

An Examination of Rearrests and Reincarcerations Among Discharged Day Reporting Center Clients

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DAY REPORTING CENTERS (DRCs) are facilities in which offenders spend their days being supervised and receiving services. Participants are allowed to leave the facilities to work and attend school, 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, such as intensive probation supervision, electronic monitoring, and house arrest, created to reduce jail and prison overcrowding and the attendant costs of incarceration (Byrne, Lurigio, & Petersilia, 1992). The current article describes the results of an evaluation of the Cook County (Chicago) Sheriff's Day Reporting Center (CCDRC), an alternative to incarceration for pretrial detainees. The study tracked program participants' arrests and reincarcerations after they had been released from the program.

Origins and Types of DRCs

Pioneered by probation reformers, DRCs originated in Great Britain in the 1970s, more than ten years earlier than they appeared in the United States. DRCs' proponents in England argued that imprisonment is an ineffective sanction for nonserious 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 cen-

ters (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, Tsarfatyl, Valade, & Esselman, 1995).

DRC clients often progress through graduated phases of monitoring and control based on their performance in services and their compliance with supervision guidelines (e.g., curfews, drug tests, appearances in court). Clients can enter day reporting programs at different stages of the criminal justice process. DRC participation can be a pretrial detention option, a direct sentence, a condition of probation, an intermediate punishment, or a half-way-back sanction for probation or parole violators. Moreover, most DRCs have on-site interventions such as drug treatment, employment remediation, individual and group counseling, and social skills training (Bahn & Davis, 1998). In one of the only studies of the correlates of successful termination from a DRC (success being defined as completing the program without a violation), Marciniak (1999) reported that detainees most likely to complete the program were employed, had higher levels of education, and lived alone (indicating greater self-sufficiency).

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' Crime and Justice Foundation—were involved in creating and operating 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 established 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, DRC 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, and 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, per day, and have a daily population of 85 and 255 yearly admissions. Compared with 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 Day Reporting Center

Background

Since the 1980s, the number of inmates housed in many of Illinois' largest jails has consistently reached or exceeded capacity. 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, the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago filed a class action federal lawsuit on behalf of pretrial detainees held at the overcrowded Cook County (Chicago) Jail (Myrent, 1989). The resulting United States 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 placed 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 the overcrowding problem, the Cook County Sheriff's Office released select inmates on their own recognizance, a practice 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 were unqualified for jail I-bonds. Martin (1992) found that a significantly larger percentage of Cook County 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 in part on Martin's findings, Cook County Sheriff's Office's staff decided to develop other alternatives to pretrial incarceration.

In 1992, the Cook County Department of Community Supervision and Intervention (DCSI) was created in the Sheriff's Office to operate community-based supervision programs for pretrial defendants. One year later, the DCSI opened the CCDRC, complementing existing pretrial release programs, which included electronic monitoring (EM) and a prerelease center for drug-addicted detainees. The CCDRC's principal mandate is to reduce rates of rearrests, drug use, and nonappearance in court among pretrial releasees. The program is funded with county resources and operates in a facility adjacent to the Cook County Jail. Program staff monitor nonviolent pretrial releasees who receive on-site 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, non-profit organization that provides substance abuse assessments, interventions, 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 (Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999). TASC staff also provided an extensive array of client interventions, which ranged from intensive outpatient drug treatment to GED classes, 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.

Participant Selection Process

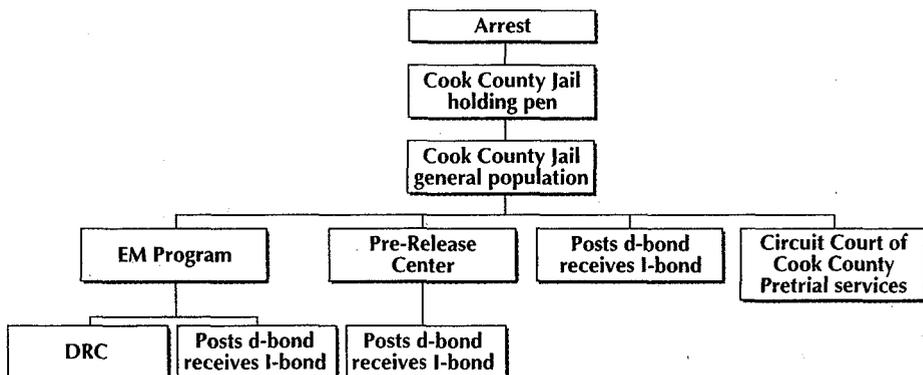
CCDRC participants are selected from the jail's electronic monitoring population, consisting of defendants without serious violent charges or high bond amounts (not more than \$300,000). CCDRC participants must meet additional selection requirements based on a longer list of ineligible charges, prior criminal offenses, and bond amounts of no more than \$150,000. CCDRC participants' movement into the CCDRC is just one part of the intake process that follows arrest. Figure 1 shows the possible ways in which pretrial detainees can be released from the Cook County Jail, including placement in the CCDRC.

Program Operations

After they are selected for 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 group sessions, 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.

As we discussed earlier, TASC was the service provider for participants who entered the program during 1995 (the year from which participants were selected for this study). Program interventions were designed to address participants' needs and included drug testing, treatment and recovery services, basic life skills training, violence prevention, literacy classes, job skills training, GED preparation, and job placement services. The longer participants spent in the program, the more program services they received.

FIGURE 1
Flow Chart



Participant Characteristics

Prior evaluations of the CCDRC have consistently found that the majority of clients are relatively young, single, unemployed, African-American men (Lurigio & Olson, 1998; Lurigio, Olson & Sifferd, 1999; McBride & VanderWaal, 1996). Also typical of CCDRC clients is a high rate of prior involvement in the criminal justice system. The majority of their current charges consist of violations of Illinois' Controlled Substances Act. Furthermore, assessments at intake showed that the vast majority of clients exhibit signs and symptoms of substance abuse or dependence disorders. Most other pretrial populations in Cook County consist of young African American men who have prior arrests and incarcerations (Martin, 1992).

The overwhelming majority of CCDRC participants are repeat offenders. Nearly 90 percent have at least one prior arrest and one-half have been previously incarcerated in the Cook County Jail. Most of the participants were arrested several times before participating in the CCDRC. The average number of prior arrests is eight; half of the participants have six or more arrests prior to participation in the program. The average number of prior incarcerations in the Cook County jail is one. Half have been previously incarcerated at least once. Nearly 60 percent of the participants enter the CCDRC with at least one current charge for felony drug-law violations. The most common drug offense is possession of a controlled substance. Less than 20 percent enter with at least one charge for property crimes, crimes against a person, or public order offenses (Lurigio & Olson, 2000; Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999; Lurigio, Olson, & Swartz, 1998).

Approximately 60 percent of participants are discharged from the CCDRC as a result of their cases being disposed of, either through convictions or dismissals. The remaining 40 percent are discharged because of other reasons, such as violating program rules or posting bond. A relatively small proportion of CCDRC participants are removed from the program for new arrests, continued drug use, or other program violations. Those who are terminated from the CCDRC for these reasons remain in the custody of the Cook County Department of Corrections and return to jail until their cases are disposed of or they can post cash bonds. In addition, a small proportion of program participants are sentenced to a period of jail incarceration as a result of a conviction (Lurigio & Olson, 2000;

Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999; Lurigio, Olson, & Swartz, 1998).

The vast majority (83 percent) of participants are released from the CCDOC because of case dispositions, and 17 percent are released because they posted bond. Among those receiving a case disposition, almost 40 percent are sentenced to probation, conditional release, or court supervision, and one-third have their cases dismissed. A relatively small percentage (11 percent) are released with no criminal justice supervision because of time served or terminated probation sentences (from pre-CCDRC cases) (Lurigio & Olson, 2000; Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999; Lurigio, Olson, & Swartz, 1998).

Previous Studies of CCDRC

The CCDRC has been the subject of process and short-term impact evaluations since 1996 (Lurigio & Olson, 2000; Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999; Lurigio, Olson, & Swartz, 1998; McBride & VanderWaal, 1996). These studies have consistently shown that the program has been highly successful. Through a balanced combination of strict surveillance and rehabilitative services, the program has kept its clients' rearrests and failure-to-appear rates very low and has improved clients' drug use problems. The program's achievements are even more significant because of the fairly high-risk population it serves: clients with extensive criminal and drug histories and low levels of education and employment.

Lurigio and Olson (2000), for example, found that among 1999 program participants, nonappearance and rearrests rates were very low. From October 1, 1998 through June 30, 1999, a total of only 6 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 the CCDRC. By far the most common violation was for unapproved absences from the program (AWOLs). 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 percentage testing positive for any illegal drug decreased from 73 percent during week 1 to less than 40 percent during week 12.

CCDRC clients who reported heroin abuse or dependency 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 more likely to be unsuccessfully discharged than those with fewer previous convictions. 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 (Lurigio & Olson, 2000; Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999).

Program staff reported that most clients seem to appreciate the opportunities for services that they receive at the CCDRC. The 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, and that CCDRC staff behaved appropriately and professionally and were supportive of their recovery. Clients also reported that the program challenged their old beliefs and attitudes and taught them practical and useful skills. Most clients seemed truly to appreciate that the CCDRC gave them ample opportunities to change, and many clients noted that program staff treated them respectfully (Lurigio, Olson, & Sifferd, 1999).

The working relationships among program staff have been very positive and robust. Throughout the 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 (Lurigio, Olson, & Swartz, 1998). To date, no studies have assessed the long-term effects that CCDRC participation has on recidivism. In general, no long-term outcome studies have been done on DRCs anywhere in the United States. The present research fills this void and builds on the previous process and short-term outcome evaluations of the CCDRC.

Method

Procedures

To determine the post-discharge outcomes (recidivism rates) of CCDRC participants, 1,391 clients admitted to the 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 Jail 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 to the Cook County Jail and was obtained from automated CCDOC incarceration records. The follow-up period for reincarcerations extended from the date of release from the program through June 1, 1998; follow-up for rearrests extended from the date of release through September 1, 1998.

Those incarcerated after discharge from the program had no opportunity to recidivate and were therefore excluded from the current study. Those who were not incarcerated after CCDRC release and included in the study were tracked starting from the date they were released from CCDOC custody rather than the date they were discharged from the CCDRC, because of separate discharge procedures that often resulted in different discharge dates.

Because participation times varied among clients, the length of time they were tracked from discharge to the end of the data collection period also varied. Consequently, participants who were released earlier had a longer time to recidivate than those released later. Hence, the length of the follow-up period was standardized to the first 12 months after release. Survival analyses measured how recidivism rates changed over time and determined the amount of time before participants were rearrested or reincarcerated.

For this study, we were unable to randomly assign detainees to participate in the program because of the retrospective nature of our research and CCDOC's strict selection process. Therefore, to assess the effect of exposure to program services on recidivism, we examined differences in outcomes on the basis of clients' lengths 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 the CCDRC. The average number of days spent in the program was 49, with half of the participants in the program for 20 days or fewer.

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 and were able to participate in only the program

orientation track. By contrast, those in the program for at least 70 days received a substantial amount of program services.

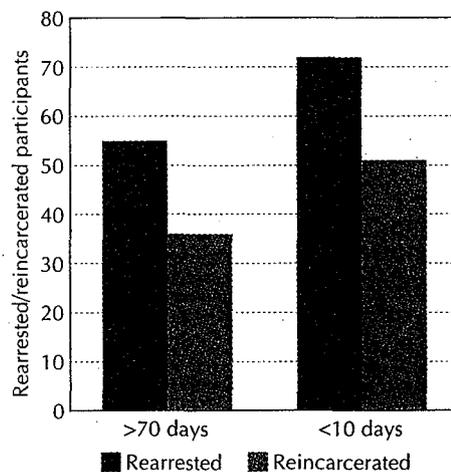
Detainees in the control group left the CCDRC after 10 or fewer days for reasons other than their performance in the program. The vast majority were discharged because they were able to make bail or they had their charges dismissed. In other words, members of the control group were not program drop outs—the inclusion of which would have inflated program effects and confounded the results of our study (Lurigio & Swartz, 1994). By comparing the treatment and control groups, we explored the impact of program participation on rearrests and reincarcerations.

Results

Recidivism

As shown in Figure 2, one year after their release from the CCDOC, the treatment group (participants who remained in the program at least 70 days) had significantly lower recidivism rates (rearrests and reincarceration) than the control group (those in the program fewer than 10 days). A little more than half of the treatment group was rearrested within one year of discharge from the CCDRC, whereas almost three-quarters of the control group were rearrested within that same period. Similarly, approximately 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.

FIGURE 2
Rearrested and Reincarcerated within One Year of Discharge, by Time in Program



Time to Failure/Survival Analyses

Among participants who were rearrested or reincarcerated, those in the treatment group avoided rearrests or reincarceration longer than those in the control group. Almost half of those in the program for fewer than 10 days (the control group) and later rearrested, were rearrested within 3 months, compared with only 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) ($\gamma = .151, p < .001$).

The same pattern was found when comparing shorter versus longer stays at the CCDRC with time to reincarceration. Within three months of their release from the jail, more than double the number of those participating in the CCDRC program for fewer than 10 days were incarcerated, compared with those reincarcerated after staying in the program at least 70 days (40.3 percent versus 17.3 percent, respectively). 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 ($\gamma = 0.185, p < .001$).

Another way to examine CCDRC's impact on recidivism is to quantify time-to-recidivate more precisely by dividing the time-to-rearrests-and-reincarceration into days and weeks instead of months. Within these time intervals, we performed survival analysis to measure how quickly participants recidivated based on their length of stay in the CCDRC. Survival analysis shows the patterns of rearrests and reincarcerations measured in the number of days since CCDOC release for participants who were in the CCDRC for different lengths of time. We standardized the follow-up period by tracking the groups' recidivism for one year after their release.

We calculated the average number of days to rearrests and reincarceration for each length-of-stay group to explore whether the groups differed in their survival times. On average, control group participants (those in the CCDRC for 10 days or fewer) had shorter survival times than treatment group participants (those in the CCDRC for more than 70 days).

On average, the treatment group survived 122 days longer before rearrests than the control group did ($t\text{-test} = 4.055, p < .01$). The average number of days from release to rearrests for the control group was 303 days, compared

with 425 days for the treatment group. The same was found when looking at survival time to reincarceration; the treatment group survived 57 days longer than the control group did (t -test=-1.866, $p=.062$).

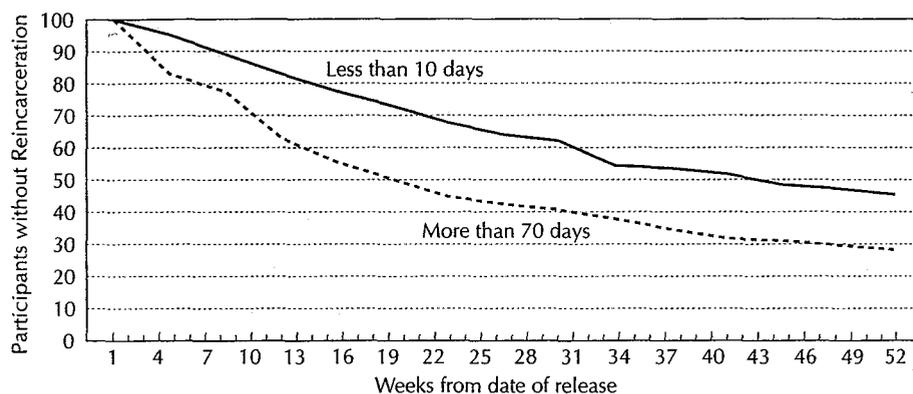
Figure 3 illustrates different levels of participant rearrests based on length of time in the program. Those in the program for 10 days or fewer had higher rearrest percentages during the entire follow-up period than those who were in the CCDRC for 70 days or more. A greater percentage of persons in the treatment group also remained arrest-free one year after release from the CCDRC.

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 of those in the program for more than 70 days had been rearrested. Within one year, only 28 percent of the CCDRC clients who spent fewer than 10 days in the program remained rearrest-free, compared with 45 percent in the 70-days-or-more group (Wilcoxon=43.65, $p<.0001$). Those with longer time in the CCDRC also had longer survival times before reincarceration (Figure 4).

By the eighth week of program discharge, 18 percent of the control group and 6 percent of those who spent more than 70 days in the CCDRC had been reincarcerated. By one year, 49 percent of discharged clients in the control group 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. Those who spent more time in the CCDRC benefitted more from the program than those who spent less time or no time at all. Not only did a smaller proportion of them recidivate, but they also remained

FIGURE 4
Reincarceration Survival Analysis, by Length of Stay



arrest- and incarceration-free for longer periods of time.

Factors Associated with Recidivism

In addition to comparing the effects of differing lengths of program participation, we tested whether other factors might be related to rearrests and reincarcerations. For example, previous research has consistently shown that younger defendants have higher rates of recidivism than older defendants (Mair & Nee, 1992)—a finding that has been reported in a study of Cook County pretrial releases as well (Martin, 1992). We also found that a significantly larger percentage of participants were rearrested in the younger age groups than in the older age groups ($\gamma=.263$, $p<.001$). As age increased, the percentage of participants who were rearrested declined. For example, within one year of release, nearly 80 percent of those in the 17-19 age group were rearrested, compared with 54 percent of those between the ages of 40 and 49. However, there were substantially fewer participants in the older age

groups. Those over the age of 39 accounted for only 8 percent of all program participants.

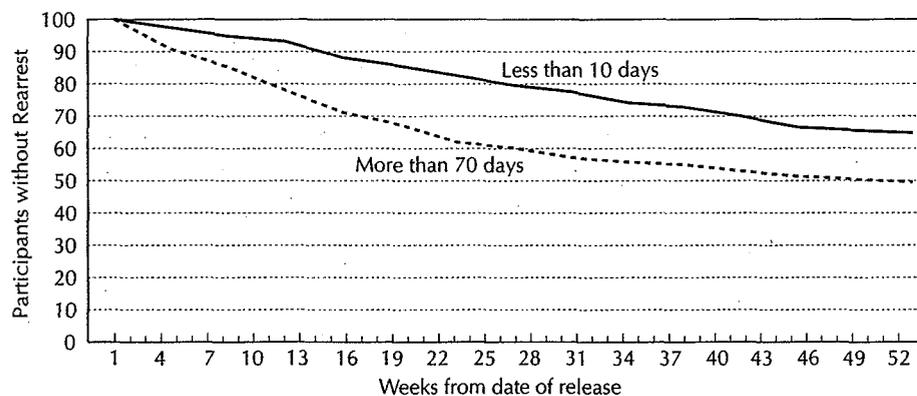
A significantly larger percentage of participants in the younger age groups were also reincarcerated ($\gamma=.132$, $p<.001$). Again, there was a gradual decrease in the percentage of participants reincarcerated as age increased. Nearly 60 percent of those between the ages of 17 and 19 were reincarcerated within one year, compared with 38 percent of those between the ages of 40 and 49.

Prior involvement in the criminal justice system was also related to recidivism. Clients with extensive criminal histories were more likely to be rearrested during the follow-up period. Among former program participants with prior arrests (87 percent of the sample), a significantly greater percentage of those with four or more prior arrests were rearrested, compared with those who had only one prior arrest ($\gamma=.252$, $p<.001$). As the number of prior arrests increased, the proportion of clients rearrested following program participation increased as well. Nearly 60 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, substantially fewer participants had only one prior arrest (8 percent); 62 percent had at least four. Similarly, among those who had prior incarcerations (51 percent), the number of prior incarcerations was significantly related to the reincarceration rate ($\gamma=.222$, $p<.01$).

Multivariate Analyses

We performed logistic regression analyses to test the independent effects of each of the study's variables on rearrests and reincarceration. Criminal history and age had the strongest effects on the odds of rearrests. The

FIGURE 3
Rearrest Survival Analysis, by Length of Stay



more prior arrests a participant had, the higher the likelihood of rearrests for a new crime, ($\beta=.1379$, $p<.0001$). The older the program participant, the lower the likelihood of rearrests for a new crime ($\beta=.0966$, $p<.0001$). Furthermore, clients 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 ($\beta=-.0035$, $p<.01$). The effect of time-at-risk on rearrests was nonsignificant ($p=.1003$) (i.e., participants who had longer times-at-risk were no more likely to be rearrested, when compared with those who had shorter times-at-risk).

As with rearrests, criminal history was the most important variable in determining the likelihood that a participant would be reincarcerated ($\beta=.1137$, $p<.0001$). The older the participant, the lower the likelihood of reincarceration ($\beta=-.0414$, $p<.0001$). Having prior incarcerations increased the likelihood of being reincarcerated ($\beta=.5211$, $p<.0001$). As the length of stay in the CCDRC increased, the likelihood of reincarceration decreased. Participants who spent longer times in the CCDRC were less likely to be reincarcerated than those who spent shorter times ($\beta=-.0021$, $p<.05$).

Participants with longer risk times after release were more likely to be reincarcerated than those with shorter risk times ($\beta=.0012$, $p<.05$). Not only did risk time have an independent effect 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 dampening 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 (i.e., longer time in the program, with all other factors being equal, decreased the likelihood of reincarceration).

In summary, CCDRC participants most likely to recidivate were younger. They also had extensive criminal histories, and they spent less time in the program. Those least likely to recidivate were older, had less prior criminal justice involvement, and spent more time in the CCDRC, which significantly decreased the likelihood of recidivism after controlling for other factors.

Conclusions

Previous studies of the CCDRC have examined program implementation and short-term program effects and have shown that program participants are at high-risk to recidivate. They are heavy drug users with extensive criminal histories. And because they are a pretrial population, they remain in the CCDRC for short periods. Nonetheless, the program is extremely successful: CCDRC participants show dramatic decreases in illegal drug use, low rearrests rates, and high court-appearance rates while participating in the program.

The current study takes these findings a step further and demonstrates that the program appears to have residual benefits. Among participants who had longer exposure to the program, recidivism rates were lower than among those who received only minimal exposure to program services. In addition, some participants benefitted more from the CCDRC than others. Those who benefit the least are younger participants with extensive criminal histories, and less time spent in the CCDRC—groups that are over-represented in the CCDRC population.

The primary benefits of the CCDRC probably lie in its drug treatment services. Illicit drug use is related to criminal activities in several ways (ONDCP, 2001). The literature on the relationship between illicit drug use and crime is extensive. In general, illicit drug use is best viewed as a crime multiplier. When offenders are using drugs, they are significantly more likely to engage in criminal activities (Lurigio & Swartz, 1999). In addition, abundant evidence shows that drug treatment works and is a cost-effective alternative to incarceration for drug-abusing offenders. Persons in drug treatment are not only less likely to continue using drugs, they are also less likely to commit subsequent crimes and to be rearrested and reincarcerated. As length of time in drug treatment increases, so do treatment's favorable impacts on a variety of outcomes (Lurigio, 2000). This research is the first to evaluate the long-term effects of DRC participation on recidivism but leaves several important questions unanswered, such as: Do other factors such as literacy, marital status, educational level, or nature of substance abuse problems affect the long-term recidivism of DRC clients? How would these factors interact with criminal history, age, or time spent in the program? The assessment of recidivism by length of stay provides a valid indicator of program effects on

clients. Future analyses, however, should include a greater range 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.

Clients who were in the CCDRC longer had better outcomes, after controlling for age, criminal history and risk time. Because participants are all pretrial defendants, they are in the CCDRC only as long as their cases remain active in court. CCDRC's benefits could be expanded by keeping participants in the program longer. For example, the court could order clients with several pending cases to remain in the program until all their cases receive dispositions. Another option is for those who receive jail sentences to serve their time in the CCDRC, a decision that would require collaboration among judges, Cook County Sheriff Office administrators, and the CCDRC staff.

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