

An Evaluation of the Cook County Sheriff's Day Reporting Center Program:
Rearrest and Reincarceration after Discharge

Prepared for the
Cook County Sheriff's Office Department of Community
Supervision and Intervention

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Executive Summary

In response to crowding problems experienced in the Cook County Jail, the Cook County Sheriff's Office created the Department of Community Supervision and Intervention (DCSI) in 1992. The department was formed to provide an alternative to incarceration for pretrial defendants. One year later, the Cook County Day Reporting Center (CCDRC) was opened to supplement the other pretrial release programs implemented under DCSI. The primary and immediate goals of the CCDRC were to increase court-appearance rates, reduce pretrial criminal activity among program participants, and initiate participant rehabilitation through the provision of various programs and services. Since the implementation of CCDRC, more than 10,000 pretrial releasees have been admitted to the program.

Previous evaluations of the CCDRC have shown the program to be greatly successful in accomplishing its goals. Court appearance rates have been extremely high, and arrest rates during the pretrial period have been extremely low. In addition, illegal drug use among program participants decreased substantially during program participation, with the largest declines in drug use experienced by participants who remained in the program for a substantial period of time (Lurigio and Olson, 1999; Lurigio, Olson, and Sifferd, 1998).

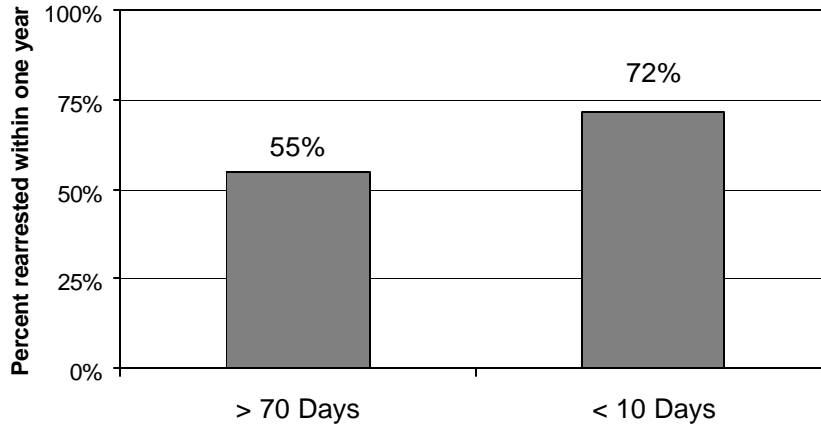
Despite the documented successes of the CCDRC in achieving its short-term goals, the long-term outcomes of program participants have never before been examined. In order to assist the DCSI in assessing the longer-term impact of the CCDRC on program participants, the Authority examined rearrest and reincarceration rates of participants following their discharge from the program. Almost 1,400 participants who entered the program during 1995 were tracked through the Cook County Jail's management information system and the Chicago Police Department's and Illinois State Police's criminal history records. For comparative purposes, two groups of program participants were the focus of the analyses. Participants enrolled in the program for short periods of time (fewer than 10 days), and those enrolled in the program for a relatively long period of time (more than 70 days). Participants enrolled for fewer than 10 days

were the “control group.” They fit the same profile as program participants yet had virtually no exposure to program services. Those receiving at least 70 days worth of programming and services were the “treatment group.”

One factor that must be considered when drawing conclusions about the program participants is that most of them exhibited behaviors or have characteristics that make them among the highest risk offenders for future criminality. Previous evaluations of the CCDRC program, for example, have documented participants’ high rates of prior illegal drug use, prior criminal histories, and low levels of education and employment (Lurigio and Olson, 1999, and Lurigio, Olson and Sifferd, 1998). In the recidivism literature, these factors have been found to be consistent predictors of negative outcomes, including rearrest and probation violations. Therefore, even with extensive programming and services, many of the program participants’ problems cannot be resolved in short periods of time. As a result, even modest changes in criminal behavior with such a population should be considered beneficial. The Authority’s analyses produced the following observations and conclusions:

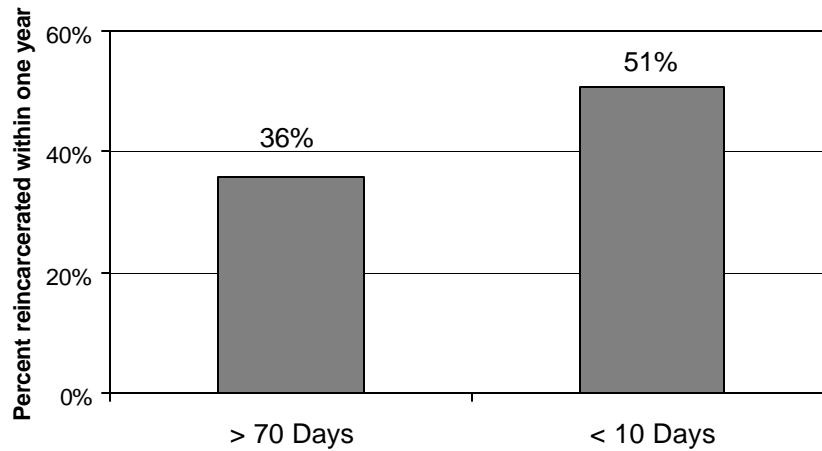
The longer the length of CCDRC participation, the lower the rate of post-release rearrest: among participants who were in the program for fewer than 10 days, more than 70 percent were arrested for a new crime within one year of release from the program. By comparison, the one-year rearrest percentage for participants in the program more than 70 days was 55 percent.

**Participants rearrested within one year of discharge,
by time in program**



Similarly, length of program participation also had a substantial effect on subsequent reincarcerations in the Cook County Jail. Within one year following discharge from the program, 51 percent of those in the program for fewer than 10 days were reincarcerated, whereas only 36 percent of participants who received more than 70 days of services were reincarcerated.

**Participants reincarcerated within one year of
discharge, by time in program**



In addition to reducing the recidivism rate, the program also suppressed criminal activity for longer periods of time. Even when participants who remained in the program for more than 70 days were rearrested, they took much longer to recidivate than participants enrolled for fewer than 10 days. Among participants in the program for more than 70 days, half remained arrest-free for 10 months. Among participants in the program for fewer than 10 days, half remained arrest-free for only four and a half months. The average number of days to rearrest for those in the program fewer than 10 days was 303; the average was 425 for those in for 70 days or more.

The findings from this study suggest that regardless of participants' characteristics, longer stays in the CCDRC reduce the likelihood of recidivism. Older program participants, those who remained in the program longer, and those who had less extensive criminal histories had lower recidivism rates than younger participants, those with shorter lengths in the CCDRC, and those who had more extensive criminal histories. Finally, even after statistically controlling for other factors, including age, prior criminal history, and time at risk, longer lengths of program participation consistently reduced the likelihood of rearrest.

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Overview of day reporting centers

In the aftermath of governmental policies aimed at combating a purported crisis in drug and violent crime, the nation's criminal justice system experienced a substantial increase in both its juvenile and adult workloads and a surge in its correctional populations. State legislatures created new drug laws and changed sentencing practices, imposing mandatory minimums and consecutive sentences for drug possession and delivery. With the enforcement of these new and more stringent drug laws, large numbers of the general population especially minorities, became part of the correctional population, causing backlogs in every part of the system and culminating in a new crisis—overcrowding in the nation's jails and prisons.

The original response to this problem was to build more prisons. However, this strategy proved to be very expensive. Increased public pressure concerning the inhumane conditions resulting from overcrowding prompted lawmakers to reevaluate how states were managing their correctional populations. From this new challenge emerged plans for alternative sanctions to incarceration such as electronic monitoring, house arrest, and day reporting centers. The current report describes the results of an evaluation of the Cook County Sheriff's Day Reporting Center (CCDRC) which is an alternative to incarceration for pretrial defendants in Illinois. The study tracked the recidivism of program participants after they had been released from the program.

Day reporting centers (DRCs) are facilities in which offenders spend their days being supervised and receiving services. Participants are allowed to leave the sites in order to work and attend schools and they are permitted to spend their evenings at home, usually under electronic surveillance. DRCs emerged in the United States during the late 1980s as one of several intermediate sanctions created to reduce jail and prison overcrowding and the attendant costs of incarceration. DRCs originated in Great Britain more than ten years earlier and were pioneered by probation reformers. DRCs' proponents argued that imprisonment is an ineffective sanction for non-serious but chronic offenders who use drugs and alcohol and lack basic living skills. To meet the needs of this population, DRCs began appearing throughout England and Wales in a

variety of different settings and with a variety of different target populations, referral sources, and program requirements. The sheer number of centers (80 were reported in 1985) and their apparent successes attracted attention in the United States at a time when criminal justice officials were searching for innovations in corrections practices (Parent, Byrne, Tsarfaty, Valade, & Esselman, 1995).

Origins and types of DRCs in the United States

DRCs were first introduced in the United States in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where they developed concurrently. In both states, private reform organizations--the Connecticut Prison Association and Massachusetts's Crime and Justice Foundation--were involved in creating and implementing the programs, which were modeled after England's DRCs and were designed to balance surveillance with services. The best known and studied DRCs were the Hampton County Sheriff's Department's Day Reporting Center established in Springfield, Massachusetts and the Metropolitan Day Reporting Center in Boston (Tonry & Lynch, 1996).

At the beginning of the 1990s, 13 DRCs were operational in this country. Nearly half of them were in Massachusetts and Connecticut and three-fourths of them were run by private organizations under contract with correctional or governmental agencies. Their common characteristics were intensive levels of supervision, community service mandates, linkages to residential facilities, and an overriding emphasis on services such as counseling, drug treatment, job training, and educational remediation. Like their British antecedents, programs in the United States differ widely in their target populations, running the gamut from pretrial releasees, to first-time DUI offenders, to probationers, to parolees, to felons with lengthy criminal records (Parent et al., 1995).

In a national study of DRCs, funded by the National Institute of Justice, Parent et al. (1995) reported that 114 programs, across 22 states, were operational by mid-1994. They also found that: the primary goals of DRCs are to provide treatment and services and to reduce jail and

prison overcrowding; all DRCs implement intensive levels of surveillance but differ on the nature and extent of offender contacts (e.g., phone contacts, on-site checks at home or work, and face-to-face contacts at the DRC); drug treatment is the most common service available in DRCs and is usually delivered by outside agencies; offenders in DRCs typically move through distinct phases of supervision based on their progress in treatment and their compliance with program rules; many DRCs limit their target populations to nonserious, drug- and alcohol-using offenders; approximately half of DRC participants failed to complete the program; on the average, programs last six months, cost approximately \$35.00 per offender, and have a daily population of 85. Compared to newer programs (i.e., those opened in 1992 and after), older DRCs are more likely to emphasize treatment, to be operated by private vendors, and to target offenders being released from jail or prison.

Cook County's Day Reporting Center (CCDRC)

Origins and purpose

Since the 1980s, the number of inmates housed in many of Illinois' largest jails have consistently reached or exceeded jail capacity. By 1987, Illinois correctional institutions, including both jails and prisons, reached full capacity and, by 1996, had as a group, exceeded that capacity by at least 40 percent. The average daily population of Illinois jails more than doubled between 1985 and 1995 from 7,904 to 17,000 (Trends and Issues, 1997). In 1982, a class action federal lawsuit was filed by the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago on behalf of pretrial detainees held at the overcrowded Cook County Jail (Myrent, 1989). The resulting U.S. District Court consent decree required the jail to provide each inmate with a bed in a cell. Prior to this decree, many inmates were sleeping on mattresses on the floor. In 1983, the jail was found in violation of the consent decree and ordered to rectify the situation or be fined.

To alleviate this problem, the Cook County Sheriff's Office released specific inmates on their own recognizance, referred to as jail I-bonds. Inmates charged with Class X offenses (i.e., non-

probationable crimes) or other violent offenses or those with bond amounts higher than \$50,000 did not qualify for jail I-bonds. A recidivism study of pretrial defendants in Cook County, conducted by the Authority, found that a significantly larger percentage of jail I-bond releasees were rearrested and reincarcerated while out on bond, when compared with other pretrial release populations, such as court I-bond or cash bond releasees (Martin, 1992).

Based on these findings, Cook County Sheriff's Office's staff decided that other alternatives to pretrial incarceration were needed, and they developed a number of community-based supervision programs. In 1992, the Cook County Department of Community Supervision and Intervention (DCSI) was created within the Sheriff's Office to operate community-based programs for pretrial defendants. One year later, the Cook County Day Reporting Center (CCDRC) was opened by DCSI, complementing the existing pretrial release programs, which included electronic monitoring (EM) and a pre-release center for drug-addicted inmates.

The Cook County Department of Corrections ran a prototype Day Reporting Center in late 1992 and early 1993, and the CCDRC was formally established in March 1993 within the DCSI. The program is funded with county resources and operates in a facility adjacent to the Cook County Jail. Program staff supervise nonviolent pretrial releasees who receive onsite services. DCSI's personnel, who are employed by the Sheriff's Office, include administrators, support staff, and case investigators.

To implement, manage, and operate the clinical aspects of the program, DCSI contracted with Treatment Alternatives for Safe Communities (TASC), an independent, nonprofit organization that provides substance abuse intervention and case management services to addicted offenders throughout Illinois. TASC employees include case managers, program specialists, and administrative and support staff persons. TASC staff worked closely with DCSI staff to plan and design the CCDRC, which was critical to the operational success of the program. TASC staff, as a service to program clients, developed an extensive array of interventions that range from intensive outpatient drug treatment to GED classes. See Appendix A for a list of services.

The principal mandate of CCDRC is to reduce rates of rearrest, drug use, and nonappearance in court among pretrial releasees. In addition, CCDRC also provides a broad array of services (e.g., drug treatment, educational programs, and health education) to a population (poor, young, urban, primarily African American males) that historically has had a great need for these services but whose access to services has been limited. The CCDRC has been the subject of process and impact evaluations since 1996 (e.g., McBride and VanderWaal, 1996; Lurigio, Olson, and Sifferd, 1999).

CCDRC evaluations have shown that the program is extremely successful in accomplishing its original short-term goals; achieving high court appearance rates, reducing reliance on jail space and pretrial criminal activity, and providing a variety of rehabilitative and treatment services. However, while the CCDRC evaluation and others conducted on similar programs across the country have focused on the activity of participants while they are enrolled in the program, they have never examined the long-term recidivism of program participants after they are no longer on supervision.

Participant selection, program operations, and program discharge

Program participant selection process

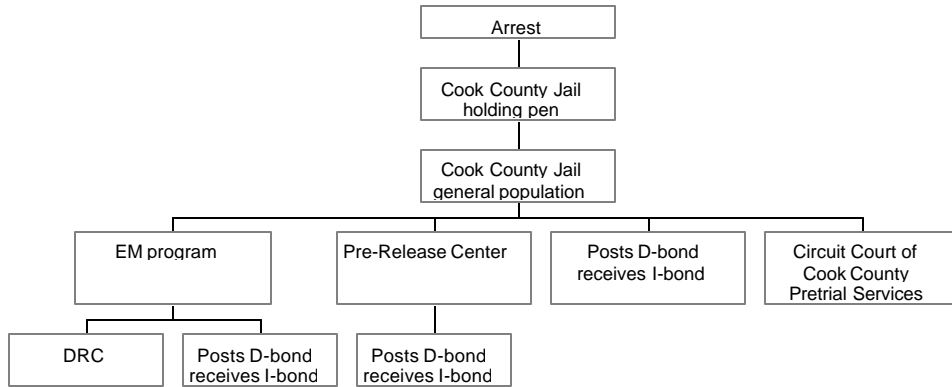
During the program's pilot implementation period, program staff determined that pretrial defendants initially selected from the general jail population for participation in the CCDRC performed poorly because many of these defendants had no stable home address. The CCDRC's success is predicated largely on its ability to monitor participants when they are away from the CCDRC; hence a stable home address is essential. Program staff turned to one of their counterpart community-based supervision programs, the electronic monitoring program, which requires a verifiable home addresses for participation, providing an ideal pool of potential CCDRC program participants. EM participants are on house arrest, which means they are

“incarcerated” in their homes instead of the Cook County Jail. CCDRC participants are selected from the EM program. EM participants are nonviolent pretrial inmates from the general jail population or nonviolent inmates who have been sentenced to jail and placed in the EM program to serve their sentences (The Compiler, 1995).

An important reason for selecting participants from the EM program, instead of from the general incarcerated pretrial population, is to ensure community safety. This is a particular concern for the CCDRC because its participants are unsupervised during evenings and weekends, even though they are technically in the custody of the CCDOC. EM participants, by contrast, are supervised 24-hours-a-day. They are fitted with ankle bands and continuously monitored while they are in the community. Whereas EM participants who violate curfews or leave their homes are immediately identified, violations by CCDRC participants are identified only when they fail to report to the center.

Because CCDRC participants are selected from the EM population, they are actually screened twice, once for EM and once again for CCDRC. Defendants without serious violent charges or high bond amounts (not more than \$300,000) are eligible for the EM program. CCDRC participants must then meet additional requirements for selection based on a longer list of ineligible charges, prior criminal offenses, and bond amounts of no more than \$150,000. Although CCDRC participants are selected from the EM program, their selection into the CCDRC is just one part of an intake process they experience after being arrested for a crime. Figure 1 shows the possible ways that pretrial inmates can be released from the Cook County Jail, including placement in the CCDRC.

Figure 1: DRC intake process



Most arrests occur after a police officer obtains an arrest warrant from a judge. Some arrests are made on the spot when an officer witnesses a felony or misdemeanor being committed. Not everyone who is arrested, however, is formally charged with a crime. Some people are arrested, taken into custody, questioned, possibly placed in a line-up and then released without being charged (Trends and Issues 1997). Persons arrested in Cook County and formally charged with a misdemeanor or felony offense are detained in a holding cell at the Cook County Jail. From the holding cell, they are placed in the jail's general population. These defendants can be released from the general population in the following ways:

- Posting a deposit bond (i. e., bail);
- Receiving a personal recognizance bond (I-bond) or similar order from a judge;
- Having their cases disposed of; or,
- Being transferred to the EM program or Pre-Release Center.

Defendants who are released from the general population at the Cook County Jail into either the EM program or the Pre-Release Center are still technically in the custody of the CCDOC. The Pre-Release Center is a DCSI drug treatment program designed to help less serious pretrial defendants who are addicted to drugs overcome their drug addictions (The Compiler, 1995). Defendants can be released from these programs by posting a deposit bond or receiving a case(s) disposition. Defendants also can be released from the EM program by being selected

for participation in the CCDRC, which is how the participants in the current study were placed in the program.¹ Although past offenses are considered when selecting CCDRC participants, their current charges are what qualify (or disqualify) them for the program. Participants are typically discharged from the CCDRC because their qualifying cases received a disposition.

Program operations

After they are selected into the CCDRC, participants are required to report to the center every day unless they have a court date, job interview, or previously approved absence. Participants attend daily sessions consisting of lectures, support groups, and counseling sessions that are conducted in a classroom setting. These sessions, called tracks, are organized according to the services that are provided. The CCDRC operates Monday through Friday from 8:45 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Treatment Alternatives for Safe Communities (TASC) was the service provider for participants who entered the program during 1995 (the year from which participants were selected for this study). Services were designed to address participants' needs and included drug testing, treatment and recovery, basic life skills, violence prevention, literacy, job skills training, GED preparation, and job placement. The longer participants spent in the program the more they were exposed to program services.

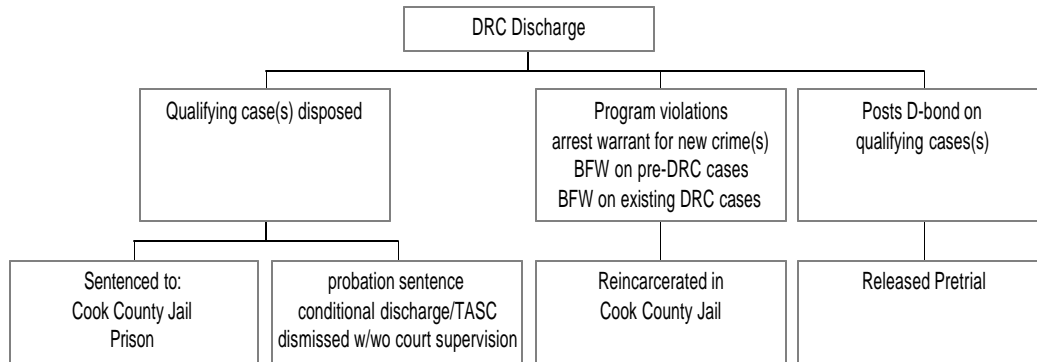
Discharge from the CCDRC

Receiving a case disposition is the typical way that participants leave the CCDRC, but there are several other ways that they can be discharged: they can post bond on the qualifying case(s), violate program rules, or be issued a warrant for an old or new offense. Violation of program rules can range from excessive tardiness to tampering with urine drops. Figure 2 shows how

¹ Some participants were transferred to the Prerelease Center after CCDRC selection because they were in need of intensive drug treatment. Once treated, those defendants re-entered the CCDRC program.

participants are discharged from the CCDRC and what happens to them after they are discharged.

Figure 2: DRC Discharge Process



Approximately 60 percent of participants were discharged from the CCDRC program as a result of their case being disposed of, either through a conviction or their case being dismissed. The remaining 40 percent were discharged because of the other reasons listed, such as violating program rules or posting bond.

A relatively small proportion of CCDRC program participants are removed from the program for a new arrest, continued drug use, or other program violations. Those who are terminated from the CCDRC program for these reasons remain in the custody of the CCDOC and are placed back into the Cook County Jail until their cases are disposed of or they put up the necessary cash bond. In addition, a small proportion of program participants can be sentenced to a period of incarceration in the Cook County Jail as a result of a conviction.

CCDRC discharge and release from the Department of Corrections

Because the CCDRC is operated by the CCDOC, program participants undergo two separate discharge procedures when being released from CCDOC custody; first they are discharged from the CCDRC, and then they go through a discharge process from CCDOC. The way participants are discharged from CCDRC affects how they are ultimately released from CCDOC custody.

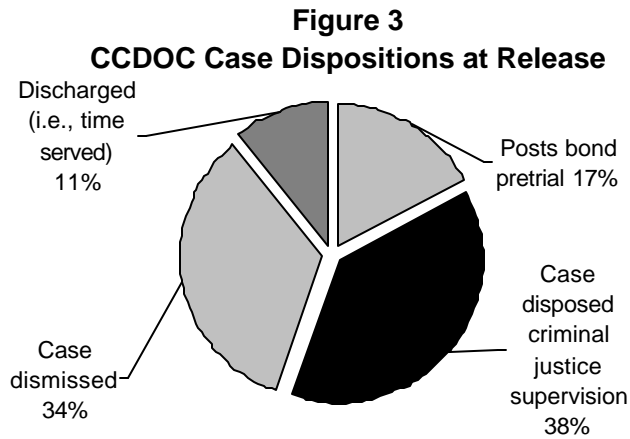
A CCDRC participant can be discharged from the program but remain in CCDOC custody and placed in jail for the following reasons:

- Being sentenced to jail or prison as the disposition of the qualifying case(s).
- Violating program rules;²
- Receiving bond forfeiture warrants for failing to show up in court for the qualifying case(s);
- Receiving bond forfeiture warrants for failing to show up in court for old cases that were active before participation in CCDRC; or,
- Receiving arrest warrants for new crimes while in CCDRC.

Those defendants who were incarcerated after discharge from the program had no opportunity to recidivate and were therefore excluded from the current study. A description of why participants were eliminated from the study is included in Appendix B.

For those who were not incarcerated after CCDRC release and were included in the study, the tracking period started from the date they were released from CCDOC custody rather than the date they were discharged from the CCDRC program. This is because of the separate discharge procedures, which often resulted in different discharge dates. The following figure illustrates the different ways that these discharged program participants were ultimately released from CCDOC custody.

² There have been cases where individuals from the community have turned in defendants to the CCDRC. In these situations, someone witnessed the CCDRC participant violating rules or committing a crime. Instead of calling the police, the person called the CCDRC. After a CCDRC investigation, and if the complaint was legitimate, the participant was discharged from the program and transferred back to jail.



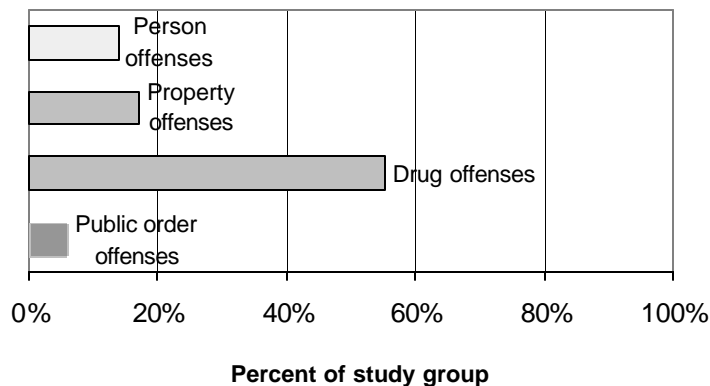
Eighty-three percent of the participants were released from CCDOC because of case dispositions, and 17 percent were released because they posted bond. Almost 40 percent were released from CCDOC custody as a result of a sentence to probation, conditional release, or court supervision. One-third had their cases dismissed and were released from custody. Eleven percent were released with no criminal justice supervision because of time served or terminated probation sentences (from pre-CCDRC cases).

Participant characteristics

Prior evaluations of the program have consistently found that the majority of discharged CCDRC clients were relatively young, single, unemployed, African American men (McBride and VanderWaal, 1996; Lurigio and Olson, 1998; Lurigio, Olson and Sifferd, 1999). Another characteristic of CCDRC clients, which has remained consistent over the past four years is their considerably high rate of prior involvement in the criminal justice system, with the majority of the current charges composed primarily of violations of Illinois' Controlled Substances Act. Furthermore, initial assessments showed that the vast majority of clients exhibited signs and symptoms of substance abuse or dependence. These characteristics are consistent with those of other pretrial populations in Cook County (Martin, 1992); most pretrial detainees are young African American males who have prior arrests and incarceration histories.

The overwhelming majority of CCDRC participants are repeat offenders. Eighty-six percent had been arrested at least once prior to the current charges that resulted in their entering the program, and one-half had been previously incarcerated in the Cook County Jail. Most of the participants were arrested several times before participating in the CCDRC program. The average number of prior arrests was eight; half of the participants had six or more arrests prior to participation in the program. The average number of prior incarcerations in the Cook County Jail was one. Half had been previously incarcerated at least once. Nearly 60 percent of the participants entered the CCDRC on at least one current charge for felony drug-law violations (Figure 4), with less than 20 percent entering on at least one charge for property crimes, crimes against a person, or public order offenses. The most common drug offense was possession of a controlled substance (PCS).

Figure 4
Charges



Process and short-term impact evaluations of the CCDRC

McBride and VanderWaal (1996) conducted the first process and outcome evaluation of the CCDRC, examining the program's implementation and effects during the first two years of operation. McBride and VanderWaal (1996) employed staff interviews and extensive analyses of program records and of clients' characteristics, drug problems, and urine toxicology results. As was previously noted, their research found that the CCDRC serves mostly unemployed,

young adults dependent on their families for housing and food. In addition, Mc Bride and VanderWall (1996) reported that two-thirds of CCDRC participants were diagnosed with a primary drug problem, but that for most of these participants, CCDRC provided their first exposure to drug treatment. These researchers also documented the low rates of failure-to-appear and rearrests among program participants, with only 2 percent missing scheduled court dates and only 5 percent being terminated from the program due to new arrests.

The studies of CCDRC, performed by Loyola University researchers during 1997, 1998, and 1999, built on the original evaluation by Mc Bride and VanderWall. They involved several types of data on the program's clients, operations, and effects, including clients' characteristics, criminal histories, current arrest charges, the extent and nature of their substance abuse and dependence problems, their urinalysis results while in the program, and their program performance (Lurigio, Olson, & Swartz, 1998; Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999; Lurigio & Olson, 2000).

Lurigio, Olson and Sifferd (1999) reported that of the 1,572 discharged participants that they evaluated, almost three-fourths were charged with drug law violations. Fifty-one percent were initially charged with possession of a controlled substance and nearly 22 percent were charged with delivery of controlled substance or possession with intent to deliver. Clients' perceptions of the program and staff were measured with satisfaction surveys that participants completed before they were discharged from CCDRC. Data regarding program operations and implementation issues were gathered from interviews with CCDRC administrators and staff members.

CCDRC evaluations have consistently demonstrated that the CCDRC has a highly impressive track record of success. Through a balanced combination of strict surveillance and rehabilitative services, the program has kept its clients' rearrest and failure-to appear rates very low and has decreased clients' drug use, which is quite serious at program intake. The program's achievements become even more significant in light of the fact that CCDRC works with a fairly

high-risk population: clients with extensive criminal and drug use histories and low levels of education and employment.

Lurigio and Olson (2000) found that among 1999 program participants, nonappearance and rearrest rates were very low. From October 1, 1998, through June 30, 1999, a total of only six of the program's 2,440 clients failed to appear on their designated court dates, a rate of less than 1 percent. Furthermore, only 126 (5 percent) of CCDRC's 2,440 clients were rearrested while in the program. Apart from rearrests and failures-to-appear in court, 617, or 25 percent, of the participants committed program violations and were ejected from CCDRC. By far, the most common violation was for unapproved absences from the program (AWOL). Overall, 63 percent of CCDRC clients discharged from the program during the 1999 study period were deemed successful. According to drug test findings, clients' drug use greatly declined as they progressed through the program. Among participants who stayed in the program for at least 12 weeks, the percent testing positive for any illegal drug decreased from 73 percent during week 1 to less than 40 percent during week 12 (Lurigio and Olson, 2000).

CCDRC clients who reported that they were abusing or dependent on heroin were more likely to be unsuccessfully discharged than those who reported cocaine, marijuana, or alcohol as their primary substances of abuse or dependence. Similarly, clients with more previous convictions were also more likely than those with fewer previous convictions to be unsuccessfully discharged. And, unlike most criminological research and evaluations of criminal justice programs, Lurigio and Olson (2000) reported that younger program participants (i.e., those under 26 years old) had slightly higher rates of successful discharge than had participants in other age groups.

Program staff reported that most clients seem to appreciate the opportunities for services that they receive at CCDRC. CCDRC's success is also reflected in participants' self-reports. Clients' responses toward the program were overwhelmingly favorable. More than 90 percent of the participants responding to a survey agreed or strongly agreed that they felt safe in the

program, that the CCDRC staff behaved appropriately and professionally and were supportive of their recovery. They also felt that the program challenged their old beliefs and attitudes and taught them practical and useful skills. Most clients seem to truly appreciate that CCDRC gives them ample opportunities to change, and many clients noted that program staff treat them professionally and respectfully.

In addition, the working relationships among program staff were very positive and robust. Throughout CCDRC's history, TASC and DCSI staff have refined the program in response to clients' needs, and they have devised strategies for collaboration, coordination, and effective performance that would be very difficult to replicate.

Thus, the CCDRC has been subjected to numerous evaluations to assess operational processes, participant characteristics and short-term impact/outcomes. These evaluations have consistently found that CCDRC program participants exhibit a number of risk factors that increase their likelihood of continued drug use and recidivism. Nonetheless, the program has been able to achieve measurable reductions in substance use and criminal activity while the participants are enrolled and receiving program services. However, there have been no assessments of the long-term impact that participation in the CCDRC has on criminal activity. Indeed, there have been relatively few long-term outcome assessments of DRCs in the United States. The present research fills this void and builds on the previous process and short-term impact evaluations of the program.

Long-term outcomes of CCDRC participants

Methodology and information sources

To determine the long-term/post-discharge outcomes (recidivism rates) of CCDRC participants, 1,391 clients admitted to the CCDRC program during 1995 were tracked through criminal history and Cook County Jail information systems. Recidivism was defined as an arrest

or incarceration in the Cook County Jail³ subsequent to program discharge during the follow-up period. Arrest information was gathered from Chicago and Illinois State Police arrest records. Reincarceration information was limited only to those in the Cook County Jail and was determined through a review of automated CCDOC incarceration records. The follow-up period was from the date of release from the program through June 1, 1998 for reincarcerations and through September 1, 1998 for rearrests.⁴

Because the length of participation varied among clients, the length of time they were tracked from discharge to the end of the data collection period also varied. Consequently, some participants who were released earlier had twice as long to recidivate than those released later. Hence, the length of time for the follow-up period was standardized to allow for a uniform measurement of recidivism among the discharged participants.

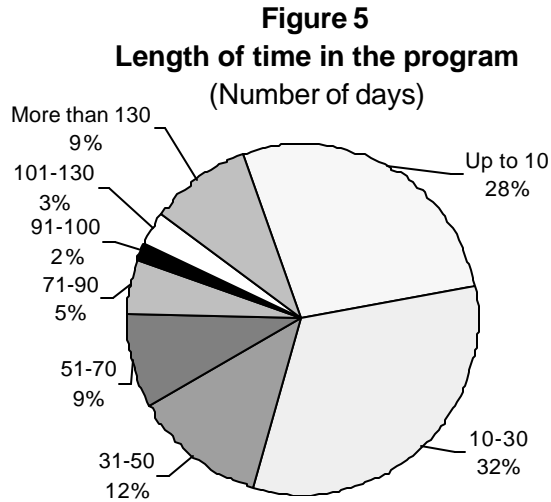
Recidivism was analyzed with a number of different techniques. The overall recidivism rate during a standardized follow-up period--the first 12 months following release--was examined as well as differences in these rates between the treatment and control groups. Survival analyses measured how recidivism rates changed over time and determined the amount of time it took before participants were rearrested or reincarcerated.

To assess the effect of exposure to program services on recidivism, differences in outcomes were examined on the basis of their length of time in the program. Most program participants were in the program for very short stays. Almost two-thirds of them spent fewer than 31 days in

³ Only charges for new arrests after program discharge are counted as rearrests. However, all incarcerations after program discharge, including violations, are counted as reincarcerations.

⁴ Defendants who leave the CCDRC program but are incarcerated in the jail have a discharge date from CCDRC that is different from the date they are ultimately released from CCDOC custody. Hence, the period during which criminal activity is tracked, starts from the date defendants were released from CCDOC custody instead of the date they were discharged from the CCDRC program. Because they had no tracking period, those who were sentenced to jail or prison for their qualifying case(s) or for any other pending case(s) that was disposed of shortly after the qualifying case(s) were also excluded from the study. A description of who was eliminated from the study and why is included in Appendix B.

the CCDRC. The average number of days spent in the program was 49, with half of the participants being in the program 20 days or less (Figure 5).

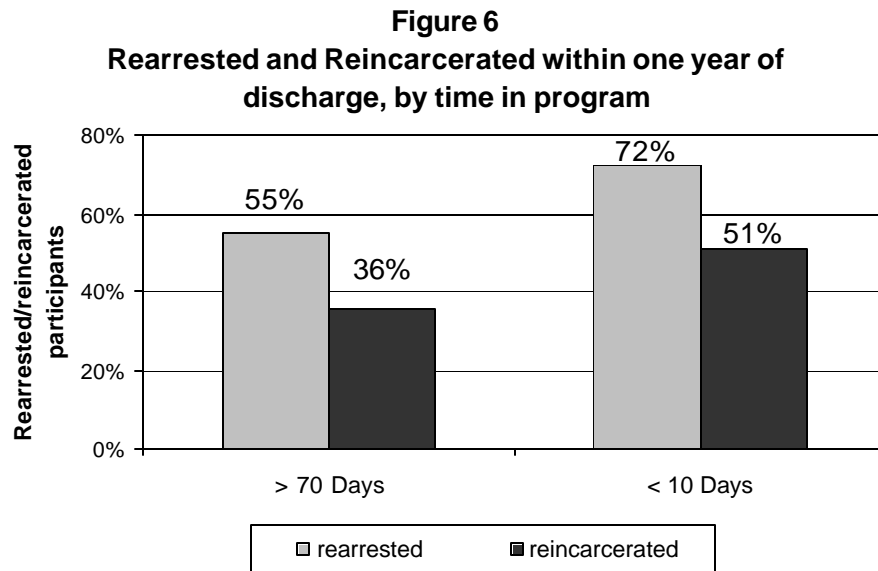


Separate analyses were performed for those in the program for fewer than 10 days (the “control group”) and those in the program for at least 70 days (the “treatment group”). Those in the program for fewer than 10 days received little or no rehabilitative services. By contrast, those in the program for at least 70 days received a substantial amount of program services. Therefore, by comparing these two groups the effects of program participation on subsequent rearrest rates can be examined.

Standardized recidivism rates across program participants

As shown in Figure 6, one year after their release from the CCDOC, the treatment group (participants who remained in the program at least 70 days) had a significantly lower recidivism rate (rearrest and reincarceration) than the control group (those in the program fewer than 10 days). Slightly more than half of the treatment group was rearrested within one year following their CCDRC discharge, whereas almost three-quarters of the control group were rearrested within that same period. Similarly, about one-third of the treatment group was reincarcerated within one year, compared with just over one-half of the control group. Across all program

participants, 65 percent were rearrested within one year, and 46 percent had been reincarcerated within a year.



Time to failure/survival analyses across program participants

Among participants who were rearrested or reincarcerated, those in the treatment group took longer to do so than did those in the control group. Almost half of those in the program for fewer than 10 days (control group) who were rearrested, were arrested within three months, compared with only about one-quarter of the rearrested treatment group. A significantly smaller percentage of participants (14 percent) who spent 10 days or fewer in CCDRC remained arrest free for 14 months or longer, compared with those who spent more than 70 days in the program (25 percent), ($\gamma=.151, p<.001$).⁵ (Table1).

⁵ The gamma statistic as opposed to the chi-square is used in this analysis because it measures the association between two or more ordinal-level variables. It determines the degree to which the values of one variable changes with the values of another, and whether or not this change is statistically significant. Chi-square measures the same significance of associations but in sample results that are inferred to the sample's larger population. This study group is a 100 percent sample consisting of the entire population of participants who entered the CCDRC in 1995 and were at risk after discharge.

Table 1

Time before rearrest	Length of stay in the CCDRC	
	<u><10 days</u>	<u>>70 days</u>
3 months or less	47.8%	27.0%
4 to 7 months	20.7%	30.9%
8 to 13months	17.5%	16.9%
14 months or more	14.0%	25.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

The same pattern was found for time to reincarceration. Within three months following their release from the program, more than twice as many of those who were in the CCDRC for fewer than 10 days, compared with those in the program for at least 70 days (40.3 percent versus 17.3, respectively), were reincarcerated. Almost 30 percent of those in the CCDRC for 70 days or more remained incarceration-free for 16 months or longer, compared with 19 percent of those who participated in the CCDRC for 10 days or fewer (gamma=185, $p < .001$) (Table2).

Table 2

Time before reincarceration	Length of stay in the CCDRC	
	<u><10 days</u>	<u>> 70 days</u>
3 months or less	40.3%	17.3%
4 to 7 months	22.6%	25.9%
8 to 15 months	18.1%	27.3%
16 months or more	18.9%	29.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Survival analysis

Another way to examine CCDRC's impact on recidivism is to quantify the time-to-recidivate more precisely by dividing the time-to-rearrest and reincarceration into days and weeks instead of months. Within these time intervals, one can measure how quickly participants recidivate based on their length of stay in the CCDRC. To ascertain how quickly participants recidivated after release and to determine whether those who experienced shorter stays in the CCDRC

recidivated more quickly than others, a survival analysis was performed. Survival analysis shows the patterns of rearrest and reincarceration measured in the number of days since CCDOC release for participants who were in the CCDRC for different lengths of time. Tracking the group's recidivism within one year after their release standardizes the follow-up period.

The average number of days to rearrest and reincarceration was calculated for each length-of-stay group to explore if the groups differed in their survival times. On average, participants from the control group (those in the CCDRC for 10 days or fewer) had shorter survival times than those in the treatment group (in the CCDRC for more than 70 days). Mean days to recidivism are presented in Table 3.

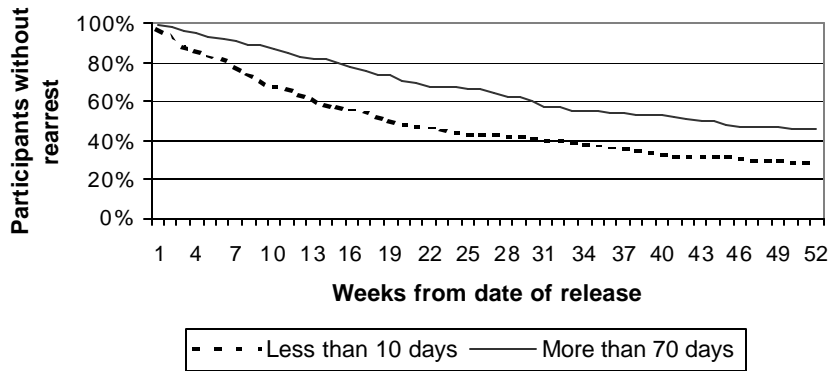
Table 3
Mean days to Rearrest and Reincarceration

Length of stay in CCDRC	Rearrests	Reincarceration
10 days or less	302.76	488.32
More than 70 days	424.96	546.17
Mean difference between groups	! 122.19	! 57.85

On average, the treatment group survived 122 days longer to rearrest than the control group (t-test = ! 4.055, p. <.01). The average number of days to rearrest for the control group was 303 days compared with 425 days for the treatment group. The same was found for survival time to reincarceration; the treatment group survived 57 days longer than the control group did (t-test = ! 1.866, p.=.062).

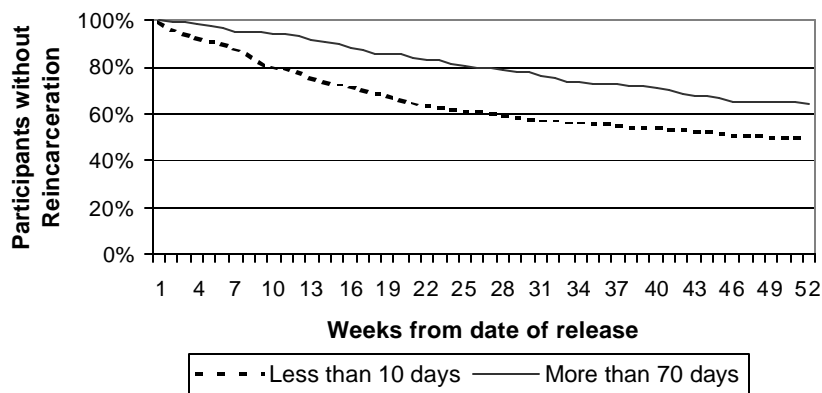
Figure 7 further illustrates participants' different levels of rearrest based on their length of time in the program. Those who were in the program for 10 days or fewer had higher rearrest percentages during the entire follow-up period than those who were in the CCDRC for more than 70 days. A greater percentage of persons in the treatment group also remained arrest-free one year after release from the CCDRC.

Figure 7
Rearrest survival analysis, by length of stay



By the eighth week of the standardized 12-month follow-up period, 30 percent of those in the program for fewer than 10 days, and 11 percent in the program for more than 70 days, had been rearrested. Within one year, only 28 percent who spent fewer than 10 days in the CCDRC still had not been rearrested, compared with 45 percent in for 70 days or more had not been rearrested (Wilcoxon= 43.65, $p < .0001$). Those with longer time in the CCDRC also had longer survival times before reincarceration (Figure 8).

Figure 8
Reincarceration survival analysis, by length of stay



By the eighth week of program discharge, 18 percent of those who spent fewer than 10 days in the CCDRC and 6 percent of those who spent more than 70 days had been reincarcerated. By

one year, 49 percent of discharged participants who had been in the program for fewer than 10 days and 64 percent who had been in the program for more than 70 days still had not been reincarcerated (Wilcoxon= 24.71, $p < .0001$).

Based on these analyses, the length of time spent in the CCDRC had a significant effect on recidivism outcomes. Those who spent more time in the CCDRC benefited more from the program than those who spent less time or no time at all. Not only did a smaller proportion of them recidivate, they also remained arrest- and incarceration-free longer.

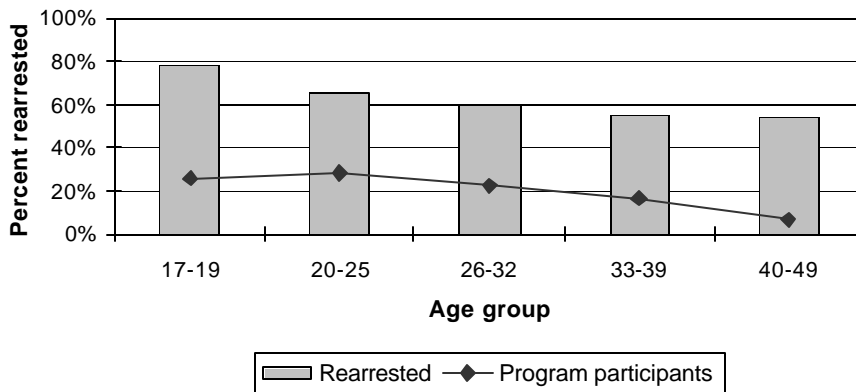
Other factors associated with CCDRC participant recidivism

In addition to differing lengths of program participation, other factors can influence rearrests and reincarcerations. Two of the characteristics that have frequently been found to predict participants' success or failure in correctional programs are age and criminal history.

Age

Research has repeatedly found that younger defendants have higher rates of recidivism than older defendants (Mair and Nee, 1992), which has also been reported in a study of Cook County pretrial releasees (Martin, 1992). Consistent with these previous studies, the current research also found that a significantly larger percentage of participants in the younger age groups than in the older ones were rearrested ($\gamma = .263$, $p < .001$). As age increased, the percentage of participants who were rearrested declined. For example, within one year following release, nearly 80 percent of those in the 17-to-19 age group were rearrested, compared with 54 percent of those between the ages of 40 and 49 (Figure 9).

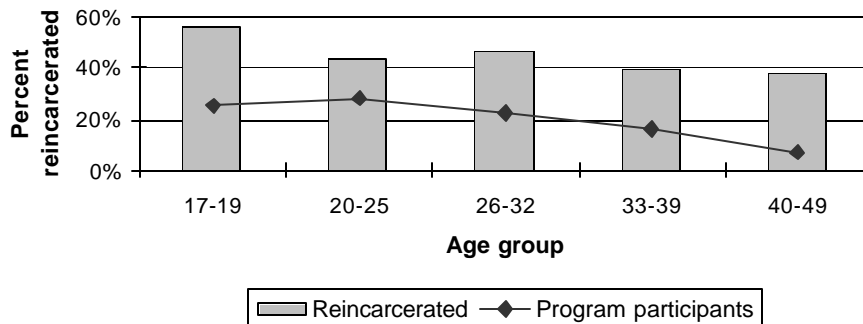
Figure 9
Percent rearrested within one year by age group



However, there were substantially fewer participants in the older age groups. Those over the age of 39 accounted for only eight percent of all program participants.

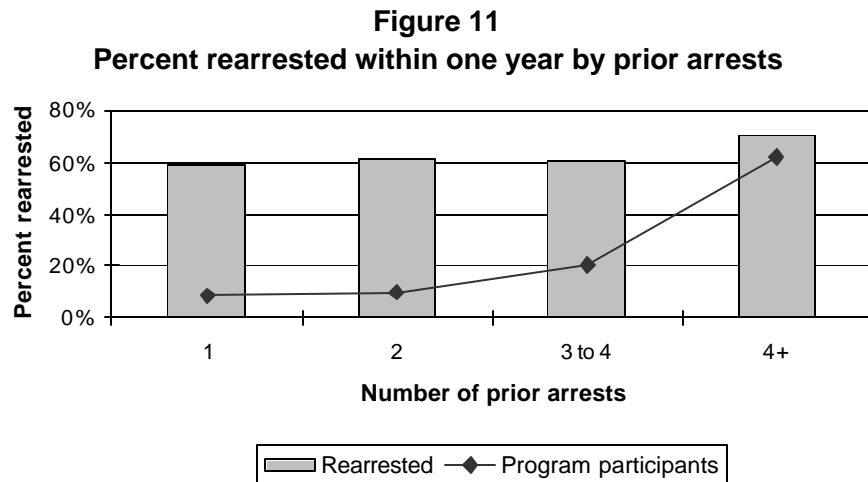
A significantly larger percentage of participants in the younger age groups than in the older ones were reincarcerated ($\gamma = .132, p < .001$). Again, there was a gradual decrease in the percent reincarcerated as age increased. Fifty-seven percent of those between the ages of 17 to 19 were reincarcerated within one year, whereas 38 percent of those between the ages of 40 to 49 were reincarcerated (Figure 10).

Figure 10
Percent reincarcerated within one year by age group



Criminal history

Prior involvement in the criminal justice system was also related to recidivism. Participants with extensive criminal histories were more likely to be rearrested during the follow-up period (Figure 11)



Among former program participants with prior arrests (87 percent of the sample), a significantly greater percentage of them with four or more prior arrests were rearrested compared with those who had only one ($\gamma=.252, p <.001$). As the number of prior arrests increased, the proportion that was rearrested also increased. Fifty-nine percent of those with only one prior arrest were rearrested within one year, whereas 70 percent of those with four or more prior arrests were rearrested. However, there were substantially fewer participants who had only one prior arrest (8 percent) compared with 62 percent who had at least four. Similarly, among those who had prior incarcerations (51 percent), as the number of prior incarcerations increased, so did the rate of reincarceration ($\gamma=.222, p <.01$).

Isolating the impact of CCDRC participation: understanding recidivism through multivariate analysis

The current results show that recidivism was related to several factors, including age, criminal history, and length of time in the CCDRC. Each of these factors can independently contribute to outcomes. Moreover, specific combinations of these factors characterize different participants and, taken together, might have varying effects on recidivism. Multivariate analysis can examine recidivism outcomes by examining participant characteristics in relation to one another and can identify the factors that exert the most influence on outcomes and which participants are most or least likely to fail (recidivate) based on their combinations of characteristics. When we statistically control for differences in age and prior arrests, we can isolate the effects of length of participation in the CCDRC on outcomes.

The multivariate technique used for this analysis was logistic regression. Logistic regression is appropriate when the dependent variable is nominal or categorical. The study's two outcome measures (dependent variables) are rearrests for a new crime and reincarcerations in the Cook County Jail after program release. Each outcome measure has one of two possible values: 0 (no rearrests or reincarcerations during follow-up) or 1 (rearrest or reincarceration during follow-up). A table with the results of the logistic regression analysis is included in Appendix C.

Time-at-risk as a confounding factor on recidivism

Time-at-risk is the number of days from release to the end of the rearrest and reincarceration data collection periods. Including risk time as a participant characteristic in the multivariate analyses standardizes the risk time for all participants, and determines if risk time confounds the effects of other characteristics on recidivism. In other words, standardizing risk further isolates the effects of age, prior record or length in the program on recidivism. If risk time was a confounding factor, the independent effects of one or all other characteristics on recidivism

could disappear or diminish after the effect of risk time was controlled for or held constant in the analysis.

Rearrest

Based on the logistic regression analysis, criminal history had the strongest influence of all the variables on the odds of rearrest for a new crime.⁶ The impact of each of the predictor variables on rearrest, with all other variables being controlled, is as follows:

- The older the program participant, the lower the likelihood of rearrest for a new crime, after controlling for criminal history, length of stay in the CCDRC and time-at-risk ($B = -.0966$, $p < .0001$).
- The more prior arrests a participant had, the higher the likelihood of rearrest for a new crime, after controlling for age, length of stay in the CCDRC and time-at-risk ($B = .1379$, $p < .0001$).
- As the length of stay in the program increased the likelihood of rearrest for a new crime decreased, even after controlling for age, criminal history and time-at-risk. Participants who were in the CCDRC longer were less likely to be rearrested for a new crime than those in the program for shorter periods of time ($B = -.0035$, $p < .01$).
- The independent effect of time at risk on rearrest was non significant ($p = .1003$). In other words, time at risk, even after controlling for age, prior record and length in the program, had no effect on rearrest (i.e., participants who had longer times-at-risk were no more likely to be rearrested when compared with those who had shorter time-at-risk).

⁶ Using odds ratio analysis, such as that in logistic regression, to determine which characteristic is most influential on recidivism is sensitive to the distribution of the variables. For example, if a large percentage of the defendants had prior arrests but the ages of defendants varied widely, prior arrest would appear to have more influence than age on the odds that a defendant will recidivate. Standardizing the influence of the characteristics on the outcomes helps to refine the contribution of each variable. Standardized (Beta) coefficients were generated to determine which characteristic had the most influence on the likelihood of rearrest. The Beta coefficient for age was $-.307$, $.346$ for prior arrests, $-.109$ for length of stay in the program and $.073$ for days at risk, which means for rearrests the most influential defendant characteristic is prior arrests, followed closely by age and then length of stay in the program and lastly days at risk.

Reincarceration

As with rearrests, the most influential variable in determining the likelihood that a participant would be reincarcerated was criminal history⁷. The following describes the relationships between age, prior record, length of stay in the program and time-at-risk on reincarceration:

- The older the participant, the lower the likelihood of reincarceration after controlling for criminal history, length of stay in the CCDRC and risk time ($B = -.0414$, $p < .0001$).
- Having prior incarcerations increased the likelihood of being reincarcerated after controlling for age, time in the CCDRC and risk time ($B = .5311$, $p < .0001$).
- As the length of stay in the CCDRC increased, the likelihood of reincarceration decreased, after controlling for age, criminal history and risk time. Participants who spent longer time in the CCDRC were less likely to be reincarcerated ($B = -.0021$, $p < .05$).
- Participants with longer risk times after release were more likely than those with shorter risk times to be reincarcerated after controlling for age, prior incarceration and length of stay in the program ($B = .0012$, $p < .05$).

Not only was there an independent effect of risk time on reincarceration, it also appeared to have slightly diminished the effect of length of stay in the program on reincarceration. Length of stay in the program, before controlling for risk time, was significant at $p = .0000$. After controlling for risk time, the significance level dropped to $p = .0331$. Despite the confounding effect that risk time had on length of stay, the independent effect of length of stay in the program on reincarceration remained highly statistically significant, that is, longer time in the program, with all other factors being equal, consistently decreased the likelihood of reincarceration.

⁷ The standardized Beta coefficients generated for reincarceration was $.083$ for age, $.272$ for prior incarceration $.086$ for length of stay in the program and $.087$ for time at risk, which establishes prior incarceration as the most influential characteristic followed equally by risk time, length of stay in the program and age.

In summary, participants most likely to recidivate were younger, with extensive criminal histories, and less time spent in the CCDRC. Those who were least likely to recidivate were older, with less prior criminal justice involvement, and more time spent in the CCDRC. More time in the CCDRC decrease the likelihood of recidivism after controlling for other factors.

Conclusions

Most of the previous evaluations of day reporting centers in the United States, and all of the previous studies of the CCDRC, have examined program implementation effectiveness and short-term program effects. CCDRC evaluations have found these program participants are at high-risk to recidivate. They are characterized as heavy drug users, with extensive criminal histories and, because they are a pretrial population, do not remain in the CCDRC for very long. Despite these factors the CCDRC is extremely successful. Evaluators have consistently reported that program participants show dramatic decreases in illegal drug use, low rearrest rates, and high court-appearance rates while participating in the program.

The current study takes these findings one step further, and shows that even after participants have left the program, there appear to be residual benefits. Among participants who had longer exposure to the program, recidivism rates were lower than those who only received minimal service exposure. In addition, some participants benefited more from the CCDRC than others. As Table 4 shows, those that benefit the least are younger participants with extensive criminal histories, less time spent in the CCDRC and over-represented in the CCDRC population.

Table 4: Summary of recidivism rates based on participant characteristics within one year after release

	Rearrested	Reincarcerated	Participants
Age			
30 and under	70%	49%	67%
Over 40	50	36	07
Prior arrests			
At least one	66	47	94
None	40	38	06
Prior incarcerations			
At least one	70	55	55
None	57	36	45
Length of stay in CCDRC			
Less than one month	70	51	60
More than one month	57	39	40
Track assignment at discharge			
Orientation	72	52	54
Main Tracks (C through K)	49	31	20

This research is the first to evaluate the impact of the CCDRC on long-term recidivism. The research leaves several important questions unanswered such as:

- How much influence do other factors such as literacy, marital status, educational level, or nature of substance abuse problems have on long-term recidivism of CCDRC participants?
- How would these factors interact with criminal history, age or time spent in the program?

The assessment of recidivism by length of stay in the program provides a valid indicator of CCDRC's effects on clients. However, analysis should be expanded to include different correlates of program outcomes. For example, the effectiveness of job training or GED services can be evaluated by measuring how many participants who received those services actually became employed or obtained a GED.

Those who were in the CCDRC longer had better recidivism outcomes, after controlling for age, criminal history and risk time. Because these defendants are pretrial, they are in the

CCDRC program only as long as their case is active in court. One recommendation to enhance the benefits of the CCDRC would be to establish a mechanism for keeping participants in the program longer. For example, more of those with other cases still pending after CCDRC discharge could be ordered by the court to remain in the CCDRC until all other cases receive dispositions. Another option is for those who receive jail sentences to serve their time in the CCDRC program. This decision, however, would require collaboration among judges, Cook County Sheriff Office administrators, and the CCDRC program staff.

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APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF CCDRC PROGRAM SERVICE TRACKS

Following are the tracks and services that were available to participants in 1995

Track A: Resistance—personal control, responsibility, alcohol, and drug treatment.

Track B: Main treatment—intensive outpatient treatment

Track C: Accountability—relapse prevention

Track D: Community re-entry, Job Club

Track E: Traffickers—possession and drug charges; no drug usage

Track F: Work track—same as D track, but in the evening

Track G: Violence prevention—strategies to prevent violent behavior and interrupt behavior associated with it

Track I: Call in—participants working full time or going to school full time

Track J: Outpatient drug treatment—in the evening and relapse prevention for participants who are in the night tracks

Track K: Evening literacy, GED classes

Track Y: Intake assessment and orientation in the evening

Track Z: Intake assessment and orientation in the morning

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY METHODOLOGY

Day Reporting Center sample

All clients who entered the Day Reporting Center program in 1995 were included in this analysis. Program participants during 1995 were selected for the study for two reasons. First, program services were well established by 1995. Second, most of those who had entered the program in 1995 also left that same year and therefore had been in the community for a sufficient period of time to allow for a reasonable follow-up period.

In 1995, the classes and group sessions within each track were consistent throughout the year, and the tracks offered to clients did not change. Eighty-three percent of the defendants who entered the CCDRC program in 1995 also left the program and were released from the CCDOC that same year. By the end of 1996, 99 percent of the participants had been discharged from the program and released from CCDOC. This is important because in the majority of cases enough time had elapsed for the defendants to be at risk of recidivating for up to two years.

Eliminating defendants from the study

The group of CCDRC participants that comprised the sample for this study includes all defendants who entered the CCDRC in 1995.⁸ CCDRC staff provided a list of these participants along with identifying information about them such as the Cook County Department of Corrections (DOC) numbers which are assigned by the Cook County Jail. There were 2,104 participants who entered the program in 1995.

Thirty-two percent (686) of the participants were excluded from the study because they were imprisoned after release from jail, or because it wasn't clear that they had been discharged from

⁸ This is a 100 percent sample. Everyone who entered the program in 1995 and were at risk after discharge was included in the study.

CCDOC. Essentially, this group of defendants did not have a follow-up period during which they were at risk of recidivating. That reduced the size of the study

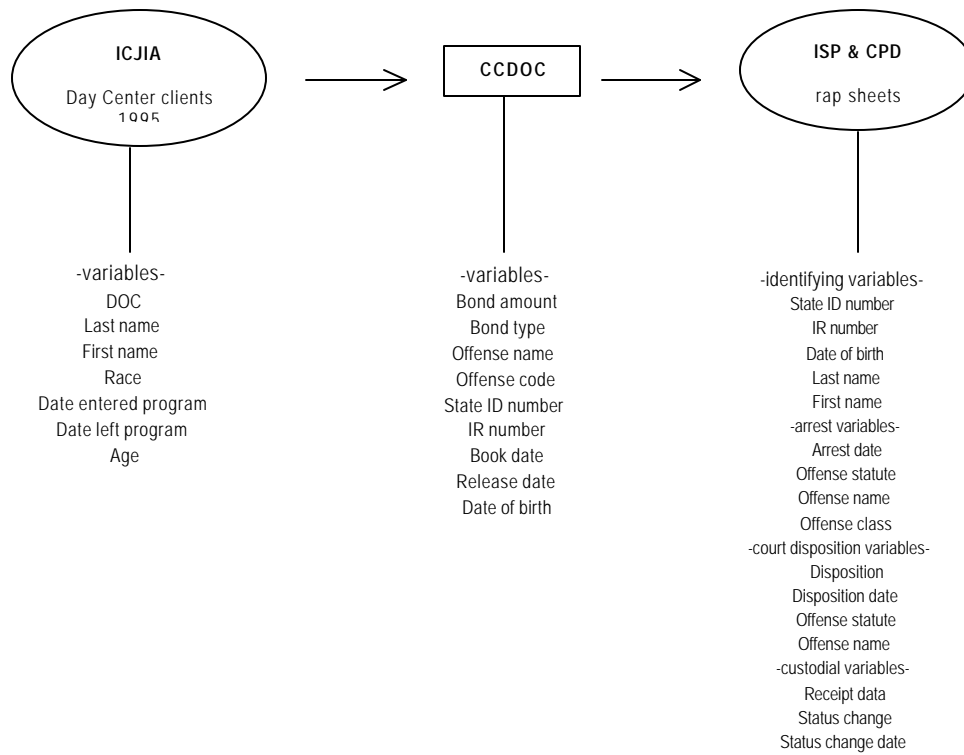
sample from 2,104 to 1,418. Fourteen participants had been in the CCDRC program more than once in 1995 but were counted only once in the sample. Duplicate records were excluded. Two participants had died shortly after discharge from the program and release from jail. They also were excluded from the sample. This reduced the size of the sample from 1,418 to 1,402.

From the list of names provided by CCDRC staff, jail staff generated identifying information for each of the participants. This information included the Identification Record (IR) number assigned by the Chicago Police Department and the State Identification (SID) number assigned by the Illinois State Police. Eleven participants whose names and DOC numbers were sent to the jail for identifying information were replaced with other people who had not participated in the CCDRC program in 1995 but had the same DOC number as the ones who did. These 11 defendants also were excluded from the study, reducing the sample size to its final count of 1,391. The IR and SID numbers, along with the other identifying information was ultimately used to collect criminal history records (rap sheets) and incarceration records.

Recidivism data in Cook County

The Cook County Jail, the Illinois State Police and the Chicago Police Department provided recidivism data for this study. The Cook County Jail compiled identifying information on the study group that ISP and CPD used to locate arrest histories (rap sheets). Figure 12 illustrates the process that was undertaken, including the data sources and information provided to collect the recidivism data for this study.

Figure 12



In addition to supplying identifying information for locating rap sheets, the Cook County Jail also provided reincarceration data for the study sample. Using the DOC numbers the Cook County Jail generated sheets that contained a complete history of the defendant's incarceration.

APPENDIX C: LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

Logistic regression results, rearrested (yes or no)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Exp(B)</u>	Model improvement
Age	-.0966	.0000	.9074	43.02
Prior arrests	.1379	.0000	1.1454	85.55
Days in CCDRC	-.0035	.0020	.9954	25.61
Days at risk	.0011	.1003	1.0011	2.65

Logistic regression results, reincarcerated (yes or no)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Exp(B)</u>	Model improvement
Age	-.0414	.0000	.9584	24.07
Prior incarceration	.5311	.0000	1.7009	85.91
Days in CCDRC	-.0021	.0331	.9979	17.43
Days at risk	.0012	.0244	1.0012	5.10

This report presents recidivism statistics for offenders released from the custody of the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections. Recidivism is measured by three different methods in this report: rearrest, reincarceration, and overall recidivism (see box below for a description of each measure). Recidivism Defined: Rearrest is measured as the first instance of arrest after inmates are released from state prison. Overall Recidivism is measured as the first instance of any type of rearrest or reincarceration after inmates are released from state prison. Highlights: Approximately 6 in 10 released inmates recidivate (are rearrested or reincarcerated) within three years of release from prison. After the arrival, a 10-day quarantine is required, regardless of the test result. The quarantine may be terminated early if a negative COVID test result is obtained no earlier than the fifth day after the entry. All citizens aged 14 and older must wear masks with FFP2 filters in all public places, including the airport. Analogues with the same or higher degree of protection are allowed. Day Reporting Centers (DRCs). 3-phase outpatient programs in which offenders report daily to central location for treatment programs, itinerary, and random drug testing Used for: defendants on pretrial release, convicted offenders on P&P, P&P violators as increased sanction All resources in one place, low staff to offender ratio Most exist in states that don't have intensive probation Accept high-risk offenders, capacity ranges. (Evaluation of DRCs). Program success influenced by local policy & practitioner decisions Rearrest rates influenced by actual offender behavior. DRC. (Completion Rates). More time spent in DRC reduces likelihood of rearrest or reincarceration --Ideal time spent is 70-120 days Employment, criminal history, age. Alternative/Problem Solving Courts. This report is the product of a joint initiative "the Aryeh Neier Fellowship" between Human Rights Watch and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to strengthen respect for human rights in the United States. This report is based on extensive desk research into Where possible, we reviewed public court records and case documents provided by individuals we interviewed. In addition to interviews, Human Rights Watch observed numerous supervision violation proceedings on nine separate days in Chatham County and Lowndes County, Georgia; Philadelphia County, Delaware County, and Montgomery County, Pennsylvania; and Milwaukee County and Brown County, Wisconsin. The Cook County Sheriff's Office Bureau of Information and Technology Business Intelligence Unit provides the daily reports to the Office of the Chief Judge. The Daily Report does not provide subcategory breakdown of the inmate population (e.g., pre-trial detainees, sentenced individuals, charged with felony or misdemeanor, etc.). In Cook County, every detainee charged with a criminal offense has the right to a bail hearing within 24 hours of detention. Detainees also have a right to representation by counsel in court. A representative of the National Center for State Courts has characterized the creation of this division as "novel." Data Reporting and Measurement.