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Executive Summary

In 2011, the Arkansas legislature provided for the establishment of five pilot programs, known as SWIFT Courts. These pilots are modeled after the successful Hawaii HOPE program and are designed to reduce probation failure among high-risk probationers by concentrating on a small number of easily verifiable behaviors (drug use and showing up for appointments) to ensure compliance. The five pilot SWIFT Courts became operational between March and October 2012. An implementation review of the SWIFT Courts, conducted by the National Center for State Courts, suggests that the programs have successfully implemented the majority of the HOPE benchmarks. Preliminary data suggests the programs are having a positive short-term impact on the probationers enrolled in the program. A number of suggestions for strengthening the pilot programs are offered throughout this review. Finally, the report concludes with a long-term evaluation plan for the SWIFT Court programs.

Introduction

Approximately 6.98 million people (or the equivalent of one in 34 U.S. adults) were under some form of adult correctional supervision in the U.S. at the close of 2011 (Maruschak & Parks, 2012). Of those adults under correctional supervision, about one in every 50 adults in the U.S. was supervised in the community on probation or parole while approximately one in every 107 adults was incarcerated in prison or jail (Maruschak & Parks, 2012). Following national trends, the prison population in Arkansas has more than doubled in the past 20 years. In 2009, the number of inmates grew by 3.1% to 15,171 inmates, the eighth largest percentage increase in the country (Pew Center on the States, 2010). In 2010, the number of inmates in Arkansas grew another 7%.

Spending on corrections has risen faster in the 20 years from 1988 to 2008 than spending on nearly any other state budget item. In 2008, federal, state and local governments spent nearly \$75 billion on corrections, the majority of which was the cost of incarceration. In 2008, Arkansas spent 8% of the state's budget on corrections, compared to the national average of 6.7% (National Association of State Budget Officers, 2009). The largest share of the costs of corrections are borne by state and local governments, with state governments carrying about 60% of the total corrections expenditures and local governments carrying about one third of the expenditures (Schmitt, Warner, & Gupta, June 2010). As prison costs have risen, resources for community-based supervision have dwindled. For every dollar Arkansas spent on prisons in 2008, ten cents was allocated to probation and parole (Pew Center on the States, 2010). Despite increased spending, rates of re-incarceration remain high and, by some measures, have actually worsened. Approximately one third of probationers were unsuccessful in complying with the terms of their probation supervision in 2010 (Maruschak & Parks, 2012). The fastest growing category of prison admissions is people already under some form of community supervision (Hughes, Wilson, & Beck, October 2001). Of the 27,174 adults who entered probation from 2004 to 2006, 21.7% returned to jail within three years (Arkansas Department of Community Corrections, 2008). Based on a recent report from Pew, 43.3% of those released to the community in 2004 were re-incarcerated within three years, either for committing a new crime or for violating conditions governing their release (Pew, 2011).

Substance abuse and addiction are key factors in the continuous growth of the corrections population. In a U.S. Department of Justice study, approximately two-thirds of jail inmates were found to meet the DSM-IV criteria for substance dependence or abuse (Karberg & James, 2005) while U.S. Department of Justice and SAMHSA surveys have found that 35% of parolees and 40% of probations were drug dependent. Substance-involved offenders are far likelier to recidivate than those who are not substance involved. Over half (52.2%) of substance-involved inmates have one or more previous incarcerations compared with 31.2% of inmates who are not substance involved (CASA, February 2010).

Reform in Arkansas

In 2010, Governor Mike Beebe joined efforts with Chief Justice Jim Hannah and leaders from the Arkansas Senate and House of Representatives to request technical assistance from the Public Safety Performance Project of the Pew Center on the States. Pew, along with the Crime and Justice Institute (CJI) and the JFA Institute (JFA), worked closely with leaders in Arkansas to identify strategies to reform corrections in Arkansas. As an outgrowth of these efforts, Arkansas's Act 570 was passed in 2011. Act 570 placed an emphasis on prioritizing prison space for violent offenders while expanding the use of community supervision alternatives for non-violent offenders. Key Components of Act 570 include:

- Changes in drug statutes
- Changes in theft/property threshold amounts
- Establishment of intermediate sanctions for probation revocations
- Provision for electronic monitoring as a condition of early release in some cases

Act 570 incorporates a number of best practices being promoted nationwide to reduce

recidivism and manage the growth of prison populations. These strategies include improving

probation and parole supervision practices and delivering effective interventions to address the

criminogenic needs of offenders. Some key probation practices that impact recidivism are:

- Allocating limited resources to those offenders most likely to reoffend
- Designing interventions to address offender's criminogenic needs
- Providing evidence-based services in an adequate dosage to address the offender's risks and needs
- Imposing swift and certain sanctions for non-compliance

HOPE Model

The Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (HOPE) program is a focused deterrence model designed to address the final element above – delivering swift and certain sanctions, including short jail stays, for high-risk probationers. The HOPE model attempts to reduce probation failure among high-risk probationers by concentrating on a small number of easily verifiable behaviors (drug use and showing up for appointments) to ensure compliance. The central tenet of HOPE is that swift and certain responses to violations will improve probation compliance (Hawken & Kleiman, 2009). Targeting specific probationers ensures that probation officers, the court, and law enforcement will be able to detect and respond to all violations. This makes it distinct from intensive supervision programs (ISPs), which increase overall monitoring without such targeting. ISPs detect more infractions but they are not effective in reducing probation revocation or recidivism (Petersilia & Turner, 1990).

How the HOPE Program Works

Eligibility for HOPE is determined at probation intake by prior probation non-compliance and the results of an objective risk assessment instrument. HOPE probationers attend a warning/notification hearing with the judge overseeing HOPE where they are informed of program rules and the swift, certain responses (including an immediate short jail sentence for violations) that will occur as a result of non-compliance. HOPE probationers with identified substance abuse needs are required to call a HOPE drug testing hotline every business day to determine if they are randomly selected for drug testing that day. Probationers whose color is selected must appear at the probation office before 2:00 p.m. the same day for a drug test. Non-drug-involved offenders must comply with their conditions of probation. A positive drug test results in an immediate jail sanction. A missed appointment results in a bench warrant. As soon as a probation officer detects a violation, he or she files a "Motion to Modify Probation" form and sends it to the judge. In most cases, the judge issues a warrant and schedules a hearing to take place within 72 hours of the violation. Execution of HOPE warrants is prioritized by law enforcement and probationers receive a jail sanction during the subsequent hearing. Drug treatment is mandated for repeated positive drug tests or at the request of a HOPE client.

Upon release, the probationer reports to his or her probation officer and resumes participation

in HOPE. Each additional violation is met with graduated sanctions.

Evaluation of HOPE

NIJ-funded researchers evaluated HOPE to determine if it improved probation outcomes

and results were positive (Hawken & Kleiman, 2009). The impact of HOPE was studied in

several key areas:

- <u>Arrests:</u> 21% of HOPE probationers had a new arrest following placement on probation compared to 47% of control group probationers.
- <u>Used drugs:</u> 13% of HOPE probationers tested positive for drugs while on probation supervision compared to 46% of control group probationers.
- <u>Missed probation officer appointments</u>: 9% of HOPE probationers missed appointments with their probation officer compared to 23% of control group probationers.
- **<u>Probation revoked</u>**: 7% of HOPE probationers had their probation revoked compared to 15% of control group probationers.

As a result, HOPE probationers served or were sentenced to 488% fewer days in jail or prison,

on average, than the control group.

HOPE Replication Projects

The HOPE model is promising but there is substantial variation in probation practices

throughout the United States. How these differences impact outcomes in HOPE replication

projects remains undetermined. Outside of Arkansas, there are currently a number of

replication sites throughout the country including Alaska (PACE), Nevada, California, Texas

(SWIFT), Arizona (SAFE), Washington (WISP-parolees only), New York City (CLIMB), Montana,

North Dakota and South Dakota (24/7 for alcohol offenders). These programs have been

implemented in various settings, including probation and parole, in both adult and juvenile agencies.

In 2012, NIJ and BJA partnered to fund a demonstration field experiment to determine if Hawaii's success with HOPE could be duplicated. Four sites were selected to be a part of a national replication and evaluation project. These four sites include Saline County, Arkansas; Essex County, Massachusetts; Tarrant County, Texas; and Clackamas County, Oregon. RTI International will be conducting a process, outcome and cost assessment using randomized control trials. In addition, Pepperdine University and a team lead by Angela Hawken, who was the lead evaluator of the Hawaii HOPE program, is working to assist the sites in establishing their programs.

SWIFT Court Legislation

Act 570 authorized the creation of SWIFT Court pilot programs based on the HOPE program. The SWIFT Court pilot is designed to reduce recidivism by requiring swift, certain, and graduated sanctions for probationers in noncompliance. Five pilot sites were selected by the Arkansas Administrative Office of the Courts based on grant application submissions and criteria described in the SWIFT Court legislation. Figure 1 below describes the locations of the five pilot sites.

Judicial	Jurisdiction(s) Served	Presiding Judge(s)
District		
7 th	Hot Spring & Grant Counties	Hon. Chris Williams
8 th	Hempstead County	Hon. Randall Wright
10 th	Desha County	Hon. Don Glover

Figure 1: SWIFT Court Pilot Sites

13 th	Union County	Hon. Hamilton Singleton
16^{th}	Independence County	Hon. John Dan Kemp

SWIFT Court Implementation and Target Capacity

The five SWIFT Court pilot programs implemented at different points in 2012. There were delays in implementation at some sites due to challenges in staffing the probation officer position. At implementation, each program planned to serve as many as 15 to 50 probationers at any given time although, as of November 2012, most programs were serving a smaller number of probationers. The small number of participants being served at program initiation is in line with the HOPE model's concept of starting small in order to identify and correct issues that might occur. However, throughout the first year the pilot sites will need to work to steadily increase the number of probationers being served in order to be cost-effective. As probationers progress through the programs, the level of supervision should decrease, thereby freeing up more time for probation officers to take on more cases. The implementation dates and initial target capacity of each SWIFT Court is in Figure 2 below.

Judicial	Implementation	Target
District	Date	Capacity
7 th	6/1/2012	40
8 th	10/23/12	20-30
10^{th}	7/18/2012	20-25
13 th	5/8/2012	15-50
16 th	3/26/12	30-40

Figure 2: Implementation Dates and Target Capacity for the SWIFT Courts

Figure 3 below shows the number of SWIFT Court probationers enrolled in each of the

programs as of November 2012.

Judicial	Target Capacity
District	
7 th	9
8 th	6
10 th	8
13 th	20
16 th	11

Figure 3: Total Numbers Served by each SWIFT Court Site as of November 2012

SWIFT Court Model

The SWIFT Court model is based largely on the HOPE program with some specifics

outlined in the enabling Arkansas legislation. The specific guidelines outlined in the legislation

include:

- 1. Utilize a validated risk-assessment instrument as part of the identification process for eligible program participants.
- 2. Target probationers who are at high-risk of being returned to incarceration.
- 3. Notify probationers of program rules and consequences for violating those rules.
- 4. Monitor probationers for illicit drug use with regular and rapid result drug testing.
- 5. Monitor probationers for violations of other rules and probation terms, including failure to pay court-ordered financial obligations such as child support or restitution.
- 6. Respond to violations with immediate arrest and swift and certain modification of the conditions of probation, including imposition of short jail stays.
- 7. Immediately respond to probationers who have absconded from supervision with service of bench warrants and immediate sanctions.
- 8. Provide rewards to probationers who comply with rules. Rewards may include: reduced reporting requirements, less frequent drug testing, certificates of achievement and other rewards determined locally.
- 9. Ensure funding for and referral to substance abuse treatment for probationers who repeatedly fail to refrain from illicit drug use.
- 10. Establish procedures to terminate program participation by and initiate revocation to a term of incarceration for probationers who habitually fail to abide by program rules and pose a threat to public safety.
- 11. Conduct regular coordination of meetings for key partners of the program.

Similar to HOPE, the SWIFT Court programs are designed to include intensive monitoring during the early stages of probation. As probationers demonstrate compliance, reporting requirements and drug testing frequencies are reduced. In the initial stage of the programs, probationers enrolled in SWIFT Court must report to their probation officer at least weekly and are drug tested at least once a week. Some of the SWIFT Court pilot programs have adopted specific phase structures, similar to a drug court model, while other pilot sites have less formal methods of stepping down probation supervision requirements as milestones are met. These milestones generally include attendance at all scheduled probation appointments, negative drug test results, payment of supervision fees and court ordered financial obligations and compliance with any referrals to treatment or other services. All of the pilot sites are in the early stages of what will likely be a two to three year probation supervision period for most probationers so the later phases of SWIFT Court supervision have yet to be defined.

Implementation Assessment of the SWIFT Courts

The Arkansas Administrative Office of the Courts (AOC) was granted the authority to establish the SWIFT Court pilot program in the enabling legislation and is responsible for administering grants to the pilot sites. Per the enabling legislation, the AOC is required to track the progress of each pilot program, coordinate the required data collection and provide an annual report to the General Assembly and to the Governor regarding the results of the pilot initiative.

In July of 2012, the AOC requested that the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) assist with evaluating the five SWIFT Court pilot sites. The NCSC was tasked with:

- Providing recommendations for interim and long term evaluation measures
- Developing an evaluation plan
- Conducting an interim evaluation of data
- Conducting a program implementation review at each site
- Providing an interim report to the legislation

HOPE Model's Benchmarks for Success

In 2010, the HOPE program established benchmarks to be used as a guide for programs using the HOPE model. These benchmarks are recommended as key components to any replication project. While the SWIFT Court legislation does not specifically refer to SWIFT Courts as being replications of the HOPE model, the legislative intent was to implement SWIFT Courts as closely to the HOPE model as possible in order to achieve similar positive results. As such, the NCSC chose to weigh the SWIFT Courts against the HOPE benchmarks when conducting the implementation assessment.

Individual conference calls were conducted in August of 2012 with four of the five SWIFT Court sites (the fifth court had not yet implemented). These initial calls were used to collect preliminary data regarding implementation issues and other site-specific information. In September 2012, the evaluation team met onsite in Little Rock, Arkansas, with representatives of the AOC and with team members from each of the five SWIFT Court pilot sites, as well as team members from the federal HOPE Demonstration Field Experiment site (located in Saline County, Arkansas). The discussion included updates on the status of each pilot and a preliminary discussion regarding performance measures and data collection strategies.

Site visits were conducted by the evaluation team in September and November 2012 to document the status of each site's project implementation and program processes. The

evaluation team conducted semi-structured interviews with key criminal justice stakeholders (judges, probation officers, prosecutors and defense attorneys) involved in the SWIFT Court program. These interviews were designed to address the target population, screening and assessment practices, supervision requirements, the sanctioning process, stakeholder impressions of SWIFT Court model implementation and the dynamics of collaboration and coordination in the site. The interviews were designed to determine whether the primary components of the SWIFT Court model were implemented with fidelity, and whether there were unintended consequences (e.g., increase in workload) during the pilot.

Below is a description of how the Arkansas SWIFT Courts meet the HOPE benchmarks followed by recommendations, as needed.

Benchmark 1: The Chief Judge and all Judges participating in the program, probation administrators and officers, jail administrators, prosecutors, public defenders/defense attorneys and Sheriff/police must be involved, make a long-term commitment, and agree to the new quicker procedures.

Each of the SWIFT Court pilot sites were required, in their grant application, to demonstrate that they had consulted with all of the government and private entities that would be affected by the implementation of a SWIFT Court program. These entities include, at a minimum: the chief judge of the circuit court, the court administrator, the probation administrator, the county sheriff, the prosecuting attorney, the public defender and/or private defense attorneys, municipal law enforcement administrators and treatment providers. At each of the pilot sites, the Department of Community Corrections (DCC) is responsible for providing probation supervision in the pilot programs. DCC probation officers monitor probationers for illicit drug use, adherence to conditions of probation and to respond immediately to noncompliance, as well as monitor probationers' court-ordered financial obligations. DCC is required to collect data in order to demonstrate congruence with performance measures and to identify any cost savings as a result of these programs.

The frequency of communication and the level of communication among team members varies across the sites. While all team members report they have adequate access to the SWIFT Court judge, the frequency of interaction among team members varies. Some programs utilize regular (at least weekly) e-mail communication to provide status reports to all team members (including the judge, probation officer, prosecuting attorney and defense attorney). The status updates are typically initiated by the SWIFT Court probation officer. Other teams communicate only when a probationer has a violation that requires a sanction or when a new referral is made. The most frequent communication occurs between the probation officer and the judge when a probation violation occurs. The SWIFT Court pilot sites are to be commended for their ability to assemble strong teams at each of the project sites that work collaboratively to support the initiative.

Recommendations:

• The AOC should consider providing periodic education and training to the SWIFT Court teams on core elements such as "best practices" in drug testing procedures and the research behind sanctions and incentives, etc. over the next year. Taking advantage of the training offered by Angela Hawken and her colleagues to the federal HOPE replication site in Arkansas is also important. Team-based interdisciplinary education and training programs help maintain a high level of professionalism, provide a forum for solidifying relationships among team members, and promote a spirit of commitment and collaboration across sites. The AOC may want to consider using a

combination of in-person meetings twice a year supplemented by quarterly phone calls and webinars with national experts on key topics.

Benchmark 2: A judge should be in charge of the program in order to answer questions, quickly address emergent issues and provide the necessary leadership and collaboration to drive the program. Regular meetings (e.g., monthly) with the judge, probation administrators, and other key personnel are very helpful for identifying and addressing problems and concerns.

Each of the pilot sites has a dedicated judge providing leadership to the SWIFT Court program. The consistent leadership of the judges has been instrumental in getting all of the pilot sites operational. The sites vary in the extent to which they meet regularly, although team members at all of the sites report that they have the information they need and feel comfortable about the operation of the program. The SWIFT Court judges are to be commended for the leadership they have demonstrated during the pilot program implementation phase.

Recommendations:

 The AOC may want to establish quarterly phone conferences with the project teams for the next year to promote cross-site collaboration. This cross-site collaboration will allow the team to share experiences, ask questions of their peers and learn from one another. Having a regular opportunity to communicate may also help establish cross-site consistency in key practices which will be helpful long-term.

Benchmark 3: The most difficult, high-risk probationers should be targeted for HOPE, including violent, domestic violence, and sex offenders.

Probationers can be referred to SWIFT Court by a probation officer, judge, defense attorney or prosecutor. There is variance across the five pilots as to what point in the criminal justice system probationers are placed into the SWIFT Court including at sentencing (as part of the plea agreement), upon placement on probation supervision, as a result of poor probation adjustment or upon revocation of probation. All of the sites report targeting probationers with a history of unsuccessful probation placements or cases that are poised to be returned to court for violations. The Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS) is used at each of the sites to measure risk. One site also uses the COMPAS. None of the sites exclude violent offenders or sex offenders. There is varying levels of involvement by the prosecutor in reviewing potential candidates for placement.

None of the sites have yet to implement objective eligibility criteria that would create a systematic way of reviewing all potential eligible probationers. Instead, most of the decision-making related to eligibility has been on a case-by-case basis during the early phases of the pilot. A review of the ORAS scores and criminal histories suggest that some low-risk probationers are enrolled in the SWIFT Courts. It is possible that the probationer's adjustment to probation was the factor that led to eligibility.

Recommendations:

- The SWIFT Court programs should target high-risk probationers for placement based on the risk score of the ORAS or, preferably, an additional or alternative instrument such as the COMPAS.
- As the programs become more established, it will be necessary to establish a more systematic and objective method of reviewing cases and determining eligibility in order to ensure the growth and sustainability of the programs. The SWIFT Courts should begin establishing more specific eligibility criteria that objectively defines what "highrisk" means and create a system for screening and assessment that allows all potential

participants to be identified and evaluated for participation. This will allow the SWIFT Court programs to grow to scale and avoid the perception that the programs "cherry pick" select probationers for participation.

Benchmark 4: Start small! Begin with no more than 30 to 50 offenders so as to readily identify and resolve the inevitable challenges that arise.

As noted earlier, the five pilot sites began operating between March and October of

2012. As of November 2012, 54 probationers were enrolled in the SWIFT Court programs

collectively. This is in keeping with the guidance provided by the benchmarks to start small.

However, it is critical that each of the SWIFT Court sites steadily begin increasing their numbers

and reach capacity within the first year in order to ensure that the programs are cost-effective

and sustainable long-term.

Recommendations:

- The SWIFT Court pilot programs should have a clear plan for meeting their target capacity by their one year implementation mark. This includes a plan for routinely screening eligible probationers and consistent entry of new participants into the program. Having probationers in different stages of the SWIFT Court program helps reduce the overall workload demand on the probation staff and creates stability for the program.
- The AOC should consider establishing minimum and maximum caseloads for the SWIFT Court probation officers and work with DCC to ensure that the SWIFT Court probation officer's other duties do not interfere with his or her ability to grow the SWIFT Court to full capacity.

Benchmark 5: It is critical to hold a brief warning/notification hearing by the judge, with counsel present, at the start of HOPE probation for each offender to clearly communicate program expectations and consequences and to encourage his or her compliance and success.

In the HOPE program, participation in a "Warning Hearing" is the mandatory first step

for a person after being recommended for the program by his or her probation officer and

being accepted by the judge. In the HOPE version, the warning hearings take place in a group format in open court. The probationers, with their attorneys, and the prosecutor appear in person before the judge, who impresses on each probationer the importance of compliance and the certainty of consequences for noncompliance. HOPE probationers are warned that positive drug tests and/or admissions to drug and/or alcohol use will result in an immediate, on-the-spot arrest, and missing a drug test or a probation appointment will result in the immediate issuance of a bench warrant. Also, HOPE probationers are told they are expected to acknowledge when they have violated and not to abscond from the system. Finally, the judge emphasizes the important of personal responsibility.

Each of the SWIFT Court pilot sites is using the warning hearing as the initial component of placement. Similar to the original HOPE model, the judge uses the hearing to outline the rules of the program and advises the probationer of the consequences of noncompliance. Initial warning hearings have been conducted at least once in each pilot site. Some sites then transitioned to less formal warnings that accompanied a plea or sentencing into SWIFT Court, while others have maintained a separate warning hearing. Counsel has been present at the warning hearings at each of the SWIFT sites.

Recommendations:

• The "Warning Hearing" is a critical legal component of the program and establishes the foundation of expectations. The pilot sites should continue to adhere to the original program design and conduct a formal "Warning Hearing" at the time of placement for all cases.

Benchmark 6: Routine, effective, timely, and ideally, randomized drug testing (with a confirmation process when positive results are disputed) is key to strong supervision. The frequency of drug testing should be decreased as the probationer demonstrates compliance.

Drug and alcohol testing is a critical component of probation supervision and the original HOPE program design. Each of the SWIFT Court sites indicated that anywhere from 50% to 100% of the participants enrolled in SWIFT Court have current addiction issues making drug and alcohol testing a critical component of effective community supervision. There are several purposes and benefits of drug and alcohol testing in the SWIFT Court program. Drug and alcohol testing:

- Provides a deterrent effect as new participants develop coping skills and refusal skills
- Identifies participants in compliance with program rules
- Rapidly identifies participants who have relapsed before the behavior escalates
- Provides accountability and support

Drug testing is administered by the SWIFT Court probation officer at each of the sites.

All sites utilize existing on-site analyzers within their respective probation districts. Some districts also utilize rapid on-site (dipstick) testing devices, particularly for home visits and off site testing. Probationers are tested for between four and 12 drugs and for alcohol depending on the pilot site. Drug testing occurs between one and three times weekly in each. Though each site recognizes the value and need for utilizing random drug testing protocols, almost none of them actually use a "color code" system to randomize testing. Drug testing is almost entirely conducted at scheduled office appointments. The lack of randomization in the current testing procedures is a significant concern as it compromises the integrity of the drug testing system.

Recommendations:

- In order to strengthen the existing drug testing practices, samples should be collected in a random, unannounced manner through the use of a "color code" call in systems. Testing frequently on a schedule (one or two times a week) is not equivalent to testing randomly. If a probationer knows in advance when he or she will be drug tested, they can, in most cases, adjust their usage accordingly or front-load on water consumption or take other counter-measures to manipulate the test results. The use of "color code" call in systems and unannounced home visits/drug tests are essential means of randomizing the drug testing process.
- Collect samples, at least occasionally, on weekends. Probationers pay close attention to when they are being tested and they know when testing will not occur. Giving them a predictable 48-hour reprieve, every weekend, from testing invites efforts to manipulate the drug testing procedures.
- Test for a wide range of drugs and alcohol, not just probationer's identified "drug of choice."

Benchmark 7: Positive drug tests and/or admissions to drug and/or alcohol use should result in an immediate, on-the-spot arrest. Non-appearance for a drug test or probation appointment should result in the immediate issuance of a bench warrant.

The SWIFT Courts have retained many of the aspects of the original HOPE design when

managing violations. Brief jail stays are the primary sanction being employed across all the

sites although two sites are using community service for minor violations. Similar to the HOPE

program, drug use, missed drug tests and missed office visits are responded to immediately.

The SWIFT Courts are to be commended for adhering to this benchmark.

Recommendations:

 Though not a basic tenet of HOPE, SWIFT Courts should consider the use of nonincarceration sanctions for less serious program infractions. For example, ordering community service hours for failure to pay fees or for failing to follow instructions. These non-incarceration sanctions are more cost effective and yet still address noncompliant behavior. Benchmark 8: Violation/non-compliance hearings should be held swiftly (within two business days of the arrest is ideal; it should be possible to hold three-quarters of the hearings within three days). High bail is set, and offenders are usually held in custody pending the hearing.

The SWIFT Court pilot sites vary in how they conduct the violation hearings. At many sites, the probation officer is submitting a Motion to Modify as the legal means to initiate an arrest and sanction but this is not consistently handled the same way across sites. Likewise, the more rural sites have not been able to hold a violation hearing in the recommended time frame due to the fact that not all sites have full-time prosecutors, judges sitting regularly in the jurisdiction and available public defenders. In some sites, the probationer may serve the full extent of the sanction imposed (e.g., five days in jail) prior to the hearing being conducted because of the logistical complexity of scheduling an immediate hearing in a more rural jurisdiction without full-time staff. Some sites are not conducting a hearing at all.

Recommendations:

- The AOC should work with each of the sites to ensure a consistent approach to holding violation hearings, while providing modifications, as needed, to address the realities of the legal jurisdictions. Rural jurisdictions, in particular, may need to consider technology, such as video conferencing, to make virtual appearances.
- A review hearing should always be conducted for any program infraction that results in arrest and incarceration regardless of whether time has been served in full or not. The judicial interaction element is vital so that the judge can "re-warn" the probationer and set additional probation conditions and can remind the probationer that the ultimate result for continued non-compliant behavior is program termination and likely prison commitment.

Benchmark 9: A brief – but virtually certain – jail sentence as a consequence for probation violation/non-compliance is a central tenet of HOPE. In most cases, the initial sanction should be for a few days to one week, with subsequent violations resulting in similar or longer sentences. Exceptions should only be made for rare and compelling reasons (e.g., documented hospitalization excusing a missed probation appointment).

The SWIFT Courts have effectively ensured that violations and non-compliance are addressed with brief jail sentences. However, the length of jail sentences and the overall approach to sanctioning varies from site to site. Some sites have worked, as a team, to establish a sanctioning matrix that guides decision-making related to sanctions. At other sites, the length of jail sentences is largely left to the probation officer's discretion. Likewise, some sites are using graduated sanctions (sanctions that increase in a progressive way as a probationer exhibits the same negative behavior – e.g., positive drug screens). Others apply the same sanction for the first and subsequent violations (e.g., five days in jail for a positive drug screen regardless of whether it is the first or fifth positive drug screen). There is also some policy confusion among the sites about whether there is a cap on the total number of jail days that can be used as a sanction before the defendant's probation term must be revoked.

While the SWIFT Court sites have retained the swiftness of sanctions associated with the original HOPE model, there are several opportunities for additional training and policy guidance that could help the sites strengthen their behavioral response to technical violations. Much has been written about the effective use of sanctions and incentives within problem solving courts and this literature is largely applicable to the SWIFT Courts, as well. A summary of the key literature is provided below:

- Courts should use the minimum amount of punishment needed to achieve program compliance.
- Sanctions should be graduated so that the intensity of sanctions increases with the seriousness of program non-compliance.
- Responses should be delivered for every infraction. Outcomes demonstrate that offenders who receive sanctions on a continuous schedule have a lower arrest rate than those offenders who receive intermittent sanctions (Brennan & Mednick, 1994).
- Responses should be delivered immediately. Delay in imposition of sanctions can allow other behaviors to interfere with the message of the sanction (Marlowe & Kirby, 1999).
- Undesirable behavior must be reliably detected. Failure to uncover an infraction is, in behavioral terms, functionally equivalent to putting the individual on an intermittent schedule (Marlowe & Kirby, 1999).
- Responses must be predictable and controllable. Perceived certainty of response has a deterrent effect. Perception is based not only on what does occur but what the participant expects will occur (Harrell & Roman, 2001).
- The method of delivery of the response is as important as the response itself. If a participant feels that the process is unfair either to him or to others, the participant will be defiant (Andreoni, Harbaugh, & Vesterlund, 2003).
- Failure to specify particular behaviors that are targeted and the consequences for noncompliance can result in a behavior syndrome known as "learned helplessness where a Drug Court participant can become aggressive, withdrawn and/or despondent" (Marlowe & Kirby, 1999).
- The carrot is mightier than the stick. Those in reinforcement contingency stayed longer in treatment than those in punishment. Punishment is most effective when used with positive reinforcement (Higgins & Silverman, 1999).

The incentives utilized in SWIFT Court do not generally differ from those used in regular

probation supervision. A reduction in reporting requirements and drug testing, following a

period of compliant behavior, were cited as the most common incentives for SWIFT Court

probationers. Over the period of probation supervision, probationers are eligible to have their

supervision level (and, thus, their frequency of reporting) reduced. Some pilots have discussed

the potential for early release from probation or a transition to unsupervised probation but due

to the short amount of time the programs have been in place this matter has not been

finalized. SWIFT Court probationers are eligible to earn "good time" during periods of positive

probation adjustment as are those probationers on regular supervision pursuant to Act 570.

Recommendations:

• The AOC should support the sites in developing a more consistent approach to sanctions (and incentives) that is based upon the "best practice" research and that is mutually developed and supported by all team members. In order to facilitate this process, the AOC may want to consider bringing in an expert trainer, such as Doug Marlowe, and also provide templates and samples of sanctioning matrixes that could help guide teams in thinking through the key issues.

Benchmark 10: Expedited warrant service is needed to ensure absconders are apprehended as quickly as possible.

As the SWIFT Court programs are in their infancy, absconding has not become a

significant problem, to date. However, this issue will grow in importance as probationers

remain in the community for longer periods of time and the population grows. The SWIFT

Courts should plan accordingly and ensure that the resources are in place to expedite warrant

services.

Recommendations:

• Ensure that resources are in place, either within DCC or in partnership with law enforcement, to expedite warrant service, as needed.

Benchmark 11: Resources and funding for a continuum of care (e.g., outpatient and residential substance abuse treatment) should be available for offenders who request treatment and/or fail to achieve and sustain abstinence with monitoring and consequences alone.

The majority of SWIFT Court participants present with substance abuse or dependence issues that require a continuum of treatment and case management services to adequately address. The Arkansas Department of Community Corrections (DCC) has access to limited inhouse outpatient and inpatient treatment services for probationers. DCC also has some contracts with a limited number of community-based providers for these services. The pilot sites report limited use of outpatient substance abuse services which most felt were inadequate to meet the needs of the SWIFT Court participants, particularly since a reported 50-100% of the SWIFT Court participants were in need of treatment services of some type. The bulk of treatment services utilized are in-patient programs run by DCC and other community providers. Often times the inpatient facilities are located some distance from the communities in which the probationers reside and the DCC programs are in lockdown facilities and are generally no more than 30 days in duration. The SWIFT Court programs report limited resources for half-way houses or transitional housing, as well as limited resources for mental health evaluations and treatment. Some sites reported access to adult education and employment and vocational training opportunities but these resources were quite limited. The SWIFT Court pilot sites reported different levels of understanding about what DCC resources could be used for SWIFT Court probationers and confusion over agency policies related to funding streams.

Recommendations:

• The AOC should work collaboratively with DCC to identify the current availability of treatment resources for SWIFT Court participants. Once existing policies and practices are clarified, the AOC and DCC should look for ways to expand the availability of treatment resources to this population (particularly outpatient treatment) through federal grants and/or additional state support. It is significantly more cost-effective for the state to consider supporting treatment resources located in the community versus those that are based out of state institutions.

Benchmark 12: An independent research component is needed to compile, evaluate, and publicly report program results. Statistical updates should be provided to key stakeholders on a monthly or quarterly basis, at least during the first 24 to 36 months of program implementation.

The Arkansas Legislature and the Arkansas AOC are to be commended for having the foresight to support the independent evaluation of the SWIFT Courts during this pilot period. This initial implementation assessment has provided keen insight into the existing infrastructure to support data collection and the challenges inherent in ensuring consistent data entry across the sites. The NCSC team faced significant challenges with missing data elements and data extraction problems in the course of this preliminary assessment. At this time it is clear that a supplemental data collection system is necessary to collect essential information related to the case activities and/or additional funding for modifications to eOMIS is needed to support data collection and program management activities.

Recommendations:

- Review the data gaps outlined in the long-term evaluation section of this report and work to resolve these gaps.
- Provide funding to modify the existing eOMIS system and/or implement additional monthly or quarterly data collection procedures to ensure that the data that is necessary for program evaluation is being properly collected. The current system is not adequate to support the data collection needed for the long-term evaluation.
- Advocate for the funding necessary to support an independent process and outcome evaluation of the SWIFT Court sites in 2013 and 2014.

Preliminary Data Findings

In addition to examining the SWIFT Courts against the HOPE benchmarks, the NCSC

evaluation team attempted to gather initial data related to performance. It should be noted,

that this data is quite preliminary. The data outlined in this section was obtained from the Arkansas Crime Information Center (ACIC), the Department of Community Corrections' data management system (eOMIS), and from the five pilot sites. This data is severely limited due to the very short study period (period from placement to data extraction) and also by limitations and quality of the data obtained.

Selecting the Comparison Group

In order to determine the impact of the SWIFT Court, it was necessary to select a comparison group that represents the "business as usual" alternative to SWIFT Court participation. It was critical that an appropriate comparison group be selected to ensure that probationers were being compared "apples to apples." A popular method used to identify an appropriate comparison group is "matching" (Stuart, 2010). The goal of matching is to produce a pool of participants that can serve as a comparison group that are as similar as possible to the study group. Doing so should prevent unjustified extrapolation when comparing outcomes of one group to the other. Many methods have been developed to perform matching (Sekhon, 2009), but in this project, the NCSC evaluation team relied on what is likely the most commonly used method which is matching on propensity scores. Propensity Score Matching (PSM) selects treated and untreated observations for analysis based on similarity of the estimated likelihood of being in the treatment group given a set of covariates (Stuart, 2010).

In this project, SWIFT Court participants were matched with a comparison group on the following variables: (1) ORAS score; (2) age at the time of referral; (3) the most serious of individuals' instant (referring) offenses; (4) number of prior court commitments; (5) gender;

and (6) race. In order to perform the propensity score matching, a list of all defendants placed on probation at the five sites during the same time frame as the SWIFT Courts began operating was pulled from eOMIS. In order to conduct the propensity score matching, the names, number of prior commitments, race, gender, and date of birth, placement offense and risk level based on the ORAS score for defendants that represented the pool of potential comparison group members were requested. The comparison group was then matched at the local offender level based on these factors. This resulted in a sample of 54 SWIFT Court participants and 54 matched comparison group probationers.



8

10th

13th

16th

6

8th

Figure 4: Number of Probationers Enrolled in the SWIFT Court Site as of November 2012

7th

10

5

0

Data at Placement

At placement, basic demographic data and some historical information is gathered regarding each probationer. The average age of the SWIFT Court probationers was 34. Seventy-eight percent (68%) of the SWIFT Court participants were male. Sixty-five percent (65%) of the SWIFT Court probationers were white, 32% were black and 3% were other. The comparison group was matched based, in part, on these variables.

The Arkansas Department of Community Corrections (DCC) uses the Ohio Risk Assessment System (ORAS) to assess risk level of probationers. DCC states that this system has been validated with the Arkansas probationer population. Based on ORAS scores at placement, 67% of the SWIFT Court probationers were moderate or high risk, while 43% of the comparison group was moderate or high risk. Additionally, 2% of each group was classified as sex offenders. One hundred percent (100%) of the probationers in both groups had previously been on supervision with DCC.

For the SWIFT Court group, the average number of prior felony convictions was 1.0 and for the comparison group it was 1.8. For both the SWIFT Court and comparison groups, the average number of prior misdemeanor convictions was 1.4. Figures 5 and 6 below demonstrate the percentage of prior felony and misdemeanor convictions by offense type. The majority of prior felony convictions are for property or drug offenses for both groups.



Figure 5: Prior Felony Convictions by Offense Type



Figure 6: Prior Misdemeanor Convictions by Offense Type

Information obtained during the initial intake and assessment process regarding employment status and educational level is shown in Figure 7. Sixty-three percent (63%) of SWIFT Court participants were unemployed at the time of entry while 45% of the comparison group was unemployed at the time of entry.


Figure 7: Employment and Educational Status at Intake

Clinical assessment information was not available regarding prior substance abuse or mental health status at intake; however, the probationers reported the need for substance abuse treatment during the administration of the ORAS as indicated in Figure 8. The majority of participants in both groups were found to have a medium need for substance abuse treatment at probation intake. Additional information regarding any prior use of drugs preplacement is shown in Figure 9.



Figure 8: Level of Substance Abuse Treatment Need as Indicated by Probationers at Intake



Figure 9: Prior Drug Use Reported by Probationers at Intake

Data Post-Placement

Preliminary post-placement data was obtained regarding both the SWIFT Court and comparison group. Due to the limited period of time that the SWIFT Courts have been implemented, these findings should be read with caution. Typically, programs should be in place and stable for three years before any significant examination of recidivism should be undertaken. The data included herein is preliminary and represents incomplete case-related data since none of the cases have completed probation supervision, to date.

Reduction in the number of jail days served for technical violations is a key goal of the SWIFT Court programs. Figure 10 shows the average and maximum number of days served in jail for technical violations for both the SWIFT Court group and the comparison group. As Figure 10 demonstrates, the SWIFT Court probationers, to date, have served far less time in jail, on average, for violations than the matched comparison group.



Figure 10: Average and Maximum Number of Jail Sanction Days Served

Drug testing is a vital component of probation supervision. Figure 11 below shows the average number of times probationers in each group were drug tested monthly. As Figure 11 suggests, SWIFT Court participants are drug screened at a higher level than their comparison group counter-parts.



Figure 11: Average Number of Drug Tests Conducted

Figure 12 shows the percentage of tests where there was a positive result for at least one drug during a single testing event. Despite being drug tested more frequently, the SWIFT Court participants test positive at a lower rate. This suggests that closer supervision, and the promise of swift and certain consequences, may be having the desired deterrent effect.



Figure 12: Percent of Drug and Alcohol Screens that are Positive

Data regarding arrest for criminal activity post-placement was obtained from the Arkansas Crime Information Center (ACIC). There were significant data gaps in the criminal history information provided by ACIC. In many cases, the placement offenses were not found in the criminal histories and in some cases the probationer was not found in the system, indicating they had likely either had never been fingerprinted or the fingerprints had yet to be entered into the system. Based on information obtained from eOMIS, one person or 1.9% of the comparison group was recommitted to DOC during the study period (which was approximately six months from placement). Again, due to the limited period of time for this study, these findings should be read cautiously. Figure 13 demonstrates arrests for new charges after

placement on probation.



Figure 13: In-Program Re-Arrest Rates for Probationers (to date)

Long-Term Evaluation Plan

During the fall meeting in 2012, the pilot sites identified a number of key measures that

should be tracked to determine the impact of the SWIFT Courts. These measures include:

- In-program recidivism, as defined as a new arrest for a new criminal offense during SWIFT Court probation supervision
- Post-program recidivism, as defined as a new conviction for a new criminal offense following SWIFT Court probation supervision
- ✓ Reduction in new commitments to the Department of Corrections following SWIFT Court supervision
- ✓ Reduction in the number of jail days served for technical violations
- ✓ Reduction in the number of positive drug and alcohol screens
- ✓ Reduction in the number of missed probation appointments
- ✓ Time from non-compliance to court hearing
- ✓ Reduction in probation violation rates
- ✓ Increase in payments of supervision fees and court ordered obligations
- ✓ Improvement in employment status from entry to exit

✓ Improvement in educational status from entry to exit

The implementation assessment provided in this report is limited due to the fact that all of the pilots were in their infancy in 2012. Programs typically undergo a number of changes in the first year of operation as they adjust policies and procedures to meet the needs of the probationers being served. As such, a long-term evaluation has been developed to serve as a compliment to this initial implementation assessment. The long-term evaluation plan outlined below is designed to meet the following goals:

- Determine the degree to which the SWIFT Court pilot programs have individually and collectively met the goals of the pilot project.
- Describe the strategies used by each of the sites to implement the SWIFT Court program.
- Study the impact of the pilots on probationers' short and long-term outcomes.
- Provide findings to inform practice, policy, and replication.

The results of the evaluation will be used to educate the legislative branch, as well as other key stakeholders, about the SWIFT Courts as well as justify present and future funding of SWIFT Courts. The proposed SWIFT Court evaluation will have two major components: a process and outcome evaluation.

Process Evaluation

The NCSC evaluation team recommends that a comprehensive process evaluation be undertaken in the fall of 2013. The proposed process evaluation would focus on how the individual SWIFT Courts have been implemented and currently operate. Process evaluations typically identify the decisions made in developing a program and describe how the program operates, the services it delivers, and the functions it carries out. A process evaluation addresses whether the program was implemented and is providing services as intended. However, by additionally documenting the program's development and operation, it allows an

assessment of the reasons for successful or unsuccessful performance, and provides

information for potential replication.

A process evaluation would expand upon the implementation assessment review

contained in this report, providing a more comprehensive review of the SWIFT Courts after 12

months of operation. The process evaluation would ideally include:

- A description of each site on a range of variables (context, target population, lead agency characteristics, collaborative composition, service/court models).
- A description of the probationers being served including risk level per the ORAS, prior probation history, prior number of misdemeanor and felony convictions, probation placement charge(s), age, race, gender, employment status at probation placement.
- A description of team member roles and responsibilities and how communication and agency coordination is achieved.
- A description of supervision requirements (frequency of office reporting requirements and home visit contact), frequency of drug testing and drug testing practices, employment and community service requirements, fee payment requirements at each of the sites.
- A description of sanctioning and incentive practices including the process by which violations are handled and sanctions are determined.
- A description of judicial oversight provided by the SWIFT Court including the process of conducting warning hearings and violation hearings, participant's perception of procedural fairness and preliminary data related to termination and retention in the SWIFT Courts.
- Identification of any innovative strategies or significant barriers to court functioning

Outcome Evaluation

An outcome evaluation is an important next step, following the process evaluation,

which would allow Arkansas stakeholders to understand the impact of SWIFT Courts on client

outcomes. The NCSC evaluation team recommends that the outcome evaluation be

implemented in the summer of 2015 to allow sufficient time for a cohort of SWIFT Court

probationers to move through the program. In order for a meaningful outcome evaluation to

be undertaken, a number of data elements must be accurately tracked. Below is a list of

proposed research questions for the outcome evaluation and the data elements necessary to

answer the questions.

Research Question	Data Elements
Who was served in SWIFT Court since program	Jurisdiction
inception?	Agency identifier
	Name
	• DOB
	Gender
	Race
	Arrest date
	Placement offense-new charge
	Placement offense-technical violation:
	underlying charge
	Placement date
	Risk score at placement
	# Prior felony convictions
	Employed at entry
	Educational status
	Educational level
	• SA history?
	MH history?
	Violent offender?
	Sex offender?
	Residential status
	Marital status
	Drug of choice
	 Previously on DCC probation?
	Supervision level
	Referred to treatment?
	Status at treatment completion (successful
	or unsuccessful)
	 # treatment sessions completed
	SWIFT Court completion date
	Supervised probation completion date
At what rate do SWIFT Court probationers and	Dates of new arrests
the comparison group recidivate?	Charge
• % with new arrests on supervision (both	Charge type
SWIFT Court probationers and comparison	Conviction dates
group)	Conviction charge

Research Questions/Data Sources

Research Question	Data Elements
• % with new arrests post completion (both	Charge type
SWIFT Court probationers and comparison	Sentence on new conviction
group)	
 % with new convictions during supervision 	
(both SWIFT Court probationers and	
comparison group)	
companson group)	
• % with new convictions post completion of	
probation (both SWIFT Court probationers	
and comparison group)	
 % of each offense type for new arrests 	
(misdemeanor or felony) (drug, property,	
person, other, etc.) (both SWIFT Court	
probationers and comparison group)	
 % of each offense type for new convictions 	
(misdemeanor or felony) (drug, property,	
person, other, etc.) (both SWIFT Court	
probationers and comparison group)	
• Average # of new arrests (both SWIFT Court	
probationers and comparison group)	
Average # of new convictions (both SWIFT	
Court probationers and comparison group)	
 Average length of sentence for new 	
convictions (both SWIFT Court probationers	
and comparison group)	
Is the length of time between a probation	Violation date
violation and a court hearing less for SWIFT	 Violation date Violation reason
Court probationers compared to those on	
regular probation supervision?	Court date for violation
Is there a reduction in Probation Violations	 # times a probationer was returned to court
among SWIFT Court probationers compared to	for a violation
those on regular probation supervision?	
What is average length of jail sanctions for	Sanction date
probation violations during supervision for	 Total jail sanction days for each violation
SWIFT Court probationers compared to those on	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
regular probation supervision?	
Is there a reduction in commitments to DOC for	Recommitted to DOC, yes or no
SWIFT Court probationers compared to those on	 If yes, what date
regular probation supervision?	 If yes, reason: technical violation or new
	charge
Is the transition to unsupervised Probation	Placement date
faster for SWIFT Court probationers compared	 Date transitioned to unsupervised
to those on regular probation supervision?	probation
Is there a reduction in drug use during probation	# drug testing events
supervision for SWIFT Court probationers	 # drug testing events # drug testing events where there was a
	- In an up resump events where there was a

Research Question	Data Elements
compared to those on regular probation supervision?	positive result for any drug (if positive for multiple drugs at an event, only count once)
Is there improved reporting to probation appointments for SWIFT Court probationers compared to those on regular probation supervision?	 # scheduled probation appointments # missed probation appointments
Do SWIFT Court probationers pay a higher percentage of outstanding fees, fines, court costs, restitution, etc. as compared to those on regular probation supervision?	 Amount of fees, fines, court costs, restitution, etc. outstanding Amount of fees, fines, court costs, restitution, etc. paid
Is there an improvement in employment status during supervision for SWIFT Court probationers compared to those on regular probation supervision?	 Employment status at entry Employment status: current or at completion
Is there an improvement in education status and/or level during supervision for SWIFT Court probationers compared to those on regular probation supervision?	 Education status at entry Education status: current or at completion Education level at entry Education level: current or at completion

Data Collection Challenges

A number of key issues related to data collection were identified in the process of

developing this report that will need to be addressed prior to an outcome evaluation being

undertaken. The majority of data needed to answer the research questions above is either (a)

not consistently entered into eOMIS or (b) not a field that is contained in eOMIS. The DCC also

faced challenges extracting the necessary data from eOMIS. Numerous criminal histories were

found to be inaccurate or incomplete. Other key data issues include:

- Information regarding improvements in employment status and employment from intake to follow-up is not available. This information can be obtained using the ORAS which is conducted at placement, at exit and at any appropriate event during supervision, at least every six months. However, the initial scores are overwritten during subsequent administrations of the ORAS which makes comparison of scores at different time periods impossible.
- Data regarding payments towards financial obligations, with the exception of supervisions fees, is not collected in the eOMIS system. Probation officers must

independently obtain this information from various sources, including local clerks and sheriffs.

Recommendations:

• The AOC should consider establishing a secondary data collection system for the SWIFT Court pilot such as monthly reports from the pilots, in order to ensure that the necessary data is available for future evaluations.

Conclusion

The Arkansas SWIFT Court pilot programs were developed in an effort to improve outcomes for high-risk probationers who may otherwise not succeed on supervision. An initial review of the pilot programs suggest the infrastructure necessary for the programs to succeed has been established. As the programs grow to scale and become institutionalized in their communities, they have the potential to greatly reduce probation violations and recidivism. A process evaluation and outcome evaluation is needed to demonstrate the long-term effect of these programs. Suggestions for how to strengthen the programs in the interim, and provide for the data needed to conduct the long-term evaluations are contained in this report.

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