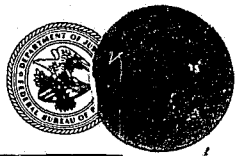


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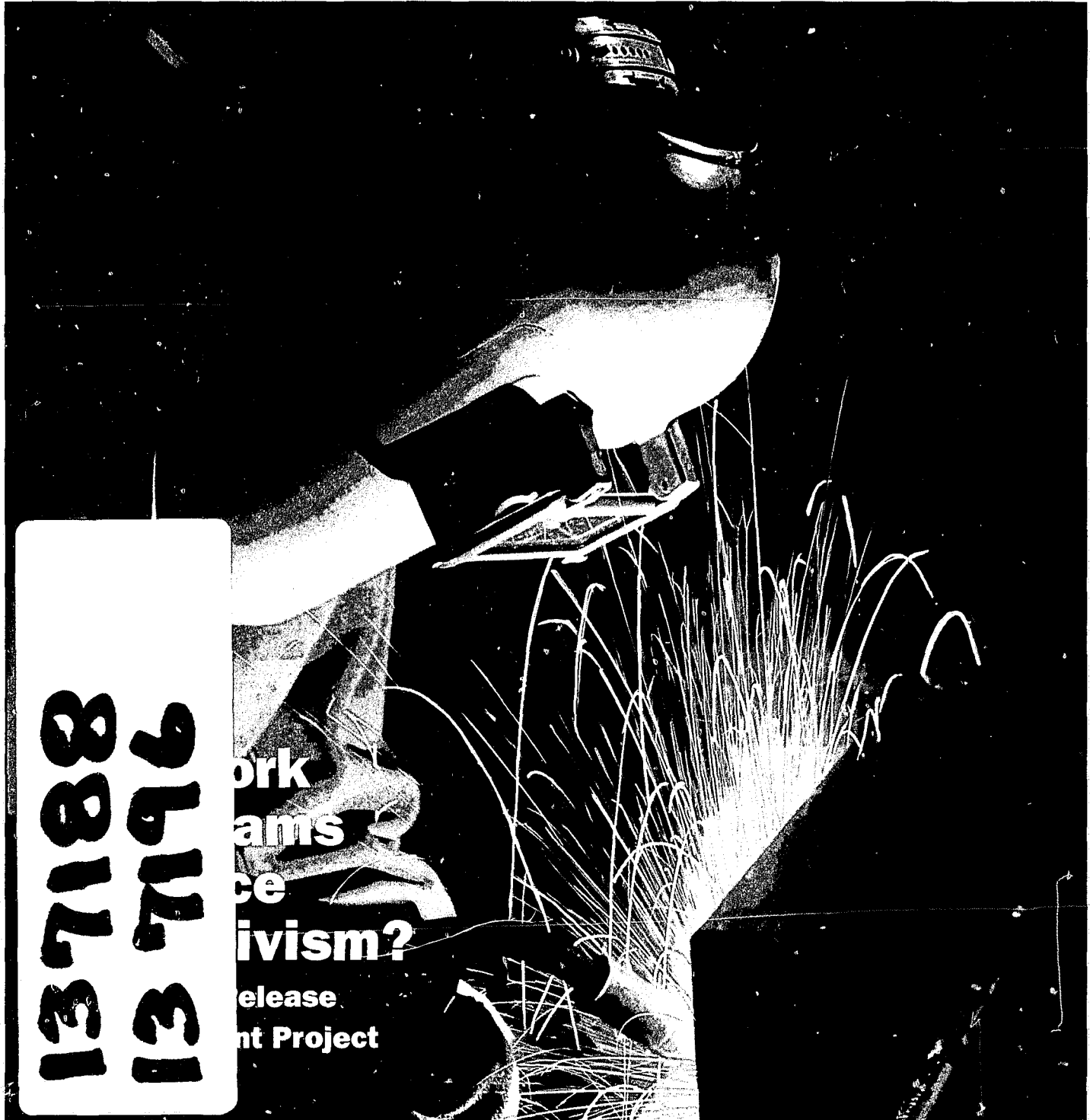


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Innovative Incarceration

Community corrections in the Federal Bureau of Prisons

Cory T. Way

In 1985, Maureen Murphy was convicted of mail fraud and obstruction of justice. While a secretary in a small New York law firm, Ms. Murphy helped an attorney submit inflated medical claims to insurance companies for clients involved in auto accidents. To make matters worse, Ms. Murphy attempted to induce key witnesses to change their testimony when a Federal grand jury began investigating the firm's questionable legal practices. Thirty-five years old, with only \$150 and a 1976 Pontiac to her name, Maureen Murphy was facing a 50-year prison term and a \$50,000 fine.

During sentencing, however, U.S. District Judge Jack B. Weinstein noted that Ms. Murphy was raised by hardworking parents in a harmonious family environment and was "by all accounts, an excellent and bright worker who has always been steadily employed." In addition, Judge Weinstein revealed that Ms. Murphy was both a high school and secretarial school graduate with no criminal history. Considering these factors and Ms. Murphy's financial situation, Judge Weinstein determined that a heavy fine "could never be paid and would accomplish nothing except to make it impossible for the defendant to live and rehabilitate herself." And a prison term, he concluded, would "undoubtedly help to destroy her."¹ Judge Weinstein ultimately determined that:

The sentencing of Maureen Murphy requires, in the court's opinion, a sentence not heretofore used in this District and almost never used in the country in the Federal court. It is used elsewhere in the world and is

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Attorney General Robert Kennedy

considered by some to be highly objectionable. The difference, however, is that in other countries it is used to repress political dissent and before trial. Here it will be used after a full trial where the defendant has been found guilty of a serious offense. The penalty is home detention.²

This sentence of "home detention" required Ms. Murphy to be restricted to her apartment, with the following exceptions: employment, medical treatment, religious services, food shopping, and serious emergencies. This unique arrangement was to be strictly enforced, with frequent visits and phone calls by correctional staff.

Why would the Courts elect to impose such sentences, when there have been similar cases of young, nonviolent offenders who were sent to prison in the past? The unprecedented rise in the Nation's prison population and the

increasing costs of incarceration have forced many officials to explore "other controls to prevent crime" that save money, ensure public safety, and deliver just punishment.³

A correctional crisis

The current system of punishing offenders in the United States relies primarily on incarceration and probation. This bifurcated response to errant behavior, however, does not necessarily correspond with the wide spectrum of criminal activity that is channeled into our polarized system of punishment.⁴ As a result, judges in many jurisdictions are often forced to sentence nonviolent offenders to prison, fueling overcrowding and the early release of more dangerous criminals. In other cases, recently sentenced violent offenders are placed on probation, or simply released, because prison facilities are overburdened.

And the number of offenders continues to rise. Since 1980, the Nation's prisons have experienced their greatest population explosion in history. In the first 6 months of 1991 alone the prison population rose by almost 4 percent. There are more than 700,000 inmates in State prison systems, about 70,000 in the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and more than 400,000 men, women, and children presently incarcerated in jails and juvenile facilities. The United States is therefore incarcerating well over 1 million individuals—nearly 2 percent of the Nation's adult population.⁵

Why are incarceration rates so high? Stricter State and Federal sentencing structures, aggressive prosecution of the "war on drugs," significant increases in the number of offenses in certain crime categories, and greater public support for

punitive (rather than rehabilitative) correctional approaches have all contributed to the increase in the number of offenders serving time.

Even though the Federal Bureau of Prisons has managed to keep pace with these unprecedented increases over the past decade, the Bureau could soon be faced with an even greater challenge: a 50-percent or greater increase in the current inmate population within the next 5 years. Even the most ambitious prison construction program would be hard pressed to meet this increase—and even if it could, there would be a concomitant demand for seasoned correctional officers and experienced prison managers, who could not be hired, trained, and professionally developed at such an unprecedented rate.

To prevent a correctional crisis, many judges, legislators, and prison officials have begun to explore the efficacy of community corrections programs, such as home detention, designed to punish nonviolent offenders in a nonincarcerative environment. Community corrections programs seek to punish effectively, but also to reserve prison space for dangerous criminals, reduce the costs of incarceration, promote a safe environment for correctional staff and inmates, and, above all, provide the most appropriate sentences for offenders such as Maureen Murphy.

What are community corrections programs?

Community corrections initiatives are *correctional programs* designed to punish offenders and to reintegrate them into productive community living. These programs are designed for low-risk, nonviolent offenders.



Bureau of Prisons Director James V. Bennett with Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Halfway houses were developed during Kennedy's tenure in office.

Community corrections programs can require an offender to live in a special facility or at his or her home. *Facility* programs require offenders to stay at a special minimum-security correctional facility within the community, most often a “halfway house.”⁶ Offenders must seek employment and enroll in counseling programs. In contrast, *home confinement* programs require offenders to live in their houses or apartments and adhere to an extensive list of rules and regulations. Electronic monitoring devices are often used in conjunction with home confinement.

Offenders can be placed in community corrections programs in basically four ways. First, a judge may sentence an offender directly to a program. The offender is most often required to participate if given a direct court commitment. Second, offenders already serving prison terms can be transferred into these programs. A releasing authority, usually a warden or a parole board, has the

option of transferring an eligible prisoner to a community corrections program. Third, a judge may sentence an offender to serve time both in prison and in a community corrections program. As with direct court commitments, these “split sentences” generally present no options to the offender. Fourth, offenders can be consigned to these programs as a result of violating the terms of their probation or parole agreements. A judge or parole authority can assign an offender to a community corrections program rather than place the offender in jail or prison for a non-threatening, technical violation.

Federal involvement in community corrections

It was the Bureau of Prisons, in fact, that catalyzed the use of community corrections programs in the United States.⁷ Shortly after assuming office, Attorney General Robert Kennedy contacted Bureau of Prisons Director James V. Bennett; together they “hit on the idea of the halfway houses.” At that time there were only three halfway houses operating in the U.S., each managed by a religious organization. These facilities provided temporary housing for offenders who had no place to live upon release from prison. While Kennedy and Bennett were impressed with these programs, they felt that the halfway house concept should be expanded. As Kennedy explained: “We wanted more than just a shelter. We wanted to develop a center where... [the offender] would be given the support and guidance to...make the transition from institutional to community life less abruptly, less like slamming into a brick wall.”⁸

To broaden the scope of these programs, Kennedy and Bennett decided that the Federal halfway houses would accept offenders on a *pre-release* basis. Those

qualified could serve the last 90 to 120 days of their sentences in these Federal halfway houses. This would give offenders a "head start" in their transition from prison to community life.

In 1961, the Federal Bureau of Prisons opened three halfway houses, officially called "pre-release guidance centers," in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. The Chicago and New York facilities were opened in local YMCA's, while the Los Angeles facility operated from a former Baptist seminary. The Chicago and Los Angeles facilities were staffed predominantly by Bureau employees, while the New York center was staffed by students and faculty from Springfield College in Massachusetts. These programs were designed exclusively for juvenile offenders.

The Bureau's experiments with these new, pre-release halfway houses sparked a nationwide movement among correctional agencies, religious organizations, and community groups. The International Halfway House Association was formed in 1963. This organization's principal aims were to provide a forum for the exchange of information and set standards to improve halfway house operation and program development. The Bureau of Prisons actively participated in the new association; in fact, a Bureau employee, Woody Toft, served as its first president.

With three promising centers and more than 200 participating offenders, Attorney General Kennedy wrote in 1964:

The halfway houses were originally an experiment. I feel as [Bureau of Prisons Director] Jim Bennett does that they are no longer an experiment. They have proved them-



Senator Edward Long (D-MO), chairman of the Senate's national penitentiaries subcommittee, provided legislative support for the new concept.

selves....It costs only a portion of [imprisonment] to give the inmate the benefits of a pre-release guidance center before paroling him to the community. It is this extra edge that pays off in difficult cases. I think it is an investment that we can ill afford not to make.⁹

Senator Edward Long, chairman of the Senate's national penitentiaries subcommittee, visited each of the new centers and similarly concluded that "[n]o large city would be without a jail, and if we are to lick the crime and delinquency problem, the halfway house should be considered an equally essential counterpart."¹⁰

Congress agreed, and within a year it passed the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965, enabling adult offenders to be eligible for halfway houses and other correctional programs such as furloughs and work release. Two years later, the President's Commission on Law En-

forcement and the Administration of Justice firmly supported the objectives of the new initiatives:

The task of corrections therefore includes building or rebuilding solid ties between the offender and the community, integrating or reintegrating the offender into community life—restoring family ties, obtaining employment and education, securing in the larger sense a place for the offender in the routine functioning of society.¹¹

Federal judges also recognized the benefits of the halfway houses, and soon began sentencing offenders *directly* to the facilities as an "intermediate sanction." The halfway houses provided Federal judges with a more complete spectrum of sentencing options to better match the complexity of offenders' criminal activities. As a result, halfway houses began accepting two classes of offenders: *pre-release* and *direct commitment*.

With congressional, executive, and judicial support, the need for halfway house programs outgrew the existing Federal facilities. In response, in 1967 the Bureau began contracting with cities, counties, States, and private agencies to provide halfway house services. The Federal halfway house program continued to grow throughout the 1970's. The daily average number of offenders in Federal halfway houses went from about 300 in 1967 to 2,000 one decade later. During that same period the number of Federal contract halfway houses went from 5 to 400. In 1983 the Bureau ceased operating its own halfway houses and began to contract exclusively with privately operated programs. Today, about 350 private halfway houses serve nearly 4,000 Federal offenders.

Home confinement

Home confinement is a much newer program in the Federal system. Not until 1986 did the Bureau begin seriously implementing this initiative. Today, the Bureau uses two types of home confinement: a "curfew parole" program and a "home detention" program which uses electronic monitoring devices.

Curfew parole

Curfew parole, which began in March 1986, is a cooperative effort of the Bureau of Prisons, the U.S. Probation System, and the U.S. Parole Commission. The program is designed for prisoners who would otherwise qualify for halfway house placement, but who have secured employment and do not require the support services, such as drug and alcohol counseling, that most halfway houses provide.¹² A prisoner approved for the program may have his or her release date advanced up to 60 days. The offender must be employed and remain at his or her residence between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m., unless given prior permission from the supervising U.S. Probation Officer.

About 3,200 offenders participated in the Bureau's curfew program from 1986 to 1989. Since its inception the program has freed more than \$4,000,000 worth of prison space for offenders who required a higher level of security.¹³

Home detention and electronic monitoring

A second type of home confinement employed by the Federal system is home detention using electronic monitoring devices. The regulations for the program are similar to those for curfew parole. The difference is that somewhat higher



Bureau of Prisons Director J. Michael Quinlan (left) with representatives of a home detention equipment manufacturer at a recent judicial conference.

risk offenders could be allowed to participate in electronic monitoring programs because of the more restrictive nature of wearing an "electronic shackle." The program is designed primarily for offenders who would otherwise be sent to a halfway house. Participating offenders may have their release date advanced up to 180 days.

The Bureau currently has 14 electronic monitoring programs operating throughout the Nation. Ten of these programs are directly administered by the U.S. Probation Office, though the Bureau of Prisons pays the program costs. Bureau of Prisons Director J. Michael Quinlan anticipates that the Bureau's involvement in electronic monitoring will significantly increase over the next decade.¹³

Concerns

While many, if not most, practicing professionals and academics agree on the efficacy and necessity of some form of

community corrections programming, some concerns have been raised due to the relatively new nature of these programs.

Public perception

Some public officials are concerned about public reaction to community corrections programs, despite evidence of strong public support in States as diverse as Alabama, Delaware, Oregon, and Minnesota. In fact, 18 State legislatures have passed Community Corrections Acts that specifically establish, maintain, and monitor statewide programs in community corrections. Ten additional States operate community corrections programs without the specific legislative structure afforded by these acts.

And even though community corrections programs enjoy the support of groups as diverse as the American Civil Liberties Union and the Heritage Foundation, some elected officials are reluctant to explore these programs because they fear public disapproval.

In 1987, however, Congress enacted legislation that specifically affords judges full statutory authority to issue sentences to halfway houses as an additional, legitimate form of punishment. Two years later Congress added home confinement.¹⁵ Despite these changes, Paul Hofer of the Federal Judicial Center observes that "some judges are still reluctant to sentence offenders to these programs, but the numbers are growing."¹⁶

Privacy issues

Some have expressed concerns regarding the extent to which home confinement programs could infringe upon the privacy

of an offender's family. Even if an offender agrees to participate in a community corrections initiative, some claim that the programs are potentially inconvenient and intrusive—as a result of late-night phone calls and unannounced visits—to law-abiding individuals who live with offenders. “The offender’s punishment spills over into the lives of others,” according to Andrew von Hirsch, consequently “diminishing their own sense of privacy.”¹⁷

Addressing this concern, nearly all home confinement programs require the express consent of family members and others living with an offender. If a person living with the offender objects to the supervision, for any reason, an offender becomes ineligible to participate in the program.

Selection and participation

Community corrections programs also raise important questions regarding offender selection and participation. As with all areas of criminal sentencing, safeguards are necessary to ensure that the programs do not favor white-collar criminals and nonminorities. In addition, how should offenders be classified who are ultimately convicted of nonviolent offenses due to plea bargaining but whose original charge was for a more serious crime? And how should the criminal justice system account for differences among the home environments of various offenders?

In this regard, as with sentences of probation and community service, judges and monitoring agencies must be sensitive to the local and home environments when ascertaining the most appropriate and equitable arrangements



Courtesy BOP Community Corrections office, New Orleans

Marian Manor in New Orleans, Louisiana, one of many Community Corrections Centers around the Nation that contract with the Bureau of Prisons.

for all offenders who participate in correctional programs in the community and in the home.

Program administration

Because of the relatively new nature of some community corrections programs, there is no consensus as to which correctional agency (or agencies) should be responsible for program administration. Because these are punitive programs, similar to prison terms, many commentators have suggested that they should be administered by prison officials. Some have noted that probationary agencies have had extensive experience administering correctional initiatives in the community and are therefore well equipped to manage the programs. And others believe that prison and probation should work together to operate the programs.

The absence of agreement on program administration, however, is less important than their effective and responsible

operation. Differing jurisdictions have had equal success in adopting approaches similar to those described previously. It is the flexibility of program administration, in fact, that allows jurisdictions to use their particular strengths when developing community corrections programs.

Advantages

These concerns must be carefully considered when analyzing and designing community corrections initiatives. If properly crafted and responsibly implemented, these programs can address the concerns noted earlier and secure the following advantages. Effective programs can augment placement options for judges and prison authorities, lower correctional costs, provide meaningful punishment and rehabilitation for offenders, and ensure even greater protection for society.

Increased sentencing options

Perhaps the chief virtue of community corrections programs is that they offer judges and prison officials a more complete array of sentencing and placement options. Community programs are not “alternatives” to incarceration. Rather, they fill the gap between prison and probation so that offenders convicted of nonviolent, intermediate offenses can receive the *most appropriate* placement option within the spectrum of available punishments.

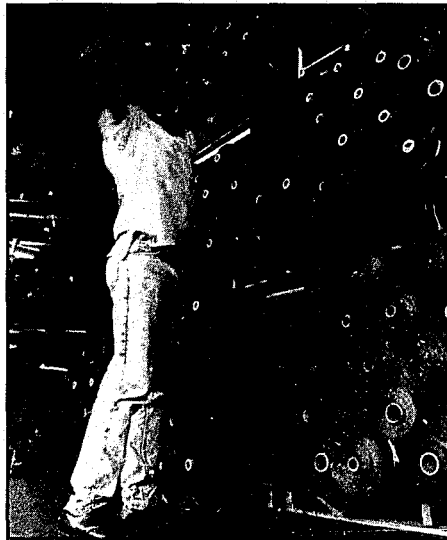
In the case of Maureen Murphy, the court was forced to create the home detention order because there was no sentence available that was appropriate, given the circumstances of her crime. Prison was too severe and probation was too lenient; the Court therefore concluded that the home detention option was “essential” to ensure a just sentence.¹⁸

Cost-effectiveness

It costs, on average, about \$49 per day to house an offender in a Federal prison, while the average State prison costs nearly \$60 per day. In comparison, the average daily cost of a halfway house is just over \$30, and home confinement programs with electronic monitoring carry a daily price tag of approximately \$8. In addition to significantly lower maintenance costs, community corrections programs can actually *raise* money through collecting fees from participants. In Federal community corrections programs, offenders are required to pay 25 percent of their gross weekly income to the Government. More than \$6 million was collected in FY 1990 alone by the Bureau of Prisons from its offenders in community corrections programs.

There are other financial benefits as well. Each offender continues to pay taxes and is required to pay victim restitution and court-ordered fines, if applicable. With the money they earn, offenders can also contribute to the support of their families, often saving the Government welfare payments. Most important, these programs give offenders the opportunity to lawfully earn money, however modest the amount, which can help them get back on their feet, reduce the possibility of future criminal activity, and reimburse society for the costs of supervision.

An important caveat, however, is that community corrections programs are most often cost-effective only in the long term. At the beginning of program implementation, substantial investments are required. Electronic monitoring devices, tracking systems, and other technology necessary to best administer the programs must be procured. These initial costs, however, pale in comparison



A resident of a Federal Community Corrections Center in Philadelphia works at the Defense Personnel Support Center, which supplies the U.S. armed forces around the world.

to the "startup" costs involved in additional prison construction. And, as noted above, operating costs for community corrections programs are much lower than those for prison facilities.

Greater public safety

The idea of home confinement makes some people uncomfortable because of concerns that convicted offenders could jeopardize the security of the community. The proper implementation of community corrections programs, however, can actually *improve* public safety.

Even if every offender—violent and nonviolent—could be incarcerated, either to be taught a lesson or to be isolated from law-abiding citizens, society would be protected only on a short-term basis. Once a prisoner is released—and more than 95 percent are—there is an alarming potential for new and dangerous criminal activity, even among those originally confined for nonviolent offenses. A 1989 recidivism study by the U.S. Bureau of

Justice Statistics revealed that "nearly 1 in 3 released violent offenders and 1 in 5 released property offenders were arrested within 3 years for a violent crime following their release from prison."¹⁹ While community corrections programs may not be an antidote for criminality, they can divert nonviolent and potentially "salvageable" offenders from the criminal element ubiquitous in jails and prisons.

Second, community corrections programs make scarce prison space available for those who require closer supervision. When nonviolent offenders are transferred from prison to community corrections programs (or sentenced directly by a judge), prison bedspace is made available for more serious offenders.

Finally, community corrections programs are designed to provide intensive supervision of all offenders, violent or nonviolent. These programs are punitive measures that are strictly enforced. Paul J. Hofer and Barbara S. Meierhoefer, research fellows at the Federal Judicial Center, note that "[i]f supervision or monitoring of offenders sentenced to home confinement is greater than that of regular probationers or parolees, then home confinement may afford greater protection of the community."²⁰

Meaningful punishment

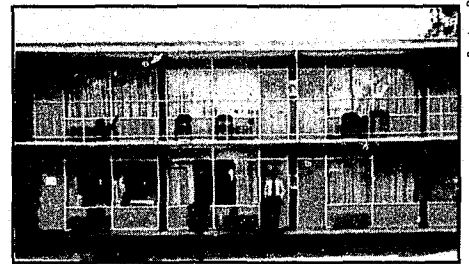
Unlike traditional probation, community correction programs are designed to be very strict. Supervision is extensive, focused, ubiquitous, graduated, enforced, and highly coordinated with other components of the criminal justice system.²¹

A common misperception is that offenders prefer "anything but prison." When given the choice, however, many

offenders have opted for prison rather than a community corrections program because they have felt that the regulations are oppressive. In addition, many offenders dislike the stigma of wearing an electronic monitoring device, or the constant surveillance of their activities by a correctional officer in the presence of family members and neighbors.²²

Even at the beginning of the Federal halfway house program some prisoners were not interested in participating.²³ Many offenders simply do not want to be subjected to constant supervision when released. Because correctional officials could always be "lurking in the background," many offenders decide that when they leave prison "they just don't want any strings attached."²⁴ These strings are particularly taut in home confinement programs. Offenders are spot-checked in their homes at midnight and on weekends. They are also periodically monitored at work. As a result, there are no "safe times" when an offender might test the correctional officer, because the objective of the monitoring official is to "keep the offender guessing."²⁵

Further, offenders who live alone have complained of excruciating boredom and loneliness. But the program appears to be even more punitive for offenders living with family and friends. Correctional agencies have reported that offenders often become jealous of friends and relatives who can move around freely. Even more difficult is the requirement to stay at home when loved ones beckon the offender to participate in family activities. As Cecil Steppe, chief probation officer in San Diego, notes: "In some ways [home confinement] can be tougher than being in jail. You come home and



"Halfway houses" usually blend into the community's surroundings. Top left: Marian Manor, New Orleans. Top right: Alston Wilkes, Greenville, South Carolina. Bottom left: Harbor Place, Charleston, South Carolina. Bottom right: Bannum Place, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

your kids beg you to go to the park or get some ice cream. You're not free to do that."²⁶ Home detention is, quite literally, no picnic.

Opportunities for self-improvement

While community corrections programs do not "cure" criminal behavior, they can help offenders put their lives back together. Serving time in the community can significantly help offenders because their sentences most often require participation in various treatment programs. Unlike programs in prison, these services are known and readily available to offenders even after the sentence has been served.

"Rehabilitation in general takes place more effectively outside prison walls," according to Federal District Judge Jack Weinstein. "Cutting the person off from family, friends, and jobs during this process is counterproductive."²⁷ Community corrections programs enable (and often require) offenders to reestablish

familial relations, secure jobs in their home communities, attend counseling and victim reconciliation programs, and enter society with an improved support system. As previously noted, a community corrections program is no elixir for criminality. But it can provide a more potent "medicine" than is currently available to improve an offender's opportunity to live as a law-abiding citizen.

Conclusion

Community corrections programs make sense because they help to create a fairer and smarter system of punishment. While a reduction in prison crowding is certainly a positive effect of such initiatives, it should by no means be the impetus for program implementation. Community corrections programs should

be implemented "independent of whether or not our correctional facilities are full or empty, or whether our correctional budgets are lush or lean."²⁸

But the crowding crisis has illuminated a greatly strained system of traditional punishment that must better respond to intermediate offenders and their respective offenses. Innovative community corrections programs that combine punishment, detention, and offender self-improvement appear to represent one of the best options for improving the administration of justice and minimizing, where appropriate, the worst effects of prison crowding.

Judges, correctional officials, and paroling authorities must continue to implement these programs in appropriate cases, and policymakers must allocate the resources necessary for these sanctions to work effectively. If properly designed and cautiously implemented, these community-based programs can deliver just punishment, minimize crowding, offer meaningful opportunities for inmate self-improvement, and provide for the improved protection of our society. The American public deserves nothing less. ■

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For more information, write the National Committee on Community Corrections, 1155 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Suite 900, Washington, DC 20036.

Notes

¹ *U.S. v. Murphy*, 108 F.R.D. 437, 439 (1985).

² *Ibid.*, p. 438.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ For an extensive analysis of the Nation's "vacuum of punishments," see Norval Morris and Michael Tonry, *Between Prison and Probation: Intermediate Punishments in a Rational Sentencing System* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, "Four Percent More Prisoners in First Half of 1991," Advance Press Release, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1991. Probation and parole totals are even more sobering; more than 3 million offenders are under probation or parole supervision. Some probation officers have caseloads of more than 200 offenders.

⁶ The Federal Bureau of Prisons referred to these facilities as "Community Treatment Centers" until 1989. The Bureau currently refers to these programs as "Community Corrections Centers."

⁷ See Cory T. Way, "Punishment Without Bars: Community Corrections in the Federal Bureau of Prisons," Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs Senior Thesis, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 1990.

⁸ Robert F. Kennedy, "Halfway Houses Pay Off," *Crime and Delinquency* 10 (January 1964): 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ As quoted in *Ibid.*

¹¹ President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, as quoted in U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons, *The Residential Center: Corrections in the Community*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. ii.

¹² Benjamin Baer, "Research Projects," U.S. Parole Commission, Chevy Chase, Maryland, January 1990, pp. 2-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ J. Michael Quinlan, Testimony before the House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property, and the Administration of Justice, Washington D.C., July 27, 1989, p. 4.

¹⁵ U.S.S.G. §5C1.1 and §5C2.1.

¹⁶ Interview with Paul Hofer, Research Analyst, Federal Judicial Center, Washington, D.C., April 6, 1990.

¹⁷ Andrew von Hirsch, "The Ethics of Community-Based Sanctions," *Crime and Delinquency* 36 (January 1990): 162, 171.

¹⁸ *U.S. v. Murphy*, *supra*, note 1, pp. 438-40.

¹⁹ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983," BJS Special Report, Washington, D.C., April 1989, p. 2.

²⁰ Paul J. Hofer and Barbara S. Meierhoefer, "Home Confinement: An Evolving Sanction in the Federal Criminal Justice System," Federal Judicial Center, Washington, D.C., 1987, p. 7.

²¹ James M. Byrne, Arthur J. Lurigio, and Christopher Baird, "The Effectiveness of the New Intensive Supervision Programs," *Research in Corrections* 2 (September 1989): 11.

²² Interview with Cheryl Weium, Program Manager, Correctional Services, Volunteers of America, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 23, 1990, in Way, *supra*, 1990.

²³ As quoted in John W. Roberts, "Two Innovations: Three Decades Later—Community Treatment Centers and Regionalization," *Federal Prisons Journal* 1 (Summer 1989): 39.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Hofer and Meierhoefer, *supra*, note 20, pp. 32-33.

²⁶ As quoted in Joan Petersilia, "Exploring the Option of House Arrest," *Federal Probation* 50 (June 1986): 55.

²⁷ *U.S. v. Murphy*, *supra*, note 1, p. 440.

²⁸ Dick Thornburgh, "Attorney General's Opening Remarks at the National Drug Conference," U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1990, p. 7.