THE CHOICE IS YOURS

Benefits of Diversion for Nonviolent Felony Offenders

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McClanahan Associates, Inc.
Evaluation for Progress

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Executive Summary

The Choice is Yours (TCY) was a diversion program for first-time, nonviolent felony drug dealers facing one- to two-year mandatory state prison sentences that was piloted in Philadelphia. Funding for the demonstration program that operated from January 2012 through June 2014 was provided by the Lenfest and William Penn Foundations; funding for the companion research was provided by the Lenfest Foundation. Key programmatic stakeholders included the Philadelphia District Attorney's (DA's) Office, Defender Association of Philadelphia (the Public Defender's Office), and Philadelphia Municipal Court, as well as the lead service provider JEVS Human Services (JEVS) and its partner agencies, the Pennsylvania Prison Society (PPS) and the Center for Literacy (CFL).

The TCY program consisted of approximately one year of community-based services and monitoring by a dedicated judge, who presided over a problem-solving Municipal Court. Core services included: case management, academic training to enhance educational achievements, job readiness training, job placement and assistance with job retention and career advancement, and mentoring. Enrollment in particular academic and employment services was based on testing and other determinants of need. In addition to receiving such services, program participants were expected to complete community service in nonprofit settings and attend restorative justice activities.

The research and technical assistance (TA) efforts were originally led by Public/Private Ventures (PPV), but assumed by McClanahan Associates, Inc. and its partner, the Urban Institute, after PPV closed in July 2012. TA included the development of a dashboard of key indicators—including both summary and individual-level participation in TCY services, progress on meeting TCY benchmarks, and any rearrests or graduated sanctions placed on participants—derived from JEVS' Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) Management Information System (MIS). The research included multiple site visits that incorporated observation of court and program activities, together with individual and small-group interviews of program staff, stakeholders, and participants; analysis of participant baseline and 12-month follow-up self-report surveys; review and analysis of the ETO MIS data; and analysis of administrative records extracted from the online Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets for both the TCY cohort and a comparable comparison group.

The TCY Program

TCY was operationally structured in three phases: Eligibility, Orientation, and Program Enrollment. Individuals who met the eligibility criteria, as determined by the District Attorney's Office, with input from the

Public Defender's Office, were permitted to participate in a five-week orientation program that entailed individual assessments and case managements, as well as daily attendance in educational enhancements and job readiness training, and compliance with initial community service and mentoring requirements. Those who successfully completed the orientation phase and entered no-contest pleas before the TCY judge were formally enrolled in the program for the remainder of one year of program services and court monitoring, while those who either failed to comply or decided not to continue in TCY were returned to court to face sentencing on the original charge(s). During the pilot period, 85 participants entered the program; of those, 65 successfully completed the orientation phase and continued on to full program enrollment.

During the program enrollment phase, participants continued periodic attendance at status hearings in TCY court; had weekly in-person or telephone contact with the TCY case manager; used educational, employment, and other services as specified by their individualized case plans; and completed the required 220 hours of community service. Throughout the program, the TCY court judge held participants accountable for their program attendance and fulfillment of generic program requirements, as well as for completion of the activities specified in their individualized case plans. Graduated sanctions were applied as the judge deemed necessary for non-compliance.

Final verdicts were withheld pending participants' completion of the program. Among the important program benefits was the DA's Office's willingness to withdraw charges and expunge the felony arrest charges of program participants who successfully completed the program and remained arrest-free for one year after program completion. By contrast, those who failed to complete the program faced traditional sentencing (based on their no contest pleas being accepted and the presiding judge entering a finding of guilt), likely resulting in jail or prison time for a minimum of one to two years.

Key Findings

With respect to implementation findings, the TCY interim report (McClanahan et al. 2013) cited three key lessons learned up to the program's mid-point:

- **Communication** was central to successful implementation of a complex, multi-partner initiative like TCY.
- **Ongoing data collection, analysis, and reflection** were essential to making mid-course corrections that were critical for program improvement.
- **Advance planning** for operational contingencies is as important for small programs, as large ones.

All continued to be important throughout the life of the demonstration. Additionally, TCY staff and stakeholders reported that:

- Holding routine team meetings before TCY Court status hearings improved communication among cognizant parties, and enabled the public hearings to proceed more smoothly and achieve greater consensus among team members regarding how participants, particularly non-compliant participants, should be treated.

- The program might have been better prepared to link participants who needed particular services to available resources had it also partnered with providers in three critical areas: housing, substance abuse treatment, and mental health treatment.

- More liberal use of moderate, but not severe, sanctions might have resulted in greater participant compliance by sending a stronger message that noncompliance would result in adverse consequences more distasteful to participants than verbal reprimands and writing assignments.

- Mentoring programs require leadership with strengths in multiple areas, including but not limited to: marketing to recruit volunteers, vetting volunteers to ensure they are appropriate for the population and program focus, training mentors to ensure they properly reflect the program messages and also are prepared to function in the role as anticipated, and matching mentors with participants or troubleshooting problem matches so that participants can benefit from the relationships and mentors remain engaged with the program. Programs preparing to introduce mentoring as a new feature might be well advised to 1) hire a coordinator with prior mentoring leadership experience and expertise in several of the key areas, and 2) solicit guidance and training from one of the professional organizations that specializes in building the capacity of mentoring programs.

- A few other logistical challenges bear mentioning; programs working with populations of this nature would be well advised to plan for discretionary funds to enable crisis intervention when clients have immediate needs that could be resolved with small amounts of funding. Additionally, having transportation enables a program to assist clients in keeping appointments for services or job interviews, as well as helps the program expose participants to pro-social resources accessible in the local area. Lastly, programs of this type often require more administrative record keeping than envisioned during their planning periods; decision makers should consider whether adequate administrative support has been allocated in budgeting for program operations.

Most of the participants who completed the follow-up survey reported favorable aspects of the program. Aside from general satisfaction with the program and services, the majority of offenders deemed eligible for

program entry (65 percent of the 85 who met eligibility requirements, and 85 percent of those who completed the orientation phase and continued into the program enrollment phase) completed program requirements and graduated from TCY; relatively few were terminated for non-compliance. Among participants whose program goals were focused on achieving full time employment, the vast majority (79 percent) was employed for some period during their program participation; however, the news was less encouraging regarding academic progress for those focused on educational enhancement objectives, with approximately 41 percent meeting educational targets.

With respect to criminal justice outcomes, participants self-reported statistically significant changes in the desired direction with respect to: 1) daily use of marijuana, 2) marijuana use during the four-week period preceding survey completion, 3) association with gangs, 4) selling marijuana in the past year, and 5) selling more serious drugs such as heroin, crack, or cocaine in the past year. Few individuals were re-arrested during their TCY participation and subsequently terminated from the program. Analysis of the Docket Sheets showed that roughly 14 percent were re-arrested in the year following program entry, and 26 percent were re-arrested within two years of program entry.

Further, analysis using a quasi-experimental comparison group of similar young adult offenders who would have been eligible for TCY had it existed in 2011 showed that re-arrest within the first year was significantly higher among the comparison group (26 percent) than among TCY participants (14 percent), although there was no significant different between the two groups when only drug arrests were considered. Extending the analytic timeframe to two years, however, showed significantly less recidivism for the TCY group for both any re-arrests and drug re-arrests. Survival analyses showed that TCY participants without prior arrests were less likely to be re-arrested than comparison group members with similar histories; however, TCY participants with arrests prior to the instant charge that qualified them for program inclusion fared no better than comparisons with prior arrest histories.

Researchers also compared the costs of program participation to the potential costs of confinement and supervision had participants been routinely processed by the justice system instead of diverted into the TCY program. The estimation found that the cost per participant is $1,280 less on average under TCY than would have been likely for routinely processed nonviolent felony offenders meeting the same eligibility criteria.

The Choice is Yours: Program and Research Overview

The Choice is Yours (TCY) was an alternatives-to-incarceration program piloted in Philadelphia from February 2012 through June 2014 for first-time, nonviolent felony drug dealers facing one- to two-year state prison sentences. TCY, based on San Francisco's Back on Track program, was spearheaded and adapted by District Attorney Seth Williams and the Philadelphia District Attorney's (DA's) Office, with support from the Philadelphia court system and Defender Association of Philadelphia (the Public Defender's Office), as an approach for offering a second chance to serious offenders, while protecting public safety and potentially achieving costs savings within the criminal justice system. The pilot program diverted eligible offenders with mandatory minimum sentences away from prison into TCY Court, a Philadelphia Municipal Court overseen by a dedicated judge using a problem-solving court model to monitor participant progress. Simultaneously, program participants were enrolled in a suite of community-based services provided by JEVS Human Services (JEVS) and its partner agencies, the Pennsylvania Prison Society (PPS) and the Center for Literacy (CFL).

The TCY Model

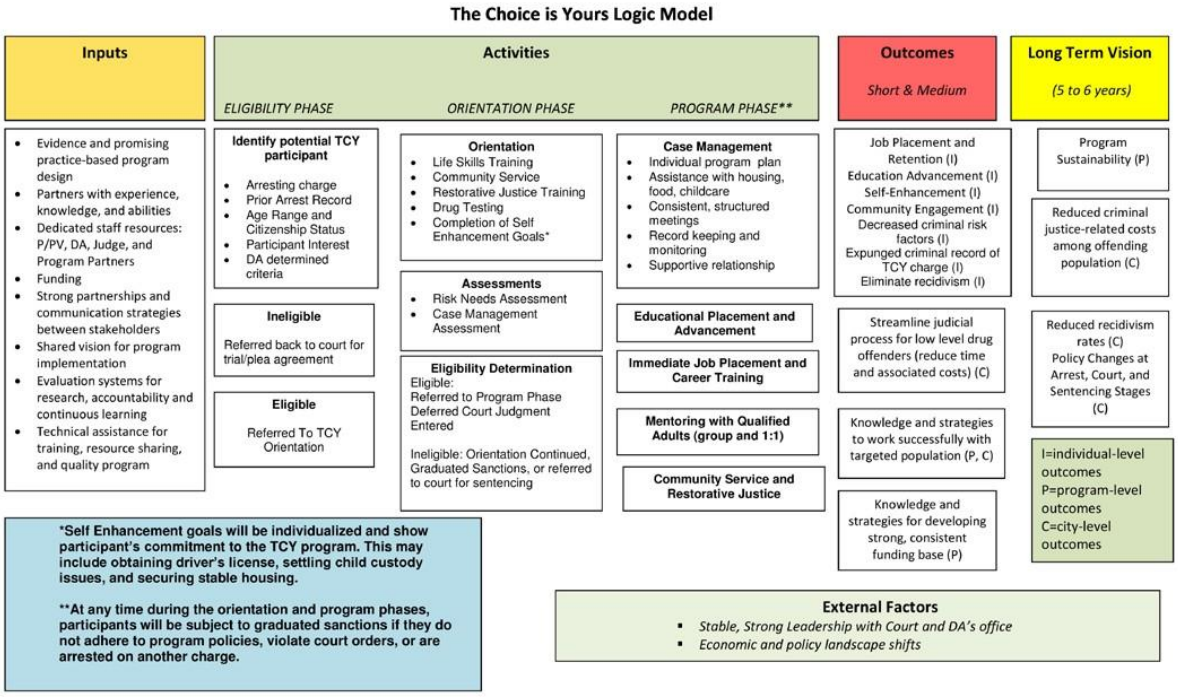
TCY operated in three phases—Eligibility, Orientation, and Program Enrollment—as depicted in the logic model in Figure 1. The initial phase occurred as the DA's Office, with input from the Public Defender's Office, determined whether offenders met the program's eligibility criteria. Those deemed eligible were notified by mail and directed to appear in TCY court, where they received more detailed information on the program and were given the chance to enter a five-week orientation phase. Those who did not meet program eligibility criteria, as well as individuals who declined to participate, were referred back to other courts for trials or plea agreements.

Individuals who opted into the orientation phase were encouraged to use that time to develop first-hand familiarity with program services and requirements. The orientation was designed to enable informed decision making regarding participant's willingness and capacity to comply with the requirements of program enrollment. Those who failed to comply with the expectations of the orientation phase could be subjected to graduated sanctions, or might be unable to advance into the enrollment phase and, instead, were returned to court to face sentencing on the original charge(s). Those who successfully completed the orientation phase and entered no-contest pleas before the TCY judge were formally enrolled in the program for the remainder of one year of program services and court monitoring.

During the roughly 11 months of program enrollment, participants engaged in such activities as periodic attendance at status hearings in TCY court, weekly contact with the TCY case manager, educational enhancement classes, job readiness classes, mentoring, job seeking efforts, employment, and completion of community service hours. Throughout the program, the TCY court judge held participants accountable for their program attendance and fulfillment of generic program requirements, as well as for completion of the activities specified in their individualized case plans.

Final verdicts were withheld pending participants' completion of the program. Among the important program benefits was the DA's Office's willingness to withdraw charges and expunge the felony arrest charges of program participants who successfully completed the program and remained arrest-free for one year after program completion. By contrast, those who failed to complete the program faced traditional sentencing (based on their no contest pleas being accepted and the presiding judge entering a finding of guilt), likely resulting in jail or prison time for a minimum of one to two years.

FIGURE 1. THE CHOICE IS YOURS LOGIC MODEL



The Evaluation Framework

The demonstration was funded by both the Lenfest and William Penn Foundations; the Lenfest Foundation also supported the evaluation of the TCY pilot. Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) provided technical assistance and support

to the DA's Office in the development of the program model, oversaw the 2011 competitive solicitation process that resulted in the selection of JEVS as the lead service agency, and was the original program office and evaluator for TCY. After P/PV closed in July 2012, McClanahan Associates, Inc. was selected to complete the TCY evaluation in collaboration with the Urban Institute. The TCY evaluation, comprised of implementation and outcome components, had three objectives, including to: 1) provide timely data to guide continuous program improvement, 2) inform TCY staff and stakeholders about the program efficacy, and 3) determine whether TCY was effective both in reducing recidivism and lowering the financial costs/burden to the criminal justice system.

The implementation study focused on two key topics: participants and their patterns of program involvement, and program operations. Primary issues regarding participants included descriptions of their demographics; background characteristics; and their attitudes and behaviors relevant to work, family supports, education, self-efficacy, and their futures; as well as the nature of program participation (e.g., duration of program engagement, type and dosages of services received, and "on-time" graduation rates or lack of program completion). Issues regarding program operations centered on the type and quality of service delivery (e.g., use of best practices, implementation fidelity, whether benchmarks were achieved), implementation challenges and responses used to mitigate problems, and collaboration among the main organizations (i.e., the DA's Office, Municipal Court, Public Defender's Office, JEVS and its service partners).

The outcomes evaluation component addressed two major topics: how participants benefited from TCY, and program costs. Key research questions included: the effect TCY had on participants' recidivism, education, employment, and self-enhancement outcomes; for whom the program was most successful; and the relationship between program participation and participant outcomes; as well as the financial implications of TCY.

Data collection began in January 2012 and continued through June 2014. The evaluation used several data sources, including:

- **Baseline and Follow-Up Surveys.** The surveys included measures on demographics, educational achievement, family background, career/job advancement, self-efficacy, depression, drug and alcohol use, future orientation, and criminal background. The baseline surveys were administered at the TCY program orientations, while follow-up surveys were completed once participants were eligible for program graduation—approximately 12 months after they began TCY. The surveys were *only* used for research purposes; participant responses were not seen or used by program staff.

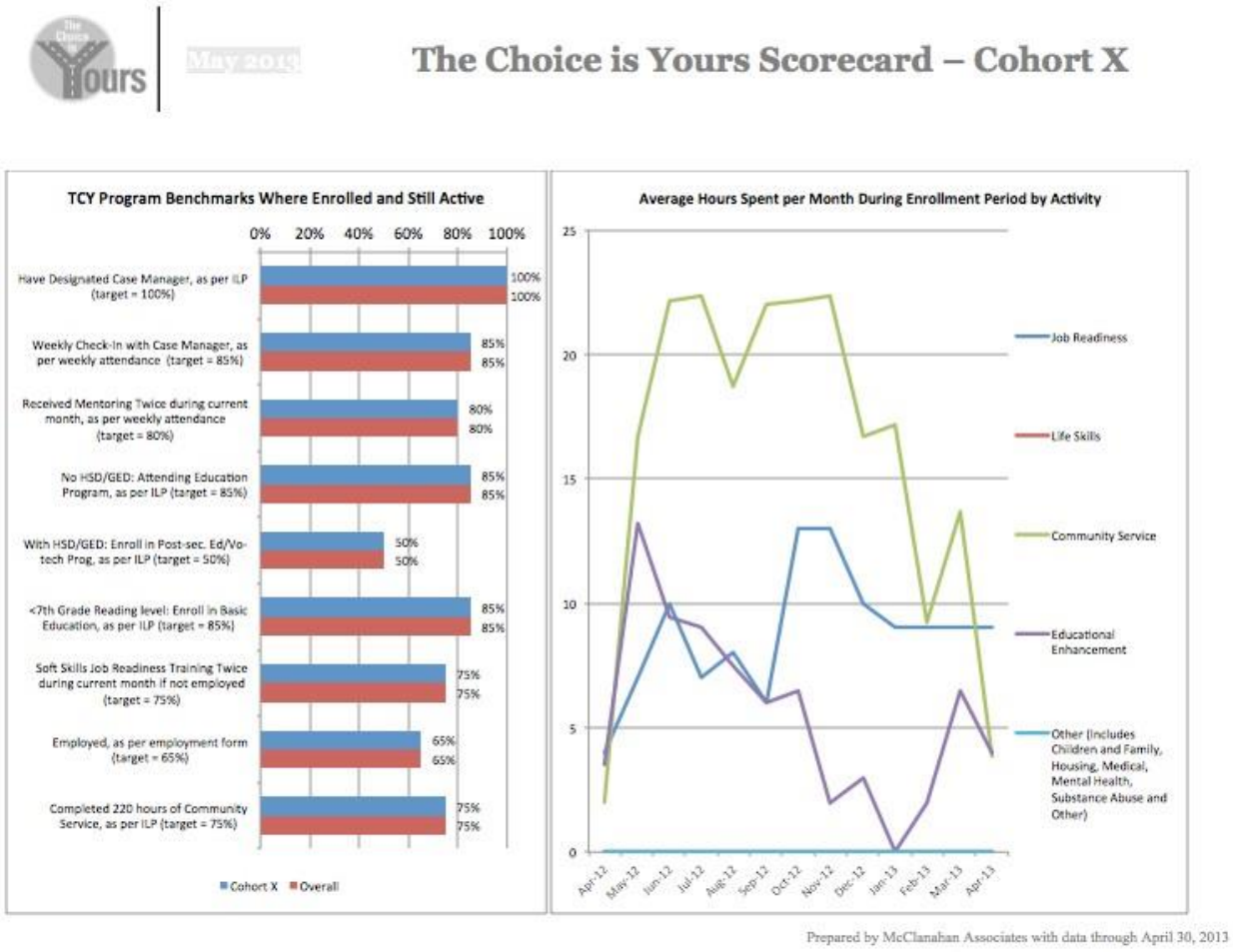
- **Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) Management Information System.** JEVS uses ETO to collect data and generate monthly reports on participants and their attendance in TCY activities; internally, this information was augmented by a dashboard developed and produced monthly by the research team to guide continuous improvement efforts and identify needed technical assistance. Data critical to the evaluation included

participant background characteristics (age, race, gender, family composition, etc.); documentation of case management and services received, as well as education and employment outcomes (e.g., credits and degrees received, job placement, starting salary, hours expected to work per week, and availability of health benefits, etc.). The dashboards provided both summary and individual-level progress on key indicators, including participation in TCY services, progress on meeting TCY benchmarks, and any rearrests or graduated sanctions placed on participants. A screenshot of the dashboard (using "hypothetical" data) is shown below in Figure 2.

- **Site Visits.** Multiple site visits were conducted by the research team to interview staff, stakeholders, and participants, and to observe courtroom and program operations. The visits provided the opportunity to see TCY in action, and identify programmatic strengths and weaknesses that should be addressed. Information compiled from the site visits was shared (in aggregate) with TCY agencies to improve service delivery, develop data-driven strategies, and ensure that participants had the greatest likelihood of benefitting from TCY.

- **Administrative Records.** The research team collected criminal history data for each of the TCY Participants using the online Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets. For each TCY Participant, the arrest which qualified them for TCY participation was located. For all arrests prior to this qualifying arrest, arrest date, charge, and sentence were coded into a database as prior arrest history. Similarly, all arrests that followed the qualifying arrest were coded separately as subsequent arrests. The DA's Office also provided a list of individuals who would have been considered for TCY, if the program had been operating in 2011. These individuals serve as a comparison group. For each of them, their 2011 possession with intent to distribute (PWID) arrest is treated as the qualifying arrest, and both their prior arrest histories, and subsequent arrests were collected from the online Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets and coded into a database.

FIGURE 2. SAMPLE TCY DASHBOARD



Eligibility and Recruitment: Who Participated in TCY?

Since TCY is a diversion program for felony offenders, the participant screening process was systematically structured to ensure that TCY was offered only to those individuals who did not pose significant risks to public safety. Recruitment occurred using a distinct three-step process:

1. The Charging Unit of the DA's Office determined whether defendants were potential candidates for any of Philadelphia's prison diversion programs, including TCY. Programs were specified at arraignment, such that defense attorneys were notified at arraignment that their client's case was targeted for TCY and a subpoena was issued for the defendant to appear at the program.

2. The DA's Office conducted secondary reviews of every Preliminary Arraignment Reporting System (PARS) report listing a defendant who met TCY's initial criteria regarding age, drug type, and drug weight. Upon identifying a potential candidate, the DA's Office contacted the individual's defense attorney and conveyed an offer to have the case administratively relisted into the TCY program.
3. Defense attorneys, including the Public Defender's Office, were trained in the processes and criteria for diversion programs in Philadelphia, including TCY. These attorneys reviewed the cases received from the Charging Unit, and referred clients to TCY based on their understanding of the program's eligibility criteria and the case information available to them. Upon a defense attorney's recommendation, referrals were submitted back to the DA's Office for final review and approval. Assistant DAs assigned to TCY screened the cases submitted to them, and had the final say in determining program eligibility.

TCY specifically targeted nonviolent offenders, with limited criminal contacts, aged 18 to 24 (with case-by-case exceptions), who were U.S. citizens charged with possession with intent to distribute between two to ten grams of powder or crack cocaine. This particular charge carries a one- to two-year mandatory minimum prison sentence. Charges of possession with intent to distribute larger amounts of crack cocaine or other illegal drugs carry longer sentences, and did not meet TCY eligibility criteria. Eligible individuals could have no more than one prior conviction for a nonviolent misdemeanor, and no outstanding warrants. By restricting participation in TCY to individuals with little to no criminal record and no violent offenses, TCY staff and partners sought to limit the program to individuals who did not pose risks to society.

Public Safety Considerations: TCY participants were individuals who were at risk of continued involvement in the criminal justice system, and therefore appropriate for TCY; however, they were not so deeply involved in criminal activity that keeping them in the community endangered residents' welfare.

The TCY pilot was comprised of 85 participants who entered the orientation phase between February 2012 and January 2013. Of these participants, 73, or 86 percent, consented to participate in the research study and completed the baseline survey. Of these participants, 65 successfully completed the orientation phase and continued on to full program enrollment. The data that follow only reflect the research cohort, i.e., the 73 participants who agreed to participate in the evaluation.[1]

[1] We are able to use some of the data on those who did not consent to participate, but for the purposes of the main body of this report we have chosen, for consistency, to only report on those who consented. We opted to use footnotes to describe the non-

As shown in the last column of Table 1, during the pilot period, TCY participants were mostly male (84 percent), minority (just over half were African-American, with another 32 percent identifying as Hispanic), and their average age when beginning the orientation phase was 22.1 years (with ages ranging from 18 through 31). This profile mirrors what many researchers and practitioners know—that young, minority males are at higher risk for committing, being arrested for, and charged with drug-selling crimes. Slightly more than one-third of TCY participants had at least one child of their own.

Table 1 also shows that those participants who did not make it through TCY orientation were more likely to be male than those who moved on to the program enrollment phase. In fact, all of the females in the research cohort completed orientation and entered the program enrollment phase.

TABLE 1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TCY PARTICIPANTS

Demographic Characteristic	Participated in Orientation Only (N=8)	Officially Enrolled in TCY (N=65)	Overall (N=73)
Gender: Male	100%	81.5%[2]	83.6%
Female	0.0%	18.5%	16.4%
Race/Ethnicity: African-American	50.0%	57.1%	56.3%
Caucasian	0.0%	6.4%	5.6%
Hispanic	37.5%	31.8%	32.4%
Multi-Cultural	12.5%	4.8%	5.6%
Mean Age at Orientation:	21.6	22.2	22.1
Has Own Children:	14.3%	36.7%	34.3%

Research has shown that individuals without high school diplomas and without solid employment prospects are at higher risk for engaging in crime and recidivating than those with higher levels of education and more fruitful job opportunities. As shown in the right-hand column of Table 2, at the start of orientation, more than one-third of the participants had neither high school diplomas, nor general equivalency diplomas (GEDs). Only 8 percent of participants had any college experience. With respect to employment history, 87 percent of participants reported that they had previously held paying jobs (on or off the books), with 61 percent reporting prior experience working full time. However, when participants entered orientation, only 20 percent were employed either full or part time.

consenters when we are able to use their data. We are able to access program records for non-consented participants. Of those who did not consent to participate in the research, one was arrested and terminated during orientation, six were terminated during orientation for other reasons, one was arrested and terminated during enrollment, one was terminated during enrollment for other reasons, and three completed enrollment and graduated from TCY.

[2] The gender distribution of participants who enrolled in TCY is significantly different from those who only participated in the orientation phase ($p<.001$).

Those who enrolled in TCY were significantly more likely to have been employed when they entered orientation than those who did not complete orientation.

TABLE 2: EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE OF TCY RESEARCH COHORT PARTICIPANTS AT PROGRAM ENTRY

Educational Attainment and Employment Experience	Participated in Orientation Only (N=8)	Officially Enrolled in TCY (N=65)	Overall (N = 73)
Educational Attainment: Less Than High School/GED	50.0%	33.8%	35.6%
GED	0.0%	4.6%	4.1%
High School Diploma	25.0%	46.2%	43.8%
Some Vocational and Technical Training	12.5%	7.7%	8.2%
Some College	12.5%	7.7%	8.2%
Employment Experience: Ever employed	85.7%	87.5%	87.3%
Ever employed Full-Time	71.4%	59.4%	60.6%
Currently employed	0.0%	22.6%[3]	20.0%

As shown in the final column of Table 3, TCY participants had engaged in risky behaviors and experienced substantial contact with the justice system. Drug use was relatively high, with more than 50 percent of participants reporting marijuana use in the four weeks prior to program entry, and almost one-quarter reporting daily use. Use of other drugs was much lower, with only 11 percent reporting use in the four weeks prior to program entry. Almost 20 percent reported carrying weapons such as guns or knives in the four weeks leading up to program entry; and in the 12 months prior to the program, about one-third had hung out with gang or crew members. In addition to using drugs, 42 percent reported selling marijuana, and 58 percent reported selling hard drugs in the year before they entered the TCY orientation. It is important to remember that this information is based on participants' self-reported behaviors—34 percent reported selling neither marijuana, nor hard drugs in the prior 12 months; however, being arrested for selling powder or crack cocaine were prerequisites for entry into TCY. For most participants, the arrest that precipitated their association with TCY was not their first arrest. Overall, 56 percent had two or more prior arrests.[4] There were no statistically significant differences between those who enrolled in the full program and those who only participated in orientation.

[3] The percentage of participants employed on the baseline survey is significantly higher among those who enrolled in TCY as compared to those who participated in only the orientation ($p<.001$).

[4] TCY participants were not necessarily first-time offenders, but they could not have previous felony convictions. They may have had an arrest history for crimes that were not felonies. Additionally, they may have been previously arrested for a felony, but never convicted, or convicted of a lesser crime.

TABLE 3: RISK BEHAVIORS AND EXPERIENCE WITH THE JUSTICE SYSTEM AMONG TCY PARTICIPANTS AT PROGRAM ENTRY

Justice Experience and Risk Behaviors	Participated in Orientation Only (N=8)	Officially Enrolled in TCY (N=65)	Overall (N = 73)
Used Marijuana in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	62.5%	51.6%	52.8%
Used Marijuana Almost Daily in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	12.5%	25.0%	23.6%
Used Other Drugs in 4 Weeks Prior to the Survey	25.0%	9.4%	11.1%
Carried Weapon in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	12.5%	18.8%	18.1%
Hung Out with Crew/Gang Member in 12 Months Prior to Survey	50.0%	29.7%	31.9%
Sold Marijuana in 12 Months Prior to Survey	37.5%	42.9%	42.3%
Sold Hard Drugs (such as heroin, cocaine, crack) in 12 Months Prior to Survey	62.5%	57.8%	58.3%
Mean Number of Times Arrested	2.1	1.8	1.9

Program Operations

The following sections briefly describe the TCY problem-solving court and core program services offered during the orientation and enrollment phases of TCY. The next chapter identifies implementation challenges cited by key stakeholders and recommendations—made by either the stakeholders or the research team—for strengthening future efforts to replicate this pilot.

TCY Court

As indicated in the Overview section of this report and detailed in *The Choice is Yours: Early Implementation of a Diversion Program for Felony Offenders* (McClanahan et al. 2013), the TCY program operated under the jurisdiction of a problem-solving municipal court with a dedicated judge who presided over the docket for defendants being offered TCY as a diversion program, as well as defendants who elected to try the orientation phase and those who subsequently progressed to the program enrollment phase. In addition to defendants, TCY court was typically

attended by the same assistant DAs and Public Defenders routinely assigned to staff the program, private attorneys, as well as the TCY program director, case manager, job readiness Instructor, and sometimes defendants' family members.

Defendants appearing at the TCY courtroom for their initial hearings were met by members of the Public Defender's and TCY's staffs (e.g., the TCY program director, case manager, and job readiness instructor), who explained the program, answered questions, and helped individuals determine whether to enter TCY's orientation phase. Those who elected to participate in TCY waived their rights to preliminary hearings and agreed to enter the TCY orientation phase. New program participants were escorted directly from the courthouse (at the completion of the TCY court docket) to JEVS' main offices to begin orientation classes.

Participants were required to attend status hearings in TCY court at the end of their five-week orientations, at which time, they had the option to either continue in the program or ask to be removed; those declining further participation were scheduled to proceed with the traditional judicial process based on their charges. Additionally, if JEVS did not recommend the individual to continue in the program due to non-compliance during orientation, the participant was either removed and sent for trial or, after consultation with the District Attorney's Office and judge, afforded a second chance to successfully complete orientation. Individuals who chose to formally enroll entered no-contest pleas after the judge had explained the judicial process (e.g., reviewing individuals' rights to trial and determining whether they were making the decisions knowingly, voluntarily, and of their own free will) and the implications of their decisions—specifically that failure to complete the program could result in a conviction and up to 20 years of prison time (the statutory maximum). Though receiving the statutory maximum was highly unlikely, the court did indicate that they would be sentenced to at least the mandatory minimum of one year in state prison. Subsequently, participants were subpoenaed for status hearings at scheduled intervals: monthly for the first two months after program enrollment, and then at 90-day intervals for the remainder of the program. However, the judge frequently required noncompliant participants to appear in court every two weeks.

Status hearings in TCY court resembled those in many problem-solving courts: the TCY team (i.e., JEVS, the DA, and the defense team) presented updates on participants and their progress in the program, and the judge spoke directly with participants not only about how they were progressing in the program, but also to provide advice, support, and/or reprimand. Compliant participants might be rewarded with public praise from the program staff or judge, while noncompliant participants might be sanctioned by the judge, who used "graduated sanctioning" guidelines developed for TCY.

Program Services

TCY offered a suite of community-based services during both the orientation and program enrollment phases that were designed to provide participants with the support, skills, and services they needed to avoid re-offending. These included:

- **Case Management.** Case management, a core component of TCY, involved a combination of direct services and service referrals. TCY's case manager met weekly for 30 minutes with individual participants (either in person or by phone) to discuss their needs and record their progress in the program. One-on-one weekly meetings focused on keeping participants on track in fulfilling program requirements, negotiating applications for public assistance programs and legal services, helping participants obtain and maintain employment, assisting participants in enrolling in secondary or vocational school, and avoiding recidivism. The case manager also routinely assisted participants who needed to: obtain driver's licenses or social security cards; make arrangements for child support payments or child care; or receive benefits such as housing assistance, food stamps, mental health services, and drug treatment. Additionally, the case manager was responsible for documenting participants' progress in TCY from orientation through graduation, keeping track of program attendance, community service hours, employment and education status, and interactions with the criminal justice system. Lastly, if participants failed to appear for either their jobs or TCY program activities and were unreachable by phone or email, the case manager contacted family members and also made home visits to reengage participants and keep them in compliance with requirements for successful program completion.

- **Educational Enhancement.** All participants were assessed with the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) during their initial orientation week. Those who lacked high school diplomas or GEDs, or did not score above the seventh-grade level on the TABE, were required to attend educational enhancement classes twice weekly for three hours per day until they 1) obtained their GEDs, 2) reenrolled and attended high school or credit-bearing programs, or 3) reached an agreed-upon benchmark (i.e., realistic, alternative goals were set for some participants whose incoming educational achievement was too low to logically expect a GED could be attained during the course of the program). Additionally, participants could elect to take a financial literacy course, or receive assistance from the educational enhancement instructor to enroll in local schools and programs, such as accelerated alternative high schools, adult basic education programs, community colleges, vocational schools, and specialized work-learning programs for young offenders. These services were led by JEVS' partner, CFL.

- **Job Readiness.** Job readiness training began during orientation and continued as needed throughout participants' enrollment in TCY. The job readiness classes provided "soft-skills" training (e.g., resume

preparation; job interview practice; appropriate work ethics, attitudes, and behaviors; anger management and communication skills; computer literacy) in either a classroom or one-on-one setting. These services were led by a staff member who worked part-time for JEVS and part-time for its partner, PPS.

- **Job Placement, Retention, and Advancement.** The job placement component helped participants transition into stable employment. Participants learned to identify appropriate types of work, as well as specific job descriptions and specific employers. The placement component was closely connected with the job readiness such that participants started searching for positions once they had been trained and assessed by TCY as ready to work. Job developers helped place TCY participants in appropriate employment, and provided weekly follow-up support to employers and participant employees for the first 30 days after employment; follow-ups occurred monthly after the first 30 days, for as long as participant were enrolled in TCY. Supports also included visits to job sites, one-on-one meetings with employers and TCY participants, and phone calls. TCY also organized job fairs, developed job-specific training (when necessary), worked with vocational schools to enroll participants, and secured appropriate clothing for participants' job interviews. Lastly, for participants who were employed at program entry and able to retain their jobs during TCY, the job developers provided assistance to ensure they had opportunities to strengthen their skills and earn higher wages.

- **Mentoring.** TCY envisioned a combination of one-on-one and group mentoring for program participants. Group mentoring sessions were developed to address issues commonly facing those at high risk for recidivism, such as masculinity; incarceration and recidivism; physical, mental, and sexual health; relationships; work and education; restorative justice; and parenting. Efforts were made to match mentors with TCY participants based on gender and background characteristics, and mentor-mentee schedules were collaboratively determined by the TCY participant, mentor, case manager, and mentor coordinator. Mentors were expected to provide various kinds of support, such as letting the participants know about relevant job opportunities, helping mentees negotiate relationship challenges, or engaging them in prosocial recreational activities.

- **Community Service and Restorative Justice.** Community service and restorative justice concepts were introduced to participants during the first week of orientation. The intention was to help participants recognize how their criminal behaviors adversely effected not only their own lives, but also those of their family and community members, while exposing them to opportunities to make positive contributions to the community and, hopefully, see themselves as contributing members of society. All participants were required to fulfill a minimum of 220 hours of community service activities while in the TCY program. Participants were responsible for finding acceptable nonprofit venues in which to satisfy their community service requirements; however, TCY staff members also assisted in identifying suitable organizations at which to volunteer. Restorative Justice Circles, which included participants' family members, were held monthly and included

such activities as watching a movie connected to crime or the community, followed by group discussion focused on how it related to their lives, or neighborhood explorations (e.g., scavenger hunts or photo-documented walking tours) to help individuals become more familiar with their neighborhood resources. The Restorative Justice activities were led by PPS.

Implementation Challenges and Lessons Learned

The TCY research team conducted both an interim and final evaluation of program implementation. The interim evaluation assessed implementation from program initiation in early 2012 through June 2013, based on site visits conducted in May and November, 2012, as well as information extracted from the baseline surveys and ETO MIS through June 2013. The TCY interim report (McClanahan et al. 2013) cited three key lessons learned up to that point:

- **Communication** was central to successful implementation of a complex, multi-partner initiative like TCY.
- **Ongoing data collection, analysis, and reflection** were essential to making mid-course corrections that were critical for program improvement.
- **Advance planning** for operational contingencies is as important for small programs, as large ones.

Not unlike many new programs, TCY had its share of small missteps and growing pains, most of which were resolved within the first few months or at least the first year. However, several issues continued to interest staff throughout most of the demonstration: collaboration and partnerships, accountability and compliance, strengthening the intervention services (e.g., mentoring, immediate financial support for participants, assessment and treatment), and fund raising and sustainability. Each is addressed below.

Collaboration and Partnerships

As previously reported (McClanahan et al. 2013), communication among program staff was critical to ensuring holistic and seamless service delivery. JEVS staff and their key partners, PPS and CFL, were co-located, which facilitated informal, daily interaction, increasing the opportunities to discuss individual or cross-client issues on a frequent and timely basis. This enabled ongoing discussions regarding the TCY participants—whether they were facing challenges, succeeding, or in need of additional support to get them back on track—and was particularly valuable when clients were in crisis and required immediate supportive services. In addition to the informal information sharing, JEVS held staff meetings every two weeks to ensure team members were fully versed regarding participant progress and that participants received satisfactory, seamless services tailored to their individual needs.

Strong communication among the community service providers and the justice system stakeholders was also critical to TCY. While JEVS operates a number of different programs for at- and high-risk clienteles in partnership with other organizations, TCY with its targeted population of diverted felony offenders carried with it the implicit need to provide timely, consistent, and detailed substantive information to justice system stakeholders—a level of information sharing that exceeded routine communication associated with operating JEVS' other programs.

The TCY judge, DA'S Office, and Public Defenders needed current information about the status of participants (particularly regarding noncompliant participants—for instance, the dates of non-attendance, the particulars of the challenges encountered, and the sources of information), both as serious problems arose and routinely in advance of court hearings. And, sharing information about recalcitrant participants with other program partners—particularly the TCY judge and DA—could strengthen TCY's oversight by leveraging the additional authority to motivate such individuals to return to compliance with program expectations.

To some degree, the specificity of the information and documentation of the participants' engagement in the community-based program was paramount to the effectiveness of the program. Over time, the TCY team employed biweekly updates, ad-hoc email communication, and the dashboard information that enabled staff and stakeholders to track the overall program progress. However, one of the most important collaborative mechanisms, according to the various stakeholders, was the institution of routine, pre-court team meetings that started around December 2012.

The pre-court team meetings were held just before TCY court convened (attempts to hold the team meeting in the week before TCY court proved difficult to schedule). The TCY team meetings included the TCY judge, dedicated DA's and Public Defender's staff, and the TCY program director. The meetings provided an opportunity to 1) share information about each participant's progress and set-backs and 2) achieve consensus on appropriate rewards or sanctions for each case. TCY program staff felt these meetings gave the justice stakeholders a greater appreciation for the clients' needs and also for the difficulties staff grappled with in trying to provide meaningful services, while overseeing participant compliance with court and program requirements. For their part, the justice stakeholders felt the pre-court meetings not only resulted in more informed decision making regarding responses to participant accomplishments or noncompliance, but also were instrumental in greatly improving courtroom processes. Justice stakeholders reported that the implementation of pre-court hearings had the desired effect of reducing possibly questionable discussions (e.g., about participants' personal matters) in open court, as well as sidebars among attorneys and the judge, with the end result that overall courtroom time was reduced.

With respect to collaboration and partnership, another theme that emerged focused not on the relationship among TCY stakeholders, but rather on potential partnerships that were not developed for TCY, but might have been advantageous. Some stakeholders suggested that a more holistic program model would have been desirable. In particular, they cited several types of assistance needed by some portion of the served population whose success might have been undermined absent such supportive services:

- **Housing partners.** Stakeholders suggested that it would have been helpful to have some temporary housing options, particularly for those who lacked safe housing, family supports (e.g., some families relied on the money participants had generated from drug sales, and were not enthusiastic about having the participant refrain from such activities), or were in neighborhoods where drug markets threatened to pressure participants and undermine their program success.

- **Substance abuse treatment partnerships**. Based on participant self-report, most of the program participants were primarily selling, not using drugs (and use seemed to be mostly marijuana, not on a daily basis, and not other substances). Nevertheless, several stakeholders felt it would have been beneficial to have a treatment provider on board to properly assess the amount of drug involvement and to treat those individuals who needed such intervention.

- **Mental health treatment partnerships.** By and large, TCY participants did not enter the program with substantial mental health issues requiring intensive outpatient or inpatient treatment. However, some were depressed, and others were grappling with significant real-life issues that demoralized them. Stakeholders perceived that such participants would have benefitted from a partner that could have provided professional counseling and possibly also established peer support groups.

Stakeholders also speculated about two additional areas where partnerships might have been useful: the business sector and corrections. Briefly, stakeholders suggested that although most participants found employment, relationships with employers and also with the unions could have been helpful perhaps in a number of ways. These include 1) making quicker connections for job placement or supporting transitional jobs (provision of immediate post-enrollment income is a critical concern for participants and stakeholders, who suggested that much of the drug selling was motivated by participants' desire to meet individual and family subsistence needs), or 2) identifying jobs with career paths that would ultimately enable participants to build skills and reap rewards in the form of higher pay and benefits.

Assuming TCY achieved its objectives, not only would participants benefit by avoiding incarceration, but the criminal justice system also would benefit by reduction in arrests, court cases, use of jail/prison resources, and probation/parole supervision. Regarding partnerships with corrections, justice stakeholders particularly felt that fund raising and sustainability efforts might have been undercut by the absence of buy in from the county and state correctional facilities.

Accountability and Compliance

TCY participants were under the jurisdiction of the TCY court/judge and expected to comply with program requirements, as monitored by the TCY case manager and other program staff. Participants often were lackadaisical

and not known for having such characteristics as strong histories of being organized, disciplined, and shouldering adult responsibilities. As one staff member pointed out, many of their clients had been left to their own devices from childhood on; some had known lives of couch surfing, so they were used to coming and going on a whim and had no one to answer to except themselves. As a result, participants sometimes treated program requirements lightly, e.g., neglecting to appear for classes or court, or showing up late. They had to be repeatedly reminded that they needed to comply with court and program expectations, appear at designated times, and notify appropriate staff in the event they had a legitimate reason for non-attendance.

Stakeholders generally concurred that the case manager and TCY staff made reasonable attempts to hold participants accountable, but perceived that TCY staffing was so thin, at times, that accountability suffered. For example, at one time, the rolling enrollment of individuals/cohorts reached a point where there were 70 active cases, but only a single case manager: the decision was made to have the case manager handle 45 cases (still a larger than desirable number for a caseload), and divvy the remaining cases among the program director, job readiness instructor, and mentor coordinator. Had the program not been a pilot effort, it's likely that strong consideration would have been given to hiring an additional case manager. However, the nature of the demonstration circumstances were such that the program found itself both growing with respect to cases, and preparing to end in terms of funding, so no new staffing was possible. Staff felt that the addition of a second case manager would have positioned everybody to do a better job of holding participants accountable for day-to-day program requirements, and also likely would have given them more opportunity to intervene earlier and more rigorously with those individuals who proved harder to motivate, serve, and hold accountable.

The TCY court had developed graduated sanctioning guidelines, as shown in Figure 3, for use with noncompliant program participants. Justice stakeholders, program staff, and even the program participants, all perceived the TCY judge as being a caring, warm, positive personality, but some questioned whether she was too lenient. Throughout much of the program, the sanctions, even for those who were repeatedly noncompliant, tended to entail verbal reprimands or writing assignments (which justice stakeholders reported showed a great deal of insight on the part of participants), and occasionally increased attendance at TCY court status hearings.

Nonetheless, program staff fretted that participants were largely nonplussed by such rebukes, and did little to reform their behavior and progress with respect to program activities. They felt this made the program look bad because individuals who weren't participating at the expected level were permitted to remain and continue to underperform. Interestingly, the Public Defender's Office agreed; although they typically zealously protect the rights of their clients, within the context of the non-adversarial TCY problem-solving court, they felt such leniency might not be serving their clients well in the long run.

Generally speaking, both justice stakeholders and program staff suggested that somewhat more liberal use of moderate, rather than minor sanctions would have been in order to deal with program noncompliance. In particular, they felt that short jail terms (24, 48, or 72 hours) might have established a more sobering message to noncompliant

participants and possibly had a deterrent effect such that other participants, watching that discipline meted out, would not have tested the limits of the program's tolerance for noncompliance. At least one justice stakeholder noted that program participants might never have had a jail experience (e.g., had bailed out within 24 hours), so a 48-hour jail sanction could have been quite an eye-opener.

Despite the perceptions of leniency and restrained use of sanctions, most stakeholders agreed that the relatively infrequent reliance on the most severe sanction—program termination and subsequent imprisonment—was used appropriately and quite well with a very few participants who deserved that response. In addition, program staff and justice stakeholders agreed that the court's practice of dealing with noncompliant participants at the beginning of the docket was an important mechanism for making examples of unacceptable behavior.

FIGURE 3. GRADUATED SANCTIONING GUIDELINES

Minor Infractions		Major Infractions	
Sample Infractions	**Sanctions**	**Sample Infractions**	**Sanctions**
Orientation • Less than 90% attendance • Does not meet requirements in a timely manner **Program Enrollment** • Does not check-in with case manager as required • Does not follow through with referrals/appointments • Does not make satisfactory effort to complete training courses or obtain employment • Less than 90% attendance of required classes/mentoring • Time management issues • Does not accept appropriate job offer • Lack of effort • Ongoing poor grades/lack of achievement • Not obtaining necessary	• Written warning from program director or case manager • Participant essays on relevant topic • Increase check-ins with case manager • Time management conversations • Increase reporting requirements to judge or case manager	• Arrest/conviction • Continued positive drug tests • Continued significant non-compliance with program operations • Three or more minor infractions • Less than 90% attendance in orientation, workforce, and/or educational training	• One-on-one meetings with the judge or program director • Suspend participant from TCY activities • Weekend jail time • Program termination and imprisonment

Strengthening the Intervention

Aside from the issue of case management capacity, mentioned earlier, there were issues identified with two other of the core substantive services (i.e., mentoring and educational services) and with some operational activities, as well. Each is briefly described below.

The mentoring component of the program was initially intended to be implemented by one of JEVS partners; when that arrangement proved infeasible, JEVS elected to directly oversee the mentoring and subsequently encountered difficulties in identifying suitable staff to lead this effort. Mentoring programs require leadership with strengths in multiple areas, including but not limited to: marketing to recruit volunteers, vetting volunteers to ensure they are appropriate for the population and program focus, training mentors to ensure they properly reflect the program messages and also are prepared to function in the role as anticipated, and matching mentors with participants or troubleshooting problem matches so that participants can benefit from the relationships and mentors remain engaged with the program. In some programs, these skills are distributed across a number of staff who support the mentoring function; in TCY, this largely needed to be accomplished by a mentor coordinator, who was expected to develop the program from the ground up.

The program had difficulty getting traction with this component as several individuals were unable to meet the organization's expectations as mentor coordinators, for a variety of reasons. At one point, however, the program had developed relationships with 26 mentors, but encountered difficulty keeping the mentors engaged beyond a few months. Mentors were willing to meet program participants at public places, but uncomfortable meeting them in their homes or transporting them to individual or group events. It's possible that some of these difficulties might have been mitigated by providing mentoring training and ongoing support to heighten mentor motivation and morale; however, the organization was unprepared to do this in the absence of a strong mentor coordinator.

Further, the turnover in mentor coordinators and in the mentors, themselves, meant that some program participants were never matched with mentors, and others received mentors for short periods of time that were not conducive to forming meaningful relationships. In hindsight, it appears that—given the multiple skills required for successful leadership—programs preparing to introduce mentoring as a new feature might be well advised to 1) hire a coordinator with prior mentoring leadership experience and expertise in several of the key areas, and 2) solicit guidance and training from one of the professional organizations that specializes in building the capacity of mentoring programs.

Nonetheless, over time, some mentoring relationships worked out well, and TCY staff, as well as staff from other JEVS programs, formally volunteered as mentors or informally made themselves available to mentor TCY participants. While this was not the original program model, and it likely placed an extra burden on staff, participants appreciated these relationships and felt that the extra contact with staff—particularly those whose backgrounds were similar to clients—benefited them by 1) providing individualized attention, 2) offering pertinent, timely advice as situations arose, and 3) showing them how staff had overcome similar issues and turned their lives around.

TCY was prepared to assess the academic achievement level of participants at program entry using the TABE and to offer educational enhancement classes and GED testing, as previously noted. However, some program participants were so educationally deficient that they really could not close the gap between their educational status and the achievements needed to progress to the next level. In terms of program completion, the TCY judge used her discretion

to permit such individuals to graduate absent GEDs, providing they met individualized benchmarks for program completion. However, that begs the question of what alternative services might have been offered to such individuals that would have better prepared them to be self-supporting, while avoiding drug sales as a source of income. Some stakeholders suggested that programs that accept these kinds of participants should consider offering vocational training and possibly transitional or stipended on-the-job placements, rather than pushing an academic agenda for those with heavy educational deficiencies that are not amenable to short-term corrective actions.

Operational Challenges

In addition to the aforementioned themes, TCY reportedly encountered several operational challenges that are frequently faced by organizations implementing new programs. As is often the case, finding suitable space in which to hold program activities can be a daunting logistical barrier. Space constraints necessitated the co-location of the TCY program with other JEVS programs (e.g., a Welfare-to-Work program that had mostly female clients, some of whom had mental health and substance abuse issues, as compared to TCY's mostly male population with drug-selling charges). This is not necessarily an unacceptable situation, but it often requires careful consideration as 1) disparate requirements of the different programs may be confusing to co-mingled populations and 2) the different targeted populations may have characteristics that potentially increase interpersonal issues that adversely affect each program's operations. At minimum, organizations that need to simultaneously use a given space for multiple programs should do some advance planning to develop orientation materials for both staff and future participants that clearly identify program distinctions, behavioral requirements, and consequences for non-compliance with on-site rules.

A few other logistical challenges bear mentioning: discretionary funds for crisis intervention, transportation, and administrative support. Several program staff and also justice stakeholders mentioned that program participants often live under precarious circumstances that can swiftly deteriorate. Clearly, a program of this nature is unlikely to be prepared to handle major crises of every conceivable type, nor should they be held to such a standard. But stakeholders indicated there were a number of such events that would have been amenable to quick resolution if discretionary funds had been available to rectify the situation (e.g., a few participants, particularly early in their program experience, lacked adequate funding to purchase food and some could not cover the costs of transportation to get to the court or program office). At least one stakeholder suggested that programs of this ilk might establish small revolving funds so that they could make "loans" to participants, which they would be required to repay over time to refurbish funding for future cohorts. There are reentry programs, for example, that provide such short-term assistance to enable those with limited resources to make deposits on rental units, utilities, and the like, while they are preparing for and establishing jobs.

With regard to transportation, program staff noted that although they could provide bus tokens, the supply was insufficient. They suggested, and some of the justice stakeholders also indicated, that it would have been useful to have a van. Program staff felt that programs like this should be prepared to offer transportation when requiring clients to stop earning illicit money, which often was their only or at least main source of income. They noted that having vehicles to transport individuals would have enabled them to expose participants (and possibly family members) to more positive community-based activities such as job fairs and pro-social recreational or cultural events.

Lastly, the program was designed without staffing for an administrative assistant or operations secretary. It turned out that aside from documenting individual case activities in the ETO MIS, there were considerable other paperwork and general secretarial activities that required attention. For TCY, these were primarily split between the program director and the case manager. However, each noted that had they been able to be relieved of those administrative duties, they would have been freed to focus on strengthening other services that could have more directly benefitted program participants.

Fund Raising and Sustainability

TCY leadership made conscious efforts to sustain the program beyond the funded pilot period. One of the challenges encountered was the absence of definitive findings about cost savings associated with program success. Not unlike other demonstration programs, it took time to accumulate an adequate sample size, enable those individuals to fully experience the program and its services, and then analyze outcomes in a meaningful way. Additionally, logical partners—the city and state—were each reluctant to support the program on the grounds that the other entity, not their own organization, was the primary beneficiary of costs averted due to program success.

Nonetheless, the program has been sustained, thus far, albeit on a smaller scale, with private funding. In addition, leadership is working on a social bond to secure ongoing funding.

Participant Experiences

The TCY pilot program achieved several significant benchmarks, including securing employment for many participants, bolstering their educational achievement, and keeping them out of jail. Participants appeared to benefit from both the structure and daily routine that TCY provided, and from the level of attention they received from program staff. On the follow-up survey, completed by 49 participants, respondents reported routine levels of case management, with 57 percent reporting weekly meetings and another 28 percent reporting daily in-person meetings with case managers. In addition to in-person contact, half also communicated weekly by phone, text and e-mail, and another

21 percent did so daily. Participants reported that they were satisfied with most aspects of the program, and 93 percent reported being glad they had completed the program. Additionally, 83 percent were "Very Satisfied" with TCY services overall, and 81 percent believed that services from TCY were "Very Important" in helping them avoid incarceration.

In the sections that follow, we share data on TCY's achievements in the areas of program services, employment and education, risk behaviors, and healthy living. But first, we describe participants' trajectory through the program to provide context for interpreting those findings.

Program Completion

Graduation from the TCY program was contingent on meeting several requirements, including:

- Completion of both the orientation and program enrollment phases.
- Satisfaction of case management requirements, such as: obtaining basic identification and meeting other basic needs (e.g., housing, government benefits, health insurance); enrollment and compliance with critical specialized services such as mental health counseling, substance abuse treatment, or family services; and demonstrated progress with respect to one's Individual Life Plan (ILP).
- Achievement of education and employment goals. Participants who lacked high school diplomas or GEDs at program entry were expected to obtain GEDs or high school diplomas, or successfully complete one or more GED subtests (out of five), or demonstrate at least one grade-level gain for every 50 hours of instruction, or enroll in high school credit-bearing programs and document 90 percent attendance with a minimum of three earned credits (relative to time in school). Participants, who entered TCY with high school diplomas or GEDs, were expected to obtain full-time employment (for at least four consecutive months) or enroll in secondary educational institutions or enroll in long-term, full-time job training (for at least four consecutive months) and demonstrate one literacy grade-level gain for every 50 hours of instruction. Part-time employment options could be considered appropriate for those in full-time higher education programs.
- Documentation of 220 hours of community service.
- Demonstration of good standing with the criminal justice system, such as good faith efforts (as determined by the TCY program director and judge) to pay fines, restitution, and court fees.

As participants completed program requirements (typically at the end of one year), JEVS and the DA formally made recommendations to the TCY judge that those individuals were ready for graduation from the program. The judge rendered the final decision about closing supervision, which occurred at formal court proceedings in which

graduates were publicly congratulated on their accomplishments, reminded by the judge of their ongoing responsibilities to abide by the law, and given the opportunity to directly address the court.

Program graduates had their cases dismissed, and were required to maintain clean criminal records for one year to have their criminal records expunged for the TCY- related charge. Record expunging is particularly important, as it is central to broader employment (since this charge will be cleared from a participant's criminal record, which often is a deterrent to securing stable employment), housing, and financial opportunities for TCY participants.

Table 4 provides a snapshot of participants' final status in the program as of June 21, 2014 (for the 65 who entered program enrollment and gave consent to participate in the research). All cohorts were eligible for graduation, and only three individuals had neither graduated, nor terminated from the program by this point in time. Across all cohorts, 55 participants (85 percent of those who entered the program enrollment phase) successfully graduated from the program, and only 7 were terminated for non-compliance.[5] Both baseline and follow-up surveys were completed by 46 of the 55 graduates (84 percent), as well as 3 of the participants who did not successfully complete the program. Data from these surveys supplements what we can learn from the program data alone.

TABLE 4: TRAJECTORY OF TCY PARTICIPANTS

		Number of Participants Who….			
Cohort Start Date	**Cohort**	**Graduated**	**Did Not Graduate by 6/21/2014**	**Were Terminated from Program Enrollment**	**Completed Both Baseline and Follow-Up Surveys[6]**
2/27/12	A	8	0	0	8
3/19/12	B	3	0	2	3
4/16/12	C	1	1	0	1
4/30/12	D	2	1	0	3[7]
5/21/12	E	4	0	1	4
6/25/12	F	6	0	0	6
7/30/12	G	8	1	2	8[8]
8/27/12	H	6	0	1	7[9]
9/24/12	I	3	0	1	3
11/26/12	J	7	0	0	2
1/7/13	K	7	0	0	4
Overall	65	55	3	7	49

[5] Overall, 65 percent of the individuals deemed eligible for TCY successfully graduated from the program.
[6] Except where indicated, participants with baseline and follow-up surveys had graduated from TCY.
[7] One of the Cohort D participants who completed the surveys did not officially graduate.
[8] One of the Cohort G participants who completed the surveys did not officially graduate.
[9] One of the Cohort H participants who completed the surveys was terminated from program enrollment.

In the sections that follow, we provide information about the services participants received in TCY and their outcomes.

Participant Engagement in Services and Service Satisfaction

Participants received a range of services in TCY, dependent on several factors, including their highest level of education achieved, employment status, and other needs identified by the case manager. Table 5 below highlights five of the most important types of TCY services provided to participants and documented in ETO: case management, educational enhancement, job readiness training, community service, and mentoring. It is important to note that not all participants were required to access all services and that other services also were provided to participants. Information is presented separately for those who graduated; were terminated; and those who had neither graduated, nor been terminated.

Table 5 shows that TCY participants accessed a range of services. More than 3,900 hours of job readiness training was received by participants, with each participant exposed to an average of about 61 hours. Similarly, more than 3,000 hours of educational enhancement were provided to participants in need of this support, and, on average, individual participants received about 47 hours of this service. Mentoring was provided to just over 70 percent of participants, but the dosage was relatively low, at about 5 hours per participant on average. This is consistent with the finding that mentoring was a particularly challenging facet of the program to implement. In excess of 14,000 hours of community service were completed by program participants with the support of JEVS; graduating participants achieved their goals of 220 hours, apiece. Across everyone, average hours engaged in direct one-on-one case management were 22 per participant—more than 1,400 hours in total. This approaches the expectation of weekly 30-minute in-person or telephone contacts that would total 26 hours per participant across a one-year program. It is quite possible that the case management figures reported here are an underestimate of the contact that actually occurred. These numbers reflect documented interactions that case managers took the time to enter into ETO, but some undocumented amount of case management occurred spontaneously as TCY clients conversed with case managers while on site for other program services. Data reported earlier from the follow-up surveys show that 28 percent of surveyed participants met daily with their case manager, and 21 percent communicated daily via phone, text, or e-mail. Where participants reported such a high level of contact, it may be that case managers did not have sufficient time to enter all information into ETO, and may not have made it a priority to record brief, unscheduled contacts, particularly when they were close to meeting required minimums.

Table 5 provides information on services received by participants and documented by program staff through ETO. To complement this information, the follow-up survey asked participants directly about which services they had received from the program, and how satisfied they were with each one. The participant survey information is presented in Table 6 with the TCY services ordered from most to least prevalent. Though participant reports may not

be a perfect representation of what was provided, especially where participants might use a different name for a particular service, they provide an interesting window into which aspects of TCY stood out most to participants.

TABLE 5: PROGRAM SERVICE DOSAGE BY STATUS IN PROGRAM AND ACTIVITY TYPE

Program Status	N	Average Hours of Case Management per Participant	Average Hours of Educational Enhancement per Participant	Average Hours of Job Readiness Training per Participant	Average Hours of Community Service per Participant	Percentage of Participants Receiving Mentoring
Graduated	55	20.6	47.3	59.3	239.4	78.2%
Not Yet Graduated	3	76.0	98.7	186.2	208.3	66.7%
Terminated from Program	7	9.3	24.3	21.1	65.6	28.6%
Overall	65	22.0	47.2	61.1	219.3	72.3%

As shown in Table 6, more than 80 percent of participants reported taking part in job readiness, life skills, and literacy courses. The job readiness courses were received most favorably with 95 percent reporting satisfaction with this service. Satisfaction with life skills and literacy courses was lower at 62 and 67 percent, respectively. At least half of those surveyed also reported participating in GED courses, mentoring, pre-GED courses, health education courses, and receiving transportation assistance and substance abuse treatment. Between 60 and 85 percent of participants reported being satisfied with these services. Fewer than 50 percent of survey respondents report receiving each of the remaining 15 services noted in Table 6, most likely because they were not relevant to their individual needs during the time they participated in the program. These services included things such as parenting classes; help with child support, which would be relevant only for participants with children entitled to such benefits; and help getting specific types of identification, which would be relevant only for participants who entered the program lacking these documents. Interestingly, with the exception of help getting a Social Security card or housing assistance, at least 50 percent of respondents reported satisfaction with each TCY service, and for five items—legal assistance, anger management, tattoo removal, college courses, and help negotiating child support—there was 100 percent satisfaction.

Most of the participants who completed the follow-up survey rated their participation in TCY very positively. Table 7 presents their ratings on each of seven statements, ordered from most to least favorable. The first, most highly rated item succinctly summarizes their overall impression of the program–93 percent of respondents were glad they had completed the TCY program. Items that follow in the table help provide a clearer picture of why participants were so happy with their perseverance. Participants felt supported by staff who they believed wanted to see them succeed (91 percent). They also credited TCY with both keeping them away from illegal activity (91 percent) and getting their education back on track (88 percent).

Although the required regular check-ins with TCY case managers may have felt daunting at first, 84 percent of respondents reported that this component of the program was valuable in helping them stay on track, and they especially appreciated the flexibility of staff who helped to make it possible for participants to balance fulfilling TCY requirements with simultaneously holding down jobs (77 percent). Approximately three-quarters of respondents agreed that their experience with TCY meshed with their expectations of the program prior to entering orientation. For those who did not agree, it is unclear from this item whether their TCY experience was better or worse than expected. In the next section, we explore participants' suggestions regarding areas where the TCY program could be strengthened.

TABLE 6: PARTICIPANTS RECEIVING SERVICES FROM TCY AND SATISFACTION WITH SERVICES RECEIVED

TCY Service	Percentage Receiving Service[10]	Percentage Who Were Satisfied with Service[11]
Job readiness courses	87.0%	95.0%
Life skills courses	81.3%	61.5%
Literacy courses	80.0%	66.7%
GED course	63.6%	71.4%
A mentor/life coach	63.2%	83.3%
Transportation assistance	61.9%	84.6%
Substance abuse treatment	54.6%	83.3%
Adult basic education courses (pre-GED)	54.6%	66.7%
Health education courses	50.0%	60.0%
Parenting courses	44.4%	50.0%
Legal assistance	42.9%	100.0%
Anger management	40.0%	100.0%
Mental health treatment	40.0%	50.0%
Medical treatment	37.5%	66.7%
Vocational courses or training	35.7%	60.0%
Help getting a driver's license or photo ID	33.3%	80.0%
Housing assistance	30.0%	33.3%
Tattoo removal	28.6%	100.0%
Help getting health insurance	26.7%	50.0%
Help getting a birth certificate	25.0%	50.0%
Financial assistance	23.1%	66.7%
College courses	20.0%	100.0%
Help getting a social security card	16.7%	0%
Help negotiating child support	12.5%	100.0%

[10] The percentage is calculated across the subset that answered the question and did not respond, "I did not receive this service."
[11] The percentage is calculated across the subset that reported receiving the service.

TABLE 7: PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCE WITH TCY

Statement about TCY	Strongly Agree/Agree	Strongly Disagree/Disagree
I am glad that I completed the TCY program.	92.9%	7.1%
TCY staff is interested in seeing me succeed.	90.9%	9.1%
TCY helped me stay away from illegal activity.	90.9%	9.1%
The enrichment classes at TCY helped me get my education back on track.	88.1%	11.9%
Checking in regularly with the TCY case manager helped me stay on track.	84.4%	15.6%
My experience with TCY was what I expected based on what was explained to me before I began orientation.	77.3%	22.7%
TCY staff makes it possible for me to hold a job and also meet TCY requirements.	76.7%	23.3%

Participants' Ideas for Improving TCY

On the follow-up survey, respondents were asked whether they thought TCY could be improved in six specific areas. Table 8 presents these six items, ordered from most to least change warranted. Respondents were most likely to agree that TCY should make it easier for participants to find work (70 percent). This is particularly interesting given the fact that the overwhelming majority of TCY participants were employed at some point during program participation. Despite the fact that they ultimately found work, some might have secured jobs on their own, seemingly without TCY staff assistance, while other may have been frustrated with how long it took to obtain a job; it's also possible that some participants may have been dissatisfied with their particular jobs, thinking the program could have improved their opportunities and helped them obtain better employment. Of the 26 who were employed at the time of the follow-up survey, and reported how they got their job, 50 percent had obtained it through friends and family, and only 4, or 15 percent, reported that TCY assistance was integral to obtaining their employment.

Just over half of respondents also expressed frustration with the program's expectation that participants independently secure their own community service placements; participants apparently would have preferred receiving placements provided through TCY. Similarly, half of respondents thought having a mentor through the program would have been valuable. As this was part of the original design that may have been conveyed to participants prior to program orientation, it is possible that they were expecting a mentor, and then were subsequently disappointed when the mentoring component was never fully implemented. At the very least, mentors

might have been helpful in navigating both the job hunting and community service-seeking pieces that participants found challenging.

About half of participants also thought their initial contact with the program could have been improved. They believed they should have received more information about TCY prior to their first meeting with the judge when they had to elect whether to enter the program or continue to trial. Half of respondents also found it difficult to attend orientation every day. It is unclear if this was merely an inconvenience that participants needed to adjust to, or if other obligations such as employment and childcare may have made daily attendance difficult.

On a favorable note, only one-third of respondents thought staff turnover was a barrier to connecting with the TCY program.

TABLE 8: PARTICIPANTS' IDEAS FOR IMPROVING TCY

Statement about TCY	Strongly Agree/Agree	Strongly Disagree/Disagree
TCY should make it easier for participants to find work.	69.8%	30.2%
I wish TCY arranged a community service placement for me rather than finding one on my own.	52.8%	47.2%
I wish TCY provided me with a mentor.	50.0%	50.0%
Attending TCY orientation everyday was a hardship for me.	50.0%	50.0%
I wish I had more information about TCY before my first appearance in front of the judge.	46.2%	53.8%
It was hard to feel connected to the TCY program because staff there kept changing.	31.8%	68.2%

Participant Outcomes

One of the key goals of TCY was to reduce criminal behavior among program participants. In addition, the program model implicitly hypothesized that educational advancement, job placement and retention, decreased risk behaviors, and self enhancement would be short- and medium-term benefits recognized by program participants. The following sections highlight key outcomes in each of these areas.

Recidivism

For purposes of this report, recidivism is defined as being arrested for a new crime following entry into TCY. Given the evaluation timeframe, two recidivism measures are possible:

- Re-arrest for new crimes within 12 months following program entry (i.e., during the period of expected program participation).
- Re-arrest for new crimes within 24 months following program entry—the timeframe that includes both the period of program participation and one year following program completion.

Clearly, the latter measure is preferable if one wants to test whether TCY generates positive effects and if such positive effects continue after the supports of ongoing regular contact with program staff have ended. For the earliest TCY cohorts, this extended view is possible. For most cohorts, however, less than two years have passed since entering TCY. Accordingly, we report two recidivism windows for all participants. The first window is the 12 months after entry into TCY; the second window is the 24 months after entry into TCY, with the understanding that this window is censored for some participants, and that censoring is factored into the analyses.[12]

We first looked at recidivism during TCY using data from ETO for program participants. Of the 65 TCY participants participating in the research, only 6, or 9 percent, were re-arrested during program participation, and subsequently terminated from the program. While the mean age at program entry for all participants was 22.2 years, the mean age significantly differed between those who were and were not subsequently rearrested. Among those who avoided re-arrest, the mean age was slightly higher at 22.4 years, while the mean age for those who were re-arrested was 19.7 years, suggesting that the program may be more successful at redirecting participants away from crime when they are a bit older and better able to recognize the positive benefits to program buy-in.

We next looked at recidivism for TCY participants using data from the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets that are available online. Using this data source allowed us to view arrest histories subsequent to involvement in TCY. For the 65 TCY young adults participating in the research, 9 (14 percent) were rearrested during the first year, and 17 (26 percent) were arrested through the two- year observation window.[13]

While not zero percent, these arrest numbers seem favorably low, at least through year one. The best way to evaluate whether these data reflect a benefit of program participation, however, would be to compare them with re-

[12] A third valuable recidivism window to consider would be the years following TCY graduation for the population who successfully completed the full program. Across the 65 TCY participants who are participating in the research, 55 graduated from the program, and through June 28, 2014 were eligible for post-graduation re-arrest an average of 257 days, ranging between 26 and 418 days. Across this observation window, 13 percent experienced a post-graduation arrest, and 9 percent experienced a post-graduation drug arrest. Because the average available post-graduation window is less than a year, we have not pursued additional analyses in this area.

[13] While nine TCY youth were re-arrested within the first year according to the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets, only six were entered into ETO as terminated from the program due to re-arrest. For the other three, arrests did not result in program termination.

arrest figures for comparable young adults who did not participate in TCY. In order to make such a comparison, we obtained police incident numbers from the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office for all young adults who would have been considered for TCY had the program been operating in 2011. These comparisons were young adults with similar adult arrest histories, ages, and charges. We used this list to research the subsequent arrest histories of the comparison group, as we had done with the TCY participants, using the online data from the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets. Table 9 presents the percentages of TCY and comparison group individuals who were re-arrested within the first two years after their qualifying arrest, together with t-tests for differences in the means between the two groups. Re-arrest was significantly higher among the comparison group (26 percent) than among TCY participants (14 percent) within the first year. When only drug arrests are considered, the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant. When the window of interest is extended to two years, recidivism is higher among the comparison group both for overall arrests (41 vs. 26 percent), and when arrests are limited to drug arrests (34 vs. 19 percent). Because the comparison group was much more likely to have been sentenced to jail previously than the TCY participants (29 vs. 0 percent), we also restricted the sample to those without a prior jail sentence. The comparisons of rates of recidivism between TCY participants and the non-TCY comparisons, where neither had prior jail sentences, are also presented in Table 9, and are comparable to those for the full comparison group.

TABLE 9: RECIDIVISM OF TCY PARTICIPANTS AND COMPARISON GROUP

At-Risk Period and Arrest Type	TCY Participants Re-Arrested	Comparison Group Re-Arrested	Significant Difference
Overall:			
Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	26.4%	*
Drug Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	19.2%	n.s.
Arrest in 2 Years	26.2%	41.3%	*
Drug Arrest in 2 Years	18.5%	33.6%	*
Where no Prior Jail Sentence:			
Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	26.5%	*
Drug Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	19.9%	n.s.
Arrest in 2 Years	26.2%	41.0%	*
Drug Arrest in 2 Years	18.5%	34.3%	*

As mentioned previously, data are not available for all TCY participants for the full two-year window, so the two-year results might not have been quite as favorable if all TCY participants had been at risk for re-arrest for the full 24 months. In order to account for this censoring of data, and also to control for possible differences in measured characteristics between TCY participants and the comparison group, we addressed the same question using event history analysis, while controlling for gender, ethnicity, age at qualifying arrest, and number of prior arrests. Instead of just looking at whether individuals were re-arrested or not, these models allowed us to explore if there is a difference in the time to arrest between TCY participants and comparison group individuals taking into account the

fact that arrest data is observed only through June 28, 2014. All event history analyses are restricted to youth without prior sentences and are estimated across 230 cases comprised of the 65 TCY participants and 165 comparison group individuals.

Table 10 presents the results from survival analyses predicting four re-arrest variables: any re-arrests in 12 months, drug re-arrests in 12 months, any re-arrests in 24 months, and drug re-arrests in 24 months. In addition to controls for gender, ethnicity, age at qualifying event, and number of prior arrests, each model also includes a variable measuring the effect of participation in TCY, as well as an interaction between participation in TCY and prior arrests. All results presented in the table are hazard ratios, followed by significance levels in parentheses. Where hazard ratios are below one on a dichotomous variable, it suggests that the hazard of arrest is lower for individuals with a specified characteristic than for individuals without it. Where the hazard is above one, it suggests that that the hazard of re-arrest is higher for individuals with a given characteristic. For continuous variables such as age, the hazard ratio reflects the change in the risk of arrest for each additional year of age. If the hazard is greater than one, it indicates greater risk of re-arrest for older youth. Where the hazard is lower than one, it indicates lower risk of re-arrest for older youth.

TABLE 10: SURVIVAL ANALYSIS PREDICTING TIME TO RE-ARREST WHERE NO PRIOR JAIL SENTENCE[14]

Predictors	Dependent Variable			
	Re-Arrest within 1 Year	**Drug Re-Arrest within 1 Year**	**Re-Arrest within 2 Years**	**Drug Re-Arrest within 2 Years**
Female	0.629 (n.s.)	0.791 (n.s.)	0.974 (n.s.)	1.136 (n.s.)
African-American	0.854 (n.s.)	0.841 (n.s.)	0.693 (n.s.)	0.660 (n.s.)
Age at Qualifying Event	0.821 (***)	0.816 (**)	0.823 (***)	0.833 (***)
Number of Prior Adult Arrests	1.052 (n.s.)	1.054 (n.s.)	1.143 (**)	1.166 (**)
TCY Participant	0.317 (*)	0.440 (+)	0.488 (*)	0.389 (*)
Interaction between TCY and Number of Prior Adult Arrests	2.733 (+)	2.70 (+)	2.025 (+)	2.562 (*)
Observations	230	230	230	230

There are some important similarities across the models for each dependent variable. In each model, the hazard ratio for females is not significant suggesting that there was no difference in the risk of re-arrest between males and

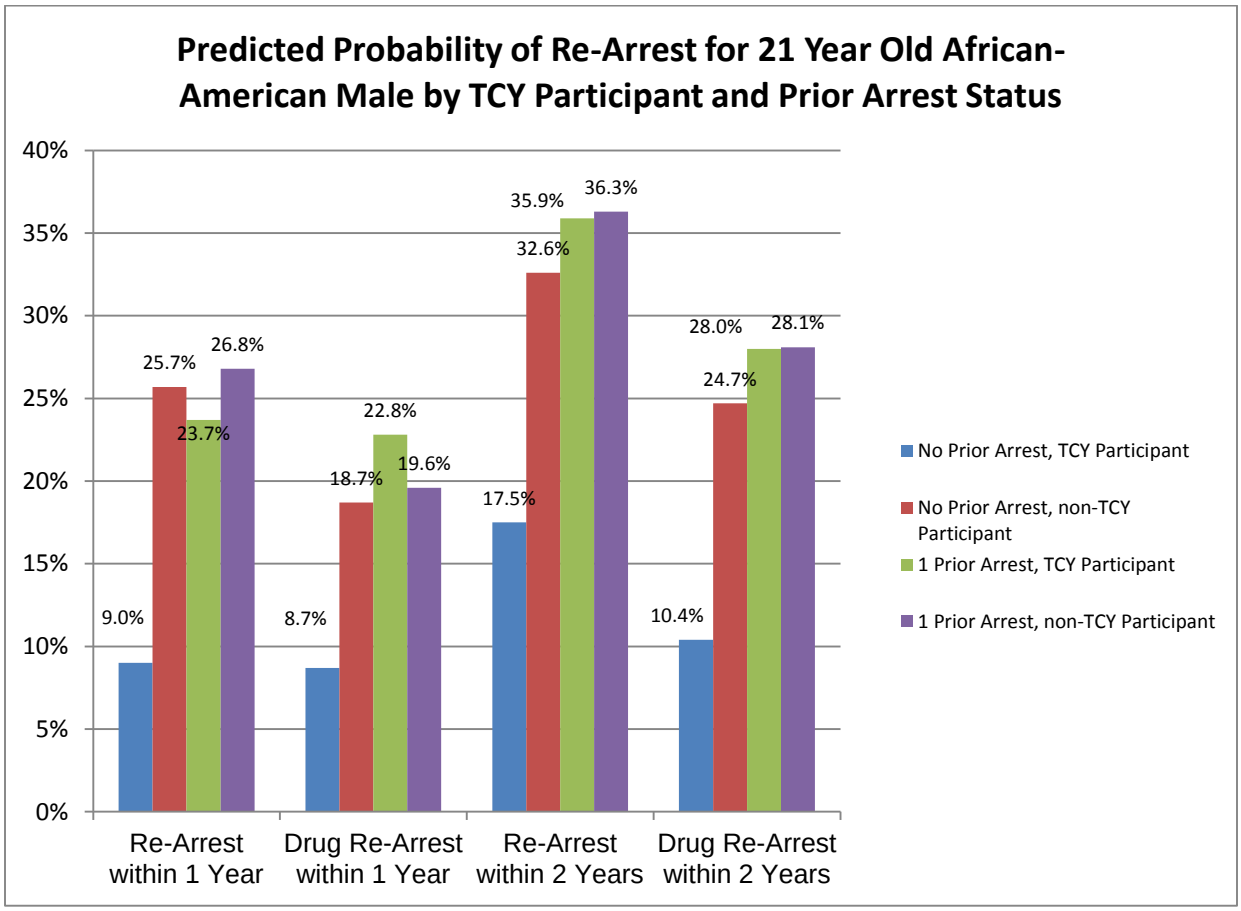
[14] Numbers in the cells of the table are hazard ratios with significance levels indicated in parentheses. On dichotomous variables, such as TCY, Female, and African-American, the hazard indicates the relative risk of re-arrest for someone with the specified characteristic compared to someone without the characteristic. On continuous variables such as age, the hazard indicates the change in relative risk of re-arrest for each additional year of age.

females. The sample is heavily weighted toward males, however, with only 13 percent of the sample female, and so this should be interpreted cautiously. There is also no significant difference in the risk of re-arrest between African-Americans and non-African Americans. The next variable, age at qualifying event—the age of the arrest that qualified the individual for TCY, or a similar arrest in 2011 qualifying an individual for the comparison group—is highly significant across all models. In each case, it is below one, suggesting that the risk of re-arrest is lower for individuals who are older at the time of the qualifying event. When looking at the 12-month re-arrest variables, number of prior adult arrests is not an important predictor of re-arrest for non-TCY participants; however, when the window is extended to 24 months, it becomes significant. For both of the 24-month outcomes, we see a hazard that is significant and greater than one indicating that each additional prior arrest increases the likelihood of re-arrest. The final two variables in the table highlight the association between participation in TCY and recidivism. For each of the four dependent variables, the hazard associated with TCY is less than one and significant, suggesting that individuals who participated in TCY were less likely than non-TCY participants to be re-arrested through both 12 and 24 month timeframes. The final variable, the interaction between number of prior arrests and TCY participation, qualifies this statement, however. For each dependent variable, this interaction is significant and greater than one, suggesting that the effect of TCY is different for participants who have prior arrests.

It is easiest to understand these models by looking at the results graphically. Figure 4 presents the predicted probabilities of re-arrest, using the coefficients from each of the models presented in Table 10, for a hypothetical African-American male who was 21 years old at the time of the qualifying arrest. Each of the blue bars in the figure represents the probability of re-arrest for a TCY participant with these characteristics and no prior arrest. The green bars indicate the probabilities for a TCY participant with these characteristics and one prior arrest, and the red and purple bars represent the two groups of non-TCY participants with these characteristics. All predicted probabilities are calculated for those with no prior jail sentences.

The important results from the survival analyses presented in Table 10 are visible quickly when presented in the bar graphs in Figure 4. For each of the four outcomes presented, the probability of re-arrest is far lower for TCY participants who have no prior arrests (blue bars). TCY participants with prior arrests (green), however, fare no better than those who did not participate in the program. Comparisons between the blue and red bars highlight the difference in the likelihood of re-arrest for TCY participants and non-participants both of whom have no prior arrests. In each case, the TCY participants are far less likely to be re-arrested than comparable individuals without an extensive criminal history. While alternative to incarceration programs are often faulted for “cherry picking” who they will serve, the evidence here suggests that they are able to make a difference with this group, and that those efforts are not wasted. At the same time, as currently constructed, the program does not successfully reduce the likelihood of re-arrest for those with prior arrests.

FIGURE 4: PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF RE-ARREST BY TCY PARTICIPANT AND PRIOR ARREST STATUS



Education and Employment

In TCY, participants without high school diplomas or GEDs worked towards educational outcomes, while those with GEDs or high school diplomas worked towards employment goals. Among participants focused on education, there were multiple pathways to achieving their goals: obtain a GED or high school diploma, successfully complete one or more GED subtests (out of five), gain one grade-level on the TABE (for every 50 hours of instruction), or enroll in a high school credit-bearing program with a minimum of three earned credits (relative to time in school). Participants with employment goals could achieve those through employment, full-time job training, or enrollment (and attendance in) post-secondary education.

Table 11 shows that most of those who graduated from TCY achieved their required educational or employment goals. For participants focused on employment goals, all but four graduates met these goals. Although current employment at the time of entry into TCY orientation was low (20 percent), 87 percent of graduates with

employment goals were employed at some point during the program. Educational goals appear to have been more difficult to accomplish. Across the 17 participants with educational goals who graduated the program, only 9 actually fulfilled the educational requirement. For the remaining 47 percent, the judge determined they were ready for graduation despite not having met their educational requirements.

TABLE 11: EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES AMONG TCY PARTICIPANTS[15]

	With an Educational Goal[16]					With an Employment Goal				
	N	Advanced One Grade Level per 50 hours of Classroom Instruction	Completed and Passed One GED Subtest or Received GED or Diploma	Enrolled in High School Credit-Bearing Program and Earned 3+ Credits	Met Educational Goal	N	Enrolled in Secondary Education	Enrolled in Full-Time Job Training	Employed During the Program	Met Employment Goal
Graduated	17	23.5% (4)	47.1% (8)	17.6% (3)	**52.9% (9)[17]**	38	15.8% (6)	10.5% (4)	86.8% (33)	**89.5% (34)**
Not Yet Graduated	2	0% (0)	20.0% (0)	0% (0)	**0% (0)**	1	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**0% (0)**
Terminated from Program	3	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**0% (0)**	3	33.3% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**33.3% (1)**
Overall	22	18.2% (4)	36.4% (8)	13.6% (3)	**40.9% (9)**	42	16.7% (7)	9.5% (4)	78.6% (33)	**83.3% (35)**

The self-reports of educational experience during TCY presented in Table 12 from the follow-up survey may help clarify why the judge may have elected to graduate participants who had not fully satisfied the educational requirements. Although nearly half of graduates without high school diplomas had not met their educational goals, Table 12 shows that 92 percent of these individuals who completed the follow-up survey had attended GED courses. Though many were unable to successfully complete the subject tests, their efforts in attending may have been weighed more heavily than the end result. For some participants who entered with severe educational deficiencies, the 12-month program may have provided insufficient remedial education and time to pass GED subtests. Table 12 also shows that where participants entered TCY with a high school diploma or GED, very few participated in educational activities. Only 12 percent reported taking college courses, and only 18 percent attended vocational training.

[15] Progress on Educational Enhancement is reported for the 64 participants who completed the ILP and completed orientation.
[16] Educational attainment is defined by item B-30 on the ILP.
[17] The judge has the discretion to graduate a participant despite the fact that s/he has not reached program goals.

TABLE 12: PARTICIPANTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE DURING TCY BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AT INTAKE

Educational Experience During TCY[18]	No High School Diploma or GED at Intake (n=14)	High School Diploma or GED at Intake (n=35)
Attended High School	38.5%	12.1%
Attended GED Course	91.7%	3.0%[19]
Took College Course	8.3%	12.1%
Attended Vocational Training	8.3%	18.2%

On the follow-up survey, in addition to reporting on educational experience during TCY, participants were also asked to report on their employment histories throughout the program. This information is presented in Table 13, by employment status at intake. Among those who were not employed at intake, about three-quarters held a job at some point during TCY, and nearly one-half remained employed at the time of the follow-up survey. These figures show great progress; however, the information on the mean number of months employed suggests that room for improvement remains. Those who were not employed at intake worked an average of 4.3 months full-time, and 2.4 months part-time in the prior year. Assuming no overlap of the part-time and full-time jobs, these participants would have worked, at most, for an average of about 6.5 months and been unemployed for approximately 5.5 months.

TABLE 13: PARTICIPANTS' EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE DURING TCY BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT INTAKE

Employment Experience During TCY[20]	Not Employed at Intake (n=35)	Employed at Intake (n =13)
Currently Employed	47.1%	76.9%
Any Employment in Last Year	74.3%	100.0%
Months of Full Time Employment in Last Year	4.3	9.4
Months of Part-Time Employment in Last Year	2.4	3.5

Among those who were employed at intake, more than three-quarters remained employed at the time of the follow-up survey. Especially encouraging is the fact that much of this employment was full-time employment; these participants worked full-time for an average of 9.4 of the previous 12 months. In addition, participants who had been employed at intake worked part-time for an average of 3.5 of the previous 12 months. Combining the months of part-time and full-time employment would result in a total of 12.7 months employed out of 12, indicating either that some jobs were held simultaneously, or that there may be some slight over-reporting on the survey. Beyond that, several participants reported during the focus groups that their involvement in TCY enabled them to improve their employment circumstances and salaries; e.g., one participant entered as a dialysis technician, but was coached to

[18] This is the educational experience as reported by participants on the follow-up survey.
[19] Four students with high school diplomas or GEDs at intake attended high school or GED courses during TCY. For two of these, their TABE scores (to assess reading proficiency) were sufficiently low to require educational enhancement.
[20] This is the employment experience as reported by participants on the follow-up survey.

develop a more effective resume and encouraged to trade up to a job as a care manager at nursing home, employment that provided benefits not offered by the original job.

Risk Behaviors

In addition to improving educational and employment outcomes, participation in TCY was intended to reduce the level of engagement in risk behaviors. Table 14 presents the percentage of TCY participants who had engaged in each of seven risk behaviors during a specified period prior to the baseline and follow-up surveys. For two of the items—using drugs other than marijuana and carrying a weapon in the four weeks prior to the survey—there was not a significant reduction in the risk behavior from the baseline to the follow-up survey. For both items, however, engagement was relatively low, with about 10 percent reporting each activity at follow-up.

For the remaining five items in Table 14, there was a significant reduction in engagement in each behavior between the baseline and follow-up surveys. While just over one-half of respondents had used marijuana in the four weeks prior to the baseline survey, a little less than one-third reported using in the four weeks prior to the follow-up survey. Daily use of marijuana also dropped significantly. At the time of the baseline survey, about one-quarter of participants had been smoking marijuana on a daily basis, and this had dropped to 9 percent at follow up.

Along with reductions in marijuana use, participants made favorable changes regarding peers they spent time with during their association with TCY. While 29 percent had hung out with crew or gang members in the 12 months prior to the baseline survey, only 6 percent reported having done so in the 12 months prior to the follow-up survey.

TABLE 14: RISK BEHAVIORS AMONG TCY PARTICIPANTS

Justice Experience and Risk Behaviors	Baseline Survey	Follow-Up Survey	Change[21]	Sample Size
Used Marijuana in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	52.1%	29.2%	*	48
Used Marijuana Almost Daily in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	25.6%	8.5%	*	47
Used Other Drugs in 4 Weeks Prior to the Survey	10.7%	8.5%	n.s.	47
Carried Weapon in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	19.1%	10.6%	n.s.	47
Hung Out with Crew/Gang Member in 12 Months Prior to Survey	29.2%	6.2%	**	48
Sold Marijuana in 12 Months Prior to Survey	47.9%	8.3%	***	48
Sold Hard Drugs (such as heroin, cocaine, crack) in 12 Months Prior to Survey	59.6%	6.4%	***	47

[21] + p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Finally, Table 14 presents data that suggest a reduction in the percentage of the TCY participants who sold illegal drugs. Just under half of respondents reported selling marijuana in the 12 months prior to the baseline survey, and this number was much lower at 8 percent at follow up. Similarly, although all participants had been arrested for distributing illegal drugs in order to qualify for TCY, only 60 percent reported that they had sold these drugs in the 12 months prior to the baseline survey. This number had fallen to 6 percent at follow up. We are optimistic that there was a real reduction; however, given that the percentage of TCY participants selling hard drugs may have been seriously under-reported at baseline, it may be under-reported at follow up, as well.

Healthy Living

The next outcomes we explored were healthy living outcomes. These are operationalized through a series of scales that measure overall attitude and approach to specific aspects of everyday living. Favorable ratings on these scales are a valuable standalone goal, and associated changes in attitude may also improve an individual's ability to obtain and maintain employment and avoid additional contact with the court system. Table 15 presents the means for 14 scales measured on the baseline and follow-up surveys. The component survey items that make up each scale and the associated reliabilities are presented in Appendix A.

Change from baseline to follow up was favorable for four of the scales, including the depression, desire to change, risk-taking, and decision-making scales. Means on the depression scale suggest a reduction in the frequency of feeling sad, unmotivated, and engaging in conflict. Means on the first desire to change scale suggest greater recognition that substance abuse is personally harmful, and that assistance is helpful in keeping out of prison. Changes in the risk-taking scale suggest that participants are moving toward being more acceptably cautious and law-abiding, and changes in the decision-making scale suggest participants are beginning to recognize the value in making good choices that affect their futures, and help create a self that can make them proud.

For one item, the Thinking of Others scale, the change from baseline to follow up was in a negative direction. The magnitude of the change was small, and the mean at follow up suggests that participants still considered others important, maintained friendships, and considered how their actions would affect others, but perhaps not quite as strongly as they had previously.

For the nine remaining scales—adult support, positive peers, negative peers, school value, educational efficacy, attitude toward crime, anti-crime, desire to change-b, and Pearlin mastery—there was no significant change in value on the scale between the baseline and the follow-up surveys.

TABLE 15: PARTICIPANTS' HEALTHY LIVING

Healthy Living Construct	Baseline Survey	Follow-Up Survey	Change	Sample Size
Mean on Adult Support Scale (range 0-3, 3 most favorable)	2.33	2.21	n.s.	47
Mean on Positive Peers Scale (range 1-3, 1 most favorable)	1.81	1.82	n.s.	49
Mean on Negative Peers Scale (range 1-3, 3 most favorable)	2.61	2.65	n.s.	47
Mean on School Value Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.58	1.50	n.s.	46
Mean on Educational Efficacy Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.78	1.89	n.s.	46
Mean on Attitude Toward Crime Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.34	2.36	n.s.	47
Mean on Anti-Crime Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.94	2.04	n.s.	47
Mean on Depression Scale (range 0-3, 0 most favorable)	0.85	0.50	***	47
Mean on Desire to Change Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.98	1.53	**	18
Mean on Desire to Change B Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.65	1.82	n.s.	43
Mean on Risk Taking Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.44	2.10	**	35
Mean on Thinking of Others Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.76	1.98	*	39
Mean on Decision Making Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.04	1.86	+	42
Mean on Perlman Mastery Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.10	2.14	n.s.	46

What is the Price of Success?

We have seen that participation in TCY has reduced risk taking and depression, improved decision making and increased employment. For individuals without prior arrest histories, recidivism is also lower for participants than for those who were not part of TCY. Additionally, participants rate the program highly with 93 percent of those surveyed reporting that they were happy that they had completed the program. What is the price of all this success? While some may argue that gains to society are worth any financial investment, the reality is that programs garner the most support when they are also cost-effective and potentially save taxpayer money.

One argument that is often made against diversion programs such as TCY is that they are too expensive. Opponents suggest that they do not save money that would be otherwise spent on incarceration, because the individuals who participate in the diversion program would never have gone to jail, anyway. We explored whether this concern had validity by using the comparison group file discussed in the recidivism section that was constructed from the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets.

We restricted the comparison group to the sample of 123 individuals who, like TCY participants, had not been sentenced to jail for offenses prior to their qualifying arrest. Across this group, just over one-third were sentenced to jail for their qualifying arrest in 2011, with an average sentence of 1.28 years. According to the National Institute of Corrections, the average annual cost of incarceration in Pennsylvania in 2010 per inmate was $32,986. Therefore, as shown in the first column of Table 16, the total cost of incarceration for the comparison group was $1,773,327.36. Additionally, almost three-quarters of the comparison group received a probation sentence, with an average sentence of 2.99 years. The Department of Corrections and Board of Probation and Parole note the average annual cost of probation in Pennsylvania as $2,934 in 2009. The total cost of probation for the comparison group, also presented in Table 16, was $789,539.40. Summing the incarceration costs and the probation costs, and dividing by the 123 individuals in the comparison group produces the average cost per arrestee in the absence of TCY of $20,836.27.

In order to evaluate if TCY cost or saved taxpayer money, we made hypothetical calculations for the TCY participants assuming that TCY had not been available to them, and also calculated the actual costs of TCY. These are presented in the second and third columns of Table 16. To calculate the hypothetical figures in the second column, we applied the rates of incarceration, average jail sentences, rates of probation, and average probation period observed across the comparison group to the 65 individuals in the TCY participant group. The resulting incarceration and probation costs are summed and divided by the 65 individuals resulting in an average cost per arrestee in the absence of TCY of $20,768.82. This differs slightly from the average presented in the first column, only due to rounding to whole people when applying the rates of incarceration and rates of probation to the sample of 65.

The final column in Table 16 presents the observed costs of implementing TCY across the 65 participating young adults. This includes the costs of implementing the program, together with costs of incarceration and probation for participants who were unable to successfully complete the diversion program, and were ultimately sentenced to jail and probation. To calculate the confinement and probation figures, the estimated incarceration cost of $32,986 and probation cost of $2,934, are applied to the 6 individuals with average observed incarceration sentences of 1.24 years and average probation sentences of 3.6 years. As presented in the first line of the final column, the cost of implementing the TCY program was $957,739. This includes two important components: partial salaries of the assistant District Attorneys, Judge, Clerk, and Public Defender responsible for meeting with TCY participants at the Criminal Justice Center, as well as the cost of direct services provided to participants through JEVS. For the first piece, the salaries cost $143,684.50 for each of two years, for a total of $287,369. The cost for JEVS to provide direct services to participants was $670,370.[22] Summing the JEVS, and partial salaries costs together with the confinement and probation costs for those who did not successfully complete TCY and then dividing by the 65 participants produces the average cost per TCY participant of $19,485.07.

[22] JEVS notes that they could have served an additional 50 program participants without incurring additional costs.

TABLE 16: COMPARISON OF COSTS IN PRESENCE AND ABSENCE OF TCY[23]

Source of Cost	Observed Costs for Non-TCY Participants[24] (n=123)	Hypothetical Costs for TCY Participants if Applied at Rates Observed for non-TCY Participants (n=65)	Observed Costs for TCY Participants (n=65)
Cost to Implement TCY	$0	$0	$957,739[25]
Confinement Costs	$1,773,327.36[26]	$928,885.76[27]	$245,415.84[28]
Probation Costs	$789,539.40[29]	$421,087.68[30]	$63,374.40[31]
Average Costs per Person	$20,836.27[32]	$20,768.82[33]	$19,485.07

Comparing the figures across the final two columns of Table 16 allows us to see the cost of serving the 65 TCY participants through the traditional legal system versus through TCY. While the TCY program incurs implementation costs of just over $957,000 that were not applicable in the absence of TCY, it saves substantial costs with respect to both confinement and probation. As shown in the final row of the table, the cost per participant under TCY is $1,280

[23] In practice, actual cost savings may exceed the conservative estimates presented here if data on pre-trial prison housing were collected and analyzed.

[24] Observed costs are calculated by looking at the confinement and probation sentences on qualifying arrests for non-TCY participants who had no prior jail sentences and 0 to 2 prior adult arrests.

[25] TCY costs include estimated criminal justice employee/court costs of $143,684.50 per year x 2 years = $287,369, together with an additional $670,370 in program operating costs for JEVS. JEVS costs allow 120 participants to be served.

[26] Of the non-TCY sample, 34.1 percent were sentenced to jail on their qualifying arrest. This is 42 people (123*.341). The National Institute of Corrections cites the average cost per inmate in Pennsylvania at $32,986 in FY2010, while the Vera Institute of Justice estimates the average cost in Pennsylvania at $42,339, in a July 2012 report. We use the lower, more conservative figure here. The average confinement period for non-TCY young adults who were sentenced to jail was 1.28 years. Where sentences included a range, we coded only the lower bound of the range. The final confinement cost is calculated as: 42 people * $32,986 * 1.28 years = $1,773,327.36.

[27] The final hypothetical confinement cost is calculated as: 22 people * $32,986 * 1.28 years = $928,885.76.

[28] Of the TCY sample, six did not complete the program, and were sentenced to jail. For one of the six, a sentence has not yet been issued, so we assume that person will receive the average sentence of the other five who violated TCY. The confinement cost is calculated as: 6 people *$32,986*1.24 years = $245,415.84.

[29] Of the non-TCY sample, 73.2 percent were sentenced to probation on their qualifying arrest. This is 90 people (123*.732). The Department of Corrections and Board of Probation and Parole report the average 2009 cost of annual supervision per individual at $2,934. The average probation period for non-TCY comparisons on their qualifying event was 2.99 years. Where probation sentences included a range, we coded only the lower bound of the range. The final probation cost is calculated as: 90 people * $2934 * 2.99 years = $789,539.40.

[30] The final hypothetical probation cost is calculated as: 48 people * $2934 * 2.99 years = $421,087.68.

[31] Of the TCY sample, six did not complete the program, and were sentenced to probation. For one of the six, a sentence has not yet been issued, so we assume that person will receive the average sentence of the other five who violated TCY. The probation cost is calculated as: 6 people *$2,934*3.6 years = $63,374.40.

[32] This is the confinement + probation costs divided by total non-TCY participants: ($1,773,327.36 + $789,539.40)/123 = $20,836.27.

[33] This number is roughly equivalent to the number in the prior column. Any differences are merely due to rounding and requiring a whole number result when calculating the number of participants who would have been sentenced to confinement and probation.

less than the cost per participant in the absence of TCY. Accordingly, not only do participants benefit through positive outcomes to participation in the program, but taxpayers benefit through cost savings as compared with traditional incarceration and probation.

Conclusions

The U.S. has heavily relied on criminal justice responses to improve public safety and reduce crime. In fact, the increasingly punitive criminal justice policies of the latter part of the 20th century increased the percentage of Americans in prisons, jails, and detention facilities to five times higher than it was three decades ago (Pew Center on the States, 2008). Yet, many experts believe that the "get tough on crime" movement that began in the 1980s—ushering in harsher sentencing and, therefore, increased incarceration—has not resulted in benefits that justify the associated costs (Lynch & Sabol, 1997; Pew Center on the States, 2011). While our intuition suggests that incarceration will "teach" offenders that the punishment is not worth the crime, it is not clear that this is true (Bratton, 2011). In fact, some researchers believe that incarceration may actually increase criminal behavior upon release through marginalization and stigmatization (Durlauf & Nagin, 2011). These concerns, together with recognition of the high costs of incarceration borne by local and state governments, have led state and local governments, as well as practitioners and researchers to revisit alternatives to incarceration as potentially viable responses, at least for offenders who do not pose significant risks to public safety.

Justice system and service-providing stakeholders are acutely aware that TCY offered the rare opportunity for individuals who engaged in felony offenses requiring mandatory state sentences to earn a chance to expunge their criminal records and stay out of prison.

The experience of the TCY program suggests that diversion programming—inclusive of frequent monitoring under the jurisdiction of a problem-solving court and supportive services such as case management, educational enhancement, job readiness preparation, and employment—can be beneficial to nonviolent felony offenders, their families, and the justice system. Although the TCY pilot operated for a relatively short time and enrolled a moderate number of offenders, the consensus of justice system stakeholders, program staff and partner service providers, and participants coalesced in favor of the program as providing needed services that helped those with first-time felony

drug-selling charges avoid continued criminal activity and mandatory incarceration, as well as improved educational and employment opportunities.

The majority of offenders deemed eligible for program entry completed program requirements and graduated from TCY. Among participants whose program goals were focused on achieving full time employment, the vast majority (79 percent) were employed for some period during their program participation. For those with program goals focused on making educational progress, the news was less encouraging, with approximately 41 percent advancing one grade level per 50 hours of classroom instruction, passing a GED subtest or receiving GED certification, or enrolling in credit-bearing courses and earning at least three credits. In addition to these types of interim outcomes, participants self-reported statistically significant changes in the desired direction with respect to: 1) daily use of marijuana, 2) marijuana use during the four-week period preceding survey completion, 3) association with gangs, 4) selling marijuana in the past year, and 5) selling more serious drugs such as heroin, crack, or cocaine in the past year.

Beyond that, critically important criminal justice benchmarks were sufficiently favorable to justify continued use of the TCY model. The TCY's ETO MIS and publicly available Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets were used to track recidivism during and after program participation. For the 65 research participants tracked through the ETO, only 6 (9 percent) were re-arrested during their TCY participation and subsequently terminated from the program. Analysis of the Docket Sheets showed that 9 (14 percent) were re-arrested in the year following program entry, and 17 (26 percent) were re-arrested within two years of program entry.

Further, analysis using a quasi-experimental comparison group of similar young adult offenders who would have been eligible for TCY had it existed in 2011 showed that re-arrest within the first year was significantly higher among the comparison group (26 percent) than among TCY participants (14 percent), although there was no significant different between the two groups when only drug arrests were considered. Extending the analytic timeframe to two years, however, showed significantly less recidivism for the TCY group for both any re-arrests and drug re-arrests. Survival analyses showed that TCY participants without prior arrests were less likely to be re-arrested than comparison group members with similar histories; however, TCY participants with arrests prior to the instant charge that qualified them for program inclusion fared no better than comparisons with prior arrest histories.

Evaluators also compared the costs of program participation to the potential costs of confinement and supervision had participants been routinely processed by the justice system instead of diverted into the TCY program. The estimation found that the cost per participant is $1,280 less on average under TCY than would have been likely for routinely processed nonviolent felony offenders meeting the same eligibility criteria. However, the eligibility criteria limited enrollment to first-time nonviolent felony offenders with drug-selling charges that mandated one to two years of incarceration upon conviction. Several of the stakeholders suggested that these were conservative eligibility requirements worth re-visiting if the program were to continue. In their view, it would be reasonable to expand the criteria in such a way that individuals charged with selling slightly different substances or somewhat larger

quantities might also be considered for enrollment. Were that the case, the mandatory sentencing would possibly rise from one to two years of confinement to three or more years. Under such a scenario, confinement would likely shift from county to state facilities, and the costs of confinement would rise commensurately. Assuming offenders with more serious charges fared as well the group enrolled in the pilot program, TCY would yield even greater benefits to the criminal justice system.

Appendix A

This Appendix lists the components of each of the scales previously presented in Table 11, together with their associated reliabilities. Any items followed by an asterisk (*) were reverse coded before calculating reliabilities and creating scales.

Adult Support Scale (8 items, reliability, as measured by Cronbach's alpha—at baseline = 0.87, reliability at follow-up = 0.93)

How many family or friends:

- Could you go to for advice about health concerns?
- Pay attention to what's going on in your life?
- Get on your case when you mess up?
- Notice when you do something good?
- Could you go to for help in an emergency?
- Could you go to if you need some advice about something personal like a problem with a girlfriend or boyfriend?
- Could you go to if you thought you were in danger?
- Could you go to if you are really upset or mad about something?

Positive Peers Scale (6 items, reliability at baseline = 0.74, reliability at follow-up = 0.48)

In the last 12 months, how many of the friends you spend the most time with:

- Make you feel good about yourself?
- Are involved in sports?
- Plan to go to college (or are in college)?
- Have a regular job?
- Go to church or religious services regularly?
- Think that staying in school is important?

Negative Peers Scale (7 items, reliability at baseline = 0.73, reliability at follow-up = 0.85)

In the last 12 months, how many of the friends you spend the most time with:

- Have broken into a car, home, or building to steal something?
- Put pressure on you to use drugs?
- Are crew or gang members?
- Have stolen something worth more than $50?
- Have destroyed property?
- Have sold drugs or stolen property to make money?
- Often don't have a place to sleep?

School Value Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.75, reliability at follow-up = 0.80)

- School is useful in helping me to make good decisions in my life.
- Getting a good education is important to me.
- My education will be valuable in getting the job I want.
- What I learn in school is useful for the job I want to have as an adult.
- I am interested in the things I've learned in school.

Educational Efficacy Scale (9 items, reliability at baseline = 0.77, reliability at follow-up = 0.74)

- I get mostly bad breaks when it comes to education. *
- To get the education I need, I have to be lucky. *
- I can work really hard when it comes to getting the education I need.
- I am smart enough to finish my education.
- If I don't finish my education, it's because I didn't have the chances others had.*
- When I have trouble with schoolwork, it's because teachers or education staff don't like me.*
- I can't figure out what it takes to finish my education.
- I will be able to get the kind of education I need.
- To get the education I need, all I have to do is try hard.

Attitude toward Crime Scale (7 items, reliability at baseline = 0.82, reliability at follow-up = 0.83)

- I have committed crimes to make ends meet.
- I have committed crimes to buy things I like.
- I have broken the law because I wasn't making enough money in my regular job.
- If it were the only way I could make money, I would think about committing a crime.
- I don't mind work, but you can't make as much money in a regular job as you can committing crimes.
- If I knew I'd never get caught, I would prefer making money by breaking the law over working a regular job.
- Even if I had a job, I would still make some of my money by committing crimes.

Anti-Crime Scale (4 items, reliability at baseline =0.78 , reliability at follow-up = 0.81)

- No matter how low the pay, I would rather work than commit crimes for money.
- Even if it was a lousy job, I would still rather work than make money by breaking the law.
- Even if I can't get a job, I will never break the law for money.
- Even if I could make more money by breaking the law, I would still rather have a regular job.

Depression Scale (7 items, reliability at baseline = 0.87, reliability at follow-up = 0.82)

How many times in the last week have you:

- Lost your temper.
- Not been able to shake off the blues even with help from our family and friends.
- Felt unhappy.
- Felt sad.
- Felt that people disliked you.
- Not been able to get motivated.
- Gotten into an argument or fight.

Desire to Change Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.78, reliability at follow-up = 0.82)

- Drug use is a problem for me.
- Alcohol use is a problem for me.
- I need help in preventing my return to prison.
- My drug use is causing problems in finding or keeping a job.
- My drug use is causing problems with my family or friends.

Desire to Change B Scale (3 items, reliability at baseline = 0.67, reliability at follow-up = 0.72)

- I am willing to give up my old friends and hangouts to go straight.
- I will work hard to keep a job.
- I think about what caused my current problems.

Risk Taking Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.71, reliability at follow-up = 0.61)

- I like to take chances.
- I like the “fast” life.
- I like friends who are wild.
- I like to do things that are strange and exciting.
- I have trouble following rules and laws.

Thinking of Others Scale (3 items, reliability at baseline = 0.60, reliability at follow-up = 0.60)

- I feel people are important to me.
- I think about how my actions will affect others.
- I keep the same friends for a long time.

Decision Making Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.76, reliability at follow-up = 0.73)

- I have much to be proud of.
- I am satisfied with myself.
- I plan ahead.
- I make good decisions.
- I am very careful and cautious.

Pearlin Mastery Scale (4 items, reliability at baseline = 0.78, reliability at follow-up = 0.72)

- There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have.

- Sometimes I feel that I’m being pushed around in life.
- I have little control over the things that happen to me.
- I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

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About the Authors

Sarah K. Pepper is a senior evaluation consultant at McClanahan Associates, Inc. with experience in program evaluation, survey design, focus group facilitation, and data analysis. Her current work involves analyzing reading scores and attendance data from an after school literacy initiative with the Free Library of Philadelphia Foundation, and she is part of the McClanahan Associates, Inc. team evaluating The Choice is Yours, an alternative to incarceration program for non-violent drug offenders in Philadelphia. In earlier work, as a consultant with Public/Private Ventures, she analyzed survey and attendance data and participated in report writing for many projects including—but not limited to—an evaluation of middle school participants in Boys and Girls Clubs of America as they transitioned to high school, an evaluation of participants in after school literacy programs, and an evaluation of First Place for Youth: a program aimed at improving housing, education and employment outcomes for youth emancipating from foster care. Dr. Pepper previously worked with Public/Private Ventures as a Research Associate where she analyzed data relating to many youth development programs including the San Francisco Beacons Centers, a gang prevention program of the Boys & Girls Clubs of America, and a teen pregnancy reduction program. She evaluated the Mentoring Supervisor Certificate Program for Big Brothers Big Sisters of NYC, and evaluated factors that contribute to the sustainability of programs receiving Robert Wood Johnson Faith in Action seed grants. Dr. Pepper received a B.A. in Sociology from Temple University where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. She earned her M.A. in Demography together with a Ph.D. in Demography and Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

Shelli B. Rossman was a Senior Fellow in the Justice Policy Center of Urban Institute with more than 30 years of research and management experience on projects for federal/national, state, and local governments, as well as private-sector clients in the areas of 1) criminal justice, including reentry, problem-solving courts, community-based and correctional supervision, case management and comprehensive service delivery for offender populations, delinquency prevention and intervention, and victimization; 2) public health, focused on substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, and reproductive health; and 3) community safety. In both national and international settings, her projects have addressed improving the standards and monitoring of service delivery for at- and high-risk populations, as well as

cultural competency and gender equity issues. She recently completed the largest problem-solving court research study ever conducted: *NIJ's Multi-Site Evaluation of Adult Drug Courts (MADCE)*—a study of 23 courts and 6 comparison jurisdictions in 8 states, during which researchers completed nearly 5,000 in-person surveys, conducted multiple site visits documenting core activities, and performed more than 1,000 research-conducted drug screens (Rossman et al. 2011)—that won the Urban Institute's President's Award in 2011. Earlier, Ms. Rossman directed the *Opportunity to Succeed (OPTS)* project, the first and only multi-site randomized clinical trial (RCT) of a prisoner reentry model. The evaluation randomly assigned felony substance-abusing offenders in five sites to comprehensive case management and a suite of services under OPTS or business-as-usual in the community post-release (Rossman & Roman 2003, Rossman et al. 1999, Rossman et al. 1998).

Wendy S. McClanahan is President of McClanahan Associates, Inc. Dr. McClanahan has over 20 years of evaluation experience, and is committed to "evaluation for progress." Her work focuses on generating information that will help support the implementation of effective programs and strategies within the government, non-profit, and private sectors. She is an expert in quantitative methods and impact, process, and outcome studies, and has focused extensively on evaluations of programs and initiatives designed to assist high-risk populations. Dr. McClanahan has been involved in several evaluations of out-of-school time, crime reduction, and employment and training efforts over the past 20 years, and as such, has a deep understanding of how these systems function. Dr. McClanahan served as the principal investigator of the impact evaluation of Philadelphia's Youth Violence Reduction Partnership (YVRP), which has worked to reduce youth homicides in Philadelphia for over a decade. She is also currently leading the evaluation of The Choice is Yours (TCY), Philadelphia District Attorney Seth Williams' innovative alternative to incarceration program for felony offenders. Dr. McClanahan has been the principal investigator of the Elev8 initiative since 2008. She has guided the evaluation process and technical assistance efforts, which aim to understand how Elev8 sites and programs can strengthen their work to support positive trajectories for participants. As a result of this effort, Elev8 has adopted one of the most comprehensive data collection efforts of the community schools movement. Dr. McClanahan has authored numerous reports including Out of School Time in Elev8 Community Schools: A First Look at its Unique Contribution to Student Outcomes; Illuminating Solutions: The Youth Violence Reduction Partnership; Mentoring the Formerly Incarcerated Adults: Insight from Ready4Work Reentry Initiative; Mustering the Armies of

Compassion: Youth Education for Tomorrow; Enriching Summer Work: The Summer Career Exploration Program; Targeted Outreach: Boys and Girls Clubs of America's Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention; and Murder Is No Mystery: An Analysis of Philadelphia Homicides 1996–1999. Prior to forming McClanahan Associates, Inc., Dr. McClanahan spent 18 years at Public/Private Ventures, the last seven of which she served as Senior Vice President for Research and Evaluation. Dr. McClanahan received her Ph.D. in Criminology from the University of Pennsylvania. She holds an M.S. in Human Development from The Pennsylvania State University and a B.A. in Psychology from Lehigh University.

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McClanahan Associates, Inc. (MAI) is a professional research and evaluation firm committed to strengthening programs based on flexible, yet rigorous, evaluation practices that help organizations and funders achieve their mission of improving people's lives. MAI believes that meaningful evaluation efforts respond to each program's unique needs, align with the developmental stage of the program, and produce information that is immediately relevant to practitioners.

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The Lenfest Foundation is an independent, board-directed private foundation that was established by H. F. (Gerry) and Marguerite Lenfest in 2000. The Foundation's priorities include career and technical education, early childhood education, and out-of-school-time programs for disadvantaged youth, primarily in Philadelphia.

Contents

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Executive Summary

The Choice is Yours (TCY) was a diversion program for first-time, nonviolent felony drug dealers facing one- to two-year mandatory state prison sentences that was piloted in Philadelphia. Funding for the demonstration program that operated from January 2012 through June 2014 was provided by the Lenfest and William Penn Foundations; funding for the companion research was provided by the Lenfest Foundation. Key programmatic stakeholders included the Philadelphia District Attorney's (DA's) Office, Defender Association of Philadelphia (the Public Defender's Office), and Philadelphia Municipal Court, as well as the lead service provider JEVS Human Services (JEVS) and its partner agencies, the Pennsylvania Prison Society (PPS) and the Center for Literacy (CFL).

The TCY program consisted of approximately one year of community-based services and monitoring by a dedicated judge, who presided over a problem-solving Municipal Court. Core services included: case management, academic training to enhance educational achievements, job readiness training, job placement and assistance with job retention and career advancement, and mentoring. Enrollment in particular academic and employment services was based on testing and other determinants of need. In addition to receiving such services, program participants were expected to complete community service in nonprofit settings and attend restorative justice activities.

The research and technical assistance (TA) efforts were originally led by Public/Private Ventures (PPV), but assumed by McClanahan Associates, Inc. and its partner, the Urban Institute, after PPV closed in July 2012. TA included the development of a dashboard of key indicators—including both summary and individual-level participation in TCY services, progress on meeting TCY benchmarks, and any rearrests or graduated sanctions placed on participants—derived from JEVS' Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) Management Information System (MIS). The research included multiple site visits that incorporated observation of court and program activities, together with individual and small-group interviews of program staff, stakeholders, and participants; analysis of participant baseline and 12-month follow-up self-report surveys; review and analysis of the ETO MIS data; and analysis of administrative records extracted from the online Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets for both the TCY cohort and a comparable comparison group.

The TCY Program

TCY was operationally structured in three phases: Eligibility, Orientation, and Program Enrollment. Individuals who met the eligibility criteria, as determined by the District Attorney's Office, with input from the

Public Defender's Office, were permitted to participate in a five-week orientation program that entailed individual assessments and case managements, as well as daily attendance in educational enhancements and job readiness training, and compliance with initial community service and mentoring requirements. Those who successfully completed the orientation phase and entered no-contest pleas before the TCY judge were formally enrolled in the program for the remainder of one year of program services and court monitoring, while those who either failed to comply or decided not to continue in TCY were returned to court to face sentencing on the original charge(s). During the pilot period, 85 participants entered the program; of those, 65 successfully completed the orientation phase and continued on to full program enrollment.

During the program enrollment phase, participants continued periodic attendance at status hearings in TCY court; had weekly in-person or telephone contact with the TCY case manager; used educational, employment, and other services as specified by their individualized case plans; and completed the required 220 hours of community service. Throughout the program, the TCY court judge held participants accountable for their program attendance and fulfillment of generic program requirements, as well as for completion of the activities specified in their individualized case plans. Graduated sanctions were applied as the judge deemed necessary for non-compliance.

Final verdicts were withheld pending participants' completion of the program. Among the important program benefits was the DA's Office's willingness to withdraw charges and expunge the felony arrest charges of program participants who successfully completed the program and remained arrest-free for one year after program completion. By contrast, those who failed to complete the program faced traditional sentencing (based on their no contest pleas being accepted and the presiding judge entering a finding of guilt), likely resulting in jail or prison time for a minimum of one to two years.

Key Findings

With respect to implementation findings, the TCY interim report (McClanahan et al. 2013) cited three key lessons learned up to the program's mid-point:

- **Communication** was central to successful implementation of a complex, multi-partner initiative like TCY.
- **Ongoing data collection, analysis, and reflection** were essential to making mid-course corrections that were critical for program improvement.
- **Advance planning** for operational contingencies is as important for small programs, as large ones.

All continued to be important throughout the life of the demonstration. Additionally, TCY staff and stakeholders reported that:

- Holding routine team meetings before TCY Court status hearings improved communication among cognizant parties, and enabled the public hearings to proceed more smoothly and achieve greater consensus among team members regarding how participants, particularly non-compliant participants, should be treated.
- The program might have been better prepared to link participants who needed particular services to available resources had it also partnered with providers in three critical areas: housing, substance abuse treatment, and mental health treatment.
- More liberal use of moderate, but not severe, sanctions might have resulted in greater participant compliance by sending a stronger message that noncompliance would result in adverse consequences more distasteful to participants than verbal reprimands and writing assignments.
- Mentoring programs require leadership with strengths in multiple areas, including but not limited to: marketing to recruit volunteers, vetting volunteers to ensure they are appropriate for the population and program focus, training mentors to ensure they properly reflect the program messages and also are prepared to function in the role as anticipated, and matching mentors with participants or troubleshooting problem matches so that participants can benefit from the relationships and mentors remain engaged with the program. Programs preparing to introduce mentoring as a new feature might be well advised to 1) hire a coordinator with prior mentoring leadership experience and expertise in several of the key areas, and 2) solicit guidance and training from one of the professional organizations that specializes in building the capacity of mentoring programs.
- A few other logistical challenges bear mentioning; programs working with populations of this nature would be well advised to plan for discretionary funds to enable crisis intervention when clients have immediate needs that could be resolved with small amounts of funding. Additionally, having transportation enables a program to assist clients in keeping appointments for services or job interviews, as well as helps the program expose participants to pro-social resources accessible in the local area. Lastly, programs of this type often require more administrative record keeping than envisioned during their planning periods; decision makers should consider whether adequate administrative support has been allocated in budgeting for program operations.

Most of the participants who completed the follow-up survey reported favorable aspects of the program. Aside from general satisfaction with the program and services, the majority of offenders deemed eligible for

program entry (65 percent of the 85 who met eligibility requirements, and 85 percent of those who completed the orientation phase and continued into the program enrollment phase) completed program requirements and graduated from TCY; relatively few were terminated for non-compliance. Among participants whose program goals were focused on achieving full time employment, the vast majority (79 percent) was employed for some period during their program participation; however, the news was less encouraging regarding academic progress for those focused on educational enhancement objectives, with approximately 41 percent meeting educational targets.

With respect to criminal justice outcomes, participants self-reported statistically significant changes in the desired direction with respect to: 1) daily use of marijuana, 2) marijuana use during the four-week period preceding survey completion, 3) association with gangs, 4) selling marijuana in the past year, and 5) selling more serious drugs such as heroin, crack, or cocaine in the past year. Few individuals were re-arrested during their TCY participation and subsequently terminated from the program. Analysis of the Docket Sheets showed that roughly 14 percent were re-arrested in the year following program entry, and 26 percent were re-arrested within two years of program entry.

Further, analysis using a quasi-experimental comparison group of similar young adult offenders who would have been eligible for TCY had it existed in 2011 showed that re-arrest within the first year was significantly higher among the comparison group (26 percent) than among TCY participants (14 percent), although there was no significant different between the two groups when only drug arrests were considered. Extending the analytic timeframe to two years, however, showed significantly less recidivism for the TCY group for both any re-arrests and drug re-arrests. Survival analyses showed that TCY participants without prior arrests were less likely to be re-arrested than comparison group members with similar histories; however, TCY participants with arrests prior to the instant charge that qualified them for program inclusion fared no better than comparisons with prior arrest histories.

Researchers also compared the costs of program participation to the potential costs of confinement and supervision had participants been routinely processed by the justice system instead of diverted into the TCY program. The estimation found that the cost per participant is $1,280 less on average under TCY than would have been likely for routinely processed nonviolent felony offenders meeting the same eligibility criteria.

The Choice is Yours: Program and Research Overview

The Choice is Yours (TCY) was an alternatives-to-incarceration program piloted in Philadelphia from February 2012 through June 2014 for first-time, nonviolent felony drug dealers facing one- to two-year state prison sentences. TCY, based on San Francisco's Back on Track program, was spearheaded and adapted by District Attorney Seth Williams and the Philadelphia District Attorney's (DA's) Office, with support from the Philadelphia court system and Defender Association of Philadelphia (the Public Defender's Office), as an approach for offering a second chance to serious offenders, while protecting public safety and potentially achieving costs savings within the criminal justice system. The pilot program diverted eligible offenders with mandatory minimum sentences away from prison into TCY Court, a Philadelphia Municipal Court overseen by a dedicated judge using a problem-solving court model to monitor participant progress. Simultaneously, program participants were enrolled in a suite of community-based services provided by JEVS Human Services (JEVS) and its partner agencies, the Pennsylvania Prison Society (PPS) and the Center for Literacy (CFL).

The TCY Model

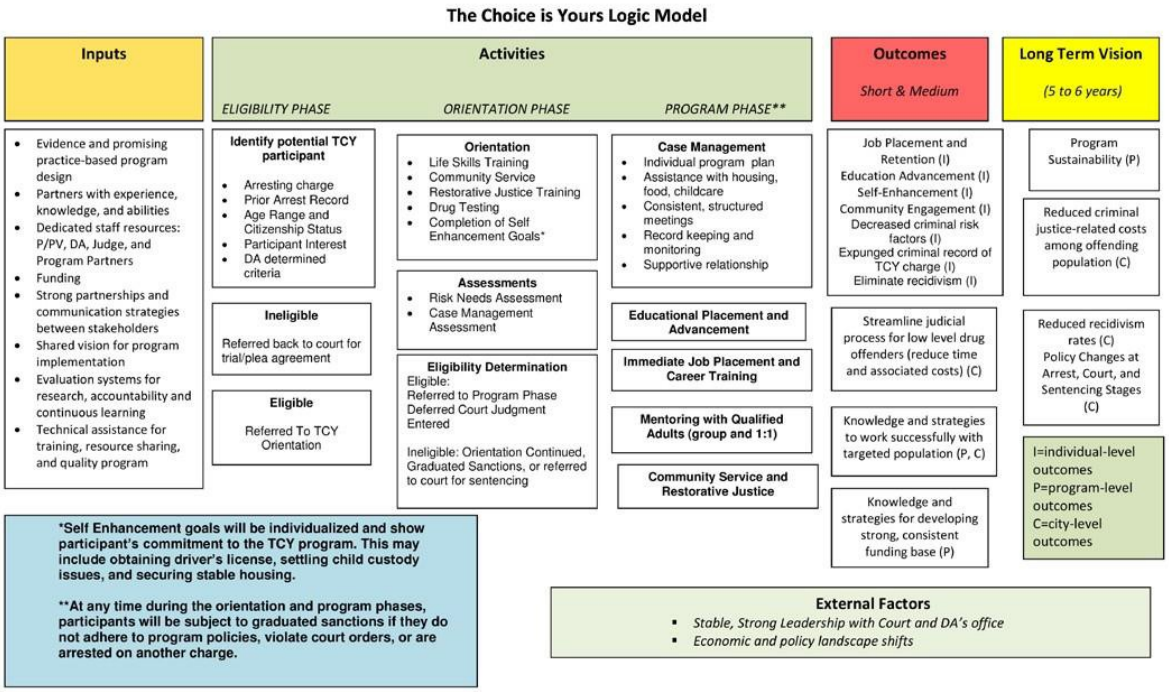
TCY operated in three phases—Eligibility, Orientation, and Program Enrollment—as depicted in the logic model in Figure 1. The initial phase occurred as the DA's Office, with input from the Public Defender's Office, determined whether offenders met the program's eligibility criteria. Those deemed eligible were notified by mail and directed to appear in TCY court, where they received more detailed information on the program and were given the chance to enter a five-week orientation phase. Those who did not meet program eligibility criteria, as well as individuals who declined to participate, were referred back to other courts for trials or plea agreements.

Individuals who opted into the orientation phase were encouraged to use that time to develop first-hand familiarity with program services and requirements. The orientation was designed to enable informed decision making regarding participant's willingness and capacity to comply with the requirements of program enrollment. Those who failed to comply with the expectations of the orientation phase could be subjected to graduated sanctions, or might be unable to advance into the enrollment phase and, instead, were returned to court to face sentencing on the original charge(s). Those who successfully completed the orientation phase and entered no-contest pleas before the TCY judge were formally enrolled in the program for the remainder of one year of program services and court monitoring.

During the roughly 11 months of program enrollment, participants engaged in such activities as periodic attendance at status hearings in TCY court, weekly contact with the TCY case manager, educational enhancement classes, job readiness classes, mentoring, job seeking efforts, employment, and completion of community service hours. Throughout the program, the TCY court judge held participants accountable for their program attendance and fulfillment of generic program requirements, as well as for completion of the activities specified in their individualized case plans.

Final verdicts were withheld pending participants' completion of the program. Among the important program benefits was the DA's Office's willingness to withdraw charges and expunge the felony arrest charges of program participants who successfully completed the program and remained arrest-free for one year after program completion. By contrast, those who failed to complete the program faced traditional sentencing (based on their no contest pleas being accepted and the presiding judge entering a finding of guilt), likely resulting in jail or prison time for a minimum of one to two years.

FIGURE 1. THE CHOICE IS YOURS LOGIC MODEL



The Evaluation Framework

The demonstration was funded by both the Lenfest and William Penn Foundations; the Lenfest Foundation also supported the evaluation of the TCY pilot. Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) provided technical assistance and support

to the DA's Office in the development of the program model, oversaw the 2011 competitive solicitation process that resulted in the selection of JEVS as the lead service agency, and was the original program office and evaluator for TCY. After P/PV closed in July 2012, McClanahan Associates, Inc. was selected to complete the TCY evaluation in collaboration with the Urban Institute. The TCY evaluation, comprised of implementation and outcome components, had three objectives, including to: 1) provide timely data to guide continuous program improvement, 2) inform TCY staff and stakeholders about the program efficacy, and 3) determine whether TCY was effective both in reducing recidivism and lowering the financial costs/burden to the criminal justice system.

The implementation study focused on two key topics: participants and their patterns of program involvement, and program operations. Primary issues regarding participants included descriptions of their demographics; background characteristics; and their attitudes and behaviors relevant to work, family supports, education, self-efficacy, and their futures; as well as the nature of program participation (e.g., duration of program engagement, type and dosages of services received, and "on-time" graduation rates or lack of program completion). Issues regarding program operations centered on the type and quality of service delivery (e.g., use of best practices, implementation fidelity, whether benchmarks were achieved), implementation challenges and responses used to mitigate problems, and collaboration among the main organizations (i.e., the DA's Office, Municipal Court, Public Defender's Office, JEVS and its service partners).

The outcomes evaluation component addressed two major topics: how participants benefited from TCY, and program costs. Key research questions included: the effect TCY had on participants' recidivism, education, employment, and self-enhancement outcomes; for whom the program was most successful; and the relationship between program participation and participant outcomes; as well as the financial implications of TCY.

Data collection began in January 2012 and continued through June 2014. The evaluation used several data sources, including:

- **Baseline and Follow-Up Surveys.** The surveys included measures on demographics, educational achievement, family background, career/job advancement, self-efficacy, depression, drug and alcohol use, future orientation, and criminal background. The baseline surveys were administered at the TCY program orientations, while follow-up surveys were completed once participants were eligible for program graduation—approximately 12 months after they began TCY. The surveys were *only* used for research purposes; participant responses were not seen or used by program staff.

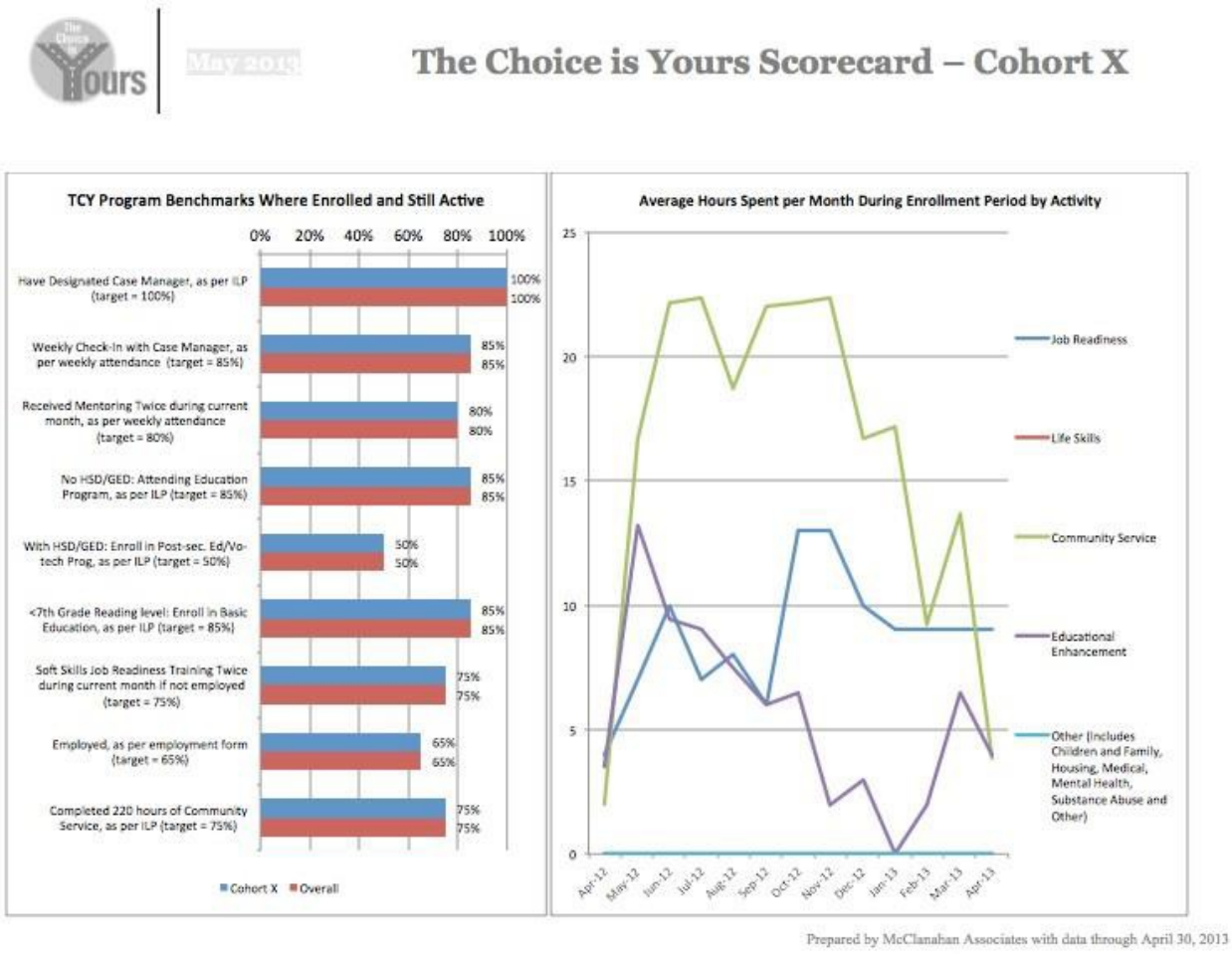
- **Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) Management Information System.** JEVS uses ETO to collect data and generate monthly reports on participants and their attendance in TCY activities; internally, this information was augmented by a dashboard developed and produced monthly by the research team to guide continuous improvement efforts and identify needed technical assistance. Data critical to the evaluation included

participant background characteristics (age, race, gender, family composition, etc.); documentation of case management and services received, as well as education and employment outcomes (e.g., credits and degrees received, job placement, starting salary, hours expected to work per week, and availability of health benefits, etc.). The dashboards provided both summary and individual-level progress on key indicators, including participation in TCY services, progress on meeting TCY benchmarks, and any rearrests or graduated sanctions placed on participants. A screenshot of the dashboard (using "hypothetical" data) is shown below in Figure 2.

- **Site Visits.** Multiple site visits were conducted by the research team to interview staff, stakeholders, and participants, and to observe courtroom and program operations. The visits provided the opportunity to see TCY in action, and identify programmatic strengths and weaknesses that should be addressed. Information compiled from the site visits was shared (in aggregate) with TCY agencies to improve service delivery, develop data-driven strategies, and ensure that participants had the greatest likelihood of benefitting from TCY.

- **Administrative Records.** The research team collected criminal history data for each of the TCY Participants using the online Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets. For each TCY Participant, the arrest which qualified them for TCY participation was located. For all arrests prior to this qualifying arrest, arrest date, charge, and sentence were coded into a database as prior arrest history. Similarly, all arrests that followed the qualifying arrest were coded separately as subsequent arrests. The DA's Office also provided a list of individuals who would have been considered for TCY, if the program had been operating in 2011. These individuals serve as a comparison group. For each of them, their 2011 possession with intent to distribute (PWID) arrest is treated as the qualifying arrest, and both their prior arrest histories, and subsequent arrests were collected from the online Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets and coded into a database.

FIGURE 2. SAMPLE TCY DASHBOARD



Eligibility and Recruitment: Who Participated in TCY?

Since TCY is a diversion program for felony offenders, the participant screening process was systematically structured to ensure that TCY was offered only to those individuals who did not pose significant risks to public safety. Recruitment occurred using a distinct three-step process:

1. The Charging Unit of the DA's Office determined whether defendants were potential candidates for any of Philadelphia's prison diversion programs, including TCY. Programs were specified at arraignment, such that defense attorneys were notified at arraignment that their client's case was targeted for TCY and a subpoena was issued for the defendant to appear at the program.

2. The DA's Office conducted secondary reviews of every Preliminary Arraignment Reporting System (PARS) report listing a defendant who met TCY's initial criteria regarding age, drug type, and drug weight. Upon identifying a potential candidate, the DA's Office contacted the individual's defense attorney and conveyed an offer to have the case administratively relisted into the TCY program.
3. Defense attorneys, including the Public Defender's Office, were trained in the processes and criteria for diversion programs in Philadelphia, including TCY. These attorneys reviewed the cases received from the Charging Unit, and referred clients to TCY based on their understanding of the program's eligibility criteria and the case information available to them. Upon a defense attorney's recommendation, referrals were submitted back to the DA's Office for final review and approval. Assistant DAs assigned to TCY screened the cases submitted to them, and had the final say in determining program eligibility.

TCY specifically targeted nonviolent offenders, with limited criminal contacts, aged 18 to 24 (with case-by-case exceptions), who were U.S. citizens charged with possession with intent to distribute between two to ten grams of powder or crack cocaine. This particular charge carries a one- to two-year mandatory minimum prison sentence. Charges of possession with intent to distribute larger amounts of crack cocaine or other illegal drugs carry longer sentences, and did not meet TCY eligibility criteria. Eligible individuals could have no more than one prior conviction for a nonviolent misdemeanor, and no outstanding warrants. By restricting participation in TCY to individuals with little to no criminal record and no violent offenses, TCY staff and partners sought to limit the program to individuals who did not pose risks to society.

Public Safety Considerations: TCY participants were individuals who were at risk of continued involvement in the criminal justice system, and therefore appropriate for TCY; however, they were not so deeply involved in criminal activity that keeping them in the community endangered residents' welfare.

The TCY pilot was comprised of 85 participants who entered the orientation phase between February 2012 and January 2013. Of these participants, 73, or 86 percent, consented to participate in the research study and completed the baseline survey. Of these participants, 65 successfully completed the orientation phase and continued on to full program enrollment. The data that follow only reflect the research cohort, i.e., the 73 participants who agreed to participate in the evaluation.[1]

[1] We are able to use some of the data on those who did not consent to participate, but for the purposes of the main body of this report we have chosen, for consistency, to only report on those who consented. We opted to use footnotes to describe the non-

As shown in the last column of Table 1, during the pilot period, TCY participants were mostly male (84 percent), minority (just over half were African-American, with another 32 percent identifying as Hispanic), and their average age when beginning the orientation phase was 22.1 years (with ages ranging from 18 through 31). This profile mirrors what many researchers and practitioners know—that young, minority males are at higher risk for committing, being arrested for, and charged with drug-selling crimes. Slightly more than one-third of TCY participants had at least one child of their own.

Table 1 also shows that those participants who did not make it through TCY orientation were more likely to be male than those who moved on to the program enrollment phase. In fact, all of the females in the research cohort completed orientation and entered the program enrollment phase.

TABLE 1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TCY PARTICIPANTS

Demographic Characteristic	Participated in Orientation Only (N=8)	Officially Enrolled in TCY (N=65)	Overall (N=73)
Gender: Male	100%	81.5%[2]	83.6%
Female	0.0%	18.5%	16.4%
Race/Ethnicity: African-American	50.0%	57.1%	56.3%
Caucasian	0.0%	6.4%	5.6%
Hispanic	37.5%	31.8%	32.4%
Multi-Cultural	12.5%	4.8%	5.6%
Mean Age at Orientation:	21.6	22.2	22.1
Has Own Children:	14.3%	36.7%	34.3%

Research has shown that individuals without high school diplomas and without solid employment prospects are at higher risk for engaging in crime and recidivating than those with higher levels of education and more fruitful job opportunities. As shown in the right-hand column of Table 2, at the start of orientation, more than one-third of the participants had neither high school diplomas, nor general equivalency diplomas (GEDs). Only 8 percent of participants had any college experience. With respect to employment history, 87 percent of participants reported that they had previously held paying jobs (on or off the books), with 61 percent reporting prior experience working full time. However, when participants entered orientation, only 20 percent were employed either full or part time.

consenters when we are able to use their data. We are able to access program records for non-consented participants. Of those who did not consent to participate in the research, one was arrested and terminated during orientation, six were terminated during orientation for other reasons, one was arrested and terminated during enrollment, one was terminated during enrollment for other reasons, and three completed enrollment and graduated from TCY.

[2] The gender distribution of participants who enrolled in TCY is significantly different from those who only participated in the orientation phase ($p<.001$).

Those who enrolled in TCY were significantly more likely to have been employed when they entered orientation than those who did not complete orientation.

TABLE 2: EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE OF TCY RESEARCH COHORT PARTICIPANTS AT PROGRAM ENTRY

Educational Attainment and Employment Experience	Participated in Orientation Only (N=8)	Officially Enrolled in TCY (N=65)	Overall (N = 73)
Educational Attainment: Less Than High School/GED	50.0%	33.8%	35.6%
GED	0.0%	4.6%	4.1%
High School Diploma	25.0%	46.2%	43.8%
Some Vocational and Technical Training	12.5%	7.7%	8.2%
Some College	12.5%	7.7%	8.2%
Employment Experience: Ever employed	85.7%	87.5%	87.3%
Ever employed Full-Time	71.4%	59.4%	60.6%
Currently employed	0.0%	22.6%[3]	20.0%

As shown in the final column of Table 3, TCY participants had engaged in risky behaviors and experienced substantial contact with the justice system. Drug use was relatively high, with more than 50 percent of participants reporting marijuana use in the four weeks prior to program entry, and almost one-quarter reporting daily use. Use of other drugs was much lower, with only 11 percent reporting use in the four weeks prior to program entry. Almost 20 percent reported carrying weapons such as guns or knives in the four weeks leading up to program entry; and in the 12 months prior to the program, about one-third had hung out with gang or crew members. In addition to using drugs, 42 percent reported selling marijuana, and 58 percent reported selling hard drugs in the year before they entered the TCY orientation. It is important to remember that this information is based on participants' self-reported behaviors—34 percent reported selling neither marijuana, nor hard drugs in the prior 12 months; however, being arrested for selling powder or crack cocaine were prerequisites for entry into TCY. For most participants, the arrest that precipitated their association with TCY was not their first arrest. Overall, 56 percent had two or more prior arrests.[4] There were no statistically significant differences between those who enrolled in the full program and those who only participated in orientation.

[3] The percentage of participants employed on the baseline survey is significantly higher among those who enrolled in TCY as compared to those who participated in only the orientation ($p<.001$).

[4] TCY participants were not necessarily first-time offenders, but they could not have previous felony convictions. They may have had an arrest history for crimes that were not felonies. Additionally, they may have been previously arrested for a felony, but never convicted, or convicted of a lesser crime.

TABLE 3: RISK BEHAVIORS AND EXPERIENCE WITH THE JUSTICE SYSTEM AMONG TCY PARTICIPANTS AT PROGRAM ENTRY

Justice Experience and Risk Behaviors	Participated in Orientation Only (N=8)	Officially Enrolled in TCY (N=65)	Overall (N = 73)
Used Marijuana in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	62.5%	51.6%	52.8%
Used Marijuana Almost Daily in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	12.5%	25.0%	23.6%
Used Other Drugs in 4 Weeks Prior to the Survey	25.0%	9.4%	11.1%
Carried Weapon in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	12.5%	18.8%	18.1%
Hung Out with Crew/Gang Member in 12 Months Prior to Survey	50.0%	29.7%	31.9%
Sold Marijuana in 12 Months Prior to Survey	37.5%	42.9%	42.3%
Sold Hard Drugs (such as heroin, cocaine, crack) in 12 Months Prior to Survey	62.5%	57.8%	58.3%
Mean Number of Times Arrested	2.1	1.8	1.9

Program Operations

The following sections briefly describe the TCY problem-solving court and core program services offered during the orientation and enrollment phases of TCY. The next chapter identifies implementation challenges cited by key stakeholders and recommendations—made by either the stakeholders or the research team—for strengthening future efforts to replicate this pilot.

TCY Court

As indicated in the Overview section of this report and detailed in *The Choice is Yours: Early Implementation of a Diversion Program for Felony Offenders* (McClanahan et al. 2013), the TCY program operated under the jurisdiction of a problem-solving municipal court with a dedicated judge who presided over the docket for defendants being offered TCY as a diversion program, as well as defendants who elected to try the orientation phase and those who subsequently progressed to the program enrollment phase. In addition to defendants, TCY court was typically

attended by the same assistant DAs and Public Defenders routinely assigned to staff the program, private attorneys, as well as the TCY program director, case manager, job readiness Instructor, and sometimes defendants' family members.

Defendants appearing at the TCY courtroom for their initial hearings were met by members of the Public Defender's and TCY's staffs (e.g., the TCY program director, case manager, and job readiness instructor), who explained the program, answered questions, and helped individuals determine whether to enter TCY's orientation phase. Those who elected to participate in TCY waived their rights to preliminary hearings and agreed to enter the TCY orientation phase. New program participants were escorted directly from the courthouse (at the completion of the TCY court docket) to JEVS' main offices to begin orientation classes.

Participants were required to attend status hearings in TCY court at the end of their five-week orientations, at which time, they had the option to either continue in the program or ask to be removed; those declining further participation were scheduled to proceed with the traditional judicial process based on their charges. Additionally, if JEVS did not recommend the individual to continue in the program due to non-compliance during orientation, the participant was either removed and sent for trial or, after consultation with the District Attorney's Office and judge, afforded a second chance to successfully complete orientation. Individuals who chose to formally enroll entered no-contest pleas after the judge had explained the judicial process (e.g., reviewing individuals' rights to trial and determining whether they were making the decisions knowingly, voluntarily, and of their own free will) and the implications of their decisions—specifically that failure to complete the program could result in a conviction and up to 20 years of prison time (the statutory maximum). Though receiving the statutory maximum was highly unlikely, the court did indicate that they would be sentenced to at least the mandatory minimum of one year in state prison. Subsequently, participants were subpoenaed for status hearings at scheduled intervals: monthly for the first two months after program enrollment, and then at 90-day intervals for the remainder of the program. However, the judge frequently required noncompliant participants to appear in court every two weeks.

Status hearings in TCY court resembled those in many problem-solving courts: the TCY team (i.e., JEVS, the DA, and the defense team) presented updates on participants and their progress in the program, and the judge spoke directly with participants not only about how they were progressing in the program, but also to provide advice, support, and/or reprimand. Compliant participants might be rewarded with public praise from the program staff or judge, while noncompliant participants might be sanctioned by the judge, who used "graduated sanctioning" guidelines developed for TCY.

Program Services

TCY offered a suite of community-based services during both the orientation and program enrollment phases that were designed to provide participants with the support, skills, and services they needed to avoid re-offending. These included:

- **Case Management.** Case management, a core component of TCY, involved a combination of direct services and service referrals. TCY's case manager met weekly for 30 minutes with individual participants (either in person or by phone) to discuss their needs and record their progress in the program. One-on-one weekly meetings focused on keeping participants on track in fulfilling program requirements, negotiating applications for public assistance programs and legal services, helping participants obtain and maintain employment, assisting participants in enrolling in secondary or vocational school, and avoiding recidivism. The case manager also routinely assisted participants who needed to: obtain driver's licenses or social security cards; make arrangements for child support payments or child care; or receive benefits such as housing assistance, food stamps, mental health services, and drug treatment. Additionally, the case manager was responsible for documenting participants' progress in TCY from orientation through graduation, keeping track of program attendance, community service hours, employment and education status, and interactions with the criminal justice system. Lastly, if participants failed to appear for either their jobs or TCY program activities and were unreachable by phone or email, the case manager contacted family members and also made home visits to reengage participants and keep them in compliance with requirements for successful program completion.

- **Educational Enhancement.** All participants were assessed with the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) during their initial orientation week. Those who lacked high school diplomas or GEDs, or did not score above the seventh-grade level on the TABE, were required to attend educational enhancement classes twice weekly for three hours per day until they 1) obtained their GEDs, 2) reenrolled and attended high school or credit-bearing programs, or 3) reached an agreed-upon benchmark (i.e., realistic, alternative goals were set for some participants whose incoming educational achievement was too low to logically expect a GED could be attained during the course of the program). Additionally, participants could elect to take a financial literacy course, or receive assistance from the educational enhancement instructor to enroll in local schools and programs, such as accelerated alternative high schools, adult basic education programs, community colleges, vocational schools, and specialized work-learning programs for young offenders. These services were led by JEVS' partner, CFL.

- **Job Readiness.** Job readiness training began during orientation and continued as needed throughout participants' enrollment in TCY. The job readiness classes provided "soft-skills" training (e.g., resume

preparation; job interview practice; appropriate work ethics, attitudes, and behaviors; anger management and communication skills; computer literacy) in either a classroom or one-on-one setting. These services were led by a staff member who worked part-time for JEVS and part-time for its partner, PPS.

- **Job Placement, Retention, and Advancement.** The job placement component helped participants transition into stable employment. Participants learned to identify appropriate types of work, as well as specific job descriptions and specific employers. The placement component was closely connected with the job readiness such that participants started searching for positions once they had been trained and assessed by TCY as ready to work. Job developers helped place TCY participants in appropriate employment, and provided weekly follow-up support to employers and participant employees for the first 30 days after employment; follow-ups occurred monthly after the first 30 days, for as long as participant were enrolled in TCY. Supports also included visits to job sites, one-on-one meetings with employers and TCY participants, and phone calls. TCY also organized job fairs, developed job-specific training (when necessary), worked with vocational schools to enroll participants, and secured appropriate clothing for participants' job interviews. Lastly, for participants who were employed at program entry and able to retain their jobs during TCY, the job developers provided assistance to ensure they had opportunities to strengthen their skills and earn higher wages.

- **Mentoring.** TCY envisioned a combination of one-on-one and group mentoring for program participants. Group mentoring sessions were developed to address issues commonly facing those at high risk for recidivism, such as masculinity; incarceration and recidivism; physical, mental, and sexual health; relationships; work and education; restorative justice; and parenting. Efforts were made to match mentors with TCY participants based on gender and background characteristics, and mentor-mentee schedules were collaboratively determined by the TCY participant, mentor, case manager, and mentor coordinator. Mentors were expected to provide various kinds of support, such as letting the participants know about relevant job opportunities, helping mentees negotiate relationship challenges, or engaging them in prosocial recreational activities.

- **Community Service and Restorative Justice.** Community service and restorative justice concepts were introduced to participants during the first week of orientation. The intention was to help participants recognize how their criminal behaviors adversely effected not only their own lives, but also those of their family and community members, while exposing them to opportunities to make positive contributions to the community and, hopefully, see themselves as contributing members of society. All participants were required to fulfill a minimum of 220 hours of community service activities while in the TCY program. Participants were responsible for finding acceptable nonprofit venues in which to satisfy their community service requirements; however, TCY staff members also assisted in identifying suitable organizations at which to volunteer. Restorative Justice Circles, which included participants' family members, were held monthly and included

such activities as watching a movie connected to crime or the community, followed by group discussion focused on how it related to their lives, or neighborhood explorations (e.g., scavenger hunts or photo-documented walking tours) to help individuals become more familiar with their neighborhood resources. The Restorative Justice activities were led by PPS.

Implementation Challenges and Lessons Learned

The TCY research team conducted both an interim and final evaluation of program implementation. The interim evaluation assessed implementation from program initiation in early 2012 through June 2013, based on site visits conducted in May and November, 2012, as well as information extracted from the baseline surveys and ETO MIS through June 2013. The TCY interim report (McClanahan et al. 2013) cited three key lessons learned up to that point:

- **Communication** was central to successful implementation of a complex, multi-partner initiative like TCY.
- **Ongoing data collection, analysis, and reflection** were essential to making mid-course corrections that were critical for program improvement.
- **Advance planning** for operational contingencies is as important for small programs, as large ones.

Not unlike many new programs, TCY had its share of small missteps and growing pains, most of which were resolved within the first few months or at least the first year. However, several issues continued to interest staff throughout most of the demonstration: collaboration and partnerships, accountability and compliance, strengthening the intervention services (e.g., mentoring, immediate financial support for participants, assessment and treatment), and fund raising and sustainability. Each is addressed below.

Collaboration and Partnerships

As previously reported (McClanahan et al. 2013), communication among program staff was critical to ensuring holistic and seamless service delivery. JEVS staff and their key partners, PPS and CFL, were co-located, which facilitated informal, daily interaction, increasing the opportunities to discuss individual or cross-client issues on a frequent and timely basis. This enabled ongoing discussions regarding the TCY participants—whether they were facing challenges, succeeding, or in need of additional support to get them back on track—and was particularly valuable when clients were in crisis and required immediate supportive services. In addition to the informal information sharing, JEVS held staff meetings every two weeks to ensure team members were fully versed regarding participant progress and that participants received satisfactory, seamless services tailored to their individual needs.

Strong communication among the community service providers and the justice system stakeholders was also critical to TCY. While JEVS operates a number of different programs for at- and high-risk clienteles in partnership with other organizations, TCY with its targeted population of diverted felony offenders carried with it the implicit need to provide timely, consistent, and detailed substantive information to justice system stakeholders—a level of information sharing that exceeded routine communication associated with operating JEVS' other programs.

The TCY judge, DA'S Office, and Public Defenders needed current information about the status of participants (particularly regarding noncompliant participants—for instance, the dates of non-attendance, the particulars of the challenges encountered, and the sources of information), both as serious problems arose and routinely in advance of court hearings. And, sharing information about recalcitrant participants with other program partners—particularly the TCY judge and DA—could strengthen TCY's oversight by leveraging the additional authority to motivate such individuals to return to compliance with program expectations.

To some degree, the specificity of the information and documentation of the participants' engagement in the community-based program was paramount to the effectiveness of the program. Over time, the TCY team employed biweekly updates, ad-hoc email communication, and the dashboard information that enabled staff and stakeholders to track the overall program progress. However, one of the most important collaborative mechanisms, according to the various stakeholders, was the institution of routine, pre-court team meetings that started around December 2012.

The pre-court team meetings were held just before TCY court convened (attempts to hold the team meeting in the week before TCY court proved difficult to schedule). The TCY team meetings included the TCY judge, dedicated DA's and Public Defender's staff, and the TCY program director. The meetings provided an opportunity to 1) share information about each participant's progress and set-backs and 2) achieve consensus on appropriate rewards or sanctions for each case. TCY program staff felt these meetings gave the justice stakeholders a greater appreciation for the clients' needs and also for the difficulties staff grappled with in trying to provide meaningful services, while overseeing participant compliance with court and program requirements. For their part, the justice stakeholders felt the pre-court meetings not only resulted in more informed decision making regarding responses to participant accomplishments or noncompliance, but also were instrumental in greatly improving courtroom processes. Justice stakeholders reported that the implementation of pre-court hearings had the desired effect of reducing possibly questionable discussions (e.g., about participants' personal matters) in open court, as well as sidebars among attorneys and the judge, with the end result that overall courtroom time was reduced.

With respect to collaboration and partnership, another theme that emerged focused not on the relationship among TCY stakeholders, but rather on potential partnerships that were not developed for TCY, but might have been advantageous. Some stakeholders suggested that a more holistic program model would have been desirable. In particular, they cited several types of assistance needed by some portion of the served population whose success might have been undermined absent such supportive services:

- **Housing partners.** Stakeholders suggested that it would have been helpful to have some temporary housing options, particularly for those who lacked safe housing, family supports (e.g., some families relied on the money participants had generated from drug sales, and were not enthusiastic about having the participant refrain from such activities), or were in neighborhoods where drug markets threatened to pressure participants and undermine their program success.

- **Substance abuse treatment partnerships**. Based on participant self-report, most of the program participants were primarily selling, not using drugs (and use seemed to be mostly marijuana, not on a daily basis, and not other substances). Nevertheless, several stakeholders felt it would have been beneficial to have a treatment provider on board to properly assess the amount of drug involvement and to treat those individuals who needed such intervention.

- **Mental health treatment partnerships.** By and large, TCY participants did not enter the program with substantial mental health issues requiring intensive outpatient or inpatient treatment. However, some were depressed, and others were grappling with significant real-life issues that demoralized them. Stakeholders perceived that such participants would have benefitted from a partner that could have provided professional counseling and possibly also established peer support groups.

Stakeholders also speculated about two additional areas where partnerships might have been useful: the business sector and corrections. Briefly, stakeholders suggested that although most participants found employment, relationships with employers and also with the unions could have been helpful perhaps in a number of ways. These include 1) making quicker connections for job placement or supporting transitional jobs (provision of immediate post-enrollment income is a critical concern for participants and stakeholders, who suggested that much of the drug selling was motivated by participants' desire to meet individual and family subsistence needs), or 2) identifying jobs with career paths that would ultimately enable participants to build skills and reap rewards in the form of higher pay and benefits.

Assuming TCY achieved its objectives, not only would participants benefit by avoiding incarceration, but the criminal justice system also would benefit by reduction in arrests, court cases, use of jail/prison resources, and probation/parole supervision. Regarding partnerships with corrections, justice stakeholders particularly felt that fund raising and sustainability efforts might have been undercut by the absence of buy in from the county and state correctional facilities.

Accountability and Compliance

TCY participants were under the jurisdiction of the TCY court/judge and expected to comply with program requirements, as monitored by the TCY case manager and other program staff. Participants often were lackadaisical

and not known for having such characteristics as strong histories of being organized, disciplined, and shouldering adult responsibilities. As one staff member pointed out, many of their clients had been left to their own devices from childhood on; some had known lives of couch surfing, so they were used to coming and going on a whim and had no one to answer to except themselves. As a result, participants sometimes treated program requirements lightly, e.g., neglecting to appear for classes or court, or showing up late. They had to be repeatedly reminded that they needed to comply with court and program expectations, appear at designated times, and notify appropriate staff in the event they had a legitimate reason for non-attendance.

Stakeholders generally concurred that the case manager and TCY staff made reasonable attempts to hold participants accountable, but perceived that TCY staffing was so thin, at times, that accountability suffered. For example, at one time, the rolling enrollment of individuals/cohorts reached a point where there were 70 active cases, but only a single case manager: the decision was made to have the case manager handle 45 cases (still a larger than desirable number for a caseload), and divvy the remaining cases among the program director, job readiness instructor, and mentor coordinator. Had the program not been a pilot effort, it's likely that strong consideration would have been given to hiring an additional case manager. However, the nature of the demonstration circumstances were such that the program found itself both growing with respect to cases, and preparing to end in terms of funding, so no new staffing was possible. Staff felt that the addition of a second case manager would have positioned everybody to do a better job of holding participants accountable for day-to-day program requirements, and also likely would have given them more opportunity to intervene earlier and more rigorously with those individuals who proved harder to motivate, serve, and hold accountable.

The TCY court had developed graduated sanctioning guidelines, as shown in Figure 3, for use with noncompliant program participants. Justice stakeholders, program staff, and even the program participants, all perceived the TCY judge as being a caring, warm, positive personality, but some questioned whether she was too lenient. Throughout much of the program, the sanctions, even for those who were repeatedly noncompliant, tended to entail verbal reprimands or writing assignments (which justice stakeholders reported showed a great deal of insight on the part of participants), and occasionally increased attendance at TCY court status hearings.

Nonetheless, program staff fretted that participants were largely nonplussed by such rebukes, and did little to reform their behavior and progress with respect to program activities. They felt this made the program look bad because individuals who weren't participating at the expected level were permitted to remain and continue to underperform. Interestingly, the Public Defender's Office agreed; although they typically zealously protect the rights of their clients, within the context of the non-adversarial TCY problem-solving court, they felt such leniency might not be serving their clients well in the long run.

Generally speaking, both justice stakeholders and program staff suggested that somewhat more liberal use of moderate, rather than minor sanctions would have been in order to deal with program noncompliance. In particular, they felt that short jail terms (24, 48, or 72 hours) might have established a more sobering message to noncompliant

participants and possibly had a deterrent effect such that other participants, watching that discipline meted out, would not have tested the limits of the program's tolerance for noncompliance. At least one justice stakeholder noted that program participants might never have had a jail experience (e.g., had bailed out within 24 hours), so a 48-hour jail sanction could have been quite an eye-opener.

Despite the perceptions of leniency and restrained use of sanctions, most stakeholders agreed that the relatively infrequent reliance on the most severe sanction—program termination and subsequent imprisonment—was used appropriately and quite well with a very few participants who deserved that response. In addition, program staff and justice stakeholders agreed that the court's practice of dealing with noncompliant participants at the beginning of the docket was an important mechanism for making examples of unacceptable behavior.

FIGURE 3. GRADUATED SANCTIONING GUIDELINES

Minor Infractions		Major Infractions	
Sample Infractions	**Sanctions**	**Sample Infractions**	**Sanctions**
Orientation • Less than 90% attendance • Does not meet requirements in a timely manner **Program Enrollment** • Does not check-in with case manager as required • Does not follow through with referrals/appointments • Does not make satisfactory effort to complete training courses or obtain employment • Less than 90% attendance of required classes/mentoring • Time management issues • Does not accept appropriate job offer • Lack of effort • Ongoing poor grades/lack of achievement • Not obtaining necessary	• Written warning from program director or case manager • Participant essays on relevant topic • Increase check-ins with case manager • Time management conversations • Increase reporting requirements to judge or case manager	• Arrest/conviction • Continued positive drug tests • Continued significant non-compliance with program operations • Three or more minor infractions • Less than 90% attendance in orientation, workforce, and/or educational training	• One-on-one meetings with the judge or program director • Suspend participant from TCY activities • Weekend jail time • Program termination and imprisonment

Strengthening the Intervention

Aside from the issue of case management capacity, mentioned earlier, there were issues identified with two other of the core substantive services (i.e., mentoring and educational services) and with some operational activities, as well. Each is briefly described below.

The mentoring component of the program was initially intended to be implemented by one of JEVS partners; when that arrangement proved infeasible, JEVS elected to directly oversee the mentoring and subsequently encountered difficulties in identifying suitable staff to lead this effort. Mentoring programs require leadership with strengths in multiple areas, including but not limited to: marketing to recruit volunteers, vetting volunteers to ensure they are appropriate for the population and program focus, training mentors to ensure they properly reflect the program messages and also are prepared to function in the role as anticipated, and matching mentors with participants or troubleshooting problem matches so that participants can benefit from the relationships and mentors remain engaged with the program. In some programs, these skills are distributed across a number of staff who support the mentoring function; in TCY, this largely needed to be accomplished by a mentor coordinator, who was expected to develop the program from the ground up.

The program had difficulty getting traction with this component as several individuals were unable to meet the organization's expectations as mentor coordinators, for a variety of reasons. At one point, however, the program had developed relationships with 26 mentors, but encountered difficulty keeping the mentors engaged beyond a few months. Mentors were willing to meet program participants at public places, but uncomfortable meeting them in their homes or transporting them to individual or group events. It's possible that some of these difficulties might have been mitigated by providing mentoring training and ongoing support to heighten mentor motivation and morale; however, the organization was unprepared to do this in the absence of a strong mentor coordinator.

Further, the turnover in mentor coordinators and in the mentors, themselves, meant that some program participants were never matched with mentors, and others received mentors for short periods of time that were not conducive to forming meaningful relationships. In hindsight, it appears that—given the multiple skills required for successful leadership—programs preparing to introduce mentoring as a new feature might be well advised to 1) hire a coordinator with prior mentoring leadership experience and expertise in several of the key areas, and 2) solicit guidance and training from one of the professional organizations that specializes in building the capacity of mentoring programs.

Nonetheless, over time, some mentoring relationships worked out well, and TCY staff, as well as staff from other JEVS programs, formally volunteered as mentors or informally made themselves available to mentor TCY participants. While this was not the original program model, and it likely placed an extra burden on staff, participants appreciated these relationships and felt that the extra contact with staff—particularly those whose backgrounds were similar to clients—benefited them by 1) providing individualized attention, 2) offering pertinent, timely advice as situations arose, and 3) showing them how staff had overcome similar issues and turned their lives around.

TCY was prepared to assess the academic achievement level of participants at program entry using the TABE and to offer educational enhancement classes and GED testing, as previously noted. However, some program participants were so educationally deficient that they really could not close the gap between their educational status and the achievements needed to progress to the next level. In terms of program completion, the TCY judge used her discretion

to permit such individuals to graduate absent GEDs, providing they met individualized benchmarks for program completion. However, that begs the question of what alternative services might have been offered to such individuals that would have better prepared them to be self-supporting, while avoiding drug sales as a source of income. Some stakeholders suggested that programs that accept these kinds of participants should consider offering vocational training and possibly transitional or stipended on-the-job placements, rather than pushing an academic agenda for those with heavy educational deficiencies that are not amenable to short-term corrective actions.

Operational Challenges

In addition to the aforementioned themes, TCY reportedly encountered several operational challenges that are frequently faced by organizations implementing new programs. As is often the case, finding suitable space in which to hold program activities can be a daunting logistical barrier. Space constraints necessitated the co-location of the TCY program with other JEVS programs (e.g., a Welfare-to-Work program that had mostly female clients, some of whom had mental health and substance abuse issues, as compared to TCY's mostly male population with drug-selling charges). This is not necessarily an unacceptable situation, but it often requires careful consideration as 1) disparate requirements of the different programs may be confusing to co-mingled populations and 2) the different targeted populations may have characteristics that potentially increase interpersonal issues that adversely affect each program's operations. At minimum, organizations that need to simultaneously use a given space for multiple programs should do some advance planning to develop orientation materials for both staff and future participants that clearly identify program distinctions, behavioral requirements, and consequences for non-compliance with on-site rules.

A few other logistical challenges bear mentioning: discretionary funds for crisis intervention, transportation, and administrative support. Several program staff and also justice stakeholders mentioned that program participants often live under precarious circumstances that can swiftly deteriorate. Clearly, a program of this nature is unlikely to be prepared to handle major crises of every conceivable type, nor should they be held to such a standard. But stakeholders indicated there were a number of such events that would have been amenable to quick resolution if discretionary funds had been available to rectify the situation (e.g., a few participants, particularly early in their program experience, lacked adequate funding to purchase food and some could not cover the costs of transportation to get to the court or program office). At least one stakeholder suggested that programs of this ilk might establish small revolving funds so that they could make "loans" to participants, which they would be required to repay over time to refurbish funding for future cohorts. There are reentry programs, for example, that provide such short-term assistance to enable those with limited resources to make deposits on rental units, utilities, and the like, while they are preparing for and establishing jobs.

With regard to transportation, program staff noted that although they could provide bus tokens, the supply was insufficient. They suggested, and some of the justice stakeholders also indicated, that it would have been useful to have a van. Program staff felt that programs like this should be prepared to offer transportation when requiring clients to stop earning illicit money, which often was their only or at least main source of income. They noted that having vehicles to transport individuals would have enabled them to expose participants (and possibly family members) to more positive community-based activities such as job fairs and pro-social recreational or cultural events.

Lastly, the program was designed without staffing for an administrative assistant or operations secretary. It turned out that aside from documenting individual case activities in the ETO MIS, there were considerable other paperwork and general secretarial activities that required attention. For TCY, these were primarily split between the program director and the case manager. However, each noted that had they been able to be relieved of those administrative duties, they would have been freed to focus on strengthening other services that could have more directly benefitted program participants.

Fund Raising and Sustainability

TCY leadership made conscious efforts to sustain the program beyond the funded pilot period. One of the challenges encountered was the absence of definitive findings about cost savings associated with program success. Not unlike other demonstration programs, it took time to accumulate an adequate sample size, enable those individuals to fully experience the program and its services, and then analyze outcomes in a meaningful way. Additionally, logical partners—the city and state—were each reluctant to support the program on the grounds that the other entity, not their own organization, was the primary beneficiary of costs averted due to program success.

Nonetheless, the program has been sustained, thus far, albeit on a smaller scale, with private funding. In addition, leadership is working on a social bond to secure ongoing funding.

Participant Experiences

The TCY pilot program achieved several significant benchmarks, including securing employment for many participants, bolstering their educational achievement, and keeping them out of jail. Participants appeared to benefit from both the structure and daily routine that TCY provided, and from the level of attention they received from program staff. On the follow-up survey, completed by 49 participants, respondents reported routine levels of case management, with 57 percent reporting weekly meetings and another 28 percent reporting daily in-person meetings with case managers. In addition to in-person contact, half also communicated weekly by phone, text and e-mail, and another

21 percent did so daily. Participants reported that they were satisfied with most aspects of the program, and 93 percent reported being glad they had completed the program. Additionally, 83 percent were "Very Satisfied" with TCY services overall, and 81 percent believed that services from TCY were "Very Important" in helping them avoid incarceration.

In the sections that follow, we share data on TCY's achievements in the areas of program services, employment and education, risk behaviors, and healthy living. But first, we describe participants' trajectory through the program to provide context for interpreting those findings.

Program Completion

Graduation from the TCY program was contingent on meeting several requirements, including:

- Completion of both the orientation and program enrollment phases.
- Satisfaction of case management requirements, such as: obtaining basic identification and meeting other basic needs (e.g., housing, government benefits, health insurance); enrollment and compliance with critical specialized services such as mental health counseling, substance abuse treatment, or family services; and demonstrated progress with respect to one's Individual Life Plan (ILP).
- Achievement of education and employment goals. Participants who lacked high school diplomas or GEDs at program entry were expected to obtain GEDs or high school diplomas, or successfully complete one or more GED subtests (out of five), or demonstrate at least one grade-level gain for every 50 hours of instruction, or enroll in high school credit-bearing programs and document 90 percent attendance with a minimum of three earned credits (relative to time in school). Participants, who entered TCY with high school diplomas or GEDs, were expected to obtain full-time employment (for at least four consecutive months) or enroll in secondary educational institutions or enroll in long-term, full-time job training (for at least four consecutive months) and demonstrate one literacy grade-level gain for every 50 hours of instruction. Part-time employment options could be considered appropriate for those in full-time higher education programs.
- Documentation of 220 hours of community service.
- Demonstration of good standing with the criminal justice system, such as good faith efforts (as determined by the TCY program director and judge) to pay fines, restitution, and court fees.

As participants completed program requirements (typically at the end of one year), JEVS and the DA formally made recommendations to the TCY judge that those individuals were ready for graduation from the program. The judge rendered the final decision about closing supervision, which occurred at formal court proceedings in which

graduates were publicly congratulated on their accomplishments, reminded by the judge of their ongoing responsibilities to abide by the law, and given the opportunity to directly address the court.

Program graduates had their cases dismissed, and were required to maintain clean criminal records for one year to have their criminal records expunged for the TCY- related charge. Record expunging is particularly important, as it is central to broader employment (since this charge will be cleared from a participant's criminal record, which often is a deterrent to securing stable employment), housing, and financial opportunities for TCY participants.

Table 4 provides a snapshot of participants' final status in the program as of June 21, 2014 (for the 65 who entered program enrollment and gave consent to participate in the research). All cohorts were eligible for graduation, and only three individuals had neither graduated, nor terminated from the program by this point in time. Across all cohorts, 55 participants (85 percent of those who entered the program enrollment phase) successfully graduated from the program, and only 7 were terminated for non-compliance.[5] Both baseline and follow-up surveys were completed by 46 of the 55 graduates (84 percent), as well as 3 of the participants who did not successfully complete the program. Data from these surveys supplements what we can learn from the program data alone.

TABLE 4: TRAJECTORY OF TCY PARTICIPANTS

		Number of Participants Who….			
Cohort Start Date	**Cohort**	**Graduated**	**Did Not Graduate by 6/21/2014**	**Were Terminated from Program Enrollment**	**Completed Both Baseline and Follow-Up Surveys[6]**
2/27/12	A	8	0	0	8
3/19/12	B	3	0	2	3
4/16/12	C	1	1	0	1
4/30/12	D	2	1	0	3[7]
5/21/12	E	4	0	1	4
6/25/12	F	6	0	0	6
7/30/12	G	8	1	2	8[8]
8/27/12	H	6	0	1	7[9]
9/24/12	I	3	0	1	3
11/26/12	J	7	0	0	2
1/7/13	K	7	0	0	4
Overall	65	55	3	7	49

[5] Overall, 65 percent of the individuals deemed eligible for TCY successfully graduated from the program.
[6] Except where indicated, participants with baseline and follow-up surveys had graduated from TCY.
[7] One of the Cohort D participants who completed the surveys did not officially graduate.
[8] One of the Cohort G participants who completed the surveys did not officially graduate.
[9] One of the Cohort H participants who completed the surveys was terminated from program enrollment.

In the sections that follow, we provide information about the services participants received in TCY and their outcomes.

Participant Engagement in Services and Service Satisfaction

Participants received a range of services in TCY, dependent on several factors, including their highest level of education achieved, employment status, and other needs identified by the case manager. Table 5 below highlights five of the most important types of TCY services provided to participants and documented in ETO: case management, educational enhancement, job readiness training, community service, and mentoring. It is important to note that not all participants were required to access all services and thatother services also were provided to participants. Information is presented separately for those who graduated; were terminated; and those who had neither graduated, nor been terminated.

Table 5 shows that TCY participants accessed a range of services. More than 3,900 hours of job readiness training was received by participants, with each participant exposed to an average of about 61 hours. Similarly, more than 3,000 hours of educational enhancement were provided to participants in need of this support, and, on average, individual participants received about 47 hours of this service. Mentoring was provided to just over 70 percent of participants, but the dosage was relatively low, at about 5 hours per participant on average. This is consistent with the finding that mentoring was a particularly challenging facet of the program to implement. In excess of 14,000 hours of community service were completed by program participants with the support of JEVS; graduating participants achieved their goals of 220 hours, apiece. Across everyone, average hours engaged in direct one-on-one case management were 22 per participant—more than 1,400 hours in total. This approaches the expectation of weekly 30-minute in-person or telephone contacts that would total 26 hours per participant across a one-year program. It is quite possible that the case management figures reported here are an underestimate of the contact that actually occurred. These numbers reflect documented interactions that case managers took the time to enter into ETO, but some undocumented amount of case management occurred spontaneously as TCY clients conversed with case managers while on site for other program services. Data reported earlier from the follow-up surveys show that 28 percent of surveyed participants met daily with their case manager, and 21 percent communicated daily via phone, text, or e-mail. Where participants reported such a high level of contact, it may be that case managers did not have sufficient time to enter all information into ETO, and may not have made it a priority to record brief, unscheduled contacts, particularly when they were close to meeting required minimums.

Table 5 provides information on services received by participants and documented by program staff through ETO. To complement this information, the follow-up survey asked participants directly about which services they had received from the program, and how satisfied they were with each one. The participant survey information is presented in Table 6 with the TCY services ordered from most to least prevalent. Though participant reports may not

be a perfect representation of what was provided, especially where participants might use a different name for a particular service, they provide an interesting window into which aspects of TCY stood out most to participants.

TABLE 5: PROGRAM SERVICE DOSAGE BY STATUS IN PROGRAM AND ACTIVITY TYPE

Program Status	N	Average Hours of Case Management per Participant	Average Hours of Educational Enhancement per Participant	Average Hours of Job Readiness Training per Participant	Average Hours of Community Service per Participant	Percentage of Participants Receiving Mentoring
Graduated	55	20.6	47.3	59.3	239.4	78.2%
Not Yet Graduated	3	76.0	98.7	186.2	208.3	66.7%
Terminated from Program	7	9.3	24.3	21.1	65.6	28.6%
Overall	65	22.0	47.2	61.1	219.3	72.3%

As shown in Table 6, more than 80 percent of participants reported taking part in job readiness, life skills, and literacy courses. The job readiness courses were received most favorably with 95 percent reporting satisfaction with this service. Satisfaction with life skills and literacy courses was lower at 62 and 67 percent, respectively. At least half of those surveyed also reported participating in GED courses, mentoring, pre-GED courses, health education courses, and receiving transportation assistance and substance abuse treatment. Between 60 and 85 percent of participants reported being satisfied with these services. Fewer than 50 percent of survey respondents report receiving each of the remaining 15 services noted in Table 6, most likely because they were not relevant to their individual needs during the time they participated in the program. These services included things such as parenting classes; help with child support, which would be relevant only for participants with children entitled to such benefits; and help getting specific types of identification, which would be relevant only for participants who entered the program lacking these documents. Interestingly, with the exception of help getting a Social Security card or housing assistance, at least 50 percent of respondents reported satisfaction with each TCY service, and for five items—legal assistance, anger management, tattoo removal, college courses, and help negotiating child support—there was 100 percent satisfaction.

Most of the participants who completed the follow-up survey rated their participation in TCY very positively. Table 7 presents their ratings on each of seven statements, ordered from most to least favorable. The first, most highly rated item succinctly summarizes their overall impression of the program–93 percent of respondents were glad they had completed the TCY program. Items that follow in the table help provide a clearer picture of why participants were so happy with their perseverance. Participants felt supported by staff who they believed wanted to see them succeed (91 percent). They also credited TCY with both keeping them away from illegal activity (91 percent) and getting their education back on track (88 percent).

Although the required regular check-ins with TCY case managers may have felt daunting at first, 84 percent of respondents reported that this component of the program was valuable in helping them stay on track, and they especially appreciated the flexibility of staff who helped to make it possible for participants to balance fulfilling TCY requirements with simultaneously holding down jobs (77 percent). Approximately three-quarters of respondents agreed that their experience with TCY meshed with their expectations of the program prior to entering orientation. For those who did not agree, it is unclear from this item whether their TCY experience was better or worse than expected. In the next section, we explore participants' suggestions regarding areas where the TCY program could be strengthened.

TABLE 6: PARTICIPANTS RECEIVING SERVICES FROM TCY AND SATISFACTION WITH SERVICES RECEIVED

TCY Service	Percentage Receiving Service[10]	Percentage Who Were Satisfied with Service[11]
Job readiness courses	87.0%	95.0%
Life skills courses	81.3%	61.5%
Literacy courses	80.0%	66.7%
GED course	63.6%	71.4%
A mentor/life coach	63.2%	83.3%
Transportation assistance	61.9%	84.6%
Substance abuse treatment	54.6%	83.3%
Adult basic education courses (pre-GED)	54.6%	66.7%
Health education courses	50.0%	60.0%
Parenting courses	44.4%	50.0%
Legal assistance	42.9%	100.0%
Anger management	40.0%	100.0%
Mental health treatment	40.0%	50.0%
Medical treatment	37.5%	66.7%
Vocational courses or training	35.7%	60.0%
Help getting a driver's license or photo ID	33.3%	80.0%
Housing assistance	30.0%	33.3%
Tattoo removal	28.6%	100.0%
Help getting health insurance	26.7%	50.0%
Help getting a birth certificate	25.0%	50.0%
Financial assistance	23.1%	66.7%
College courses	20.0%	100.0%
Help getting a social security card	16.7%	0%
Help negotiating child support	12.5%	100.0%

[10] The percentage is calculated across the subset that answered the question and did not respond, "I did not receive this service."
[11] The percentage is calculated across the subset that reported receiving the service.

TABLE 7: PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCE WITH TCY

Statement about TCY	Strongly Agree/Agree	Strongly Disagree/Disagree
I am glad that I completed the TCY program.	92.9%	7.1%
TCY staff is interested in seeing me succeed.	90.9%	9.1%
TCY helped me stay away from illegal activity.	90.9%	9.1%
The enrichment classes at TCY helped me get my education back on track.	88.1%	11.9%
Checking in regularly with the TCY case manager helped me stay on track.	84.4%	15.6%
My experience with TCY was what I expected based on what was explained to me before I began orientation.	77.3%	22.7%
TCY staff makes it possible for me to hold a job and also meet TCY requirements.	76.7%	23.3%

Participants' Ideas for Improving TCY

On the follow-up survey, respondents were asked whether they thought TCY could be improved in six specific areas. Table 8 presents these six items, ordered from most to least change warranted. Respondents were most likely to agree that TCY should make it easier for participants to find work (70 percent). This is particularly interesting given the fact that the overwhelming majority of TCY participants were employed at some point during program participation. Despite the fact that they ultimately found work, some might have secured jobs on their own, seemingly without TCY staff assistance, while other may have been frustrated with how long it took to obtain a job; it's also possible that some participants may have been dissatisfied with their particular jobs, thinking the program could have improved their opportunities and helped them obtain better employment. Of the 26 who were employed at the time of the follow-up survey, and reported how they got their job, 50 percent had obtained it through friends and family, and only 4, or 15 percent, reported that TCY assistance was integral to obtaining their employment.

Just over half of respondents also expressed frustration with the program's expectation that participants independently secure their own community service placements; participants apparently would have preferred receiving placements provided through TCY. Similarly, half of respondents thought having a mentor through the program would have been valuable. As this was part of the original design that may have been conveyed to participants prior to program orientation, it is possible that they were expecting a mentor, and then were subsequently disappointed when the mentoring component was never fully implemented. At the very least, mentors

might have been helpful in navigating both the job hunting and community service-seeking pieces that participants found challenging.

About half of participants also thought their initial contact with the program could have been improved. They believed they should have received more information about TCY prior to their first meeting with the judge when they had to elect whether to enter the program or continue to trial. Half of respondents also found it difficult to attend orientation every day. It is unclear if this was merely an inconvenience that participants needed to adjust to, or if other obligations such as employment and childcare may have made daily attendance difficult.

On a favorable note, only one-third of respondents thought staff turnover was a barrier to connecting with the TCY program.

TABLE 8: PARTICIPANTS' IDEAS FOR IMPROVING TCY

Statement about TCY	Strongly Agree/Agree	Strongly Disagree/Disagree
TCY should make it easier for participants to find work.	69.8%	30.2%
I wish TCY arranged a community service placement for me rather than finding one on my own.	52.8%	47.2%
I wish TCY provided me with a mentor.	50.0%	50.0%
Attending TCY orientation everyday was a hardship for me.	50.0%	50.0%
I wish I had more information about TCY before my first appearance in front of the judge.	46.2%	53.8%
It was hard to feel connected to the TCY program because staff there kept changing.	31.8%	68.2%

Participant Outcomes

One of the key goals of TCY was to reduce criminal behavior among program participants. In addition, the program model implicitly hypothesized that educational advancement, job placement and retention, decreased risk behaviors, and self enhancement would be short- and medium-term benefits recognized by program participants. The following sections highlight key outcomes in each of these areas.

Recidivism

For purposes of this report, recidivism is defined as being arrested for a new crime following entry into TCY. Given the evaluation timeframe, two recidivism measures are possible:

- Re-arrest for new crimes within 12 months following program entry (i.e., during the period of expected program participation).
- Re-arrest for new crimes within 24 months following program entry—the timeframe that includes both the period of program participation and one year following program completion.

Clearly, the latter measure is preferable if one wants to test whether TCY generates positive effects and if such positive effects continue after the supports of ongoing regular contact with program staff have ended. For the earliest TCY cohorts, this extended view is possible. For most cohorts, however, less than two years have passed since entering TCY. Accordingly, we report two recidivism windows for all participants. The first window is the 12 months after entry into TCY; the second window is the 24 months after entry into TCY, with the understanding that this window is censored for some participants, and that censoring is factored into the analyses.[12]

We first looked at recidivism during TCY using data from ETO for program participants. Of the 65 TCY participants participating in the research, only 6, or 9 percent, were re-arrested during program participation, and subsequently terminated from the program. While the mean age at program entry for all participants was 22.2 years, the mean age significantly differed between those who were and were not subsequently rearrested. Among those who avoided re-arrest, the mean age was slightly higher at 22.4 years, while the mean age for those who were re-arrested was 19.7 years, suggesting that the program may be more successful at redirecting participants away from crime when they are a bit older and better able to recognize the positive benefits to program buy-in.

We next looked at recidivism for TCY participants using data from the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets that are available online. Using this data source allowed us to view arrest histories subsequent to involvement in TCY. For the 65 TCY young adults participating in the research, 9 (14 percent) were rearrested during the first year, and 17 (26 percent) were arrested through the two- year observation window.[13]

While not zero percent, these arrest numbers seem favorably low, at least through year one. The best way to evaluate whether these data reflect a benefit of program participation, however, would be to compare them with re-

[12] A third valuable recidivism window to consider would be the years following TCY graduation for the population who successfully completed the full program. Across the 65 TCY participants who are participating in the research, 55 graduated from the program, and through June 28, 2014 were eligible for post-graduation re-arrest an average of 257 days, ranging between 26 and 418 days. Across this observation window, 13 percent experienced a post-graduation arrest, and 9 percent experienced a post-graduation drug arrest. Because the average available post-graduation window is less than a year, we have not pursued additional analyses in this area.

[13] While nine TCY youth were re-arrested within the first year according to the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets, only six were entered into ETO as terminated from the program due to re-arrest. For the other three, arrests did not result in program termination.

arrest figures for comparable young adults who did not participate in TCY. In order to make such a comparison, we obtained police incident numbers from the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office for all young adults who would have been considered for TCY had the program been operating in 2011. These comparisons were young adults with similar adult arrest histories, ages, and charges. We used this list to research the subsequent arrest histories of the comparison group, as we had done with the TCY participants, using the online data from the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets. Table 9 presents the percentages of TCY and comparison group individuals who were re-arrested within the first two years after their qualifying arrest, together with t-tests for differences in the means between the two groups. Re-arrest was significantly higher among the comparison group (26 percent) than among TCY participants (14 percent) within the first year. When only drug arrests are considered, the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant. When the window of interest is extended to two years, recidivism is higher among the comparison group both for overall arrests (41 vs. 26 percent), and when arrests are limited to drug arrests (34 vs. 19 percent). Because the comparison group was much more likely to have been sentenced to jail previously than the TCY participants (29 vs. 0 percent), we also restricted the sample to those without a prior jail sentence. The comparisons of rates of recidivism between TCY participants and the non-TCY comparisons, where neither had prior jail sentences, are also presented in Table 9, and are comparable to those for the full comparison group.

TABLE 9: RECIDIVISM OF TCY PARTICIPANTS AND COMPARISON GROUP

At-Risk Period and Arrest Type	TCY Participants Re-Arrested	Comparison Group Re-Arrested	Significant Difference
Overall:			
Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	26.4%	*
Drug Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	19.2%	n.s.
Arrest in 2 Years	26.2%	41.3%	*
Drug Arrest in 2 Years	18.5%	33.6%	*
Where no Prior Jail Sentence:			
Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	26.5%	*
Drug Arrest in 1 Year	13.9%	19.9%	n.s.
Arrest in 2 Years	26.2%	41.0%	*
Drug Arrest in 2 Years	18.5%	34.3%	*

As mentioned previously, data are not available for all TCY participants for the full two-year window, so the two-year results might not have been quite as favorable if all TCY participants had been at risk for re-arrest for the full 24 months. In order to account for this censoring of data, and also to control for possible differences in measured characteristics between TCY participants and the comparison group, we addressed the same question using event history analysis, while controlling for gender, ethnicity, age at qualifying arrest, and number of prior arrests. Instead of just looking at whether individuals were re-arrested or not, these models allowed us to explore if there is a difference in the time to arrest between TCY participants and comparison group individuals taking into account the

fact that arrest data is observed only through June 28, 2014. All event history analyses are restricted to youth without prior sentences and are estimated across 230 cases comprised of the 65 TCY participants and 165 comparison group individuals.

Table 10 presents the results from survival analyses predicting four re-arrest variables: any re-arrests in 12 months, drug re-arrests in 12 months, any re-arrests in 24 months, and drug re-arrests in 24 months. In addition to controls for gender, ethnicity, age at qualifying event, and number of prior arrests, each model also includes a variable measuring the effect of participation in TCY, as well as an interaction between participation in TCY and prior arrests. All results presented in the table are hazard ratios, followed by significance levels in parentheses. Where hazard ratios are below one on a dichotomous variable, it suggests that the hazard of arrest is lower for individuals with a specified characteristic than for individuals without it. Where the hazard is above one, it suggests that that the hazard of re-arrest is higher for individuals with a given characteristic. For continuous variables such as age, the hazard ratio reflects the change in the risk of arrest for each additional year of age. If the hazard is greater than one, it indicates greater risk of re-arrest for older youth. Where the hazard is lower than one, it indicates lower risk of re-arrest for older youth.

TABLE 10: SURVIVAL ANALYSIS PREDICTING TIME TO RE-ARREST WHERE NO PRIOR JAIL SENTENCE[14]

Predictors	Dependent Variable			
	Re-Arrest within 1 Year	Drug Re-Arrest within 1 Year	Re-Arrest within 2 Years	Drug Re-Arrest within 2 Years
Female	0.629 (n.s.)	0.791 (n.s.)	0.974 (n.s.)	1.136 (n.s.)
African-American	0.854 (n.s.)	0.841 (n.s.)	0.693 (n.s.)	0.660 (n.s.)
Age at Qualifying Event	0.821 (***)	0.816 (**)	0.823 (***)	0.833 (***)
Number of Prior Adult Arrests	1.052 (n.s.)	1.054 (n.s.)	1.143 (**)	1.166 (**)
TCY Participant	0.317 (*)	0.440 (+)	0.488 (*)	0.389 (*)
Interaction between TCY and Number of Prior Adult Arrests	2.733 (+)	2.70 (+)	2.025 (+)	2.562 (*)
Observations	230	230	230	230

There are some important similarities across the models for each dependent variable. In each model, the hazard ratio for females is not significant suggesting that there was no difference in the risk of re-arrest between males and

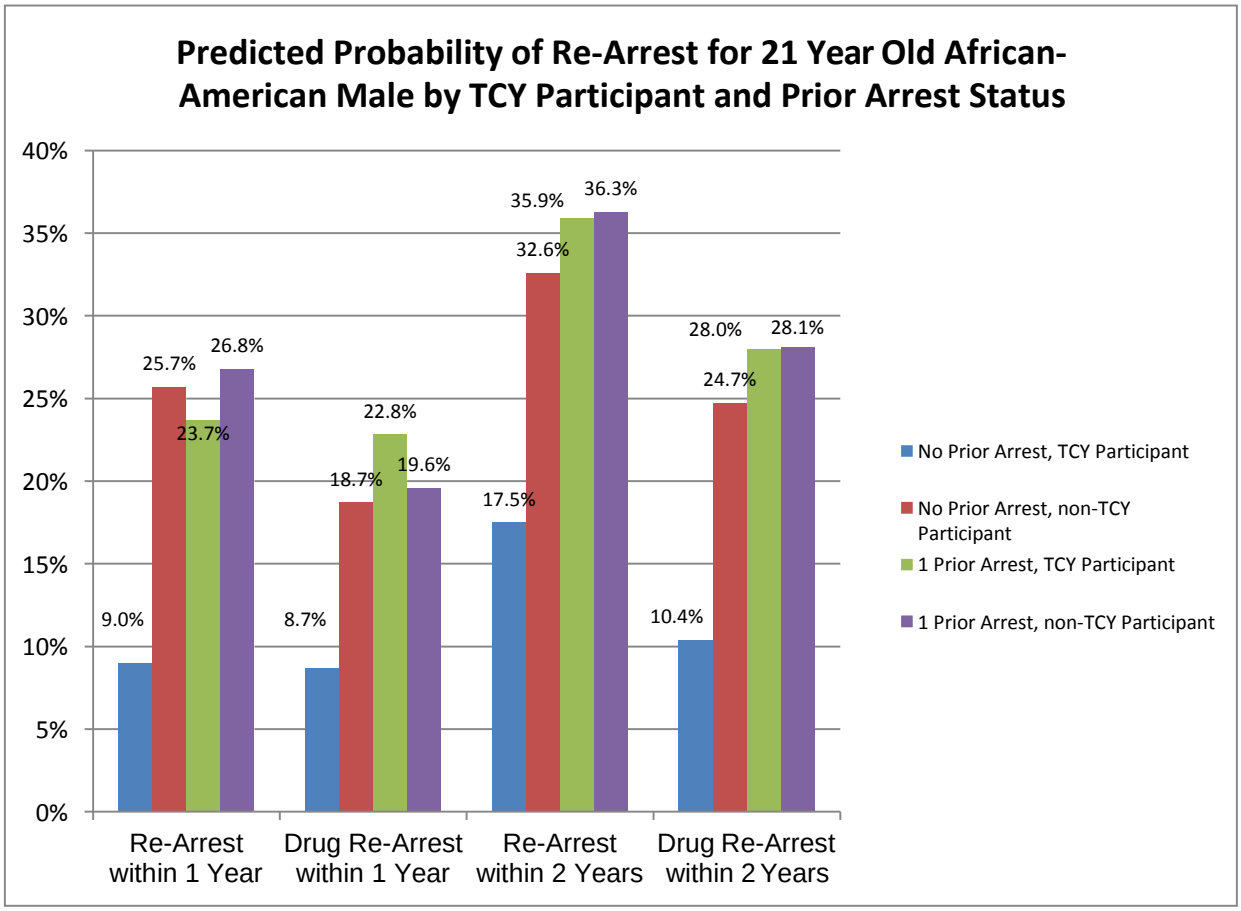
[14] Numbers in the cells of the table are hazard ratios with significance levels indicated in parentheses. On dichotomous variables, such as TCY, Female, and African-American, the hazard indicates the relative risk of re-arrest for someone with the specified characteristic compared to someone without the characteristic. On continuous variables such as age, the hazard indicates the change in relative risk of re-arrest for each additional year of age.

females. The sample is heavily weighted toward males, however, with only 13 percent of the sample female, and so this should be interpreted cautiously. There is also no significant difference in the risk of re-arrest between African-Americans and non-African Americans. The next variable, age at qualifying event—the age of the arrest that qualified the individual for TCY, or a similar arrest in 2011 qualifying an individual for the comparison group—is highly significant across all models. In each case, it is below one, suggesting that the risk of re-arrest is lower for individuals who are older at the time of the qualifying event. When looking at the 12-month re-arrest variables, number of prior adult arrests is not an important predictor of re-arrest for non-TCY participants; however, when the window is extended to 24 months, it becomes significant. For both of the 24-month outcomes, we see a hazard that is significant and greater than one indicating that each additional prior arrest increases the likelihood of re-arrest. The final two variables in the table highlight the association between participation in TCY and recidivism. For each of the four dependent variables, the hazard associated with TCY is less than one and significant, suggesting that individuals who participated in TCY were less likely than non-TCY participants to be re-arrested through both 12 and 24 month timeframes. The final variable, the interaction between number of prior arrests and TCY participation, qualifies this statement, however. For each dependent variable, this interaction is significant and greater than one, suggesting that the effect of TCY is different for participants who have prior arrests.

It is easiest to understand these models by looking at the results graphically. Figure 4 presents the predicted probabilities of re-arrest, using the coefficients from each of the models presented in Table 10, for a hypothetical African-American male who was 21 years old at the time of the qualifying arrest. Each of the blue bars in the figure represents the probability of re-arrest for a TCY participant with these characteristics and no prior arrest. The green bars indicate the probabilities for a TCY participant with these characteristics and one prior arrest, and the red and purple bars represent the two groups of non-TCY participants with these characteristics. All predicted probabilities are calculated for those with no prior jail sentences.

The important results from the survival analyses presented in Table 10 are visible quickly when presented in the bar graphs in Figure 4. For each of the four outcomes presented, the probability of re-arrest is far lower for TCY participants who have no prior arrests (blue bars). TCY participants with prior arrests (green), however, fare no better than those who did not participate in the program. Comparisons between the blue and red bars highlight the difference in the likelihood of re-arrest for TCY participants and non-participants both of whom have no prior arrests. In each case, the TCY participants are far less likely to be re-arrested than comparable individuals without an extensive criminal history. While alternative to incarceration programs are often faulted for “cherry picking” who they will serve, the evidence here suggests that they are able to make a difference with this group, and that those efforts are not wasted. At the same time, as currently constructed, the program does not successfully reduce the likelihood of re-arrest for those with prior arrests.

FIGURE 4: PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF RE-ARREST BY TCY PARTICIPANT AND PRIOR ARREST STATUS



Education and Employment

In TCY, participants without high school diplomas or GEDs worked towards educational outcomes, while those with GEDs or high school diplomas worked towards employment goals. Among participants focused on education, there were multiple pathways to achieving their goals: obtain a GED or high school diploma, successfully complete one or more GED subtests (out of five), gain one grade-level on the TABE (for every 50 hours of instruction), or enroll in a high school credit-bearing program with a minimum of three earned credits (relative to time in school). Participants with employment goals could achieve those through employment, full-time job training, or enrollment (and attendance in) post-secondary education.

Table 11 shows that most of those who graduated from TCY achieved their required educational or employment goals. For participants focused on employment goals, all but four graduates met these goals. Although current employment at the time of entry into TCY orientation was low (20 percent), 87 percent of graduates with

employment goals were employed at some point during the program. Educational goals appear to have been more difficult to accomplish. Across the 17 participants with educational goals who graduated the program, only 9 actually fulfilled the educational requirement. For the remaining 47 percent, the judge determined they were ready for graduation despite not having met their educational requirements.

TABLE 11: EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES AMONG TCY PARTICIPANTS[15]

	With an Educational Goal[16]					With an Employment Goal				
	N	Advanced One Grade Level per 50 hours of Classroom Instruction	Completed and Passed One GED Subtest or Received GED or Diploma	Enrolled in High School Credit-Bearing Program and Earned 3+ Credits	Met Educational Goal	N	Enrolled in Secondary Education	Enrolled in Full-Time Job Training	Employed During the Program	Met Employment Goal
Graduated	17	23.5% (4)	47.1% (8)	17.6% (3)	**52.9% (9)[17]**	38	15.8% (6)	10.5% (4)	86.8% (33)	**89.5% (34)**
Not Yet Graduated	2	0% (0)	20.0% (0)	0% (0)	**0% (0)**	1	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**0% (0)**
Terminated from Program	3	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**0% (0)**	3	33.3% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	**33.3% (1)**
Overall	22	18.2% (4)	36.4% (8)	13.6% (3)	**40.9% (9)**	42	16.7% (7)	9.5% (4)	78.6% (33)	**83.3% (35)**

The self-reports of educational experience during TCY presented in Table 12 from the follow-up survey may help clarify why the judge may have elected to graduate participants who had not fully satisfied the educational requirements. Although nearly half of graduates without high school diplomas had not met their educational goals, Table 12 shows that 92 percent of these individuals who completed the follow-up survey had attended GED courses. Though many were unable to successfully complete the subject tests, their efforts in attending may have been weighed more heavily than the end result. For some participants who entered with severe educational deficiencies, the 12-month program may have provided insufficient remedial education and time to pass GED subtests. Table 12 also shows that where participants entered TCY with a high school diploma or GED, very few participated in educational activities. Only 12 percent reported taking college courses, and only 18 percent attended vocational training.

[15] Progress on Educational Enhancement is reported for the 64 participants who completed the ILP and completed orientation.
[16] Educational attainment is defined by item B-30 on the ILP.
[17] The judge has the discretion to graduate a participant despite the fact that s/he has not reached program goals.

TABLE 12: PARTICIPANTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE DURING TCY BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AT INTAKE

Educational Experience During TCY[18]	No High School Diploma or GED at Intake (n=14)	High School Diploma or GED at Intake (n=35)
Attended High School	38.5%	12.1%
Attended GED Course	91.7%	3.0%[19]
Took College Course	8.3%	12.1%
Attended Vocational Training	8.3%	18.2%

On the follow-up survey, in addition to reporting on educational experience during TCY, participants were also asked to report on their employment histories throughout the program. This information is presented in Table 13, by employment status at intake. Among those who were not employed at intake, about three-quarters held a job at some point during TCY, and nearly one-half remained employed at the time of the follow-up survey. These figures show great progress; however, the information on the mean number of months employed suggests that room for improvement remains. Those who were not employed at intake worked an average of 4.3 months full-time, and 2.4 months part-time in the prior year. Assuming no overlap of the part-time and full-time jobs, these participants would have worked, at most, for an average of about 6.5 months and been unemployed for approximately 5.5 months.

TABLE 13: PARTICIPANTS' EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE DURING TCY BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT INTAKE

Employment Experience During TCY[20]	Not Employed at Intake (n=35)	Employed at Intake (n =13)
Currently Employed	47.1%	76.9%
Any Employment in Last Year	74.3%	100.0%
Months of Full Time Employment in Last Year	4.3	9.4
Months of Part-Time Employment in Last Year	2.4	3.5

Among those who were employed at intake, more than three-quarters remained employed at the time of the follow-up survey. Especially encouraging is the fact that much of this employment was full-time employment; these participants worked full-time for an average of 9.4 of the previous 12 months. In addition, participants who had been employed at intake worked part-time for an average of 3.5 of the previous 12 months. Combining the months of part-time and full-time employment would result in a total of 12.7 months employed out of 12, indicating either that some jobs were held simultaneously, or that there may be some slight over-reporting on the survey. Beyond that, several participants reported during the focus groups that their involvement in TCY enabled them to improve their employment circumstances and salaries; e.g., one participant entered as a dialysis technician, but was coached to

[18] This is the educational experience as reported by participants on the follow-up survey.
[19] Four students with high school diplomas or GEDs at intake attended high school or GED courses during TCY. For two of these, their TABE scores (to assess reading proficiency) were sufficiently low to require educational enhancement.
[20] This is the employment experience as reported by participants on the follow-up survey.

develop a more effective resume and encouraged to trade up to a job as a care manager at nursing home, employment that provided benefits not offered by the original job.

Risk Behaviors

In addition to improving educational and employment outcomes, participation in TCY was intended to reduce the level of engagement in risk behaviors. Table 14 presents the percentage of TCY participants who had engaged in each of seven risk behaviors during a specified period prior to the baseline and follow-up surveys. For two of the items—using drugs other than marijuana and carrying a weapon in the four weeks prior to the survey—there was not a significant reduction in the risk behavior from the baseline to the follow-up survey. For both items, however, engagement was relatively low, with about 10 percent reporting each activity at follow-up.

For the remaining five items in Table 14, there was a significant reduction in engagement in each behavior between the baseline and follow-up surveys. While just over one-half of respondents had used marijuana in the four weeks prior to the baseline survey, a little less than one-third reported using in the four weeks prior to the follow-up survey. Daily use of marijuana also dropped significantly. At the time of the baseline survey, about one-quarter of participants had been smoking marijuana on a daily basis, and this had dropped to 9 percent at follow up.

Along with reductions in marijuana use, participants made favorable changes regarding peers they spent time with during their association with TCY. While 29 percent had hung out with crew or gang members in the 12 months prior to the baseline survey, only 6 percent reported having done so in the 12 months prior to the follow-up survey.

TABLE 14: RISK BEHAVIORS AMONG TCY PARTICIPANTS

Justice Experience and Risk Behaviors	**Baseline Survey**	**Follow-Up Survey**	**Change[21]**	**Sample Size**
Used Marijuana in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	52.1%	29.2%	*	48
Used Marijuana Almost Daily in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	25.6%	8.5%	*	47
Used Other Drugs in 4 Weeks Prior to the Survey	10.7%	8.5%	n.s.	47
Carried Weapon in 4 Weeks Prior to Survey	19.1%	10.6%	n.s.	47
Hung Out with Crew/Gang Member in 12 Months Prior to Survey	29.2%	6.2%	**	48
Sold Marijuana in 12 Months Prior to Survey	47.9%	8.3%	***	48
Sold Hard Drugs (such as heroin, cocaine, crack) in 12 Months Prior to Survey	59.6%	6.4%	***	47

[21] + p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Finally, Table 14 presents data that suggest a reduction in the percentage of the TCY participants who sold illegal drugs. Just under half of respondents reported selling marijuana in the 12 months prior to the baseline survey, and this number was much lower at 8 percent at follow up. Similarly, although all participants had been arrested for distributing illegal drugs in order to qualify for TCY, only 60 percent reported that they had sold these drugs in the 12 months prior to the baseline survey. This number had fallen to 6 percent at follow up. We are optimistic that there was a real reduction; however, given that the percentage of TCY participants selling hard drugs may have been seriously under-reported at baseline, it may be under-reported at follow up, as well.

Healthy Living

The next outcomes we explored were healthy living outcomes. These are operationalized through a series of scales that measure overall attitude and approach to specific aspects of everyday living. Favorable ratings on these scales are a valuable standalone goal, and associated changes in attitude may also improve an individual's ability to obtain and maintain employment and avoid additional contact with the court system. Table 15 presents the means for 14 scales measured on the baseline and follow-up surveys. The component survey items that make up each scale and the associated reliabilities are presented in Appendix A.

Change from baseline to follow up was favorable for four of the scales, including the depression, desire to change, risk-taking, and decision-making scales. Means on the depression scale suggest a reduction in the frequency of feeling sad, unmotivated, and engaging in conflict. Means on the first desire to change scale suggest greater recognition that substance abuse is personally harmful, and that assistance is helpful in keeping out of prison. Changes in the risk-taking scale suggest that participants are moving toward being more acceptably cautious and law-abiding, and changes in the decision-making scale suggest participants are beginning to recognize the value in making good choices that affect their futures, and help create a self that can make them proud.

For one item, the Thinking of Others scale, the change from baseline to follow up was in a negative direction. The magnitude of the change was small, and the mean at follow up suggests that participants still considered others important, maintained friendships, and considered how their actions would affect others, but perhaps not quite as strongly as they had previously.

For the nine remaining scales—adult support, positive peers, negative peers, school value, educational efficacy, attitude toward crime, anti-crime, desire to change-b, and Pearlin mastery—there was no significant change in value on the scale between the baseline and the follow-up surveys.

TABLE 15: PARTICIPANTS' HEALTHY LIVING

Healthy Living Construct	Baseline Survey	Follow-Up Survey	Change	Sample Size
Mean on Adult Support Scale (range 0-3, 3 most favorable)	2.33	2.21	n.s.	47
Mean on Positive Peers Scale (range 1-3, 1 most favorable)	1.81	1.82	n.s.	49
Mean on Negative Peers Scale (range 1-3, 3 most favorable)	2.61	2.65	n.s.	47
Mean on School Value Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.58	1.50	n.s.	46
Mean on Educational Efficacy Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.78	1.89	n.s.	46
Mean on Attitude Toward Crime Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.34	2.36	n.s.	47
Mean on Anti-Crime Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.94	2.04	n.s.	47
Mean on Depression Scale (range 0-3, 0 most favorable)	0.85	0.50	***	47
Mean on Desire to Change Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.98	1.53	**	18
Mean on Desire to Change B Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.65	1.82	n.s.	43
Mean on Risk Taking Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.44	2.10	**	35
Mean on Thinking of Others Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	1.76	1.98	*	39
Mean on Decision Making Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.04	1.86	+	42
Mean on Perlman Mastery Scale (range 1-4, 1 most favorable)	2.10	2.14	n.s.	46

What is the Price of Success?

We have seen that participation in TCY has reduced risk taking and depression, improved decision making and increased employment. For individuals without prior arrest histories, recidivism is also lower for participants than for those who were not part of TCY. Additionally, participants rate the program highly with 93 percent of those surveyed reporting that they were happy that they had completed the program. What is the price of all this success? While some may argue that gains to society are worth any financial investment, the reality is that programs garner the most support when they are also cost-effective and potentially save taxpayer money.

One argument that is often made against diversion programs such as TCY is that they are too expensive. Opponents suggest that they do not save money that would be otherwise spent on incarceration, because the individuals who participate in the diversion program would never have gone to jail, anyway. We explored whether this concern had validity by using the comparison group file discussed in the recidivism section that was constructed from the Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets.

We restricted the comparison group to the sample of 123 individuals who, like TCY participants, had not been sentenced to jail for offenses prior to their qualifying arrest. Across this group, just over one-third were sentenced to jail for their qualifying arrest in 2011, with an average sentence of 1.28 years. According to the National Institute of Corrections, the average annual cost of incarceration in Pennsylvania in 2010 per inmate was $32,986. Therefore, as shown in the first column of Table 16, the total cost of incarceration for the comparison group was $1,773,327.36. Additionally, almost three-quarters of the comparison group received a probation sentence, with an average sentence of 2.99 years. The Department of Corrections and Board of Probation and Parole note the average annual cost of probation in Pennsylvania as $2,934 in 2009. The total cost of probation for the comparison group, also presented in Table 16, was $789,539.40. Summing the incarceration costs and the probation costs, and dividing by the 123 individuals in the comparison group produces the average cost per arrestee in the absence of TCY of $20,836.27.

In order to evaluate if TCY cost or saved taxpayer money, we made hypothetical calculations for the TCY participants assuming that TCY had not been available to them, and also calculated the actual costs of TCY. These are presented in the second and third columns of Table 16. To calculate the hypothetical figures in the second column, we applied the rates of incarceration, average jail sentences, rates of probation, and average probation period observed across the comparison group to the 65 individuals in the TCY participant group. The resulting incarceration and probation costs are summed and divided by the 65 individuals resulting in an average cost per arrestee in the absence of TCY of $20,768.82. This differs slightly from the average presented in the first column, only due to rounding to whole people when applying the rates of incarceration and rates of probation to the sample of 65.

The final column in Table 16 presents the observed costs of implementing TCY across the 65 participating young adults. This includes the costs of implementing the program, together with costs of incarceration and probation for participants who were unable to successfully complete the diversion program, and were ultimately sentenced to jail and probation. To calculate the confinement and probation figures, the estimated incarceration cost of $32,986 and probation cost of $2,934, are applied to the 6 individuals with average observed incarceration sentences of 1.24 years and average probation sentences of 3.6 years. As presented in the first line of the final column, the cost of implementing the TCY program was $957,739. This includes two important components: partial salaries of the assistant District Attorneys, Judge, Clerk, and Public Defender responsible for meeting with TCY participants at the Criminal Justice Center, as well as the cost of direct services provided to participants through JEVS. For the first piece, the salaries cost $143,684.50 for each of two years, for a total of $287,369. The cost for JEVS to provide direct services to participants was $670,370.[22] Summing the JEVS, and partial salaries costs together with the confinement and probation costs for those who did not successfully complete TCY and then dividing by the 65 participants produces the average cost per TCY participant of $19,485.07.

[22] JEVS notes that they could have served an additional 50 program participants without incurring additional costs.

TABLE 16: COMPARISON OF COSTS IN PRESENCE AND ABSENCE OF TCY[23]

Source of Cost	Observed Costs for Non-TCY Participants[24] (n=123)	Hypothetical Costs for TCY Participants if Applied at Rates Observed for non-TCY Participants (n=65)	Observed Costs for TCY Participants (n=65)
Cost to Implement TCY	$0	$0	$957,739[25]
Confinement Costs	$1,773,327.36[26]	$928,885.76[27]	$245,415.84[28]
Probation Costs	$789,539.40[29]	$421,087.68[30]	$63,374.40[31]
Average Costs per Person	$20,836.27[32]	$20,768.82[33]	$19,485.07

Comparing the figures across the final two columns of Table 16 allows us to see the cost of serving the 65 TCY participants through the traditional legal system versus through TCY. While the TCY program incurs implementation costs of just over $957,000 that were not applicable in the absence of TCY, it saves substantial costs with respect to both confinement and probation. As shown in the final row of the table, the cost per participant under TCY is $1,280

[23] In practice, actual cost savings may exceed the conservative estimates presented here if data on pre-trial prison housing were collected and analyzed.

[24] Observed costs are calculated by looking at the confinement and probation sentences on qualifying arrests for non-TCY participants who had no prior jail sentences and 0 to 2 prior adult arrests.

[25] TCY costs include estimated criminal justice employee/court costs of $143,684.50 per year x 2 years = $287,369, together with an additional $670,370 in program operating costs for JEVS. JEVS costs allow 120 participants to be served.

[26] Of the non-TCY sample, 34.1 percent were sentenced to jail on their qualifying arrest. This is 42 people (123*.341). The National Institute of Corrections cites the average cost per inmate in Pennsylvania at $32,986 in FY2010, while the Vera Institute of Justice estimates the average cost in Pennsylvania at $42,339, in a July 2012 report. We use the lower, more conservative figure here. The average confinement period for non-TCY young adults who were sentenced to jail was 1.28 years. Where sentences included a range, we coded only the lower bound of the range. The final confinement cost is calculated as: 42 people * $32,986 * 1.28 years = $1,773,327.36.

[27] The final hypothetical confinement cost is calculated as: 22 people * $32,986 * 1.28 years = $928,885.76.

[28] Of the TCY sample, six did not complete the program, and were sentenced to jail. For one of the six, a sentence has not yet been issued, so we assume that person will receive the average sentence of the other five who violated TCY. The confinement cost is calculated as: 6 people *$32,986*1.24 years = $245,415.84.

[29] Of the non-TCY sample, 73.2 percent were sentenced to probation on their qualifying arrest. This is 90 people (123*.732). The Department of Corrections and Board of Probation and Parole report the average 2009 cost of annual supervision per individual at $2,934. The average probation period for non-TCY comparisons on their qualifying event was 2.99 years. Where probation sentences included a range, we coded only the lower bound of the range. The final probation cost is calculated as: 90 people * $2934 * 2.99 years = $789,539.40.

[30] The final hypothetical probation cost is calculated as: 48 people * $2934 * 2.99 years = $421,087.68.

[31] Of the TCY sample, six did not complete the program, and were sentenced to probation. For one of the six, a sentence has not yet been issued, so we assume that person will receive the average sentence of the other five who violated TCY. The probation cost is calculated as: 6 people *$2,934*3.6 years = $63,374.40.

[32] This is the confinement + probation costs divided by total non-TCY participants: ($1,773,327.36 + $789,539.40)/123 = $20,836.27.

[33] This number is roughly equivalent to the number in the prior column. Any differences are merely due to rounding and requiring a whole number result when calculating the number of participants who would have been sentenced to confinement and probation.

less than the cost per participant in the absence of TCY. Accordingly, not only do participants benefit through positive outcomes to participation in the program, but taxpayers benefit through cost savings as compared with traditional incarceration and probation.

Conclusions

The U.S. has heavily relied on criminal justice responses to improve public safety and reduce crime. In fact, the increasingly punitive criminal justice policies of the latter part of the 20th century increased the percentage of Americans in prisons, jails, and detention facilities to five times higher than it was three decades ago (Pew Center on the States, 2008). Yet, many experts believe that the "get tough on crime" movement that began in the 1980s—ushering in harsher sentencing and, therefore, increased incarceration—has not resulted in benefits that justify the associated costs (Lynch & Sabol, 1997; Pew Center on the States, 2011). While our intuition suggests that incarceration will "teach" offenders that the punishment is not worth the crime, it is not clear that this is true (Bratton, 2011). In fact, some researchers believe that incarceration may actually increase criminal behavior upon release through marginalization and stigmatization (Durlauf & Nagin, 2011). These concerns, together with recognition of the high costs of incarceration borne by local and state governments, have led state and local governments, as well as practitioners and researchers to revisit alternatives to incarceration as potentially viable responses, at least for offenders who do not pose significant risks to public safety.

Justice system and service-providing stakeholders are acutely aware that TCY offered the rare opportunity for individuals who engaged in felony offenses requiring mandatory state sentences to earn a chance to expunge their criminal records and stay out of prison.

The experience of the TCY program suggests that diversion programming—inclusive of frequent monitoring under the jurisdiction of a problem-solving court and supportive services such as case management, educational enhancement, job readiness preparation, and employment—can be beneficial to nonviolent felony offenders, their families, and the justice system. Although the TCY pilot operated for a relatively short time and enrolled a moderate number of offenders, the consensus of justice system stakeholders, program staff and partner service providers, and participants coalesced in favor of the program as providing needed services that helped those with first-time felony

drug-selling charges avoid continued criminal activity and mandatory incarceration, as well as improved educational and employment opportunities.

The majority of offenders deemed eligible for program entry completed program requirements and graduated from TCY. Among participants whose program goals were focused on achieving full time employment, the vast majority (79 percent) were employed for some period during their program participation. For those with program goals focused on making educational progress, the news was less encouraging, with approximately 41 percent advancing one grade level per 50 hours of classroom instruction, passing a GED subtest or receiving GED certification, or enrolling in credit-bearing courses and earning at least three credits. In addition to these types of interim outcomes, participants self-reported statistically significant changes in the desired direction with respect to: 1) daily use of marijuana, 2) marijuana use during the four-week period preceding survey completion, 3) association with gangs, 4) selling marijuana in the past year, and 5) selling more serious drugs such as heroin, crack, or cocaine in the past year.

Beyond that, critically important criminal justice benchmarks were sufficiently favorable to justify continued use of the TCY model. The TCY's ETO MIS and publicly available Philadelphia Municipal Court Docket Sheets were used to track recidivism during and after program participation. For the 65 research participants tracked through the ETO, only 6 (9 percent) were re-arrested during their TCY participation and subsequently terminated from the program. Analysis of the Docket Sheets showed that 9 (14 percent) were re-arrested in the year following program entry, and 17 (26 percent) were re-arrested within two years of program entry.

Further, analysis using a quasi-experimental comparison group of similar young adult offenders who would have been eligible for TCY had it existed in 2011 showed that re-arrest within the first year was significantly higher among the comparison group (26 percent) than among TCY participants (14 percent), although there was no significant different between the two groups when only drug arrests were considered. Extending the analytic timeframe to two years, however, showed significantly less recidivism for the TCY group for both any re-arrests and drug re-arrests. Survival analyses showed that TCY participants without prior arrests were less likely to be re-arrested than comparison group members with similar histories; however, TCY participants with arrests prior to the instant charge that qualified them for program inclusion fared no better than comparisons with prior arrest histories.

Evaluators also compared the costs of program participation to the potential costs of confinement and supervision had participants been routinely processed by the justice system instead of diverted into the TCY program. The estimation found that the cost per participant is $1,280 less on average under TCY than would have been likely for routinely processed nonviolent felony offenders meeting the same eligibility criteria. However, the eligibility criteria limited enrollment to first-time nonviolent felony offenders with drug-selling charges that mandated one to two years of incarceration upon conviction. Several of the stakeholders suggested that these were conservative eligibility requirements worth re-visiting if the program were to continue. In their view, it would be reasonable to expand the criteria in such a way that individuals charged with selling slightly different substances or somewhat larger

quantities might also be considered for enrollment. Were that the case, the mandatory sentencing would possibly rise from one to two years of confinement to three or more years. Under such a scenario, confinement would likely shift from county to state facilities, and the costs of confinement would rise commensurately. Assuming offenders with more serious charges fared as well the group enrolled in the pilot program, TCY would yield even greater benefits to the criminal justice system.

Appendix A

This Appendix lists the components of each of the scales previously presented in Table 11, together with their associated reliabilities. Any items followed by an asterisk (*) were reverse coded before calculating reliabilities and creating scales.

Adult Support Scale (8 items, reliability, as measured by Cronbach's alpha—at baseline = 0.87, reliability at follow-up = 0.93)

How many family or friends:

- Could you go to for advice about health concerns?
- Pay attention to what's going on in your life?
- Get on your case when you mess up?
- Notice when you do something good?
- Could you go to for help in an emergency?
- Could you go to if you need some advice about something personal like a problem with a girlfriend or boyfriend?
- Could you go to if you thought you were in danger?
- Could you go to if you are really upset or mad about something?

Positive Peers Scale (6 items, reliability at baseline = 0.74, reliability at follow-up = 0.48)

In the last 12 months, how many of the friends you spend the most time with:

- Make you feel good about yourself?
- Are involved in sports?
- Plan to go to college (or are in college)?
- Have a regular job?
- Go to church or religious services regularly?
- Think that staying in school is important?

Negative Peers Scale (7 items, reliability at baseline = 0.73, reliability at follow-up = 0.85)

In the last 12 months, how many of the friends you spend the most time with:

- Have broken into a car, home, or building to steal something?
- Put pressure on you to use drugs?
- Are crew or gang members?
- Have stolen something worth more than $50?
- Have destroyed property?
- Have sold drugs or stolen property to make money?
- Often don't have a place to sleep?

School Value Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.75, reliability at follow-up = 0.80)

- School is useful in helping me to make good decisions in my life.
- Getting a good education is important to me.
- My education will be valuable in getting the job I want.
- What I learn in school is useful for the job I want to have as an adult.
- I am interested in the things I've learned in school.

Educational Efficacy Scale (9 items, reliability at baseline = 0.77, reliability at follow-up = 0.74)

- I get mostly bad breaks when it comes to education. *
- To get the education I need, I have to be lucky. *
- I can work really hard when it comes to getting the education I need.
- I am smart enough to finish my education.
- If I don't finish my education, it's because I didn't have the chances others had. *
- When I have trouble with schoolwork, it's because teachers or education staff don't like me. *
- I can't figure out what it takes to finish my education.
- I will be able to get the kind of education I need.
- To get the education I need, all I have to do is try hard.

Attitude toward Crime Scale (7 items, reliability at baseline = 0.82, reliability at follow-up = 0.83)

- I have committed crimes to make ends meet.
- I have committed crimes to buy things I like.
- I have broken the law because I wasn't making enough money in my regular job.
- If it were the only way I could make money, I would think about committing a crime.
- I don't mind work, but you can't make as much money in a regular job as you can committing crimes.
- If I knew I'd never get caught, I would prefer making money by breaking the law over working a regular job.
- Even if I had a job, I would still make some of my money by committing crimes.

Anti-Crime Scale (4 items, reliability at baseline =0.78, reliability at follow-up = 0.81)

- No matter how low the pay, I would rather work than commit crimes for money.
- Even if it was a lousy job, I would still rather work than make money by breaking the law.
- Even if I can't get a job, I will never break the law for money.
- Even if I could make more money by breaking the law, I would still rather have a regular job.

Depression Scale (7 items, reliability at baseline = 0.87, reliability at follow-up = 0.82)

How many times in the last week have you:

- Lost your temper.
- Not been able to shake off the blues even with help from our family and friends.
- Felt unhappy.
- Felt sad.
- Felt that people disliked you.
- Not been able to get motivated.
- Gotten into an argument or fight.

Desire to Change Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.78, reliability at follow-up = 0.82)

- Drug use is a problem for me.
- Alcohol use is a problem for me.
- I need help in preventing my return to prison.
- My drug use is causing problems in finding or keeping a job.
- My drug use is causing problems with my family or friends.

Desire to Change B Scale (3 items, reliability at baseline = 0.67, reliability at follow-up = 0.72)

- I am willing to give up my old friends and hangouts to go straight.
- I will work hard to keep a job.
- I think about what caused my current problems.

Risk Taking Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.71, reliability at follow-up = 0.61)

- I like to take chances.
- I like the "fast" life.
- I like friends who are wild.
- I like to do things that are strange and exciting.
- I have trouble following rules and laws.

Thinking of Others Scale (3 items, reliability at baseline = 0.60, reliability at follow-up = 0.60)

- I feel people are important to me.
- I think about how my actions will affect others.
- I keep the same friends for a long time.

Decision Making Scale (5 items, reliability at baseline = 0.76, reliability at follow-up = 0.73)

- I have much to be proud of.
- I am satisfied with myself.
- I plan ahead.
- I make good decisions.
- I am very careful and cautious.

Pearlin Mastery Scale (4 items, reliability at baseline = 0.78, reliability at follow-up = 0.72)

- There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have.

- Sometimes I feel that I'm being pushed around in life.
- I have little control over the things that happen to me.
- I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

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About the Authors

Sarah K. Pepper is a senior evaluation consultant at McClanahan Associates, Inc. with experience in program evaluation, survey design, focus group facilitation, and data analysis. Her current work involves analyzing reading scores and attendance data from an after-school literacy initiative with the Free Library of Philadelphia Foundation, and she is part of the McClanahan Associates, Inc. team evaluating The Choice is Yours, an alternative to incarceration program for non-violent drug offenders in Philadelphia. In earlier work, as a consultant with Public/Private Ventures, she analyzed survey and attendance data and participated in report writing for many projects including—but not limited to—an evaluation of middle school participants in Boys and Girls Clubs of America as they transitioned to high school, an evaluation of participants in after school literacy programs, and an evaluation of First Place for Youth: a program aimed at improving housing, education and employment outcomes for youth emancipating from foster care. Dr. Pepper previously worked with Public/Private Ventures as a Research Associate where she analyzed data relating to many youth development programs including the San Francisco Beacons Centers, a gang prevention program of the Boys & Girls Clubs of America, and a teen pregnancy reduction program. She evaluated the Mentoring Supervisor Certificate Program for Big Brothers Big Sisters of NYC, and evaluated factors that contribute to the sustainability of programs receiving Robert Wood Johnson Faith in Action seed grants. Dr. Pepper received a B.A. in Sociology from Temple University where she was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. She earned her M.A. in Demography together with a Ph.D. in Demography and Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

Shelli B. Rossman was a Senior Fellow in the Justice Policy Center of Urban Institute with more than 30 years of research and management experience on projects for federal/national, state, and local governments, as well as private-sector clients in the areas of 1) criminal justice, including reentry, problem-solving courts, community-based and correctional supervision, case management and comprehensive service delivery for offender populations, delinquency prevention and intervention, and victimization; 2) public health, focused on substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, and reproductive health; and 3) community safety. In both national and international settings, her projects have addressed improving the standards and monitoring of service delivery for at- and high-risk populations, as well as

cultural competency and gender equity issues. She recently completed the largest problem-solving court research study ever conducted: *NIJ's Multi-Site Evaluation of Adult Drug Courts (MADCE)*—a study of 23 courts and 6 comparison jurisdictions in 8 states, during which researchers completed nearly 5,000 in-person surveys, conducted multiple site visits documenting core activities, and performed more than 1,000 research-conducted drug screens (Rossman et al. 2011) —that won the Urban Institute's President's Award in 2011. Earlier, Ms. Rossman directed the *Opportunity to Succeed (OPTS)* project, the first and only multi-site randomized clinical trial (RCT) of a prisoner reentry model. The evaluation randomly assigned felony substance-abusing offenders in five sites to comprehensive case management and a suite of services under OPTS or business-as-usual in the community post-release (Rossman & Roman 2003, Rossman et al. 1999, Rossman et al. 1998).

Wendy S. McClanahan is President of McClanahan Associates, Inc. Dr. McClanahan has over 20 years of evaluation experience, and is committed to "evaluation for progress." Her work focuses on generating information that will help support the implementation of effective programs and strategies within the government, non-profit, and private sectors. She is an expert in quantitative methods and impact, process, and outcome studies, and has focused extensively on evaluations of programs and initiatives designed to assist high-risk populations. Dr. McClanahan has been involved in several evaluations of out-of-school time, crime reduction, and employment and training efforts over the past 20 years, and as such, has a deep understanding of how these systems function. Dr. McClanahan served as the principal investigator of the impact evaluation of Philadelphia's Youth Violence Reduction Partnership (YVRP), which has worked to reduce youth homicides in Philadelphia for over a decade. She is also currently leading the evaluation of The Choice is Yours (TCY), Philadelphia District Attorney Seth Williams' innovative alternative to incarceration program for felony offenders. Dr. McClanahan has been the principal investigator of the Elev8 initiative since 2008. She has guided the evaluation process and technical assistance efforts, which aim to understand how Elev8 sites and programs can strengthen their work to support positive trajectories for participants. As a result of this effort, Elev8 has adopted one of the most comprehensive data collection efforts of the community schools movement. Dr. McClanahan has authored numerous reports including Out of School Time in Elev8 Community Schools: A First Look at its Unique Contribution to Student Outcomes; Illuminating Solutions: The Youth Violence Reduction Partnership; Mentoring the Formerly Incarcerated Adults: Insight from Ready4Work Reentry Initiative; Mustering the Armies of

Compassion: Youth Education for Tomorrow; Enriching Summer Work: The Summer Career Exploration Program; Targeted Outreach: Boys and Girls Clubs of America's Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention; and Murder Is No Mystery: An Analysis of Philadelphia Homicides 1996–1999. Prior to forming McClanahan Associates, Inc., Dr. McClanahan spent 18 years at Public/Private Ventures, the last seven of which she served as Senior Vice President for Research and Evaluation. Dr. McClanahan received her Ph.D. in Criminology from the University of Pennsylvania. She holds an M.S. in Human Development from The Pennsylvania State University and a B.A. in Psychology from Lehigh University.