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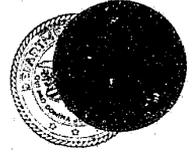
Managing the Development of Community Corrections

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MANAGING THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY CORRECTIONS

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FOREWORD

Recent years have seen a proliferation of programmatic innovations as correctional administrators struggle to accommodate a variety of demands and to serve a large number of clients. Unfortunately, successful completion of objectives has become more difficult. Research and evaluation suggest that more attention is needed in the development process--that critical period when decisions are made regarding the concept's goals, target population and site, and when initial steps are taken to introduce the program.

This monograph was prepared for community corrections administrators and is intended to provide them with suggested principles to follow during that development process. Issues related to research, feedback, assessment of organizational environment and structure, marketing, resource development, and quality assurance are discussed.

In preparing this report, the Crime and Justice Foundation drew on its considerable experience in developing community corrections programs. In 1985, the Foundation became involved in a search for a community-based sanction suitable for offenders who would otherwise be incarcerated. The search resulted in the carefully planned effort to adapt the British day reporting center concept to the solution of jail crowding in Massachusetts.

We hope this monograph will be helpful in the development and management of effective community corrections programs. We will continue to watch with great interest further experimentation with the day reporting center concept.
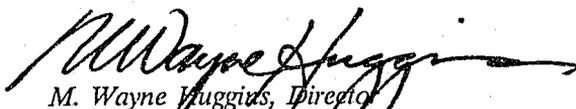
M. Wayne Huggins, Director
National Institute of Corrections

PREFACE

In late 1985, the Crime and Justice Foundation approached the National Institute of Corrections (NIC) for support of a new community corrections program initiative, the day reporting center. George Keiser, Chief of the Community Corrections Division of NIC, was interested in the day center program, but asked that we focus more attention on concept formation and program development. The division, he explained, was convinced that correctional managers needed to attend more deliberately to the complex and difficult process of planning and initiating community corrections programs.

With this request coming early in our work on the day reporting center, the authors were able to take extensive and detailed notes throughout the planning and development process. The material presented in this monograph is based on that experience, as well as on research and other program development efforts of the authors.

John J. Larivee
William D. O'Leary, Esq.

INTRODUCTION

In the last several years, the Crime and Justice Foundation has worked on a wide range of criminal justice development activities: community correctional centers, court-based mediation programs, standards and accreditation, parole decision-making guidelines, intensive supervision programs, pre-sentence investigation practices, and others. In 1985, the authors embarked upon the conceptualization and application of a sanction that would be community-based and would provide supervision and treatment of offenders who would otherwise be incarcerated. The sanction ultimately was identified as a day reporting center that exercised control of offenders through attendance requirements, home confinement and frequent monitoring, and that provided treatment, education, and employment opportunities through a range of services. The basic concept was borrowed from day centers operated by the probation service in England and Wales; it was further shaped by existing regimens in the United States.

During this work, the authors became particularly interested in what occurs prior to program operation; specifically, *concept formation, planning*, and *program development*. In exploring program-related issues, the Foundation found that much attention has been placed on management concerns, such as staff supervision, training, classification of clients, and performance evaluation, but little study has been given to the preceding stages of planning and program development. This observation was corroborated in a 1982 paper by James Austin and Barry Krisberg of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency:

> A major flaw in virtually all the studies is the absence of process descriptions of program conceptualization, context, implementation, and demise. Most studies are, instead, narrowly preoccupied with evaluating program outcome. Lacking are cogent organizational analyses of the variables that contribute to, constrain, or distort the formal goals of nonincarcerative reform. Without such evidence, the formulation of theory about how to in-

troduce alternatives within the criminal justice organizational milieu should proceed slowly and on an experimental basis.[*]

Why has program conceptualization and implementation received so little scrutiny? Is there a perception that change is *driven* by circumstances such as political climate, abundance or lack of resources, overcrowding, or litigation? Are there ways of managing such circumstances, of pursuing them as opportunities for furthering mission and goals? The authors believe that while external forces often serve as catalysts for change, they need not dictate program design.

Managing program development may be complex, but it is also essential. In their research on change in criminal justice, Alan Harland and Philip Harris commented:

> While it is of critical importance that information regarding procedures and policies which succeed be disseminated, replication is not simply a matter of adoption. Failure to recognize the complexity of the implementation process nearly guarantees failure of the policy, procedure or program. [+]

This monograph will focus on program development that occurs prior to operation. It is based on the authors' actual experience in developing and implementing the Springfield Day Reporting Center now operating under the auspices of the Hampden County Sheriff's Department in Massachusetts.

The monograph is intended for managers, planners, public officials, private practitioners, and consultants who contemplate or have thrust upon them the responsibility for development of new

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[*] "The Unmet Promise of Alternatives to Incarceration," James Austin and Barry Krisberg, Crime and Delinquency, Volume 28, p.77, July 1982.

[+] "Sentencing Alternatives: Development, Implementation Issues and Evaluation," Philip W. Harris and Alan T. Harland, Judicature, Volume 68, No. 6, December-January 1985, p.214. See also "Developing and Implementing Alternatives to Incarceration: A Planned Change in Criminal Justice," Alan T. Harland and Philip W. Harris, University of Illinois Law Review, Volume 1984, No. 2.

programs. Two stages of the planning process are defined: **Concept Formation** and **Program Development.** Pervasive themes relate to concept goals, research and study, feedback, political environment, target population, organizational location, marketing, resources, program design, and quality assurance. These themes are articulated as principles and are explored through the use of hypothetical examples. While the chronology and priority attached to the principles may vary by status and circumstance of the program or its promoter, the authors believe it is imperative that they be addressed. Finally, the principles and strategies are related to the authors' actual day reporting center program development effort.

CONCEPT FORMATION

What sparks the development of new programs?

The justice system is particularly susceptible to influence by external factors. We know that *reform movements* have affected society's response to alcoholism, pornography, and mental illness; that *notoriety* attached to even a single incident can cause a groundswell reaction and a major shift in public policy; that *heinous conditions* such as prison overcrowding can raise calls for better prisons or more alternatives; that *judicial intervention* can impact corrections policy, management, and staffing; and that *political platforms* can generate support for a tougher response to crime.

In addition, internal factors are potent with regard to formulating new ideas. The availability or lack of *resources* to support a new idea; *pressures* emanating from staff or clients; *the conceptual fit* of a program within the organizational milieu and structure; the existence of *proper authority* to manage an idea; and other factors will determine whether, and in what fashion, a concept is pursued.

Thus, the emergence of a concept is shaped by the answers to a number of questions: What is the goal of the concept? Is it compatible with the mission and goals of the organization? With the goals of the broader criminal justice system? Is it designed by the organization to take advantage of an opportunity created by those forces, or is it a reaction to relieve pressure? Is it viable?

As we study the implications of a particular concept, additional questions are raised: Has it been attempted before? Under what conditions? With what results? How would it best fit in the current environment? With what target population? Where? Based on the authors' experience, several principles are suggested in determining the appropriateness of a concept to a particular setting:

- *The concept should be compatible with the goals of both the host organization and the broader criminal justice system; it should be shaped through study and research, and it should be refined throu gh feedback from "stakeholders."*

- *The target population should be compatible with the concept's goals.*

- *The host organization should have the capacity to succeed and the authority to function.*

Development of the Concept

The concept must be compatible with the goals of the host organization and the broader criminal justice system.

The criminal justice system is supported by diverse, competing, and, at times, contradictory goals of punishment, deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation. Members of each component of the justice system are oriented toward particular goals by their component's technology and circumstance. For example, police officers, judges, prosecutors, and prison administrators, by the very nature of their roles and responsibilities, may have very different feelings about the utility of a parole system. Even within the same agency, different opinions may exist. For example, the administrators of overcrowded prisons are likely to be more supportive of an increase in the parole rate than their counterparts at prisons that are under capacity. To further a concept, one must understand the variety of motivations, the manner in which they interface, and, if possible, their rank of priority. How should one proceed?

Consider the dilemma of the chairperson of a state parole board. He is being pressured by the administrator of the state's acutely overcrowded prison system to increase the rate of parole release.

However, he must be wary of critics in the legislature claiming that parole coddles offenders and should be abolished.

The chairperson need not worry about pleasing everyone--circumstances preclude that. He is, however, directly responsible for parole, and shares the interests of the broader criminal justice system. His status demands that he give priority to parole considerations. What are the goals of the parole agency: community reintegration? public safety? a balance of both? How can the goals best be met? How should parole respond to prison overcrowding? Should it raise its level of risk tolerance in order to relieve overcrowding? what about critical legislators? Should parole lower the level of risk tolerance to protect the agency from "mistakes?"

There will always be agreement as well as disagreement with a particular set of objectives. Some will find it in their interest to support the objectives, and others will find it in their interest to oppose them. Oppositional pressures can be responded to by avoiding the pressure, or by confronting it. For example, the parole chairperson could seek to increase parole releases based solely on a public safety argument; or, he could acknowledge the risk to public safety, but increase parole releases based on an emergency in the prisons. Regardless of the approach taken, one must be careful not to jeopardize the integrity of the organization by acquiescing to the interests of others. While compatibility with those interests is desirable, compatibility with the goals of one's own organization is essential.

The concept should be shaped through study and research.

While this principle may seem obvious, many administrators proceed to implementation without examining what others have experienced. The old adage "there is nothing new under the sun" applies to corrections as well. One should know: How have others responded to similar pressures and opportunities? Has the concept been formulated elsewhere? What resistances were encountered during planning and development? What were the

circumstances? How was it functionally designed? Were the goals met? What was the outcome?

Assume that the parole chairperson, following a risk assessment of the inmate population, is sufficiently convinced that additional inmates could be safely maintained in the community if provided the appropriate resources and structure. To focus his thinking he needs further information. He might study the recorded efforts of other parole systems which have attempted similar ideas:

- Regarding *program development,* how was the idea presented within the parole agency? to other agencies? to the legislature? to the public? What were the reactions?

- Regarding *operations,* what was the supervision regimen? release criteria? resource deployment? policy development? training requirement?

- Regarding *evaluation,* what outcome measures have been monitored? with what results?

Further, he might study the use of intensive measures by other criminal justice agencies, such as probation or juvenile corrections.

While program development often requires some expediency, it is important to proceed methodically. Time spent on research and data collection may yield information that will allow one to avoid the pitfalls experienced by colleagues. It is important not to be too constrained in one's inquiry. Parole, probation and corrections can learn a great deal from each other--frequency and types of supervision offered, classification systems, caseload size, and typologies of successful clients, for example.

The concept should be articulated and the feedback of others sought.

Study and research will begin to address the questions of what has been tried elsewhere and with what results. But will a concept, in fact, work locally? To answer that question, one needs to learn more about the idea, and about the political and professional environment in which it will operate, through feedback from local *stakeholders*. These are the key individuals or agencies who have the *means* to advance or retard your goals. *Means* can include influence, staff, resources, authority, clients, credibility, funding and other factors.

From the stakeholders, one wants their insight and wisdom on the concept: What do they see as its strengths? its weaknesses? Can they identify essential ingredients? What cautions can they provide? One also wants to learn more about the environment in which the concept must operate: What are their interests? Do they see the concept as supporting or interfering with those interests?

Assume that the parole chairman has assigned staff to research what is required to expand parole releases. The staff has brought back preliminary information regarding some states' efforts to focus increased resources and smaller caseloads upon higher risk populations--the same populations that would be denied parole in the chairperson's jurisdiction.

The chairperson wants to test the waters--to get feedback from local colleagues and stakeholders regarding the concept of intensive supervision and their perceptions of the concept. He first identifies individuals whose professional experience he values and whose understanding of the political environment he trusts. Oftentimes, they have an interest in the outcome, as well as the means to influence success or failure. They include other agency executives and staff, political figures, professionals in the field, and heads of private organizations.

How should the chairperson proceed? Two steps are suggested: **developing a concept paper** and **presenting the concept personally** to the stakeholders.

In developing a concept paper, the chairperson has an opportunity to articulate the concept in writing, identifying the agency's mission, policy and operations; the problem or opportunity confronted; approaches used elsewhere; and a rationale and plan for developing a particular response.

The paper is then disseminated to targeted audiences: corrections, judiciary, probation and other criminal justice agencies; state officials and members of the legislature; and relevant special interest groups. The chairperson hosts individual or group briefings at which the concept paper is presented. The feedback he receives helps define the concept's consistency with broader criminal justice system goals. Just as important, it identifies the individual political and professional interests of these stakeholders, and their perception of how the concept will affect their interests.

It is not necessary that the concept be amended to further every interest; nor is it advisable that every resister be converted to a supporter. One must maintain the integrity of the original goals. However, understanding the interests of others and the source of resistance allows one to manage those interests and possibly neutralize the resistance.

In addition to shaping the concept, dissemination begins to cultivate support, to test resistance, and to market the concept. It widens the circle of those who are aware of and understand the concept. By incorporating into the program design any of their ideas that are consistent with the original goals of the program, it instills a sense of ownership in the idea. This often proves beneficial in later stages of implementation when public, political, and monetary support are required.

Target Population

The target population must be compatible with the concept goals.

What is the target population? Simply stated, it is that group or classification of persons whom the program is intended to serve. The classification must be compatible with program goals. If it is too narrow, there will be populations who could benefit from the program but will be unserved (e.g., where alcohol treatment is targeted only for alcoholics). Conversely, if the classification is too broad, the program will intrude upon inappropriate populations (e.g., where alcohol treatment is mandated for all inmates because a majority of them are alcohol abusers).

In the process of concept formation, there is probably no greater point where program goals can be compromised than in the choice of a target population. To implement a new concept, one is obviously going to require significant support. At the same time, one is beset with both incentives and impediments to choose particular populations. In facing these pressures, one must be prepared to explain the rationale for choosing a target population in the context of the goals and objectives of the concept.

Suppose that the parole study group reports to the chairperson that efforts to expand parole releases often include implementing intensive supervision. However, it was found that in many cases parolees placed on intensive supervision included those who would have previously been on traditional supervision. This was due primarily to political considerations: as the program was being designed it was decided to avoid the high-risk inmates. Thus, greater resources were expended, with no appreciable increase in paroles.

Locally, the chairperson is aware of political and public support to focus additional parole resources upon alcohol offenders. The study group feels that this is a "safe" population with which to introduce intensive supervision: some quick success can be gained with little risk. However, this is a population often granted parole

at first consideration. The chairperson is concerned that if alcohol offenders have effectively been maintained under traditional levels of supervision, can the agency justify spending additional resources on that population? What of his original intent of increasing parole releases?

The chairperson must be ready to make the case for parole's ability to carry out its responsibilities. He must be able to identify the types of offenders paroled and at what rates; their parole outcome; how the classification plan accommodates levels of risk; how success or failure is determined; whether re-offenders commit similar, lesser, or greater offenses; and what levels of supervision exist. He should also be able to articulate social benefits--education, employment, treatment, and economic and reduced recidivism--which accrue through parole. Finally, he must sufficiently describe this new high-risk target population, and explain how parole will manage it within the agency's operational structure.

In some cases, an attractive target population may not be available, either due to statutory limitations or political opposition. On the other hand, political support or available resources should not drive one's decision to target a population. "Widening the net" to inappropriate populations jeopardizes the integrity of the agency's risk assessment system. If the political climate is such that one cannot proceed with an appropriate target population, careful consideration must be given to amending the goals or abandoning the concept.

Location and Resources

In determining where to implement a concept, one is obviously concerned with the chances for success. Sometimes the decision is dictated by statutory authorization--which agency has the necessary jurisdiction. Sometimes it is a matter of capability--which agency or manager has the wherewithal to succeed.

The target site must have the authority to function.

As correctional administrators know well, a public agency derives its mandate from, and must operate within, the context of its legal authority. An initiative not derived from that authority can be challenged. Thus, in promoting a new concept, it is necessary that the boundaries of the authority to function be identified.

If the boundaries are too limiting for the concept to succeed, one may decide to try broadening them. This may include interpretation of statute, or promulgation of policies and regulations; in some instances it might require efforts to amend statutes. If these are not feasible, one must re-examine the original goals, seek alternative means of implementation, or abandon the effort.

Suppose the sheriff of a county jail wants to implement a home confinement program for pre-trial and short-term sentenced inmates. The plan recommends that the jail's classification board identify appropriate inmates for placement in home confinement status prior to regular discharge. Following approval of the inmate's home and negotiation of a community release contract, the inmate would be placed in the program and his/her conduct would be monitored by community supervision officers.

Several questions arise for the sheriff's consideration: Is home confinement a release from custody or an extension of correctional supervision? If the former, does it conflict with parole or furlough statutes and regulations? Can pre-trial detainees be released without the authorization of the court? It is essential that the sheriff satisfy these and other authorization issues before proceeding to implementation.

In addition to these legal concerns, the sheriff must consider broader system considerations: Will parole view home confinement as usurping its community release and supervision authority? Will the courts perceive it as infringing upon their sentencing jurisdiction? If the sheriff believes that the concept may affect the interests of other criminal justice agencies, it is impor-

tant that those agencies be included in early discussions. Such communication provides the opportunity to identify interests, clarify objectives, reduce conflict, and win support or neutrality.

The target site must have the capacity to succeed.

Choosing an operating site that has a high likelihood of success is as primary a consideration as the investment in study and research, gathering of feedback, and defining the target population. Defining success, however, requires some deliberation. Is "success" compatible with the original goals? reduction of recidivism? successful terminations? cost-effectiveness? ability to open, implement, and operate? community acceptance? replicability? The relative priority of these factors will impact the choice of a site.

Suppose the parole chairperson wants to demonstrate intensive supervision in one region with the hope of state-wide replication. Should he open the demonstration project in an urban or rural area? in a community with a range of available resources? in a region with the lowest recidivism rate? in a media-rich or -poor market? Depending upon circumstances, the chairperson may choose to assign modest resources and place the program in an area where there is little likelihood of notoriety. On the other hand, if he is confident that he can manage external resistance to the program, he might choose a more public location.

In choosing a location, the importance of initial success cannot be underestimated. Selecting a site that will succeed--one that has available resources, strong organizational sophistication, and a positive track record of implementing initiatives--has many benefits. Most importantly, the objective of meeting the program's goals is likely to be attained. Also, a successful site serves as a strong marketing tool for expanding resources and broadening implementation.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Assume that the opportunity for change exists; a concept has been articulated and disseminated; and a target population and demonstration site have been identified. To take the next step-- from concept formation to actual implementation--a number of issues must be addressed: Is there sufficient funding to operate the program? Are other agencies, political leaders, and public officials willing to support operations? Do they see it as intruding upon their turf? Will the program be supported by the host organization, or will existing staff see it as threatening their interests? How can one assure that program goals will not be undermined when operation occurs?

Based on the authors' experience, a number of principles should be considered in answering these questions:

- *It is necessary to cultivate support and attempt to neutralize resistance to the program;*

- *Resources must be identified and the ability to secure them demonstrated;*

- *Potential internal resistance must be identified and strategies to build support developed;*

- *Program staff must be empowered to operate the program;*

- *Quality assurance mechanisms should be built into the design.*

Marketing

Support must be cultivated and resistance must be neutralized.

A marketing strategy benefits the initiative in a number of ways. A marketing effort can widen the circle of supporters, which, in turn, can bring additional support and resources; it can neutral-

ize some resistance as misconceptions are laid aside; and, it can make it easier for the host organization to act.

A successful marketing effort requires a defined audience. Specifically, whose support is needed? This is a different question than that asked in Concept Formation when seeking feedback on the concept and its goals. This question is concerned with support for implementation. The answer is made clear if one first asks "what support is needed?" Is it money to operate the program? political backing to authorize operations? professional alliance to lend credibility to the concept? influence in the community to assist with siting? The same stakeholders discussed above may be the ones who can provide this support.

In addition to knowing who the audience is, one must be aware of its interests and how the initiative might impact those interests. What professional and political interests will be affected by the program? Can the program further those interests? Will it retard those interests? How should the program be presented to stimulate support or neutralize resistance?

Consider the situation of a chief of probation concerned with low staff morale and a perception that probation is not effective in supervising offenders. After giving the problem some thought, he asks his staff to design an initiative targeting high-risk offenders. The staff develops a proposal to reduce revocations of repetitive property offenders through small caseloads; intermediate sanctions; and an emphasis on job training, employment, and substance abuse treatment. Unfortunately, when the proposal is submitted to the presiding judge, she reacts favorably to the idea --for repetitive traffic violators. She believes that the intense regimen would be just the shock these offenders need to obey the laws of the road. The chief fears not only that the project's goals are jeopardized, but that staff members will perceive the initiative as only adding to their burdens.

What might the chief have done to avoid this? Did he assume too much? Should he have spent more time in the concept develop-

ment stages seeking the judge's feedback? Did he explain to the judge the rationale for the proposal? Should he have anticipated the judge's concern with traffic violators? If so, could he have initiated discussions of other options for dealing with this population? Did he identify other stakeholders who might support the concept, e.g., local citizens groups or police officials? Did he choose not to approach others, such as the local prosecuting attorney, whom he assumed would oppose the concept? If so, was this a mistake?

One should not assume support from even the likeliest audience. A new program can change relationships, status, and power. An otherwise supportive colleague may not want that change to occur. Similarly, one should never assume another's resistance to a program. It is important to understand the factors that are likely to motivate others' decisionmaking.

By failing to ask the prosecuting attorney for support, the chief probation officer might have overlooked a possible interest in d'verting some members of the target population. Perhaps the prosecutor has had a low conviction rate among that group; or, he may be sensitive to criticism that he has done little to promote measures controlling property crime. By being aware of the political, organizational, and professional interests of the prosecuting attorney, the chief could potentially have been able to present the program in a manner eliciting support. Even if support is not forthcoming, the chief's presentation might have neutralized the prosecutor's resistance or provided the chief with important knowledge of a basis of resistance later to be encountered.

A final note: It is not necessary, always possible, or always advisable to satisfy the interests of all other interested parties. It is important, however, that one understands them in order not to be surprised by opposition or miss an opportunity to neutralize it.

Terminology and forums must be carefully chosen.

The manner and terminology used in presenting the program is important. Criminal justice issues are often the focus of public discussion, politics and the media. Many criminal justice terms have lost finite definitions and are *charged* with additional baggage. For instance, to some, a community alternative program may have a positive meaning related to increasing the potential for reintegration, or increasing education and employability. To others, however, it is as likely to convey the message of *coddling* prisoners and being soft on crime. Ironically, the same person who would reject programs that *coddle* inmates might accept the benefits of education and reintegration.[*]

It is not suggested that the message deceive the audience. Instead, it is urged that the message highlight ways in which the program can further the interests of the audience. As such, it may be more productive to talk about enhancing offenders' employability than about rehabilitating them.

Once the audience is identified and a message is prepared, it is necessary to identify forums for communication with stakeholders. One might conduct individual briefings, create an advisory board, or seek to introduce the concept at relevant events--e.g., an alternative sentencing commission or public hearing on prison overcrowding.

The credibility of the concept is also enhanced by the credibility of its proponent. Thus, one might assist in resolving an issue unrelated to the concept, thereby opening channels of communication and an opportunity to acquire support of others.

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[*] See Crime and Punishment: The Public's View, John Doble, Public Agenda Foundation for the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, June 1987; see also The State of Corrections Today: A Triumph of Pluralistic Ignorance, Allen Breed, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, February 1986.

In the case of the chief probation officer, had he known of the presiding judge's intense concern with a different target population, he could have created forums focusing on the original goal of the concept--reducing revocations of repetitive property offenders. Who should be represented in the audience? How can the message be prepared to best persuade the presiding judge and other relevant actors?

As a caution, as one tends to the interests of others, it is possible to lose sight of the original goals. One must be vigilant not to *sell out* to incompatible interests and not to lose control of the concept's development.

Developing Internal Support

The preceding section on marketing focuses on generating broad-based support for the concept. Similar support is required within the host organization--the agency which will have operational responsibility for the program. The concept may be sound and the target population may be appropriate, but the program is not likely to be successful without that internal support. To obtain it, incentives to participate must be identified and promoted, potential resistances must be managed, and sufficient resources must be secured.

Required resources must be identified and the ability to secure them must be demonstrated.

Key to success is one's ability to determine the level of resources required and to obtain them. This not only provides a strong foundation for program operations, but also demonstrates to staff the commitment of the administration to go forward. Conversely, without sufficient resources, the prospect of long-term success is limited. In such a case, the prudent choice is to delay or cancel implementation. Even if one has the authority or guile to initiate an underfunded program, limitations on the capability of the

program to adequately service its target population are likely to endanger its long-term success.

A sheriff, struggling to manage a severe overcrowding problem and respond to potential litigation, decides to implement a home confinement program. Her goal is to expand the confinement capacity of her department. The plan is to place inmates with demonstrated furlough success into home confinement for a period of ninety days prior to normal discharge or parole. In discussions with program services staff, however, many express fear that the program will drain resources and reduce the quality of existing services.

What will be the operational, administrative, and support costs associated with program implementation? How real are staff fears of the drain upon existing resources? Is there a danger that the program will diminish the quality of existing services? Can the plan move forward with these misgivings by staff? Will the existence of impending litigation bolster the prospects of attracting funds? Should the sheriff consider appealing to private sources to fund start-up activities?

These are questions that must be addressed by the sheriff if she is to generate support from staff. The sheriff should assign the program services staff to devise a plan for implementation, to provide a description of resources needed to operate the home confinement program, and to identify which resources are currently available and which resources must be obtained. The sheriff's willingness and ability to then obtain the needed resources will go far in engendering their support.

Potential internal resistances must be identified and strategies developed to build support.

It is likely that staff of an organization will resist new initiatives. This is particularly so if the benefits of a proposed program are not immediately apparent, or if program goals conflict with values held by many staff, or if the program requires changing the

organization's hierarchy and raises concerns about loss of status. In such cases, an administrator is required to develop distinct and complementary strategies to address each form of resistance.[*]

As the sheriff moves forward to implement the home confinement program, she encounters a variety of internal resistances. Jail officers complain that the program is contrary to punishment intended by a prison sentence. They feel that it is being developed solely in response to the overcrowding litigation. The director of program services believes that the value of the new program is outweighed by the risk to hard-earned public support for other innovative services in his department. Finally, the director of classification complains that it will significantly increase the number of inmates processed by her unit.

What can the sheriff do to generate staff support? Jail officers will have little impact on operations of the home confinement program. Therefore, their resistance is not likely to have a determinative impact on program success. In the interest of organizational harmony, however, the sheriff might pursue better understanding by jail officers of the rationale and benefits of the program. Information could be disseminated chronicling the success of the department's pre-release program with regard to both reintegration and public safety. The home confinement initiative could be presented as a rational extension of pre-release. This educational approach could be coupled with a formal assertion of authority: It could be announced that the program has been endorsed by the sheriff with the implication that support is expected. The combination of approaches should reduce active resistance.

Other staff, however, can more directly effect program success, and their active support is required. In order to gain their acceptance and ownership of the initiative, the sheriff could convene an internal study group to investigate the concept and plan for its

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[*] Harland and Harris, op. cit.

operation. The group should be comprised of personnel from various departmental units as well as individuals outside the department. The sheriff should formally charge the group to examine how the home confinement program would best *fit* within the department, to identify increased workloads, to determine whether additional resources are required, to design a plan for implementation, to prepare program policy and procedure, and to describe the potential costs and benefits to the agency and to its personnel.

With regard to staff concern of risk to public relations, the sheriff might recount the department's successes with other efforts that had faced opposition. She can trace the evolution of human service programs and the opposition encountered.

Concerns regarding organizational change (staffing and lines of authority) may also represent a need for more information. The sheriff could present home confinement as a natural extension of the department's pre-release program and make clear how the new initiative will impact the organization.

By engaging staff in policy and program development, and by providing sufficient information about the initiative, one is more likely to gain broader acceptance and support. Moreover, through this planning process, one can demonstrate to an organization its capability to manage such an effort and underscore the benefits of the initiative to its interests.

Program staff must be empowered to conduct operations.

As the program approaches implementation, a shift in roles occurs: the proponents, who have carried the concept to this point, must reduce their control of the program; the host organization must be given the necessary authority and capacity to operate the program.

As the shift occurs, several issues are faced by the program proponents: Will they be involved in program operations? If not,

what will be their continued role, if any? How should managers be prepared to assume responsibility? How much, if any, leeway should program managers be given to alter the original design?

Regarding a parole board chairperson who has designed an intensive parole supervision program, assume he has chosen a particular field office to launch a pilot program. He is concerned that the field office has greeted this assignment as a burden or with apathy. He has neither the familiarity with the field office's operational nuances, nor the proximity, to manage the resistance encountered as the program becomes operational. What should he do?

He might announce the pilot effort broadly, within the agency and outside, through newsletters, policy memoranda, staff seminars, state-wide meetings and other forums. He could then select a program coordinator from the field office and formally charge that individual with program responsibility. Next, an announcement of this assignment should be conveyed to the entire agency. Finally, the local marketing effort (e.g., with judges, law enforcement and community groups) should be assigned as the responsibility of the program coordinator.

Clearly, a successful program cannot be managed from a distance. Program managers must be allowed to adapt the program to realities confronted in actual operation, given local idiosyncracies.

The extent of authority is a question of degree. It must be understood that the use of authority should further the goals of the original concept. Managers should be able to adjust program procedures based on supporting information, such as changing the number or frequency of reporting requirements. They should **not,** however, be allowed to make fundamental changes that compromise the goals of the program, such as changing the target population.

Quality Assurance

Compliance with the concept goals must be audited.

Monitoring the authority exercised by local managers over new initiatives is best accomplished by quality assurance mechanisms.

In some instances, those responsible for planning disengage from further involvement when the program becomes operational. In other instances, the planners assume responsibility for operations. Does this mean that, once operational, the role of planner should end? Clearly not.

Undoubtedly, operations will not proceed exactly as anticipated --the stark realities of the field are not always exactly as projected in the planner's laboratory. Will such instances be responded to? If so, how? Whether one disengages or takes operational responsibility, there should be mechanisms to ensure compliance with the original goals: a management information system can be implemented; periodic evaluations can occur; auditing requirements can be imposed; and training and technical assistance can be provided.

Another strategy is to involve key operations staff in extended tasks that will reinforce clarity regarding program goals. For example, they might be asked to participate in the design and training associated with a state-wide implementation effort.

One way of addressing the parole chairperson's concerns with the management of the intensive supervision program is by regular reports on the program. The information provided can be designed to measure performance against the goals of the concept--highlighting those offenders not normally paroled at first instance, and the types of intensive services and supervision provided. It is important that any deviations from the goals or program design be noted by him, and that operational staff be requested to explain any differences of approach.

The chairperson might also include the program staff in efforts to introduce the pilot program to other regions. The original effort can benefit as the pilot staff members market the goals and program design to others, and reinforce the goals and design in their own minds. The expansion effort benefits as field staff discuss operational realities and advantages with experienced staff, administrators, and planners.

The important consideration is that the demands and exigencies of operation can overshadow program goals. To prevent this from occurring and to maintain the integrity of the concept, it is essential that viable quality assurance mechanisms be in place. Moreover, they should be considered essential program components and be budgeted into the program design.

THE DAY REPORTING CENTER: A CASE STUDY

The principles outlined above were gleaned from a review of the literature on organizational development and planned change, an actual program development experience of the Crime and Justice Foundation working with the Sheriff's Department of Hampden County, Massachusetts, and other program initiatives of the Foundation. The Crime and Justice Foundation is a century old non-profit corrections agency located in Boston, Massachusetts. In recent times, it has assisted county jails and state prisons to improve operations and services; designed and operated court-based mediation programs; and conducted research and program development activities in community corrections and other criminal justice issues.

With the Hampden County Sheriff's Department, the Foundation developed the Springfield Day Reporting Center, a pioneering effort to address inmate reintegration needs, as well as overcrowding, by extending the limits of correctional custody. The Center provides a rigid structure under which inmates are allowed to live in the community for up to sixty days prior to normal discharge or parole.

Participating inmates are subject to intensive community supervision. They are required to report to the Center in person daily; file written itineraries regarding their movements each day; make telephone reports as determined by staff; submit to regular urinalysis screening; be subject to random in-person or telephone checks; and comply with an evening curfew. In addition, the Center provides inmates a range of treatment and service activities, including substance abuse therapy, family and couple counseling, education, vocational training, employment assistance, and ancillary services. Finally, each inmate is required to make some form of restitution, either through community service or reparation to the victim.

Screening inmates to determine program eligibility is done through the classification system of the Hampden County Jail and

House of Correction. Those meeting the basic requirements are offered the opportunity to participate in the day reporting center. To do so, the inmate must negotiate a contract stipulating supervision, treatment, employment, and restitution requirements. Once an acceptable contract is negotiated with program staff, the inmate is approved for participation and is released to the supervision of center staff. Participants who violate the terms of their contracts are subject to a disciplinary process and may be returned to the institution for the balance of their sentence.

Background: Prison Overcrowding

Beginning in 1980, the Crime and Justice Foundation's commitment to community corrections was heightened by acute prison crowding. At the request of Massachusetts criminal justice leaders, the Foundation in 1980 convened a series of meetings attended by executives from the courts, corrections, parole and probation, as well as representatives from the Governor's Office, and the District Attorneys' and Sheriffs' Associations. This became the primary state-wide forum for discussion of the causes and consequences of prison crowding.

Within this forum, the Foundation reported on the dimensions of crowding and identified dozens of practical relief measures: modifying sentencing practices (e.g., setting terms in increments of five months instead of six); applying earned good time credits to inmates' parole eligibility dates; and speeding up classification and movement of inmates to lower security units. The Foundation demonstrated the viability of some measures through pilot programs; it lobbied for the adoption and implementation of others.

Despite verifiable success with many of these initiatives prison crowding grew to crisis proportions by late 1984. This demanded a greater commitment of Foundation resources to the development of community-based sanctions.

Formation of Day Reporting Center Concept

Concept Development. By relating this immediate work on prison crowding to its long-standing philosophical positions on criminal justice and corrections, the Foundation sought to find credible, community-based sanctions for those who would otherwise be imprisoned. The Foundation recognized that a suitable sanction should serve as an intermediate option between incarceration and probation and should provide for the reintegration needs of offenders while satisfying the goals of punishment, incapacitation, and rehabilitation.

Mindful of the toughened approach to crime and sentencing, the Foundation examined various correctional disciplines such as curfews, restitution orders, home confinement, community work service, and intensive supervision. It assumed that to develop support and acceptance for intermediate, community-based sanctions, custodial issues would have to be addressed. In addition, the Foundation has long recognized the need to address substance abuse, unemployment, illiteracy and other social problems of offenders. Thus, assistance and support mechanisms should be incorporated into the design.

The Foundation began by reviewing aspects of its first-hand experience that might be used in concept development. Through work for the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services and the state's trial court, staff understood threshold factors weighed by the courts to determine the suitability of certain offenders for sentencing options. The Foundation's operation of a court mediation program provided a unique view of the concerns of criminal justice officials as well as the concerns and needs of victims and offenders.

The Foundation also reviewed other initiatives within its home state, such as pre-release services, offender employment programs, and correctional alcohol centers. It solicited information on home confinement programs in Georgia, restitution programs in Texas, and an alternative detention project in Vir-

ginia. In conjunction with other Foundation activities, staff visited an early release/home confinement program in California and an outreach detention program in Minnesota.

It was amidst this broad search that the Foundation was introduced to day reporting centers operated by the British probation system. Literature described the centers as community-based facilities providing a strict regimen of supervision and programming for at-risk probationers.

The concept seemed promising enough to prompt the Foundation to commission a study of British day centers by a London-based colleague. His report described the centers as alternatives to incarceration with three principal goals:

- **Punishment**--through restricting client activity and requiring community service;

- **Incapacitation**--through intensive supervision, firm enforcement of attendance agreements, and strict adherence to program structure;

- **Rehabilitation**--through services aimed at "enabling the unable" by developing social and survival skills, remedying deficiencies in education, and increasing employability.

With support from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Foundation staff had the opportunity to visit seven day reporting centers in England and consult with criminal justice professionals at the British Home Office. The site visits helped convince Foundation staff of the viability of the day center concept, and identified three characteristics, in particular, that offered promise:

- Day centers offered a unique locus. A single site could offer supervision and program services, and serve as the broker for structured community sanctions and human service activities. Community service work, restitution programs,

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home confinement, victim/offender reconciliation, substance abuse services, and other activities could be coordinated from a central location.

- The centers offered structure appropriate to a number of correctional populations. The service needs of probationers, parolees, and inmates--employment, substance abuse treatment, basic education, and so forth--were similar, despite differences in their legal status. It was believed that the day reporting center concept could be tailored to the specific objectives of corrections, parole and probation and meet the needs of each of their populations.

- The blend of supervision, structure, surveillance, and support provided by the British centers mirrored similar sanctions in the United States, such as restitution orders, intensive supervision, and house arrest.

Following the site visits, Foundation staff prepared a concept paper describing how the British centers operated, their potential application in this country, and a proposed workplan for pilot program design and implementation. To stimulate discussion and further refine the concept, the paper was distributed to chief executives in the Massachusetts corrections, parole, probation, and youth services agencies, as well as to top officials in the courts and county jails. In addition, Foundation staff discussed the concept with executives in social service organizations and offender residential programs.

The paper also served as the basis of funding requests. The Crime and Justice Foundation received support for further program design and initial implementation from the Florence V. Burden Foundation, the Comprehensive Offender Employment Resource System, and the Gardiner Howland Shaw Foundation.

As an additional step in developing the day center concept, the Foundation convened a steering committee of criminal justice professionals from the public and private sector. The committee

devoted much discussion to assessing the capability of various criminal justice agencies to implement or support the concept. It was agreed that, regardless of the sponsoring agency, the credibility of the concept would pivot on "peace of mind" considerations. Once operational, a day center would have to emphasize strict correctional protocols (e.g., intensive supervision, curfews) and sanctions aimed at holding the offender accountable (e.g., restitution, mediation, community work service). Finally, the steering committee recognized that the service needs of offenders must be met. Thus, a day reporting center should provide for services addressing substance abuse problems, mental health needs, employment, education, counseling, and other relevant needs.

As the concept began to take on more definition, the Foundation began specific targeting of the day reporting center: What would be the most appropriate correctional population? Within which criminal justice agency should the center operate? And, what would be needed to site the day reporting center?

Target Population. The Foundation's broadest goal was to provide community supervision in lieu of incarceration. Unfortunately, history has indicated that "alternative" programs often have failed to be an alternative to incarceration and usually have resulted in a "widening of the net." It was quite possible that even the most carefully designed program could result in an increase in the total number of persons under supervision.

The Foundation also recognized that acceptance and successful implementation of the center concept would rest on an assessment of risk posed by the target population. It was important that the day center target a population of sufficient risk to be consistent with its goal to reduce overcrowding. The Foundation decided to target an already-incarcerated population for the day reporting center. By focusing on short-term sentenced inmates (those serving less than 2 1/2 years) in a county correctional facility, a reduction in population could be verified.

At the same time, the population for the center could not be seen as endangering public safety. Recognizing that a decision had already been made against probation status for this population and that parole status was not yet determined, the Foundation determined that the center, while less than 24-hour incarceration, would need to be more than normal community supervision.

The Foundation believed that any program at the early stages of implementation would be susceptible to pressure to extend its boundaries. The control of classification in as few hands as possible, and proximity of those persons to program operations, would reduce that pressure. Such a classification structure is present in county corrections: the classification decision is controlled solely at the site, minimizing the involvement of other organizations in the process.

Target Site. It was obvious that the concept of early release of inmates to community supervision could face significant community and political resistance. The Foundation believed that the host organization would require independent political and professional credibility. This consideration, coupled with the priority placed on short-term sentenced offenders, led the Foundation to target a county correctional facility with the following characteristics:

- political and organizational stability;

- demonstrated management abilities, including successful implementation of innovative programs;

- potential willingness to participate;

- situated in an urban setting.

The first two criteria addressed the site's demonstrated ability to manage resistance to change--both external (political, law enforcement) and internal (administrators, line staff, union). The third criterion required analysis of potential benefits to the site. The

fourth criterion --an urban setting-- reflected the Foundation's desire for a racially mixed target population in a setting that had an existing network of community services. This was seen as important to program structure, and it was believed that success at an urban site would enhance replicability.

Three sites were rejected because of political or organizational instability. In two instances, the administrations had just assumed office; in the third, an election was pending. A fourth site was rejected because, in the Foundation's assessment, it had not demonstrated a capacity to implement such a program. Although it was under litigation for overcrowding and apparently willing to participate in the program, this site had not used furloughs, pre-release programs or other readily accepted correctional alternatives. The Foundation believed that the potential for resistance was too great in an organization with no prior experience with community programs.

After careful consideration, Foundation staff concluded that the Hampden County Sheriff's Department met all of the site criteria. The sheriff and his administration had been in office for over twelve years. The Department had designed and implemented a pre-release program; it had sited and operated a regional correctional alcohol facility; it had greatly expanded education, vocational training, and human services resources in the institution; it had a strong inmate classification system; and it made full use of administrative release mechanisms, such as furloughs, earned good time credits, and mutual-agreement parole contracts.

The sheriff's success as a manager had earned him wide-reaching professional credibility. He had served as president of the Massachusetts Sheriffs' Association and was a member of the Governor's Commission on Correctional Alternatives. His ability to initiate and operate community correctional programs served as a tribute to the community support he engendered.

With regard to willingness to participate, the Foundation identified three primary incentives: overcrowding reduction, system support and recognition, and financial resources. The Hampden County facility was severely crowded. Designed for 280 inmates, it was housing 450 and was involved in litigation challenging the conditions of confinement. The Foundation believed that the day reporting center could help abate the crowding and that, within one year of operation, it could serve 20 to 25 clients on a daily basis, thereby reducing the sentenced population by 10%, and the total population by 5%.

The program was philosophically consistent with past and present initiatives, as well as with the future goals of the sheriff and his administration. The Department had a demonstrated commitment to the philosophy that inmates should be given the opportunity to prove themselves and earn less restrictive levels of security. Importantly, this belief pre-dated the overcrowding crisis.

In addition, the reporting center concept offered a unique extension of the role of the sheriff in community supervision. It had the potential to extend the sheriff's authority, reduce the incarcerated population, and generate additional resources and staff.

Finally, Hampden County's participation in a demonstration project was consistent with its interest in staying at the forefront of Massachusetts corrections. The staff was already adept at identifying and securing resources. The implementation process would enhance the interface between the Sheriff's Department and state criminal justice planners, benefiting other state-level negotiations concerning modular housing units and construction of a new House of Correction.

Against the backdrop of these benefits, the Foundation was also aware of potential resistance. There was concern that the Department's staff was already spread too thin--it had recently opened and accredited a regional correctional alcohol center, it

was presently engaged in negotiations for modular housing units, and it was beginning to plan the new facility. While acknowledging this concern, the Foundation believed that since the Department was successfully managing its existing initiatives and the proposed program would further those initiatives, the workload alone would not eliminate Hampden County as a potential site. Furthermore, the fact that the staff were in the midst of change and accustomed to it could serve to reduce internal resistance.

Program Development

The Foundation recognized that the likelihood of Hampden County's participation in the project would be enhanced if other criminal justice agencies supported the concept and if funding was available.

Generating Support and Understanding. The Foundation perceived the development of support as an ever-widening circle: initial support would rest largely on the credibility of the innovator, in this case the Foundation, and broader acceptance would require deliberate efforts at gaining understanding and support. These efforts were aimed at gaining *active* support --through the direct participation of staff of the target site in program design and funding efforts-- and *passive* support --through activities to gain the acceptance of other criminal justice agencies and officials.

If *concept* development presented substantive challenges, *program* development presented logistical ones. Earlier dissemination efforts provided relatively broad awareness of the day reporting center concept. The Foundation sought to convert that awareness into demonstrated support through special forums which could further market the program:

> **Governor's Special Commission on Correctional Alternatives** -- In response to severe prison overcrowding, the Governor had appointed a commission to make recommendations con-

cerning the use of community-based sanctions as alternatives to incarceration. The Foundation worked with representatives of the Commission, convincing them that the day center concept should be included in the Commission recommendations. When the final report was presented to the Governor, the day reporting center was prominently identified as one of five primary initiatives that should be undertaken by the Commonwealth.

Presentation to Criminal Justice Executives -- The Foundation brought together a state-wide group of officials from the judiciary, corrections, parole, probation, youth services, human service agencies, and district attorneys' offices to outline its implementation strategy. In that session, the day reporting center concept was defined and Hampden County was identified as the optimum target site. The Foundation projected a date, approximately six months hence, at which it was hoped that the program would be operating. It was stated that in the interim, the Foundation would work with Hampden County to explore the concept further and to attract operating funds. Finally, the Foundation asked that the group go on record as supporting the concept. Support was forthcoming from all.

Developing Resources. As mentioned earlier, the Foundation had received private funding to support concept development and three to six months of initial program operations. It was clear, however, that this was inadequate to induce the Hampden County Sheriff's Department to go forward with the concept. As indicated, the sheriff was responding to significant internal and external challenges including severe overcrowding, related litigation, and a legislated cap on budget increases within the Department. As an administrator who had successfully initiated and maintained a number of innovative programs, he was savvy to the risks of starting a program with insufficient fiscal support.

The Foundation, therefore, earnestly sought state funding for the project. Staff worked with members of the executive and legisla-

tive branches to remind them of the significant crowding in county jails, and the priority given day reporting centers by the Governor's Special Commission. It became clear that funding to support the Commission's entire package of recommendations was at least one or two budget sessions away.

The Foundation argued for immediate fiscal support for a demonstration project. The Senate Committee on Ways and Means agreed to include funding for the Hampden County Day Reporting Center as a separate line item in the state budget. Finally, the state legislature endorsed the proposal and approved the allocation of funding.

Developing Support at the Program Site. Despite the sheriff's history of developing successful correctional programs, he faced substantial risk in initiating a day reporting center. The prospect of placing inmates into community supervision was likely to elicit political and community resistance, especially since the sheriff was in the midst of an election. As it turned out, the process of obtaining state funds proved significant in securing the sheriff's commitment to participate. The funds provided the opportunity to successfully operate the program, and, more importantly, the source of those funds --state executive and legislative authorities-- provided the license to proceed.

The Foundation continued, in a support capacity, to assist the staff of the Sheriff's Department with its planning efforts. The planning was directed by the Department's deputy superintendent of human services, who was responsible for creating the Department's pre-release center and correctional alcohol center and had achieved considerable success in establishing a stable human services unit with a wide range of innovative programs. He had been involved by the Foundation as a member of the concept steering committee early in the project. He believed that effective programming not only benefited participating inmates, but also enhanced staff morale, reduced tension in the institution, and advanced general security and control. With escalating jail

crowding, he was concerned about the program's effect on the quantity and quality of available services.

The deputy superintendent brought the director of classification into the planning discussion. This individual played an important role in the Department, managing the movement of inmates in an extremely overcrowded institution and in the midst of litigation. In describing the day reporting center to him, Foundation staff emphasized that the center would remove inmates from the institution and supervise them in the community. He viewed the day reporting center as assisting him with his responsibilities.

Another important individual identified by the deputy superintendent was the director of the pre-release center. The center housed inmates who left the institution each day for employment or treatment services in the community. The Foundation staff and the deputy superintendent believed that, optimally, the reporting center would be operated as an extension of the pre-release center. Despite the fact that the director had recently assumed the post and was in the midst of the center's reaccreditation, she was eager to entertain discussion of the day reporting center.

Pre-release staff, however, raised several concerns: would there be sufficient staff and other resources? Would the broadened focus of the pre-release center affect its accreditation efforts? Would policy, procedures and operations of the day reporting center be maintained at the same level of quality expected of the pre-release center?

Foundation staff engaged in individual and group meetings to determine whether the reporting center made sense in the context of the larger operation. This was a challenging process for the Foundation. Although there appeared to be general agreement that the concept made sense, the organizational, political, and policy implications were complex. To implement the program, significant attention and time would be required. Unfortunately, time was a scarce commodity among key staff.

The Foundation increased its presence at the facility, yet it was cautious not to be overbearing in advocating participation. Clearly, if these key administrators were to be responsible for program operations, they needed the opportunity to assimilate the concept and, possibly, to reject it. In order to maintain a level of general communication throughout this period, Foundation staff provided consultation on other matters, including standards implementation, litigation, and legislative analysis.

Program Initiation. During a period of approximately four months, it became increasingly clear that the concept could be adapted to the site. Discussion became less generic and more focused on population data analysis, phase-in of sub-populations and a local public relations strategy.

There were concrete indicators that the site had internalized the concept and was ready to begin operations. For example, additional staff time for policy development was now needed. Although state funds would not be available for several months, the sheriff hired a person with local funds to coordinate policy development. The Foundation began to work with this person and the director of the pre-release center to develop reporting center procedures and to amend the pre-release center policies to reflect an expansion of its function.

As another example, it was obvious that before operations could begin, local criminal justice leaders would have to be briefed and a public relations plan would have to be developed. The Sheriff's Department took the lead in both efforts. As the Foundation witnessed the site's ability to articulate and support the concept, it became clear that operations could begin.

To accommodate the site's assumption of operational responsibility, it was necessary for the Foundation to change its role. The Foundation shifted from technical assistance to concrete training tasks--for instance, a correctional liability seminar. Additionally, the Foundation worked to establish quality assurance mechanisms to measure consistency with concept goals. It took

responsibility for developing and conducting a program evaluation. Finally, the Foundation added Hampden County staff to its technical assistance team working with other implementation efforts in the Commonwealth, as well as in a national dissemination effort.

Hampden County Day Reporting Center

After twelve months of concept development and six months of site work, the Hampden County Day Reporting Center opened in October 1986. In its first two years, the Center served 208 inmates. Of the 164 participants who finished the program, 133 successfully completed the terms of their contracts, 30 were returned to jail for technical violations, and 1 failed for commission of a new crime. As it begins its third year of operation, the Center is averaging 27 clients per day, roughly 5% of the institution population, and continues to expand.

In December 1987, the Crime and Justice Foundation opened a second day reporting center in Boston. Based on early success of the programs and in response to the recommendations of the Governor's Special Commission on Correctional Alternatives, the Commonwealth recently established a pool of funds for additional centers. A grant award has allowed the Foundation to expand the Boston Center to serve three county correctional departments.