined efforts produced a preliminary list of 136 possible day reporting programs.

Next, in early May of 1994, the research team sent a mail survey to these programs. Reminder postcards were sent to those that did not respond quickly; nonrespondents were later telephoned and, if necessary, sent a second copy of the questionnaire. Several agencies responded that they do not consider themselves DRC's, and in some cases programs that had been planned when the preliminary list was compiled were not yet operational or had been canceled by the time the survey was mailed. Thus, the final list included 114

DRC's in 22 States. Fifty-four of these facilities, or about 47 percent, responded to the mail survey. (The mail survey is included in volume 2 of this report.)

In addition, the researchers visited four day reporting programs that were chosen to represent special aspects of DRC's: Connecticut's statewide program has evolved and changed considerably over several years; likewise, the DRC in Hampden County, Massachusetts, represents a program that has grown and evolved over time, but on a local scale; Harris County, Texas, operates a large DRC (recently expanded to over 1,750 program slots) and therefore offers unique insights into the advantages and difficulties of large-scale development; and Maricopa County, Arizona, has had greater success than other jurisdictions in colocating programs and services at its DRC.

Organization

The remainder of this document (volume 1) traces the development of day reporting in the United States, with a detailed look at features of existing programs. First, the following section explains the origin of day reporting, focusing on related programs in England and the conditions in the United States that created a need for such centers here. Then the report briefly describes the characteristics of DRC's in the United States before 1990, when NIJ first conducted a study on what was then a brand-new innovation in the American correctional system. This section is based on survey results published in the 1990 NIJ document *Day Reporting Centers for Criminal Offenders: A Descriptive Analysis of Existing Programs*.³ Next, the report presents an overview of both common and variable features of the DRC's that responded to the 1994 mail survey, along with case studies of the four DRC's that research staff visited. Following this, the report discusses the apparent emergence in practice of a general model of DRC's, but cautions that, given recent indications of a declining emphasis on supervision, day reporting may increasingly come to resemble intensive supervision instead. Finally, the report reviews key issues in the future development of DRC's.

Origins of Day Reporting Centers

The development of American DRC's during the 1980's was sparked by two primary factors: (1) a rising awareness of the use of day centers as an intermediate sanction in Great Britain and (2) growing prison and jail crowding, which prompted American corrections officials to develop structured alternatives to confinement.

The British day centers, established in the 1970's, were the direct antecedents of American DRC's. (Although day treatment programs for deinstitutionalized mental patients and juvenile offenders were scattered across the United States during the 1970's, they did not lead directly to the later emergence and rapid growth of DRC's.) Arguing that imprisonment and individual casework for certain chronic but non-serious offenders were not effective, British probation officials and reformers persuaded Parliament in 1972 to establish four day treatment centers. In doing so, British officials noted that many such offenders were imprisoned not because they posed a substantial risk to the public, but because they lacked basic skills to survive lawfully and were frequently dependent on drugs or alcohol. Concurrently, other such centers developed at the grassroots level to facilitate group work-oriented services. By the early 1980's, more than 80 programs were in place throughout England and Wales. Because of a lack of central planning or standards, the centers varied greatly. No single clear model of day reporting emerged in Great Britain. According to a recent review, the 80 British day centers identified in a 1980 British Home Office survey differed significantly in regard to target population, referral sources, and program content (such as contact levels and treatment availability).⁴ Still with such significant growth, day reporting soon attracted attention from across the ocean.

In 1985 officials in Connecticut's Department of Corrections learned about British day centers during a correctional conference in Canada and decided that the concept could alleviate the State's prison-crowding problem. The State officials worked with the Connecticut Prison Association, a private reform organization, to plan and operate a prototype DRC in Hartford. Concurrently, but independently, Massachusetts justice officials and leaders of the Crime and Justice Foundation, a private criminal justice reform organization,

visited Great Britain to learn more about day treatment centers. Upon their return, a steering committee designed a pilot program, and legislative funding was obtained to operate it at the Hampden County Jail in Springfield.

Although program developers in Connecticut and Massachusetts were certainly influenced by the British programs, the DRC models introduced at both sites were equally a product of ongoing developments in American sentencing and correctional control systems at the Federal, State, and local levels. Specifically, significant changes occurred during the 1980's in seven areas: (1) sentencing policies, (2) sentencing practices, (3) offender supervision, (4) offender control, (5) rates of arrests and prosecutions, (6) public attitude toward crime and criminals, and (7) classification of offenders according to risk and need. These changes combined to cause considerable strain on the criminal justice system and led to an environment open to new ideas in corrections practices.

In the years just before to the development of the first American DRC's, Federal, State, and local officials were introducing mandatory sentencing and presumptive guidelines that, in many jurisdictions, limited judicial discretion and resulted in higher imprisonment rates. At the same time, sentencing practices were changing to adapt to the new strain on prisons and jails. For example, the use of "split" sentences—combining a period of incarceration with a period of subsequent community supervision—increased. By the mid-1980's, one of every five Federal offenders received a split sentence.⁵ Furthermore, more offenders were being placed on probation, and this led to larger, more difficult caseloads as officers with scant resources increasingly had to supervise individuals with serious and risky behavioral problems, such as drug use.

Probation agencies introduced a range of intermediate sanctions to "bridge the gap" between prison and probation, and to rebuild political support for probation by making community-based sanctions significant punishments. Although their names differed—intensive supervision, home confinement, house arrest, electronic monitoring—these programs shared an emphasis on short-term offender surveillance and con-

trol. As these new probation options were implemented, judges often increased the *number* of conditions imposed at sentencing that individual offenders had to obey, and also added new *types* of conditions (such as drug testing, curfews, and mandatory treatment). Violations of many of these conditions were easy to detect (for example, failure to pay restitution, perform community service, or pass a drug-use

test). Not surprisingly, probation and parole violations became one of the main sources of prison admissions during this period. For example, probation and parole violators accounted for two-thirds of the prison admissions in Texas and Oregon in the late 1980's, and in 1988 parole violators alone accounted for roughly half the prison admissions in California.⁶

Intensive Surveillance Programs: An Initial Assessment

In recent years the Federal government, through the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), has promoted the development of control-based strategies and followup evaluations. The results of several recent evaluations suggest that, in the 1980's, the field moved quickly to embrace get-tough, surveillance-oriented intensive supervision programs (ISP's) as a means for reducing recidivism among convicted criminal offenders.⁷ ISP's, usually publicly run, require numerous contacts with offenders, either at the program site, via field visits and phone calls, or through other means; however, recent research suggests that surveillance-oriented programs simply result in higher rates of technical violations with no drop in recidivism.

In 1993 Joan Petersilia and her colleagues at Rand Corporation completed what has been described as the largest randomized field experiment ever conducted in the corrections field, a study that examined 12 probation-enhancement and two prison-diversion ISP programs. The authors concluded that, overall, "ISP offenders did not have lower recidivism—in terms of arrests, technical violations, or convictions—than offenders on routine supervision at any one of the sites."⁸ About one-third of both the experimental and control groups (37 percent and 33 percent, respectively) had been rearrested at the end of the study's one-year followup period. Also, the two groups demonstrated no differences in conviction rates (approximately 21 percent were reconvicted within one year). Notably, though, 65 percent of ISP offenders had committed a technical violation of their programs' regulations, compared with 38 percent of the offenders in control groups. This difference most likely occurred because ISP's typically have more, and stricter, regulations; hence, there are more opportunities for offenders to commit technical violations. When ISP's punish these violations by sending the guilty offenders back to confinement, they actually end up exacerbating the very problem they were established to relieve—prison and jail crowding.

Further analyses by Petersilia and Susan Turner concerning the correlates of success and failure among offenders under intensive supervision have revealed that offenders who also received treatment (such as, for substance abuse, individual or family problems, or employment problems) while in an ISP had better outcomes than those who did not receive treatment.⁹ Since the offenders were randomly selected for ISP but not for treatment and services, however, the differences in progress may stem from factors other than treatment (such as level of offender motivation). Similar findings were also reported in an earlier NIJ-sponsored evaluation of the Massachusetts ISP program.¹⁰ Taken together, the evaluation research conducted to date suggests that ISP's should provide both surveillance and treatment if reduction of recidivism is the goal. Much less is known about the cost effectiveness and diversionary impact of ISP's. Again, however, research conducted to date does not suggest that the programs have significantly reduced costs or diverted many offenders from prison or jail.

Despite these largely negative evaluation findings, intermediate sanctions—and ISP's in particular—are well entrenched in all levels of government. It appears that a new generation of ISP's is emerging, as evidenced by innovative programs—such as day reporting centers—that seek more balanced provision of control and treatment; however, more recently established day reporting programs appear not to be emphasizing treatment and other services as much as the older ones did. It remains to be seen whether DRC's will become distinct among nonresidential community programs in their emphasis of both control and treatment, or whether DRC's and ISP's will move toward a common range in both regards and thus merge into an indistinguishable cluster of programs.



Photo by Porter Gifford

A probationer works on a computerized literacy training program at a Harris County (Texas) day reporting center.

The need for new forms of correctional sanctions also arose under the “war on drugs” during the 1980’s, as arrests and prosecutions for drug offenses increased dramatically. Concurrently, the public began demanding harsher punishment of violent offenders. As a result, the percentage of convicted violent offenders and drug and alcohol offenders sentenced to incarceration increased dramatically during the last decade. In addition, as mental health care was deinstitutionalized during the 1970’s and early 1980’s, former patients in mental hospitals were placed in community settings. As funding for social and support services declined in the 1980’s, a growing proportion of these formerly hospitalized patients ran afoul of the law and ended up in jails and prisons.

Finally, community corrections practice also changed as probation administrators sought new ways to allocate resources amid increasing caseloads. One major development was the National Institute of Corrections’ Model Classification Project (MCP). Under the MCP, more than 40 jurisdictions used objective instruments to classify probationers or parolees according to the offenders’ levels of risk and need. In this structure, high-risk offenders were to be supervised

more intensively than low-risk offenders, and high-need offenders were to get intensive service delivery. Thus, the MCP intended to provide different levels of supervision and services for each differentiated caseload. Later evaluations found that those jurisdictions that enacted the MCP broadly implemented risk assessment and its resulting surveillance practices but generally did not fully implement case management components of the model, which were intended to ensure offenders’ access to needed treatment and services. It appeared that the field moved quickly to embrace get-tough, surveillance-oriented intensive supervision programs (ISP’s) as a recidivism-reduction strategy.

DRC’s subsequently developed, then, in response to expanding recognition of day reporting programs in Great Britain, growing strains on the American correctional system, and increasing experimentation in the United States with intermediate sanctions. It appears that DRC’s emerged in part to provide the balanced mix of surveillance and service that the MCP originally promoted for high-risk and high-need cases. The following sections describe in more detail the DRC’s that grew out of these conditions of the 1980’s.

Day Reporting in the United States Before 1990

According to results of NIJ's initial investigation into American DRC's established before 1990, the few programs identified differed considerably in virtually all aspects, including goals, eligibility criteria, and service elements.¹¹ Many of the programs shared a few distinct characteristics, but for the most part the DRC's' features blurred with those of other intermediate sanctions. For instance, some DRC's were providing treatment regimens comparable to that of halfway houses while others, using community storefront locations to provide correctional and social services, resembled neighborhood-based probation. As mentioned earlier, Massachusetts and Connecticut took the lead in implementing DRC's in this country. By 1990 four of the 13 existing programs were in Massachusetts, and two were in Connecticut (with six additional ones being planned there).

In keeping with the broad definition of day reporting, the 13 DRC's stressed both surveillance of and services for offenders. Generally, the DRC practitioners contacted in the study said that their programs had one or more of the following purposes: to enhance probation or parole supervision; to treat offenders' problems; and to reduce prison or jail crowding. The latter was the most prevalent among the DRC's, with 11 of the programs claiming it as a goal.

Private agencies operated about three-fourths of the 13 programs, usually under contract with correctional or governmental agencies. In all cases DRC's required a greater number of contacts with eligible offenders than would be required under the most intensive form of supervision otherwise available. Most DRC's existed in jurisdictions without ISP's or served populations for whom ISP's were not available. Additionally, most programs were linked in some way to a residential facility—either as a form of postresidential supervision for graduates of residential treatment or by sharing space and staff with established residential programs. This linkage helped facilitate the provision of many services—primarily individual and group counseling, job training and placement, and educational programs. The 13 programs targeted offenders at different steps of the criminal justice system—pretrial, probation, early release from prison, and as an alternative to early release (offenders denied early release could enter DRC's near the end of their sentences).

By 1990, then, a limited number of day reporting programs had appeared in the United States. Although these DRC's had few models on which to base their programs, the following section shows how they set precedents and provided guidance for future programs, which rapidly multiplied as day reporting quickly grew from birth into infancy.

Day Reporting in the United States Since 1990

The 114 DRC's located in the United States in 1994 cover 22 States. Figure 1 shows the location of DRC's that were identified as well as those that responded to the mail survey. Many of the programs are concentrated in just a few States, including Connecticut, Texas, Wisconsin, Oregon, and Kansas. This section first presents general results of the mail survey, highlighting common features among DRC's and reviewing other, more variable characteristics. Examples used in this section are based on the four site visits that researchers conducted in 1994. Detailed case studies of these programs appear after the survey results.

Common Features of Day Reporting

Based on survey responses and on-site interviews with DRC staff, a broad-based model of day reporting appears to be surfacing in the corrections field. Although the DRC movement still is in its infancy, most DRC's share similar, if general, goals and practices. Aiming primarily to provide access to treatment and reduce prison crowding, DRC's typically offer numerous services to address participants' problems and strictly supervise offenders who otherwise would be confined.

Goals

Survey responses indicated that the primary goal of most DRC's is to provide offenders with access to treatment or services (see table 1). All of the 54 responding DRC's considered this objective an "important" or "very important" goal (six respondents and 48 respondents, respectively). The secondary goal of DRC's is to reduce prison crowding, one of the main factors that contributed to the initial development of DRC's in the United States. All programs viewed these two purposes as at least somewhat important. The provision of surveillance—a major feature of DRC's in practice—appears to be a significant aim of most programs but generally is not their primary ambition.

Most programs have multiple goals. For instance, the Maricopa County DRC in Arizona has six written goals, which constitute a broad mission statement focused on reducing the number of incarcerated offenders, strictly supervising them, and reintegrating them back into society. According to the most recent program description of this DRC,

this program provides for the protection of the community, with strict community supervision and

Table 1: Respondents' Ratings of DRC Goals

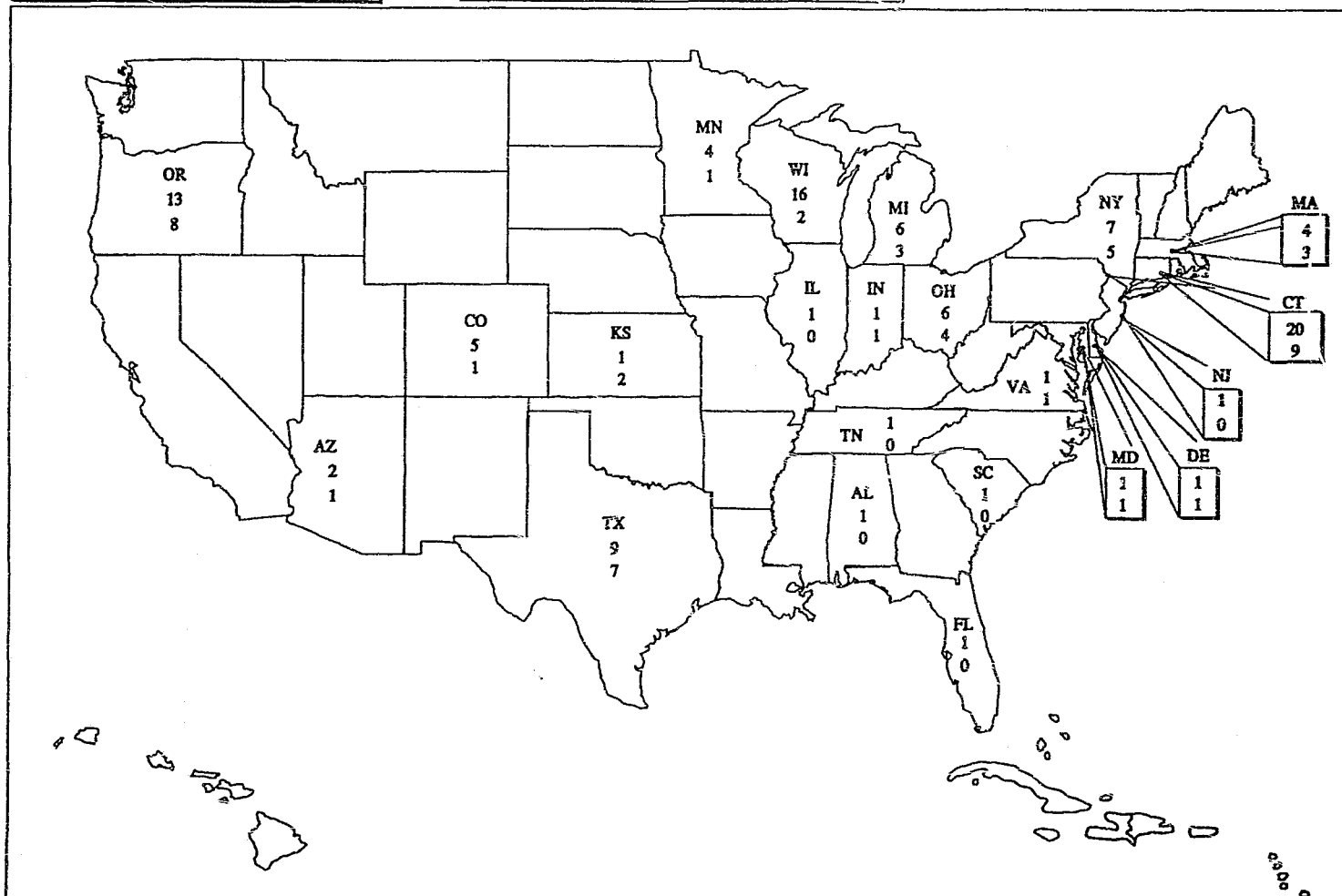
Goal	Not at all Important 1	Somewhat Important 2	Important 3	Very Important 4	Not Applicable 0	Average Rating
Access to treatment or services	0	0	6	48	0	3.9
Reduce jail or prison crowding	0	4	10	39	0	3.7
Build political support	3	5	16	27	2	3.2
Provide surveillance/protect the public	1	7	24	1	21	3.2
Punish offenders	12	23	10	2	7	1.8

Figure 1

Distribution of Day Reporting Centers in the United States by State

Total Number of Day Reporting Centers	114
Total Number Reporting	54

Top Figure = Total Number of DRC's in State
Bottom Figure = Number of Responses from State



structured reintegration services. The Day Reporting Center staff is responsible for the enforcement of terms of probation and the development of a supervision strategy which is designed to facilitate high-need offenders in areas where positive changes and/or growth are necessary to more effectively re-enter society.¹²

In programs such as this one, "access to treatment services" appears in fact to function more as a means to an end rather than as an ultimate program goal.

Some DRC's find that they have to or want to adjust their primary program goals over time. The Hampden County DRC in Massachusetts, the first DRC in this country, initially focused on short-term reduction of jail crowding, but the program's primary goal now is to facilitate structured reintegration of offenders into their communities.

Surveillance

Although most intermediate sanctions provide rigorous supervision, the intensity of DRC surveillance practices is unique. While some programs are more restrictive than

others, all DRC's have strict requirements for monitoring the whereabouts and behavior of participating offenders. Most DRC surveillance policies include graduated phases of supervision, high frequency of on-site contact, close monitoring of off-site whereabouts, and vigilant surveillance of certain behaviors, such as drug use.

Phases. A majority of DRC's have developed multiple supervision phases that gradually reduce the frequency or intensity of surveillance for offenders who demonstrate positive adjustment to living in the community. Slightly more than half of the DRC's responding to the mail survey reported two or more phases. Of those with multiple phases, 13 percent had two phases, 71 percent had three phases, and 16 percent had four phases. Programs with one phase usually lasted about five months, while those with multiple phases generally lasted about six months.

The use of phases can serve as an incentive for offenders by rewarding the absence of disciplinary infractions with increasingly relaxed surveillance. Increased freedom in later phases also may function as an element of the treatment regimen—for example, by providing an opportunity for offenders to practice skills learned in earlier phases. In Maricopa County's three-phase system, the first phase is

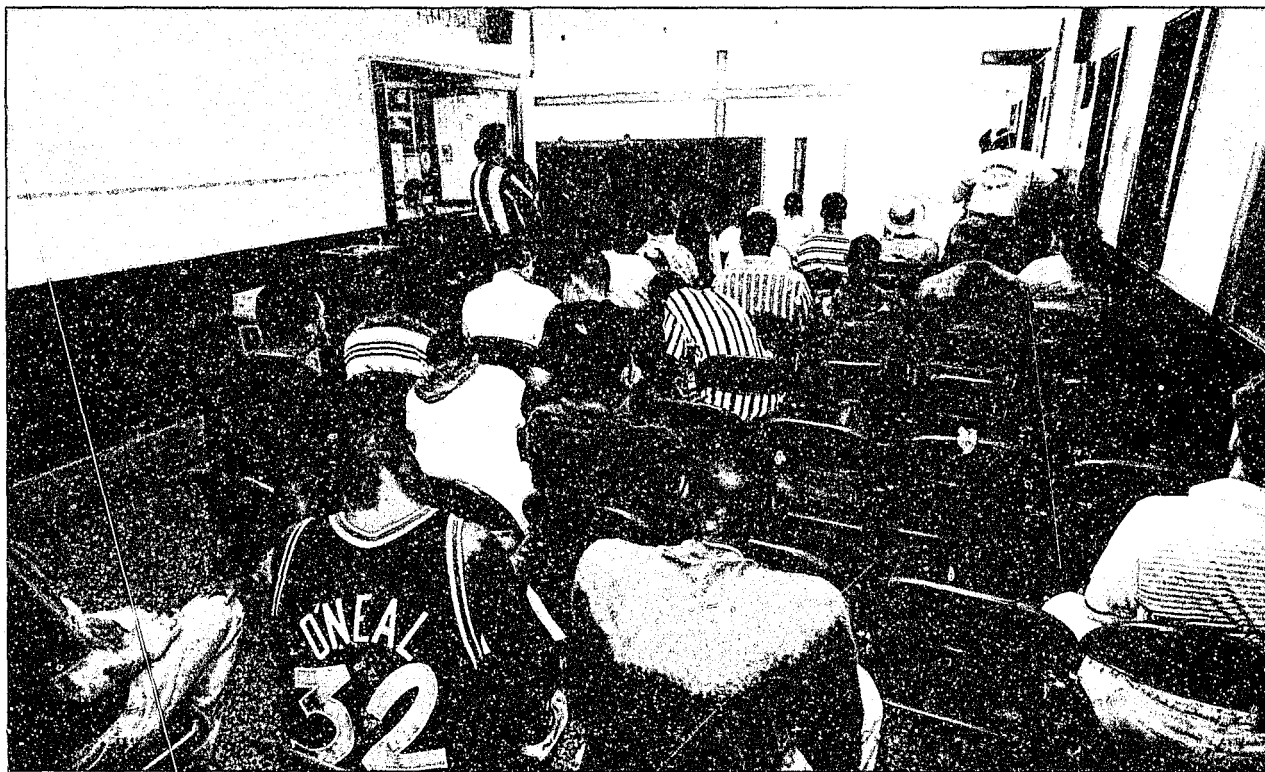


Photo by Porter Gifford

Offenders at a day reporting center wait to see their probation officers.

marked by intense supervision (contact at least five times per week), whereas the second and longest phase has a stronger emphasis on treating clients' problems and needs. Staff reduce or subsequently increase contact requirements based on offenders' progress. The final phase functions as a transition period into regular probation.

On-site contacts. DRC's require notably high levels of contact between offenders and program staff. Almost 95 percent of respondents to the mail survey reported that their DRC provides more frequent contacts than the most intensive form of probation or parole supervision otherwise available to their offender population. Approximately two-thirds of the DRC's require offenders to appear in person at the DRC five times per week during the most intensive phase, while an additional 13 percent require five or more in-person office contacts. On average, offenders must be on the premises of the DRC's 18 hours per week during the most intensive phase.

Off-site surveillance. About two-thirds of DRC's also closely monitor offenders' whereabouts in the community, night and day, through field contacts (at the offender's place of work, for example) and telephone contacts. In these DRC's, offenders are under surveillance for an average of 67 hours per week during the most intensive program phase.

Another noteworthy DRC pattern is the frequent use of daily itineraries to document offenders' whereabouts and to help staff to monitor their location. Practices vary among programs, but in general offenders complete an itinerary each day shortly after their arrival at the DRC, stating where they will be and how they may be located at all times. In some programs, offenders fill out itineraries several days in advance and update them as required each morning. Additionally, the use of curfews is common among DRC's, with about half mandating this restriction. The practice is much more common among public programs than among private ones. Almost all of the DRC's that set curfews enforce them through telephone calls. Less common monitoring strategies include electronic devices and home visits. On average, DRC's with curfews make eight contacts per week to monitor compliance.

Other supervision. In addition to closely supervising offenders' whereabouts, most DRC's monitor other aspects of their behavior. For instance, 89 percent of the DRC's reported that they test offenders for drug use. According to the survey, offenders are tested for drug use an average of

Supervision in the Hampden County DRC

Like most day reporting programs, the Hampden County DRC in Springfield, Massachusetts, enforces highly restrictive supervisory requirements. In fact, the DRC's required contact levels are significantly higher than those mandated for offenders under maximum supervision by probation officers. Offenders in the most intensive phase of the Hampden County DRC must meet with their DRC officer on a daily basis in the office and an additional four to five times per week in the field (a home visit or employment check, for example). By comparison, offenders under maximum probation supervision in Hampden County must meet with their probation officers in person only a minimum of twice per month, along with an additional two "collateral" contacts, such as a telephone call or employment verification.

Offenders in the Hampden County DRC move through four program phases, each lasting approximately one month, in which controls are relaxed and privileges increased as offenders progress. After a short residential orientation period, offenders move into the most intensive phase of community supervision. In addition to the many mandated contacts described above, offenders must abide by a daily 9 p.m. curfew, take up to two drug-use tests and four to five Breathalyzer tests each week, perform 16 to 20 hours of community service each week if unemployed, and four to six hours if employed, and participate in weekly GED (general equivalency diploma) and "Family Program" classes. These requirements are gradually lessened in the third and fourth phases. In all phases, offenders must complete a daily itinerary.

The DRC staff monitor offenders' whereabouts in the community by combining electronic monitoring with "spot checks." A radio-frequency continuous surveillance system allows DRC staff to maintain 24-hour contact with offenders. In addition, officers use a mobile unit to conduct "drive-bys" and site inspections at offenders' residences and places of employment.

five times per month during the most intensive DRC phase, but the number of tests varies considerably across programs. In one-third of the DRC's, offenders are tested once or twice a month, while in 13 percent of the DRC's offenders are tested 12 or more times per month. Newer and public DRC's have a slightly higher rate of drug testing than do older and private programs. Ninety-three percent of public DRC's mandate drug-use testing, compared with 87 percent of private programs. Likewise, 94 percent of DRC's that had opened in the preceding 13 months reported conducting drug tests, compared with 88 percent of those that had operated for more than 36 months.

Offenders in many DRC's also are expected to participate in activities that will help reintegrate them into society. In Connecticut, for example, day reporting clients are required to work or study full-time or to cooperate with program staff in obtaining employment. They also must participate in substance abuse counseling as requested by program staff.

Services

A major, but not surprising, finding of this investigation is that DRC's provide many services to offenders. Programs vary somewhat in regard to which services they offer, where they are provided, and how they are funded, but DRC's distinguish themselves from other intermediate sanctions simply in their provision of such a wide array of treatment opportunities for offenders.

Types of services. Survey respondents were asked to indicate which of 10 common services they offer at their DRC's and whether the services are provided on- or off-site. The responses are broken down in table 2. (The study did not obtain data on the number of participants in each service.) More than 90 percent of the DRC's provide seven of the 10 services listed on the survey, including job-seeking skills, group counseling, drug abuse education, job placement services, education, drug treatment, and life skills training. A large majority of DRC's also provide individual counseling, transitional housing, and recreational and leisure-time activity. Notably, privately operated DRC's appear to provide significantly more services than do public ones: nearly all private DRC's offer nine or more services, compared with just half of the public DRC's. Also, 82 percent of the DRC's that had been operating more than 40 months reported that they provide nine or more services, compared with 67 percent of those operating 13 to 40 months and 50 percent of those operating 12 months or less.

The day reporting programs in Harris County (Houston), Texas, offer many programs and services at their offices, including substance abuse evaluations and assessments, an education lab, support group meetings, individual and group therapy, vocational intervention programs, life skills training, intensive mental health case management, and health and personal growth education. Similarly, the DRC in Maricopa County, Arizona, which emphasizes treatment rather than control during its longest phase, makes an initial

Table 2: Types and Locations of Services Offered by DRC's

Type of Service	Percent of DRC's that Provide Services	Location of Service		
		At DRC	Elsewhere	Both
Job-seeking skills (N = 53)	98 %	79 %	13 %	8 %
Drug abuse education (N = 52)	96	69	17	14
Group counseling (N = 51)	96	80	12	8
Job placement services (N = 50)	93	62	34	4
Education (N = 49)	93	55	31	14
Drug treatment (N = 48)	92	31	54	15
Life skills training (N = 49)	91	92	6	2
Individual counseling (N = 47)	89	72	17	11
Transitional housing (N = 32)	63	13	81	6
Recreation and leisure (N = 31)	60	74	16	10



A counselor at a day reporting center conducts a group session.

assessment of offenders' needs and then provides the appropriate services, including job readiness and placement programs, educational and literacy assistance, support groups, and drug and other counseling.

Location of services. Eight of the 10 commonly provided services listed in table 2 are delivered primarily on the premises of the DRC's. In Harris County, for example, day reporting is managed by the Community Supervision and Corrections Department, which operates both residential and nonresidential correctional programs for the over 35,000 offenders under its jurisdiction. Many of the services provided in these DRC's also are offered in the department's other programs, enabling offenders to move between different correctional levels while continuing their progress in services or treatments. For instance, the same life skills course and educational labs are provided in community corrections facilities, correctional boot camps, residential drug treatment facilities, and DRC's.

Some programs offer treatment on-site to offenders by colocating with staff from other agencies. One-third of the DRC's reported that other agencies maintain offices or staff on their premises and offer their services to the offenders.

Colocation is significantly more prevalent among public DRC's than it is among private ones. In Maricopa County DRC administrators developed a unique "bartering" system in which the county provides rent-free space at the DRC for treatment programs and agencies in exchange for their providing DRC offenders with services such as job readiness, substance abuse counseling, life skills counseling, literacy education services, behavioral health counseling, and self-help support groups. The most recent Maricopa County DRC program description explains this funding strategy:

The most efficient and cost-effective means to offer these [treatment] services is through the use of private, nonprofit vendors. In order to attract these agencies, space will be provided at the Day Reporting Center to conduct group and individual counseling services. Providers will be allowed to offer these services to non-probation clients as well. In return, they will be required to offer Day Reporting Center clients priority to service access; deferred payments for services; reduced payments for services; and scholarships for the most needy clients.¹³

The extent of colocation with other service providers depends on the capacity of the agency running the program and the physical configuration of the center. Although the Hampden County programs primarily use their own staff to provide offender services, selected providers sometimes supply services not offered by the DRC's, such as AIDS support groups and Alcoholics Anonymous meetings. (For a more in-depth examination of this practice, see "Key Issues for the Future" later in this report.)

Notably, drug treatment, one of the most needed services among offenders, is not offered on the premises of about half of the DRC's (although about two-thirds at least offer drug abuse education on-site). Nonviolent substance abusers frequently make up the primary population group at DRC's, so program staff usually help clients gain access to proper treatment. Also, supervisory policies usually include drug testing. In the Hampden County DRC, possession and possession with intent to sell drugs are the two main conviction offenses among the DRC population. This program, which provides drug treatment on-site, assumes that offenders who become drug- and alcohol-free will have a lower risk of recidivism.

Funding for services. DRC's usually pay for eight of the 10 most common categories of services (see table 3). If DRC's cannot fund services themselves, other agencies usually finance the treatment provided. Seldom do offenders pay for services themselves.¹⁴ Because paying for treatment

services can be difficult, some DRC's have come up with creative methods for funding their treatment services, including colocation with other agencies.

Accessibility of programs. All surveyed DRC's report being open at least five days per week. Thirty-two percent are accessible six days a week, and 15 percent operate seven days a week. On average, DRC's are open 10 hours per day on weekdays. Programs that operate on weekends are open an average of six additional hours. Overall, DRC's are open an average of 54 hours per week.

Variable Features of Day Reporting

While DRC's share the basic features described above, they differ considerably in other ways, including type of administration, staffing, operating costs, criteria for eligibility, size of enrollment, restitution and community service requirements, and rates of program completion.

Administration: Public or Private?

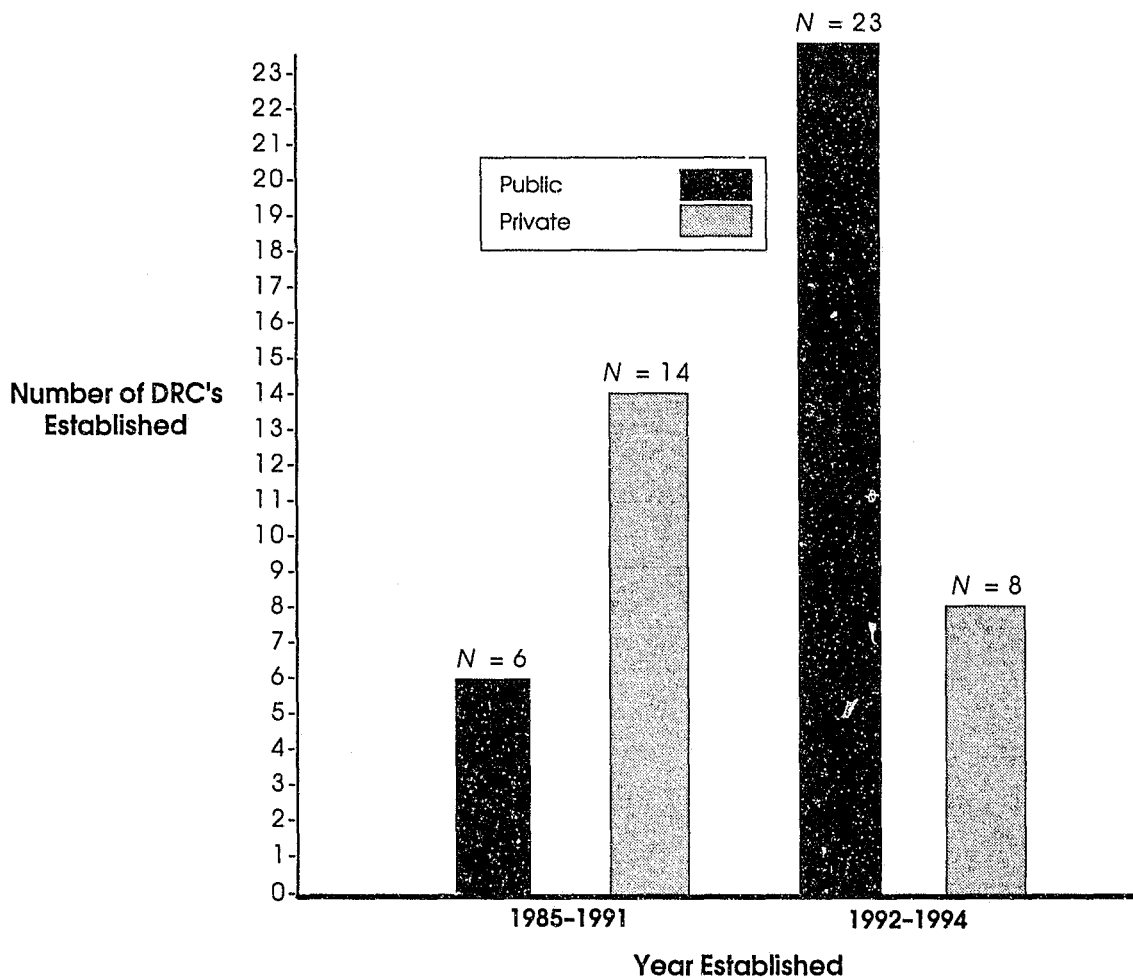
Whereas most programs identified before 1990 were privately operated, about two-thirds of responding DRC's in the current study are public programs. Figure 2 illustrates this distinct pattern in the development of day reporting. Also, figure 3 indicates, in recent years there has been a

Table 3: Sources of Payment for Services at DRC's

Service	Percentage Of DRC's In Which:		
	DRC Pays	Another Agency Pays	Offender Pays (Fees)
Job-seeking skills (N = 53)	74 %	17 %	4 %
Drug abuse education (N = 52)	73	23	12
Group counseling (N = 51)	73	20	8
Job placement services (N = 50)	58	30	8
Education (N = 49)	53	43	10
Drug treatment (N = 48)	50	46	25
Life skills training (N = 49)	74	12	2
Individual counseling (N = 47)	72	19	13
Transitional housing (N = 32)	28	72	6
Recreation and leisure (N = 31)	77	10	16

Note: DRC's may have more than one payment source.

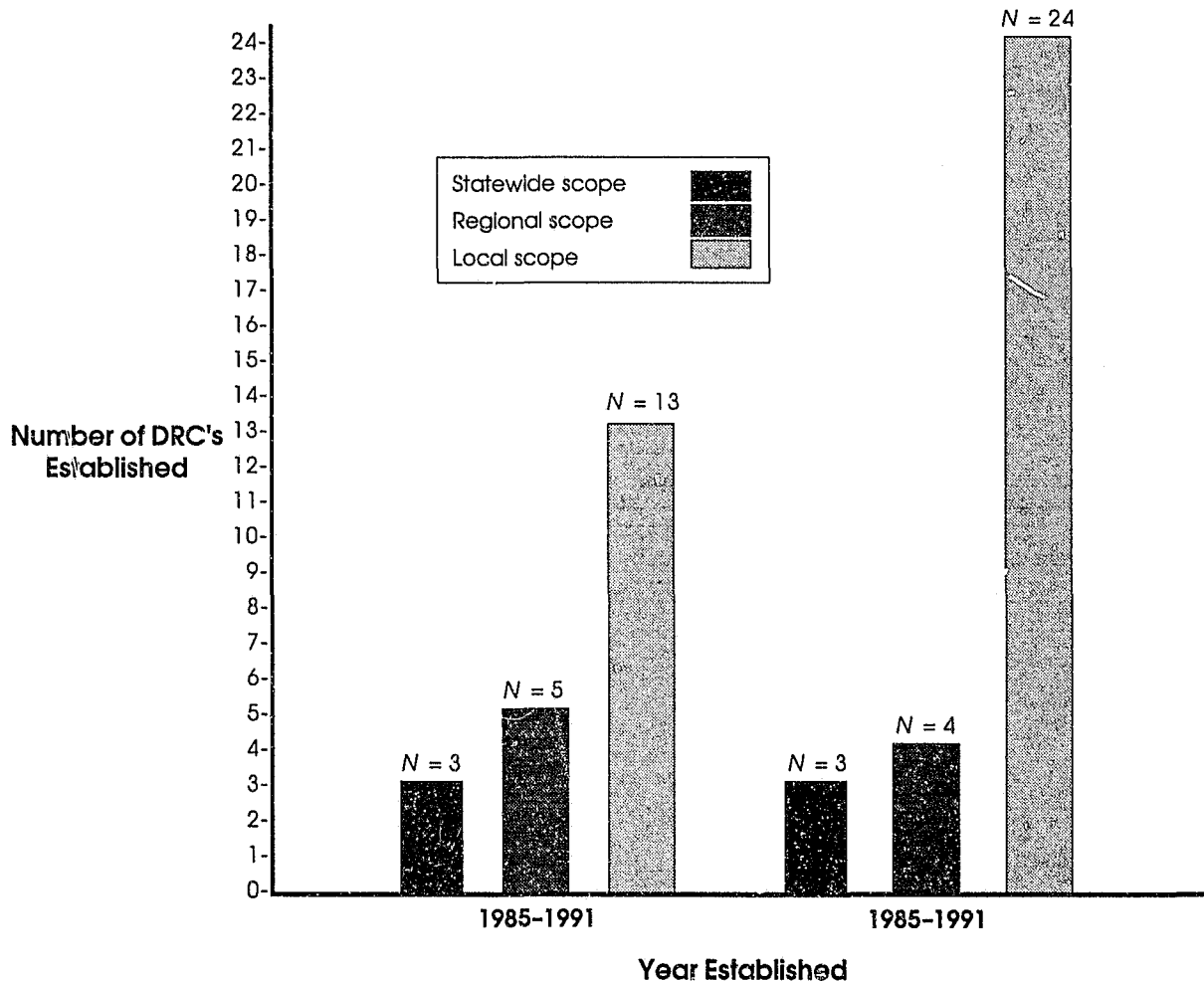
Figure 2: Ownership Status of Older Versus Newer DRC's



significant jump in the number of DRC's implemented by local agencies, as compared with new statewide and regional programs. Plausible explanations for the shift from private to public DRC management might include a lack of available private providers, subcontracting restrictions in existing union contracts, and legal limitations on jurisdictions' authority to "privatize" managerial services. Or, perhaps, corrections administrators increasingly view day reporting as an important component of a comprehensive community reintegration strategy that requires their direct managerial and operational control.

Two-thirds of the public programs are located within the judicial branch; about three-fourths are operated by a city or county government. Nearly all of the private DRC's are operated by nonprofit organizations, with two-thirds operating at a local level. The many contracts that the 23 private DRC's have with governmental agencies are divided fairly evenly between executive and judicial agencies. For instance, the Connecticut Department of Corrections contracts with private vendors to operate 17 day reporting programs across the state. One DRC reported contracts with both executive and judicial agencies.

Figure 3: Geographic Scope of Older Versus Newer DRC's



Staffing

Size. On average, DRC's provide one line staff for every seven offenders. The distribution of line staff varies considerably, however, with the middle 50 percent of DRC's managing from six to 17 offenders per line staff. Twenty percent of DRC's have one line staff for every five or fewer offenders. Public DRC's tend to have larger staffs than do private programs: 38 percent of the public programs—but only 19 percent of the private ones—provide one or more line staff for every six offenders.

Training. Nearly 90 percent of DRC's train line staff for an average of 58 hours during the first year of employment. Forty hours of training, the most common amount during the first year of employment, is provided by 23 of the 47 DRC's. Forty-two DRC's provide training for line staff during second and subsequent years of employment, averaging 30 hours of training per year.

Staff turnover. Staff turnover rates vary considerably, depending in part on the program's age and whether it is privately or publicly operated. Public DRC's that have

operated for 12 or more months generally have lower line staff turnover rates than do comparable private DRC's: more than 50 percent of the public DRC's have turnover rates of 9 percent or less, compared with only 15 percent of the private DRC's. Likewise, 21 percent of the public DRC's have turnover rates of 30 percent or higher, compared with 55 percent of the private DRC's. DRC's in operation for more than 40 months generally experience higher turnover rates than those that have operated for less time. Public programs (on the whole) are newer than private programs, and turnover rates appear to increase in older programs. In

Table 4: Average Daily Cost Per Offender (N = 33)

Average Daily Cost per Offender	Number of DRC's	Percentage of Reporting DRC's
Less than \$20	13	39 %
\$20 to \$39	11	33
\$40 or more	9	27

Note: Based on DRC's in operation at least 12 months on May 8, 1994. Percentages do not total 100 because of rounding.

addition, it is likely that pay scales are lower in private programs, a factor that may also contribute to higher turnover rates.

Only a few programs—about 11 percent of the DRC's—have experienced high staff turnover (such that half or more of the line staff left their positions during the year immediately preceding the mail survey). At the other extreme, one-fourth of DRC's reported no turnover in line staff during the preceding year.

Operating Costs

This study examined cost data only for the 33 DRC's that had been operating for at least one year at the time of the mail survey. Daily costs of operation were calculated based on total operating costs, including employee fringe benefits and retirement outlays, for each DRC's most recently completed fiscal year (see table 4).¹⁵

The average daily cost per offender is \$35.04. Average daily costs per offender vary widely: four programs cost less than \$10 per day per offender, and two cost more than \$100 per day per offender. The average daily costs per offender for

the middle 50 percent of DRC's ranges from \$16.78 to \$38.83.

Public DRC's generally have lower daily operating costs than do private DRC's. Fifty-four percent of the public DRC's have operating costs of \$20 per day per offender or less, compared with 30 percent of the private DRC's. As would be expected, DRC's that provide few services cost less than those that provide many. Likewise, the cost of operating a DRC grows with increasingly stringent surveillance practices. Day reporting appears to be less expensive than imprisonment, but often more expensive than other community sanctions. In Maricopa County, for example, DRC officials estimate that the average daily cost of placement in a DRC is \$16, more than the cost of the ISP, but substantially less than that of residential treatment, work release, or total confinement.

Size of Enrollment

The 54 responding DRC's enroll an average of 85 offenders at any one time. At the time of the survey, half of the DRC's were serving 45 or fewer offenders. The middle 50 percent of DRC's have enrollment sizes ranging from 14 to 78 offenders. Five DRC's reported handling 300 or more offenders. The two day reporting programs in Harris County, Texas, can serve a combined total of around 2,000 offenders on any one day, making them the largest programs identified by this study.

DRC's operating for at least one year at the time of the survey averaged 255 admissions during the year. Half of these DRC's admitted 233 or fewer offenders, and about one-fourth admitted fewer than 100. Only about 9 percent of

Table 5: Legal Status of Offenders in DRC's

Legal Status	Percentage of DRC's that Admit Such Offenders
Probation	87 %
Probation or parole violators	73
Parole from prison	42
Jail (pretrial release)	37
Jail sentence (early release)	25
Prison furloughs/administrative release	20
Residential programs	12
Prison work release	6

Table 6: Distribution of Offenders Entering DRC's from Prison, Jail, and Community

Source of Clients	Type of DRC		Age of DRC		
	Public	Private	More than 40 Month	14 to 40 Months	13 Months or Less
Prison	13 %	16 %	25 %	9 %	11 %
Jail	5	29	33	10	5
Community*	77	54	42	80	77

Note: Percentages do not total to 100 because they are based on facility averages, not individual offender counts.

*Community includes probation, parole violation, and residential programs.

the DRC's admitted more than 500 offenders during the year. Generally, public and recently established DRC's have smaller enrollment sizes and fewer admissions than do private and older programs.

Criteria for Eligibility

In recruiting or accepting an offender to its program, a DRC usually gives consideration to the individual's legal status and type of offense. In addition, some programs target offenders with special needs, such as women with children or individuals with mental illness.

Legal status. Offenders in most DRC's come from more than one area of the correctional spectrum; seldom do offenders admitted to a DRC come from a single source. As the percentages in table 5 indicate, individuals sentenced to probation and violators of probation or parole represent by far the most frequently admitted offenders among DRC's. Few programs accept prisoners on furloughs or work release from prison or jail.

Programs' sources of participants depend in part on their type of administration and age. For example, when administrative control of Connecticut's day reporting programs—called alternative incarceration centers, or AIC's—originally rested with the Department of Corrections (DOC), the AIC's primarily accepted offenders released early from prison on supervised home release, a form of furlough. After 1990, when control of the AIC's was transferred from the DOC to the judicial department, AIC's began accepting more pretrial defendants who were denied release on recognizance and who could not post cash bail.

According to the survey results, over three-fourths of public DRC's recruit offenders from community sources, whereas

just over half of private DRC's recruit such offenders (see table 6). On the whole, older and private DRC's are more likely to recruit offenders from jail or prison, whereas newer and public DRC's tend to recruit from community sources. Most DRC's that have been in operation 40 months or less target offenders from community sources, compared with less than half of programs open for more than 40 months. For example, in Maricopa County, Arizona, which has one of the older DRC's surveyed, about half of all offenders in the DRC are referred directly from jail, while the others typically move from work furlough status to DRC status.

Recruiting confined offenders is the best way to reduce jail and prison crowding, because each offender admitted to the DRC would have otherwise been imprisoned. It is uncertain whether those accepted from other decision points in the criminal justice process would have been confined otherwise. Sophisticated eligibility criteria and selection processes can improve the chances of recruiting confinement-bound offenders, but some degree of "net widening" is probable if DRC clients are drawn from nonconfinement sources.

Type of offense. Only a few DRC's screen from admission offenders whose current charges or prior offenses entail serious crimes, such as those against persons or involving weapons. As the breakdown in table 7 indicates, many programs at least will consider persons currently charged with or convicted for arson, sex offenses or other violent crimes, and use of weapons or firearms. No program excludes individuals charged with drug sale or possession.

Usually, however, DRC screening involves more than an assessment of an offender's current charges and prior offense history. All offenders who are eligible do not necessarily gain admission to a DRC. Before being admit-

Table 7: DRC Eligibility of Offenders Charged With or Convicted of Various Types of Crimes

Offense Category	Percentage of DRC's That Accept This Category for Admission Screening
Arson (current crime)	70 %
Sex offense (current crime)	78
Other violent offense (current crime)	78
Weapons/firearms (current crime)	85
Violent offense (past crime)	87
Weapons/firearms (past crime)	96
Drug sale (current crime)	100
Drug possession (current crime)	100

Specialized Caseloads

Because day reporting provides an abundant service menu and flexible surveillance options, it can easily be tailored to meet the particular needs of offenders. Some programs design their requirements and services to be appropriate for many types of offenders, while others focus solely on one specialized caseload.

The Super Intensive Probation Program (SIPP) in Houston, Texas, with a combined capacity of 1,750 offenders, has developed several specialized caseloads. For mentally ill or mentally retarded offenders, program staff place less emphasis on enforcement and more on crisis intervention and patience. They ensure that offenders take prescribed medications, and they make frequent referrals to other services. In monitoring stalkers, the SIPP's mandate more contacts and more intensive and lengthy curfew requirements. Graduates of correctional boot camps attend weekly group meetings and perform community service together. The SIPP's also service specialized caseloads of sex offenders, graduates of institutional drug treatment programs, probationers at alternative campuses, such as schools, and parolees who also are on probation.

The Community Support Program in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, works with only one specialized caseload. The program targets mentally ill individuals at risk for criminal activity and those who already are in the city's courts and jails. For the latter group, the program serves as a day reporting center.¹⁶ The program's primary objectives are to keep persons with mental illnesses out of the local jails and hospitals and to help them live independently. Offenders must report to the clinic daily, where they take their medication and receive treatment and other services, such as money management and housing assistance. Clients come from several sources, including probation, parole, pretrial detention, and direct sentence. The Community Support Program can serve about 250 clients at one time.

If day reporting continues to grow at a rapid pace, programs may increasingly carve out service niches by catering to such specialized caseloads of offenders. For instance, techniques to ensure daily reporting among mentally ill offenders could be used to monitor offenders with noncontagious tuberculosis, who also must frequently take medications. Private organizations in particular may find it practical—and profitable—to tailor their programs to particular types of offenders.

Because alcohol- and drug-dependent offenders make up such a large percentage of the day reporting population, they may represent a typical caseload more than they do a specialized one. Nevertheless, practitioners and others have suggested that day reporting may be particularly suitable for such offenders.¹⁷ DRC's may act as a form of aftercare for shortened residential treatment programs or as an enhanced form of outpatient treatment. Some practitioners have suggested that DRC's can be developed relatively quickly and at less cost than residential drug treatment programs.



Photo by Porter Gifford

Offenders on day reporting clear brush from city-owned property.

ted to the DRC in Hampden County, sentenced offenders must progress through a series of steps, including initial identification, review of general eligibility, and an assessment of treatment needs and risk to the community, as well as a home visit by DRC security staff.

Race and gender. Although any assessment of possible race and gender bias is beyond the scope of this survey, data on race and gender of offenders were collected. On average, 43 percent of the offender population in responding DRC's are white, 36 percent are black, 17 percent are Hispanic, and one percent are American Indian. Fifty-three percent of offenders in publicly owned DRC's are white, compared with 30 percent in private DRC's. Eighty-one percent of participants are male. Six programs have only males in their population, and two admit only females. The percentage of females is slightly higher in private than in public DRC's (22 percent versus 16 percent).

Special needs. Some DRC's are designed to provide services for offenders with special needs. For example, 42 percent are designed to serve mentally ill offenders, 17 percent serve offenders with tuberculosis, and 26 percent serve offenders with other infectious diseases. The offenders most often

served (by 94 percent of DRC's) are those with alcohol and other drug abuse problems.

Community Service and Restitution

Community service has emerged as a fairly common requirement among DRC's, both private and public, older and newer. Offenders in two-thirds of DRC's must perform community service at some point during the program. Specific community service requirements, however, vary widely, primarily because of local differences in acceptance of community service and in degrees of program development.

Officials in both Connecticut and Harris County, Texas, strongly promote community service by DRC offenders. Each Connecticut DRC has one 12-passenger van for every 50 clients to transport offenders to community service worksites. One or two staff members accompany the offenders to the service sites and work alongside them. In one instance, when cost cutting forced reductions in State park maintenance budgets, Connecticut DRC's reached agreements with State officials to have DRC community service crews perform routine maintenance. DRC community ser-

vice crews also sold tickets and performed other support functions for the 1993 Nu'meg State Games, a statewide sports festival patterned after the Olympics.

The Harris County Community Supervision and Corrections Department has developed a large-scale community service program that places several thousand offenders in individual and group community service jobs each day. Harris County's DRC's provide a relatively small percentage of the offenders in the department's much larger community service program. Still, given the magnitude of the community service program, several hundred day reporting offenders perform daily community service. The agency uses over 60 vans to transport work crews, although most community service is performed on an individual basis and requires offenders to provide their own transportation.

In addition to requiring community service, about 35 percent of the DRC's reported that at least some offenders in their programs must pay restitution to the victims of their crimes. Such financial obligations are ordered by judges and enforced by DRC's; hence, the practice varies greatly among DRC's.

Termination Rates

DRC's that had operated for at least 12 months at the time of the survey appear to have relatively low rates of completion by participants and correspondingly high rates of negative termination (removal of offenders from the program for violating program policies).¹⁸ The average negative termi-

nation rate for all such programs is 50 percent, with a wide distribution that ranges from 14 to 86 percent. Four factors appear to correlate with high rates of dismissal from DRC's: type of program (public or private), level of services offered, line staff turnover rates, and use of curfews.

Notably, private agencies operate 69 percent of the DRC's with high negative termination rates (those where over half of offenders are dismissed from the program for negative reasons). All DRC's with high negative termination rates also provide many services. In contrast, offenders in DRC's that offer few services seldom are dismissed from the program before completion. It thus appears that with the availability of many services (a characteristic associated with older, private DRC's) come more opportunities for offenders to fail to complete treatment or abide by service requirements.

Fifty-four percent of the DRC's with high negative termination rates also have high line staff turnover rates (but it is not clear which characteristic influences the other). In addition, use of curfews appears inversely related to negative termination rates: 31 percent of the DRC's with high rates use curfews, compared with 56 percent of DRC's with low rates.

Rates of removal from programs are also largely related to programs' policies toward violations of supervisory or service-related requirements. In Harris County, for example, officials manage many levels of control and supervision within their department, ranging from unsupervised probation to confinement in low-security settings such as community corrections facilities or boot camps. Movement within

Table 8: DRC Removal Policy for Various Types of Rule Violations

Type of Violation	Percentage of DRC's That Would Remove Offender
Charged with new crime	57 %
Out of contact more than 24 hours	52
Out of contact 7-24 hours	48
Failure to complete required treatment program	47
Out of contact 1-6 hours	41
Failure to pay restitution or fees	38
Failure to make other payments	38
New arrest but no new charge	35
Suspected of new crime	27

Prison Without Walls: A Typical Day Reporting Experience

John, 28 years old and unemployed, is arrested for possession of cocaine. He is sentenced to probation, but during that time he misses several meetings with his probation officer and tests positive for drug use. Rather than punishing John for this probation violation by sending him to the State prison, which is already 10 percent over capacity, the judge assigns him to a nearby DRC. The DRC, which the State judicial department began operating two years ago, accepts John because, based on his history and offense, he is of small risk to the community and is in need of drug abuse treatment and other services. Furthermore, by keeping John under community supervision, the judge avoids adding to the already high prison population.

John begins the first phase of the three-phase program in June. For the first three weeks, he must report to the DRC five times each week, where he twice is tested for drug use. The program is open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Friday and from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Saturdays. When he is not at the center, John must remain at home except to do errands that he has already planned on a weekly itinerary, on record at the DRC. Program staff telephone John several times during the day to monitor his whereabouts and ensure that he is abiding by his 8 p.m. curfew. Once a week, staff also make an unannounced visit to his home. John also begins to attend drug abuse education classes, GED classes, job skills training, and group counseling sessions, conducted on-site by program staff. In addition, twice a week he goes to a drug abuse outpatient clinic, referred by the DRC.

In the middle of his second week, John misses a counseling session and a GED class. Instead of moving to the second, more lenient phase at the end of the third week, John must remain under the more intensive form of supervision for an additional week. Informed that another violation might land him in the State correctional facility, he subsequently commits no other violations. By the end of June, he is ready to begin the second phase, during which he must continue with his drug abuse treatment and classes but report to the DRC only twice a week. In addition, he joins many of the other 90 offenders in performing several cleanup and construction projects around the city.

After three months without violating any regulations, John begins the third and final phase of the program, during which he reports to the DRC only once a week. With assistance from a job placement agency that offers its services at the DRC, he finds employment with the State parks system. By the end of November, he has been released from the DRC. The cost to the State of his placement in the DRC has been half of what it likely would have been had he been incarcerated, and John seems on his way to making a more productive contribution to society.

this continuum (that is, moving an offender to a more onerous or a less restrictive setting) is used to reward positive adjustment or to punish poor adjustment; hence, relatively few offenders are reportedly revoked or terminated from probation for violating day reporting requirements. More often, they are placed by court action at some higher level on the continuum but retain their probationary status.

Decisions to remove offenders from DRC's are made in the context of a variety of case-specific factors, such as the type and frequency of violation. DRC's have the lowest tolerance

for even one or two occurrences of four categories of infractions: being charged with a new crime, being out of contact for more than 24 hours, being out of contact for 7 to 24 hours, and failing to complete a required treatment program (see table 8). At the other extreme, a strong majority of DRC's said they would not remove offenders for some factors, regardless of the number of occurrences, as long as no other violative behavior was involved. These include suspicion of a new crime, new arrest but no new charge, failure to pay restitution or other fees, and failure to make contact for less than seven hours.

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.

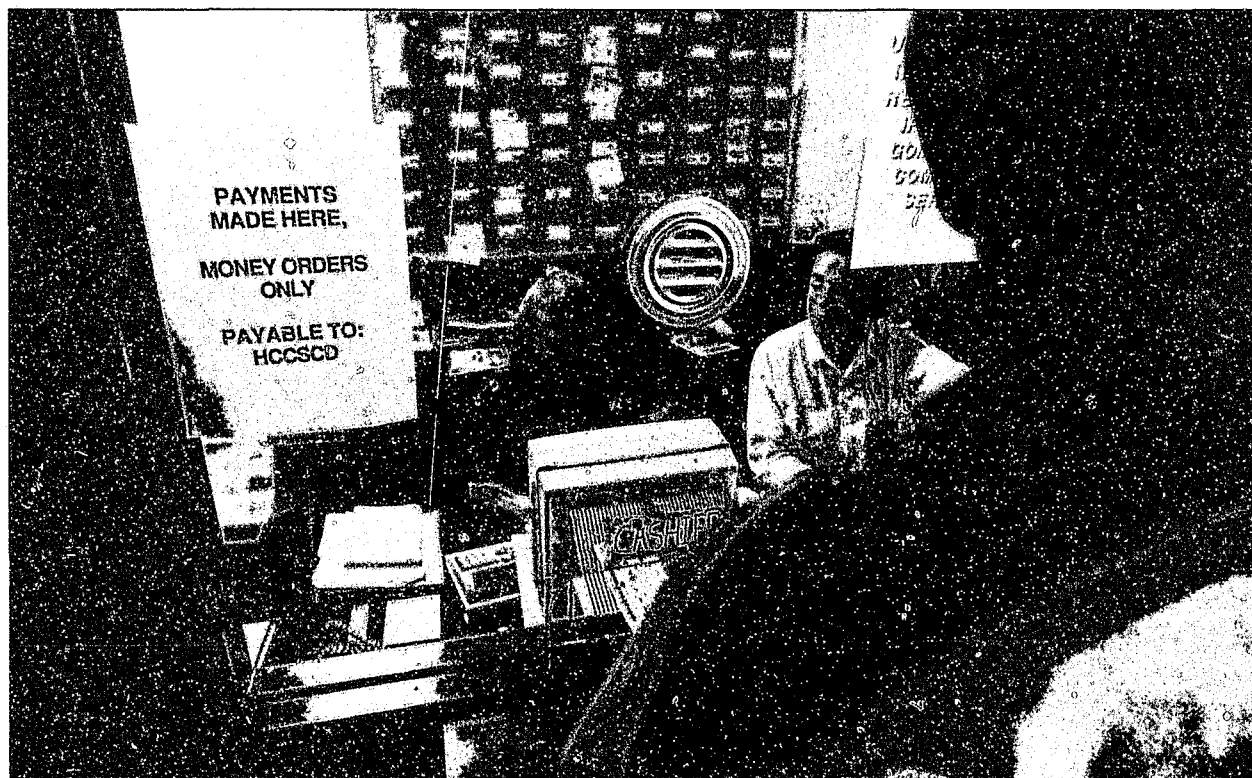
Information on Impact

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 four-tier 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.

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.

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



Photo by Porter Gifford

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:

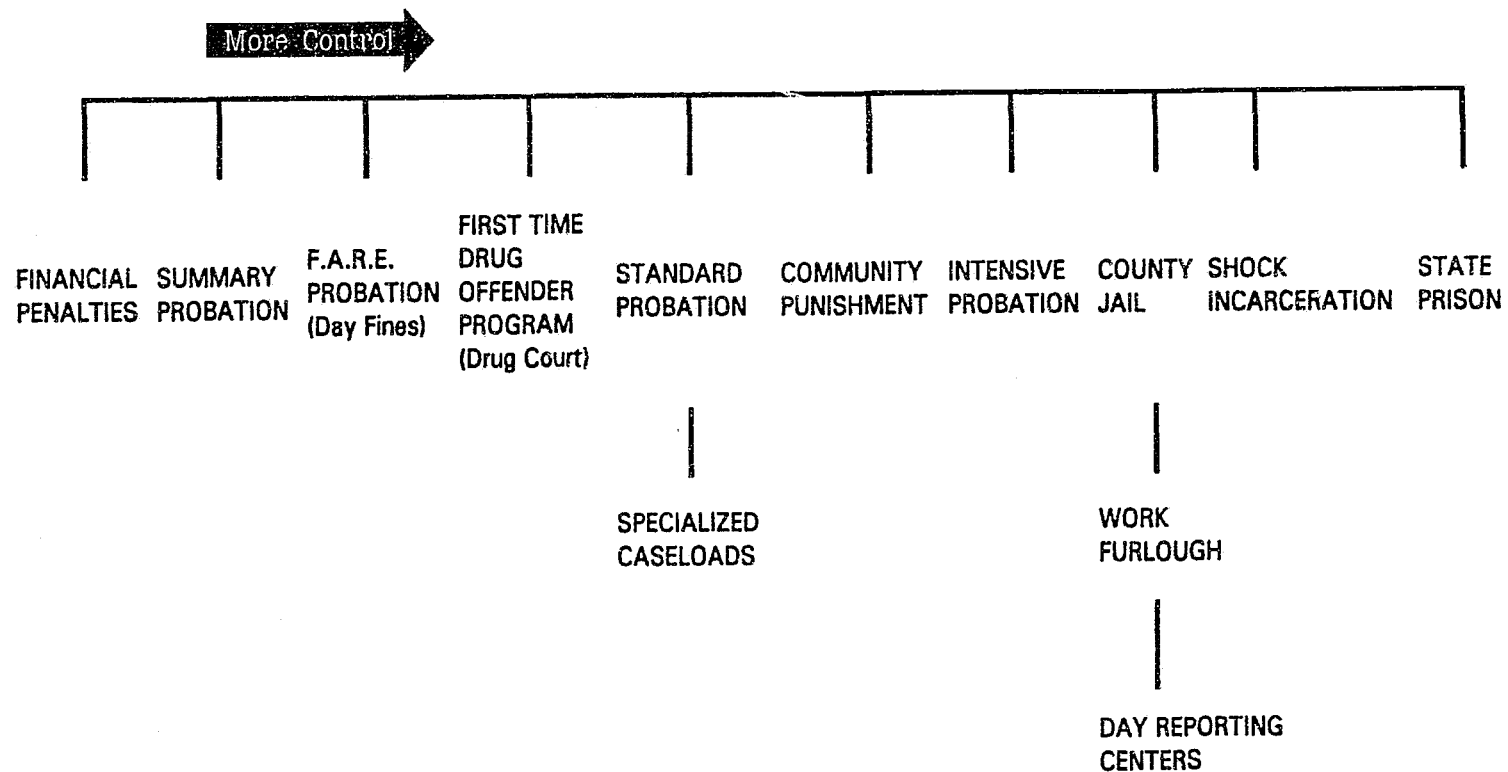
- *Substance abuse evaluations and assessments.* A certified substance abuse counselor is on-site twice a week to evaluate offenders, and a licensed therapist is on-site one day a week to evaluate mentally impaired offenders for substance abuse programming.
- *Education lab.* If offenders read below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

Figure 4

Superior Court in Maricopa County



Sentencing Continuum



Revised September 1992

graphics by Cei
ppDD

- *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 community-based 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, non-profit 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 hour-by-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.

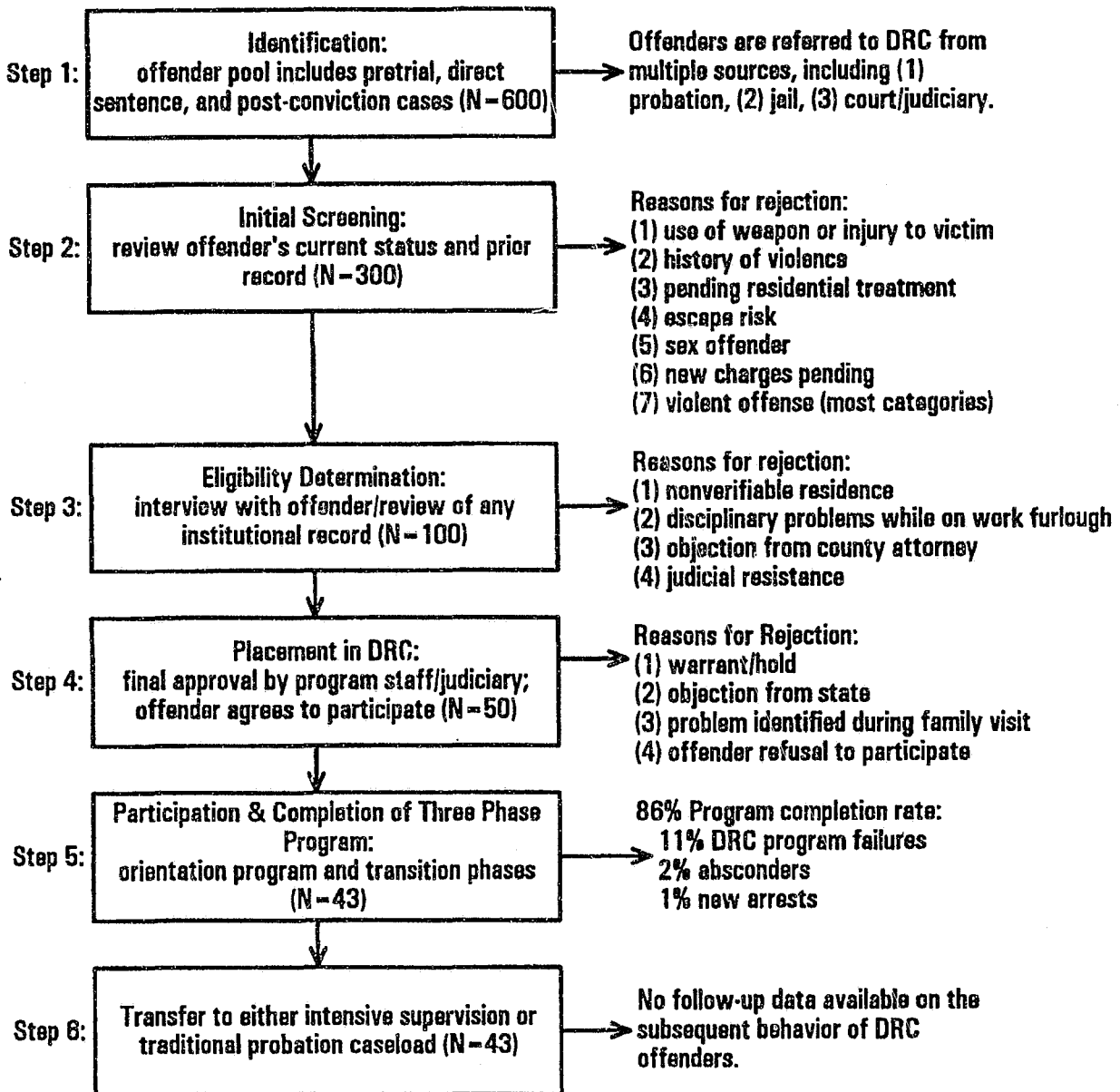
Eighty-six percent . . . of the . . . offenders who were terminated from supervision . . . were "successful" . . . no new arrests, incidents of absconding, or serious rule violations resulting in return to jail.

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

Figure 5

THE CASEFLOW PROCESS IN MARICOPA, ARIZONA*



*The caseflow process can be described separately for the young adult offender population, for step program offenders (step = short-term enhanced probation), and for offenders referred from the jail/work furlough program. The population estimates are based on monthly totals provided by Maricopa County's DRC director (June 1994).

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 deceptive practices, and 74 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 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.

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 (1½ hours each), and participation in a family program each week (1½ 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

An Emerging Model of Day Reporting?

In just the past decade, day reporting has become a significant, if experimental, component of the American correctional system. Based on the mail survey results and information obtained during site visits, it appears that a day reporting model may be emerging in the United States, but only at a broad level. As this report has shown, with respect to goals and major elements of program design—strict surveillance and numerous services—DRC's do share certain distinctive characteristics that distinguish them from other intermediate sanctions. And, like intensive supervision and correctional boot camps, DRC's have a wide appeal to policymakers, who are seeking to support a variety of goals. The programs have an aura of toughness that appeals to those wanting more punishment and control of offenders, and in several jurisdictions officials have sold DRC's as part of a package to reduce prison or jail crowding. At the same time, DRC's appeal to those who want more access to treatment for offenders.²⁵

At a more narrow level, however, day reporting programs differ considerably in size, eligibility criteria, type of administration, and other features. Also, the data indicate that DRC's continue to be in a state of transition—for instance, from private to public operation, and from emphasizing recruitment of incarcerated offenders to targeting offenders from nonconfinement sources such as probation or community residential programs. The latter trend diminishes the prospects of reducing jail and prison crowding since such offenders normally would not have been incarcerated even

if DRC's did not exist. As a practical matter, newer public DRC's generally offer fewer services than the original DRC's. At the same time, they provide a level of surveillance comparable to earlier private DRC's. The smaller number of services in newer programs could be attributable to their youth but also could be occurring because the field is leaning toward a stronger emphasis on supervision over services. Regardless, the balance between control and treatment that distinguished the original day reporting programs from intensive supervision appears to be shifting in favor of surveillance. At this point, DRC's still occupy a unique position in the continuum of intermediate sanctions through their provision of both rigorous supervision and diverse services. If in the future DRC's decrease their level of services, however, day reporting will increasingly resemble intensive supervision programs.

In essence, then, after a decade of rapid development, a very general model of day reporting can be derived from the many configurations that now exist across the Nation. Perhaps more important for policymakers considering implementation of DRC's in their communities, each of these individual configurations may serve as a specialized model of day reporting, that focuses on specific community needs, resources, and goals. It remains to be seen which models have the most successful outcomes and hence will serve as the best examples for future DRC's.

A Composite Day Reporting Center

As this report discusses, while American DRC's share a few basic characteristics, they also vary to a large degree in terms of a number of other features. Based on the research findings, however, it is possible to create a composite picture of the DRC's that responded to the mail survey. Certainly not every DRC has all of the following features, but in general these characteristics are representative of a typical day reporting program:

- *Was established only two or three years ago by a local public (judicial) agency.*
- *Accepts primarily male offenders who are on probation or have violated conditions, who abuse alcohol and other drugs, and who pose a low risk to the community.*
- *Aims primarily to provide treatment and other needed services to offenders and to reduce jail or prison crowding in its community.*
- *Is open five days (about 54 hours) each week and has a program duration of about five months.*
- *Serves fewer than 100 offenders at any one time.*
- *Maintains a strict level of surveillance and requires more contacts with offenders than is required by the most intensive form of community supervision otherwise available in the jurisdiction.*
- *Directs successful offenders through three phases with increasingly less stringent requirements, requires five on-site contacts during the most intensive phase, also monitors offenders off-site through telephone and field contacts and electronic surveillance, monitors offenders for a total of nearly 70 hours per week.*
- *Tests offenders for drug use at least five times each month during the most intensive phase.*
- *Provides numerous services on-site to address clients' employment, education, and counseling needs, refers offenders off-site for drug abuse treatment.*
- *Requires offenders to perform community service.*
- *Has one line staff for about every seven offenders and has a relatively low staff turnover rate.*
- *Costs about \$20 per day per offender.*

Private programs differ from this composite in that they provide more services, have fewer staff and higher staff turnover, are slightly larger and more expensive, and recruit more offenders released early from jail or prison.

Similarly, older programs diverge from the composite because they have fewer admissions, they recruit more offenders released early from jail and prison, and they require more offender contacts.

Key Issues for the Future

As day reporting enters its second decade of growth across the United States, policymakers and practitioners should consider three important issues affecting the future implementation and development of DRC's: (1) ensuring offenders' access to services, (2) responding to nonconformance to DRC regulations in ways that will not simply add to prison and jail crowding, and (3) conducting rigorous process and outcome evaluations.

Ensuring Offenders' Access to Services

In most jurisdictions, major barriers inhibit delivery of needed treatment and services to offenders. In many cases the budgets of social services agencies have been cut, often at a time when the demand for their services is rising, forcing the agencies to set explicit priorities for who gets services. Social service agencies may give preference to their traditional clients (young mothers or children, for example) or to individuals who may be easier to work with than offenders. If correctional agencies try to provide their own treatment, however, they may be viewed as competitors for a limited pool of available treatment funds. Working relations between corrections and social services agencies thus may become even more strained.

Given these circumstances, DRC's face a particular struggle to improve offenders' access to and use of needed services and treatments. As community officials think about developing new day reporting programs, they may want to consider three modes of ensuring offenders' access to services: (1) using program staff, (2) using case management, and (3) colocating with other agencies.

The Hampden County DRC in Massachusetts like many other programs, has been able to provide almost all services on-site through its own program staff, although selected providers are allowed to offer services on-site not provided by DRC staff, such as Alcoholics Anonymous meetings. Other programs may find it increasingly practical to work with case managers from outside social service agencies in

order to coordinate the best care available in the community for participating offenders. Finally, a strategy that has proved successful for DRC's struggling with scarce resources is colocating services with other agencies. For example, as discussed earlier in this report, in Maricopa County, Arizona, where funding for services in DRC's is not available, officials have provided free office space to social services agencies in exchange for offenders' priority access to services and treatment.

Responding to Nonconformance

DRC's generally have high negative termination rates, but it is difficult to interpret this finding adequately, given the current data. DRC's aim to recruit offenders who otherwise would be confined or who represent the highest risk to the community among those on probation or parole. Hence, a high negative termination rate may, in part, reflect characteristics of the population served as well as the sensitivity of program staff to a potential backlash from a high-visibility failure. Also, making offenders obey more conditions of supervision increases the odds that they will fail to conform to all of them. Intensive surveillance increases the odds of detecting failure or nonconformance to rules. Evaluations of ISP's suggest that technical violation rates reflect supervision intensity and style, and are not a reliable predictor of new criminal activity among the offender population.

In addition, high termination rates can obstruct attainment of other goals. If officials successfully recruit confinement-bound offenders into DRC's, high negative termination rates will erode any reductions achieved in prison or jail populations and diminish cost savings. If officials instead recruit a DRC population with a low probability of imprisonment, a high negative termination rate can increase prison or jail populations and drive up system costs. It is hard to build or sustain political support for programs in which a large majority of participants are negatively terminated.

Among the DRC's surveyed, those that emphasize surveillance more than service are less tolerant of control-oriented

Responding to Program Violations

On average, half of all offenders who leave DRC's have not successfully completed the program but instead have been dismissed. The great majority of these so-called negative terminations result when an offender has committed a technical violation of a program rule or requirement. Comparatively few negatively terminated offenders have been arrested for or charged with new crimes.

These results should not be surprising. The NIJ multisite evaluation of intensive supervision programs (ISP's) found that technical violation rates were much higher for offenders randomly assigned to ISP's than for those randomly assigned to regular probation.²⁶ Like day reporting programs, ISP's impose a significantly high number of conditions that offenders must obey, thereby increasing the odds that offenders will fail to comply with them all. And as with day reporting, ISP's maintain an unusually strict level of surveillance, thereby increasing the odds that violations will be detected.

All of the DRC's that responded to the mail survey cited reduction of prison or jail crowding as an at least somewhat important goal (nearly three-fourths claimed it was a very important goal). High technical violation rates, however, may make this a futile ambition.

As more intermediate sanctions have developed in recent years, rates of revocation for technical violations have increased, too. Because the number of persons on probation and parole also has grown, these higher revocation rates have produced a surge in prison admissions. A recent NIJ study on revocation practices found that technical violators (not newly convicted and sentenced criminals) account for one-half to two-thirds of prison admissions in many states.²⁷

In the past officials made decisions concerning revocations on a case-by-case basis, without explicit policy guidance. As the number of revocations has increased, however, many states have established policies—often in the form of revocation guidelines—to structure decisionmakers' discretion. Generally, such guidelines require nonimprisonment sanctions for minor violations, permit reimprisonment after repeated midrange violations, and require immediate reimprisonment for serious violations.²⁸

violations. But DRC's that emphasize services more than surveillance are less tolerant of treatment-oriented violations. Hence, both control and treatment objectives contribute to high negative termination rates.

DRC's may need to develop a coherent policy for responding to infractions of program rules and requirements. They may also need to coordinate their responses to violations more closely with other agencies that share jurisdiction over DRC offenders (probation or parole agencies, for instance). Such a framework must ensure protection of the public but also must incorporate principles of parsimony, just deserts, certainty, and graduated sanctions. For example, officials might try to deter DRC rule violations by imposing swift and certain sanctions on violators who are detected. If the sanctioning rules are also to reflect just deserts, the sanctions cannot be disproportionate to the seriousness of the violation. If they are to work within the limits of available resources (jail space, court time for hearings, and so on), sanctions may have to be generally modest. From these basic principles a sanctioning system could be developed that would employ swift, certain punishments that would increase with the gravity and frequency of violations.

Conducting Evaluations

To date, no outcome evaluations of day reporting centers have been completed. NIJ has funded a comparative evaluation of three DRC's in Wisconsin, but that study was still underway when this report was completed. Process evaluations—examining how programs operate, and the extent to which they work as intended—have been conducted with DRC's in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

To determine if DRC's affect offenders' behavior, rigorous evaluations are needed. The programs studied should pursue similar goals, recruit comparable offender populations, provide similar levels of surveillance and service, and follow the same policies when responding to violations. Most important, eligible offenders should be assigned randomly to day reporting or to an alternative placement, so that differences in observed outcomes may be plausibly attributed to the effect of the program and not to the selection procedures. Participating programs should also undergo thorough process evaluations to assure that they are implemented as intended and that random assignment is maintained throughout the study period.

These evaluations should examine:

- The extent to which DRC's achieve their stated goals, and the extent to which those goals changed as the programs were implemented and evolved.
- The actual versus the planned operation of the programs, to determine if the intended levels of surveillance and services were actually delivered.
- Offender selection processes, to describe any variations from the intended models and to assure that random assignment of offenders was maintained during the study period.
- Important features of the programs, such as the numbers of offenders who obtained and held employment, the numbers of participants who completed treatment programming, the numbers of hours of community service rendered, and so on.

- Reasons why offenders failed in the programs, including removals for violations of DRC rules or failure to complete other required conditions, treatments, or services.
- The impact on public safety, including a comparison of recidivism rates for DRC participants and graduates with those of the control group.
- The cost of DRC's and, particularly, total system expenditures, including costs of confining persons who fail to complete the program.

Now that it is apparent that day reporting programs are growing at a rapid pace and consuming valuable resources in the process, it is imperative that evaluations attempt to determine whether these resources are being well spent. And if it appears that DRC's are having successful outcomes, it is equally important that clear, detailed studies be available to facilitate the replication of promising programs.

Endnotes

1. Dale Parent, *Day Reporting Centers for Criminal Offenders: A Description Analysis of Existing Programs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1990).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., available from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, 1600 Research Blvd., Rockville, Md, 20850 (1-800-851-3420).
4. Dale Parent, *Responding to Probation and Parole Violation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1994).
5. James Byrne, Arthur Lurigio, and Joan Petersilia, eds., *Smart Sentencing: The Emergence of Intermediate Sanctions* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992).
6. Parent, *Responding to Probation and Parole Violation*.
7. D.A. Andrews, I. Zinger, R.D. Hoge, J. Bonta, P. Gendreau, and F.T. Colleen, "Does Correctional Treatment Work? A Psychological Informed Meta-Analysis," *Criminology* 28 (1990): 369-404; James Byrne, Arthur Lurigio, and Chris Baird, *The Effectiveness of the New Intensive Supervision Programs*, Research in Corrections Series No. 5 (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Corrections, 1989); James Byrne and April Pattavina, "The Effectiveness Issue: Assessing What Works in the Adult Community Corrections System," in Byrne et al., *Smart Sentencing*, pp. 281-306; General Accounting Office (GAO), *Intermediate Sanctions: Their Impacts on Prison Crowding, Costs, and Recidivism Are Still Unclear* (Gaithersburg, Md.: General Accounting Office, 1990).
8. Joan Petersilia and Susan Turner, *Evaluating Intensive Supervision Probation/Parole: Results of a Nationwide Experiment—Research in Brief* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1993), p. 30.
9. Petersilia and Turner, *Evaluating Intensive Supervision Probation/ Parole*.
10. James Byrne and Linda Kelly, *Final Report to the National Institute of Justice: An Evaluation of the Implementation and Impact of the Massachusetts Intensive Probation Supervision Program* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1989).
11. Parent, *Day Reporting Centers*.
12. Maricopa County Adult Probation Service Center, *Day Reporting Center Program Description* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Maricopa County Adult Probation Department, 1994).
13. Ibid.
14. These findings are generally consistent with Parent's earlier study of offender fee collection, where he noted that little revenue is likely to be generated by levying fees for services used by high-need, high-risk offenders. For such offenders costs of collection are likely to exceed revenues. Parent noted that offender fees can generate substantial revenue if they are levied on large numbers of low-need, low-risk offenders, most of whom pay regularly and consume few services; hence, the revenues they generate can be used to purchase or provide services for higher-need, higher-risk offenders. See Dale Parent, *Recovering Correctional Costs Through Offender Fees* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1990).
15. Each DRC's total operating cost was divided by the product derived from multiplying its average daily population by the number of days per year the DRC was open.
16. Douglas C. McDonald and Michele Teitelbaum, *Managing Mentally Ill Offenders in the Community: Milwaukee's Community Support Program* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, 1994).
17. Parent, *Day Reporting Centers*.
18. Negative termination rates were computed for each DRC by dividing negative terminations by total (positive plus negative) terminations.
19. Justice Education Center, Inc., *Alternatives to Incarceration: Phase I: Pretrial Evaluation* (Hartford, Conn.: Justice Education Center, 1993); Justice Education Center, Inc., *Court Disposition Study: Criminal Offenders in Connecticut's Courts in 1991* (Hartford, Conn.: Justice Education Center, Inc., 1993).
20. Maricopa County Adult Probation Service Center, *Day Reporting Center Program Description*, 1994.
21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Hampden County DRC, *1993 Annual Report* (Springfield, Mass.: Hampden County DRC, 1993), p. 21.

24. Hampden County DRC, *Participant's Handbook* (Springfield, Mass.: Hampden County DRC, 1994), pp. 2-12.

25. DRC's pay for most of the treatment and services delivered to offenders enrolled in their programs, although the extent to which these funds are "new money" (over and above what the agencies otherwise would have

received) or reallocations of existing funds is not clear. If they are new funds, it also is not clear whether expanded correctional funding for treatment has reduced funds available to noncorrectional treatment agencies.

26. Petersilia and Turner, *Evaluating Intensive Supervision Probation/Parole*.

27. Parent, *Responding to Probation and Parole Violation*.

28. Ibid.

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
National Institute of Justice

Washington, D.C. 20531

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use \$300

BULK RATE
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
DOJ/NIJ
Permit No. G-91