

Summary Findings from the National Evaluation of the Honest Opportunity Probation with Enforcement Demonstration Field Experiment: The HOPE DFE Evaluation

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High- and medium-risk probationers in four sites were randomly assigned to Honest Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (HOPE) probation or probation as usual (PAU) beginning in August 2012. This demonstration field experiment was designed to assess the effectiveness of HOPE in reducing drug use, probation revocations, arrests, and convictions. Specifically, the DFE was designed to determine whether a program originally implemented and determined to be effective as Hawaii’s Opportunity Probation with Enforcement was generalizable.

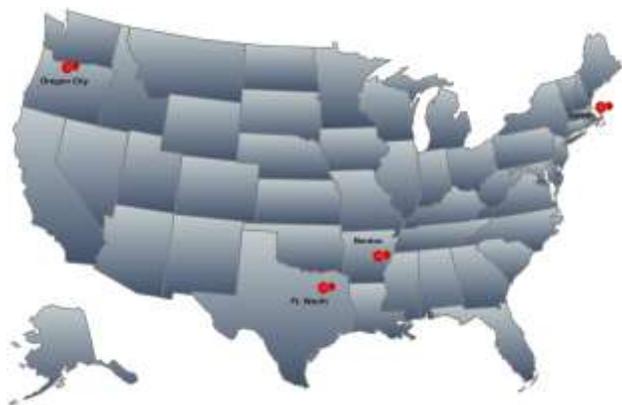


Figure 1. Location of HOPE DFE sites.

HOPE supervision is characterized by regular, random drug testing, and ‘swift, certain, and fair’ (SCF) responses to any violations of the conditions of probation, including positive or missed drug tests. HOPE supervision includes an initial warning hearing, close monitoring of conditions, and responses to all violations. Treatment is reserved for those who repeatedly fail the drug tests. HOPE

supervision stands in contrast to ‘probation as usual’ or PAU, which often tolerates multiple violations until a ‘last straw’ results in revocation to prison.



Figure 2. The HOPE supervision program model.

- ♦ Sites differing in organizational structures and target probation populations successfully implemented HOPE or Swift, Certain, and Fair (SCF) programs with fidelity.
- ♦ Sites had the most difficulty bringing violators to a violation hearing within 3 days of the violation—in large part because of absconding.
- ♦ Recidivism outcomes were similar for those in HOPE programs and probation as usual (PAU)—exceptions were higher revocations in two sites and higher reconvictions in one site for HOPE probationers.
- ♦ Results suggest that HOPE/SCF probation programs can be successfully implemented to produce greater accountability among probation populations; however, it is unlikely that HOPE/SCF can produce lower recidivism or lower costs than PAU.

The study randomly assigned HOPE-eligible probationers to HOPE or PAU. HOPE eligibility criteria included at least 1 year of probation remaining and moderate- to high-risk.



Figure 4. 1504 probationers randomly assigned between August 2012 and September 2014: 743 to HOPE and 761 to PAU.

Juveniles, non-English speaking persons, out-of-county or intrastate transfers, interstate compact, and individuals on special caseloads (e.g., drug court, pretrial) were excluded from eligibility.

Cross-Site Findings

Implementation of the HOPE supervision model ranged from very good to excellent across the sites based on fidelity assessments. Of eleven criteria specified as elements of the HOPE model, sites in general were able to comply with nearly all. The exception was an expectation that violation hearings be held within 3 days of a violation: Only one site achieved this objective at least 60% of the time. Absconders were the primary reason that sites did not meet this standard.

HOPE Program Element	All Sites
Leadership: identified by site stakeholders	✓✓ all sites
Probationers moderate to high risk	✓✓ 3 sites
Warning hearings compliant with 14 key themes	✓✓ 3 sites
Initial drug testing frequency (≥ 8 random tests, first 2 months)	✓✓ all sites
Stepped down testing frequency (≥ 1 random test per month following initial testing)	✓✓ 3 sites; ✓ 1 site
Consequences for missed tests	✓✓ all sites
Violation hearing held within 3 days of violation	✓ 1 site
Jail or confinement as sanction for violation	✓✓ 3 sites; ✓ 1 site
Sanction was 19 days (Hawaii average) or less	✓✓ 2 sites; ✓ 2 sites
Sanction imposed with certainty at violation hearing	✓✓ all sites
Sanction applied within 3 days of violation hearing	✓✓ 1 site; ✓ 3 sites

✓ Met 60% standard; ✓✓ Met 80% standard

Figure 3. Site fidelity with key elements of a HOPE program, showing extent to which elements were met at least 60% of the time and at least 80%.

HOPE and PAU study participants were similar in their pre-study characteristics. They were, on average, about 31 years old, male, and high risk,

with 7 prior arrests and 3+ prior convictions. Most had a history of arrest for a variety of offenses.

	Overall	Hope	PAU
Age at intake***	31.0 (10.37)	30.6 (10.06)	31.5 (10.66)
Male = 1***	0.81 (0.40)	0.81 (0.39)	0.80 (0.40)
High risk***	0.55 (0.50)	0.55 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)
Age at first arrest***	22.1 (7.78)	21.9 (7.64)	22.4 (7.91)
# Prior arrests***	7.3 (8.13)	7.4 (8.46)	7.3 (7.82)
Has prior person charge***	0.56 (0.50)	0.57 (0.50)	0.56 (0.50)
Has prior property charge***	0.74 (0.44)	0.75 (0.43)	0.74 (0.44)
Has prior drug charge***	0.66 (0.48)	0.66 (0.47)	0.65 (0.48)
Has prior public order/other charge***	0.77 (0.42)	0.75 (0.43)	0.79 (0.41)
# Prior convictions***	3.5 (4.42)	3.6 (4.80)	3.4 (4.01)

Figure 5. ***Subject characteristics differed across sites ($p < 0.001$); there were no significant differences between those assigned to HOPE and those assigned to PAU.

Individuals in the study were on probation for a drug (31%), property (30%), person (24%), or public order/other (15%) offense (data not shown). The PAU group was significantly more likely than the HOPE group to have a person charge (26% versus 21%) and less likely to have a public order/other charge (13% versus 18%).

Recidivism data, including revocations, arrests, and incarcerations, were obtained from local and state agencies and provide an average of 650 days of follow-up post study enrollment. Overall, there were **no significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between the HOPE and PAU groups in the likelihood of primary outcomes including arrest, probation revocation, or new conviction, although the HOPE probationers experienced somewhat fewer numbers of new arrests on average.**

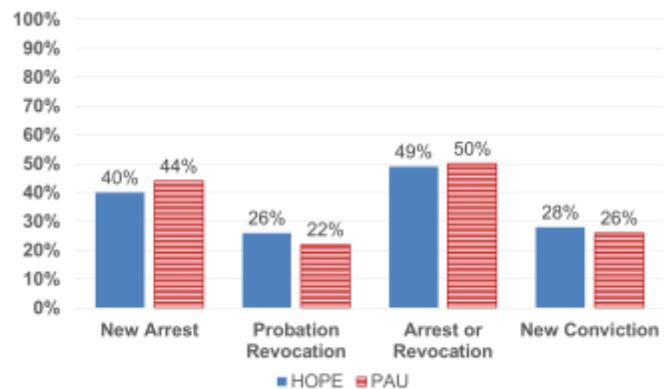


Figure 6. Recidivism outcomes across all sites showed no significant differences between the HOPE and PAU groups.

About 42% of both groups experienced at least one recidivism arrest, but PAU probationers, on average, had somewhat more recidivism arrests than HOPE probationers over the follow-up period—0.8 compared with 0.7 ($p = 0.06$). Both groups were equally likely to have had their probation revoked (about 25%) and to have received a new conviction (about 27%).

HOPE probationers were less likely to have experienced arrest charges for property and drug offenses, although these differences were not significant when controlling for street time. (Street time is time that the individual was not in jail or prison or in residential treatment—in other words, time ‘on the street’ or out in the community.) The bivariate comparisons showed that 15% of HOPE probationers compared with 20% of PAU probationers were arrested for a property charge and 12% of HOPE compared with 15% of PAU probationers experienced a drug charge. There were no differences between the two groups in being arrested for a person or public order/other charge—about 11% and 28%, respectively.

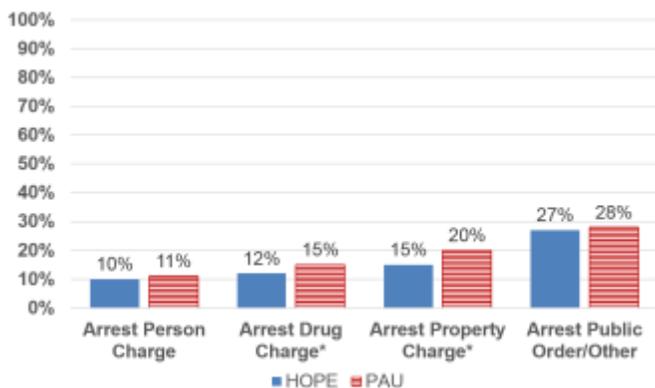


Figure 7. HOPE probationers were less likely to have had a drug charge or a property charge ($p < 0.05$) during the follow-up period, although this difference disappeared when we controlled for street time.

Overall, there were no differences between the two groups in terms of the likelihood of being convicted for a person, drug, property, or public order/other offense.

There were differences in implementation, probationer characteristics, and outcomes across

the sites. The following sections describe HOPE DFE findings at each of the four sites.

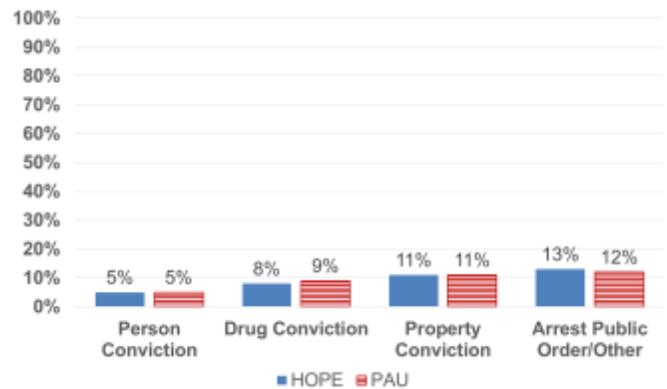


Figure 8. There were no differences in conviction outcomes between the HOPE and PAU groups during the follow-up period.

Saline County (Benton), Arkansas

HOPE implementation began in August 2012 in Saline County (Benton), Arkansas. The site was successful in implementing HOPE, meeting 9 of 11 criteria at least 60% of the time—most (7 criteria) at least 80% of the time (see Figure 9). The assessed risk level was less than moderate or high for most enrollees. The site was also one of three that was unable to hold violation hearings within 3 days of the violations for at least 60% of the events.

Criteria	Benton, AR
Leadership: identified by site stakeholders	✓✓
Probationers moderate to high risk	
Warning hearings compliant with 14 key themes	✓✓
Initial drug testing frequency (≥ 8 random tests, first 2 months)	✓✓
Stepped-down testing frequency (≥ 1 random test per month following initial testing)	✓✓
Consequences for missed tests	✓✓
Violation hearing held within 3 days of violation	
Jail or confinement as sanction for violation	✓✓
Sanction was 19 days (Hawaii average) or less	✓
Sanction imposed with certainty at violation hearing	✓✓
Sanction applied within 3 days of violation hearing	✓

✓ Met 60% standard; ✓✓ Met 80% standard

Figure 9. Site compliance with key elements of a HOPE program in Arkansas.

In Arkansas, 342 probationers were randomly assigned to HOPE (179) or PAU (163) between August 2012 and September 2014. Those enrolled

in the study tended to be about 32 years of age (somewhat older than the full study sample), male, and not assessed as high risk (see Figure 10). Unlike the full study sample (and the other three sites), few of the study enrollees were high risk (3%). Most were assessed as low risk (73% of the HOPE and 83% of PAU groups; significantly different at $p < 0.02$). Although unable to conclusively verify, the most likely explanation appears to be that low-risk probationers who violated their conditions became HOPE-eligible and were randomly assigned to either HOPE or PAU without conducting (or, perhaps, recording) a new risk assessment that would have resulted in a reclassification to high (or medium) risk.

The Arkansas probationers had less prior criminal justice system involvement than the study sample as a whole, with about 4 prior arrests and about 2 prior convictions. The offense charge for their current probation (data not shown) was for a property offense (37%), drug offense (24%), person offense (23%), and public order/other offense (16%). There were no differences in current offense charge between the HOPE and PAU groups.

	Overall	Hope	PAU
Age at intake	32.3 (10.21)	32.1 (9.73)	32.5 (10.73)
Male = 1	0.73 (0.44)	0.77 (0.42)	0.69 (0.46)
High risk	0.03 (0.17)	0.03 (0.17)	0.03 (0.18)
Age at first arrest	27.2 (9.63)	26.9 (9.46)	27.5 (9.83)
# Prior arrests	4.4 (3.38)	4.3 (3.27)	4.5 (3.51)
Has prior person charge	0.52 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)
Has prior property charge	0.69 (0.46)	0.70 (0.46)	0.68 (0.47)
Has prior drug charge	0.59 (0.49)	0.57 (0.50)	0.61 (0.49)
Has prior public order/other charge	0.74 (0.44)	0.73 (0.45)	0.75 (0.43)
# Prior convictions	1.7 (1.13)	1.8 (1.21)	1.7 (1.04)

Figure 10. Characteristics of individuals enrolled in the HOPE DFE in Arkansas; there were no differences in pre-study characteristics between those assigned to HOPE and those assigned to PAU.

Study participants were followed an average of 607 days in Arkansas. **HOPE probationers were significantly more likely than PAU probationers to experience a probation revocation (33% versus 13%) and a new conviction (39% versus 22%).**

There were no significant differences between the HOPE and PAU probationers in the likelihood of having a new arrest or in having the combined measure of an arrest or a revocation (Figure 11).

However, **HOPE probationers did have fewer new arrest counts than PAU probationers, on average, 0.68 versus 0.99 ($p < 0.05$).**

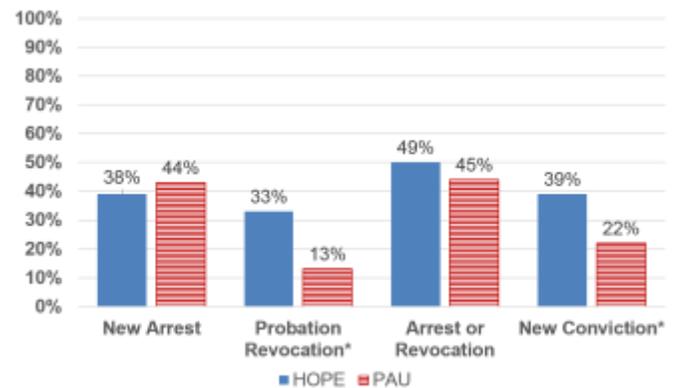


Figure 11. In Arkansas, HOPE probationers were significantly more likely than PAU probationers to experience a probation revocation and a new conviction; there were no differences in arrest likelihood or the likelihood of arrest or revocation combined.

Unlike with the overall results, there were no significant differences in the Arkansas site between the HOPE and PAU groups in new arrests for different types of offenses: person (11% HOPE, 15% PAU), property (17% HOPE, 23% PAU), drug (8% HOPE, 14% PAU), or public order offenses (28% HOPE, 33% PAU). There were also no statistically significant differences in convictions for various types of offenses: person (8% HOPE, 4% PAU), property (17% HOPE, 11% PAU), drug (11% HOPE, 9% PAU), or public order/other (11% HOPE, 6% other).

Essex County (Salem), Massachusetts

HOPE implementation began in October 2012 in Essex County (Salem), Massachusetts. The site was successful in implementing HOPE, meeting 10 of 11 criteria—8 at least 80% of the time and 2 at least 60% of the time. The only element that the site failed to achieve at least 60% of the time was to hold a violation hearing within 3 days of the violation.

Criteria	Salem, MA
Leadership: identified by site stakeholders	✓✓
Probationers moderate to high risk	✓✓
Warning hearings compliant with 14 key themes	✓✓
Initial drug testing frequency (≥ 8 random tests, first 2 months)	✓✓
Stepped down testing frequency (≥ 1 random test per month following initial testing)	✓✓
Consequences for missed tests	✓✓
Violation hearing held within 3 days of violation	
Jail or confinement as sanction for violation	✓
Sanction was 19 days (Hawaii average) or less	✓✓
Sanction imposed with certainty at violation hearing	✓✓
Sanction applied within 3 days of violation hearing	✓

✓ Met 60% standard; ✓✓ Met 80% standard

Figure 12. Site compliance with key elements of a HOPE program in Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts, 392 probationers were randomly assigned to HOPE (189) or PAU (203) between October 2012 and July 2014. There were no significant differences in pre-study characteristics between the HOPE and PAU study groups. The Massachusetts study participants were somewhat older on average than the overall study population (nearly 34 years old compared to the overall average of 31), more likely to be male (88% versus 81%), and more likely to be high risk (72% versus 55%).

	Overall	Hope	PAU
Age at intake	33.7 (11.14)	33.7 (10.75)	33.6 (11.51)
Male = 1	0.88 (0.32)	0.88 (0.33)	0.89 (0.32)
High risk	0.72 (0.45)	0.74 (0.44)	0.70 (0.46)
Age at first arrest	20.0 (6.53)	20.0 (6.65)	19.9 (6.44)
# Prior arrests	13.0 (11.87)	13.5 (12.51)	12.5 (11.25)
Has prior person charge	0.86 (0.35)	0.86 (0.35)	0.85 (0.36)
Has prior property charge	0.81 (0.39)	0.80 (0.40)	0.82 (0.38)
Has prior drug charge	0.57 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)	0.60 (0.49)
Has prior public order/other charge	0.93 (0.26)	0.92 (0.27)	0.93 (0.25)
# Prior convictions	5.8 (6.45)	6.4 (7.41)	5.2 (5.38)

Figure 13. Characteristics of individuals enrolled in the HOPE DFE in Massachusetts; there were no differences in pre-study characteristics between those assigned to HOPE and those assigned to PAU.

Among study participants across the four DFE sites, the Massachusetts study participants had the most extensive criminal histories, typically experiencing their first arrest at 20, and accumulating an average of 13 prior arrests and nearly 6 prior convictions. The Massachusetts participants were more likely than those from the other sites to have a current charge for a person offense (50% versus 24% for the study population as a whole; data not shown); the current offenses of other

Massachusetts participants were property (22%), public order/other (17%), and drug (11%).

Study participants were followed an average of 584 days in Massachusetts. Although the rates of recidivism across four measures were lower for the HOPE group compared to the PAU group, the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant.

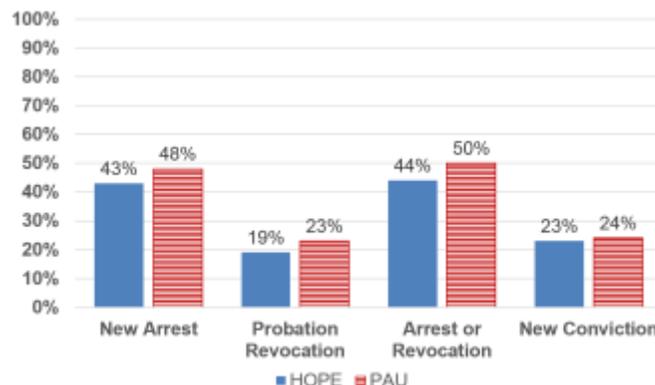


Figure 14. Recidivism outcomes in Massachusetts; there were no differences in outcomes between those assigned to HOPE and those assigned to PAU.

There were no significant differences between HOPE and PAU probationers in the average number of new arrests (0.75) or the percentage of each group who experienced recidivism arrest charges for public order/other (29%) person (16%), property (16%), and drug (10%) offenses. The two groups also did not differ in the average number of new convictions (0.30).

Clackamas County (Oregon City), Oregon HOPE implementation began in August 2012 in Clackamas County (Oregon City), Oregon. The site was successful in implementing HOPE, meeting 9 of 11 criteria—6 at least 80% of the time and 3 at least 60% of the time (Figure 15). Missed criteria included failure of observed warning hearings to include the 14 key HOPE themes at least 60% of the time (although only a few hearings were observed). Also, as was true in two of the other sites, violation hearings were not held within 3 days of violation at least 60% of the time.

Criteria	Oregon City, OR
Leadership: identified by site stakeholders	✓✓
Probationers moderate to high risk	✓✓
Warning hearings compliant with 14 key themes	
Initial drug testing frequency (≥ 8 random tests, first 2 months)	✓✓
Stepped-down testing frequency (≥ 1 random test per month following initial testing)	✓
Consequences for missed tests	✓✓
Violation hearing held within 3 days of violation	
Jail or confinement as sanction for violation	✓✓
Sanction was 19 days (Hawaii average) or less	✓
Sanction imposed with certainty at violation hearing	✓✓
Sanction applied within 3 days of violation hearing	✓

✓ Met 60% standard; ✓✓ Met 80% standard

Figure 15. Site compliance with key elements of a HOPE program in Oregon.

In Oregon, 394 probationers were randomly assigned to HOPE (190) or PAU (204) between August 2012 and December 2013. Oregon subjects were about the same age as the study population overall (31 years), and 83% were male. Among the study groups in the four sites, the Oregon study group had the highest proportion of high risk probationers (88% compared with 72% in Massachusetts, 52% in Texas, and 3% in Arkansas). On average, the Oregon study participants had fewer prior arrests than the overall study population (6.0 versus 7.3) but a greater number of prior convictions, on average (4.3 versus 3.5).

Among the Oregon study participants, there were few differences between those assigned to the two groups. Those assigned to HOPE were significantly more likely than those assigned to PAU to be assessed as high risk (93% versus 84%). The HOPE probationers were also more likely than the PAU probationers to have a prior drug charge (80% versus 67%), while study participants assigned to PAU were significantly more likely than those assigned to HOPE to have a prior person charge (53% versus 42%) and a prior public order/other charge (81% versus 71%).

There were also significant differences between the two groups in current offense (data not shown). Although both groups were equally likely to have a current offense as a drug offense (43% HOPE, 46% PAU), HOPE probationers were more likely than PAU to have a current public order/other charge (25% HOPE, 16% PAU) and less likely to have a person offense charge (15% HOPE,

24% PAU). The two groups had similar percentages with a property offense (17% HOPE, 15% PAU).

	Overall	Hope	PAU
Age at intake	30.8 (9.91)	30.0 (9.89)	31.5 (9.91)
Male = 1	0.83 (0.38)	0.83 (0.38)	0.83 (0.38)
High risk**	0.88 (0.33)	0.93 (0.26)	0.84 (0.37)
Age at first arrest	22.9 (6.17)	22.4 (5.52)	23.3 (6.70)
# Prior arrests	6.0 (6.05)	5.8 (5.93)	6.2 (6.17)
Has prior person charge*	0.48 (0.50)	0.42 (0.49)	0.53 (0.50)
Has prior property charge	0.69 (0.46)	0.73 (0.45)	0.66 (0.48)
Has prior drug charge**	0.73 (0.44)	0.80 (0.40)	0.67 (0.47)
Has prior public order/other charge*	0.76 (0.43)	0.71 (0.46)	0.81 (0.39)
# Prior convictions	4.3 (3.91)	4.1 (3.78)	4.4 (4.04)

Figure 16. Characteristics of individuals enrolled in the HOPE DFE in Oregon; study participants assigned to HOPE differed from those assigned to PAU with regard to risk level and types of prior charges.

Study participants were followed an average of 724 days in Oregon. **HOPE probationers were significantly more likely than PAU probationers to experience a probation revocation (17% versus 9%).** There were no significant differences in the other three recidivism measures between the two groups.

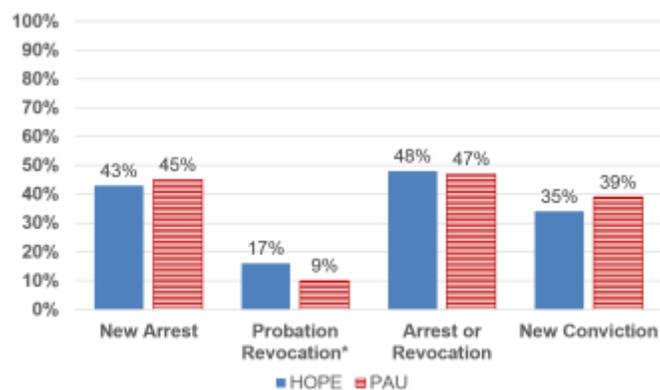


Figure 17. Recidivism outcomes in Oregon; those assigned to HOPE were significantly more likely than those assigned to PAU to be revoked from probation ($p < 0.05$).

On average, the HOPE group had fewer new arrests than the PAU group (0.83 versus 0.96), and fewer new convictions (0.55 versus 0.63), but these differences were not significant. There were no differences in the Oregon site between the HOPE and PAU groups in new arrests for different types of offenses. About 31% of both groups had a public order/other arrest charge, 22% had a property charge, 19% had a drug charge, and 8% had a person charge.

Tarrant County (Ft. Worth), Texas

HOPE implementation began in August 2012 in Tarrant County (Ft. Worth), Texas. The site was successful in implementing HOPE, meeting all 11 criteria—10 at least 80% of the time and 1 of the 11 at least 60% of the time. The only criteria they did not meet at least 80% of the time was holding a violation hearing within 3 days of the violation—but they were successful in achieving this measure at least 60% of the time.

Criteria	Ft. Worth, TX
Leadership: identified by site stakeholders	✓✓
Probationers moderate to high risk	✓✓
Warning hearings compliant with 14 key themes	✓✓
Initial drug testing frequency (≥ 8 random tests, first 2 months)	✓✓
Stepped down testing frequency (≥ 1 random test per month following initial testing)	✓✓
Consequences for missed tests	✓✓
Violation hearing held within 3 days of violation	✓
Jail or confinement as sanction for violation	✓✓
Sanction was 19 days (Hawaii average) or less	✓✓
Sanction imposed with certainty at violation hearing	✓✓
Sanction applied within 3 days of violation hearing	✓✓

✓ Met 60% standard; ✓✓ Met 80% standard

Figure 18. Site compliance with key elements of a HOPE program in Texas.

In Texas, 376 probationers were randomly assigned to HOPE (185) or PAU (191) between August 2012 and September 2014. Among the four DFE study groups, the Texas study group was the youngest, on average (nearly 28 compared with about 31 in Oregon, 32 in Arkansas, and 34 in Massachusetts). The HOPE probationers were younger, on average, than the PAU group—26.5 years compared with 28.4 years. There were fewer male probationers in Texas than the study population as a whole (77% compared with 81%), although there was no significant difference between the two groups.

Compared with the average participant in the overall study group, the average Texas study participant experienced his/her first arrest at a younger age (19 versus 22), had fewer prior arrests (5.4 versus 7.3), and fewer prior convictions (2.1 versus 3.5). The Texas study group was slightly less likely than the overall study group to be assessed as high risk (52% versus 55%).

	Overall	Hope	PAU
Age at intake*	27.5 (9.10)	26.5 (8.26)	28.4 (9.78)
Male = 1	0.77 (0.42)	0.77 (0.42)	0.76 (0.43)
High risk	0.52 (0.50)	0.53 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)
Age at first arrest	19.0 (5.95)	18.5 (5.67)	19.5 (6.17)
# Prior arrests	5.4 (4.70)	5.6 (5.30)	5.3 (4.04)
Has prior person charge*	0.38 (0.49)	0.44 (0.50)	0.32 (0.47)
Has prior property charge	0.77 (0.42)	0.76 (0.43)	0.78 (0.42)
Has prior drug charge	0.73 (0.44)	0.72 (0.45)	0.74 (0.44)
Has prior public order/other charge	0.65 (0.48)	0.66 (0.48)	0.64 (0.48)
# Prior convictions	2.1 (2.51)	2.2 (2.62)	2.0 (2.41)

Figure 19. Characteristics of individuals enrolled in the HOPE DFE in Texas; study participants assigned to HOPE differed from those assigned to PAU with regard to age and type of prior charges.

Among the Texas study participants, those assigned to HOPE were significantly more likely than those assigned to PAU to have a prior person charge (44% versus 32%; significant $p < 0.05$). The two groups were similar on the likelihood of having a prior drug charge, property charge, and public order/other charge.

Current offenses were similar for the two groups (data not shown). About 48% had a current property offense; 44% had a current drug offense; 8% had a current public order/other offense; and 1% had a current person offense (data not shown).

Study participants were followed an average of 680 days in Texas. **Although the rates of recidivism across 4 measures were lower for the HOPE group compared with the PAU group, the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant.**

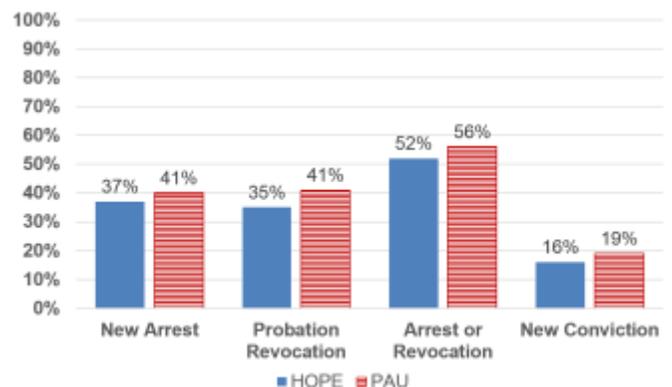


Figure 20. Recidivism outcomes in Texas; there were no differences in outcomes between those assigned to HOPE and those assigned to PAU.

On average, the HOPE group had fewer new arrests than did the PAU group (0.48 versus 0.68; significant at $p < 0.05$), although this difference vanished when controlling for street time. There was no significant difference in the number of new convictions (0.18 versus 0.23).

HOPE probationers were less likely than PAU probationers to have a recidivism arrest drug charge (9.4% compared to 17.4%; significant at $p < 0.05$), **and a recidivism drug conviction** (2.8% versus 7.9%; significant at $p < 0.05$). These differences persisted even when controlling for street time.

Implications for Policy and Practice

HOPE and, more generally, Swift, Certain, and Fair (SCF) programs have been implemented across the United States and elsewhere in response to the original strong positive findings for the Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement program a decade ago. Those early results from Hawaii suggested probation based on SCF responses to violations of supervision conditions was effective in reducing drug use and new arrests among probationers. The HOPE DFE was sponsored by the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Assistance to test the generalizability of the Hawaii findings.

The DFE demonstrated that HOPE could be successfully implemented in sites with divergent organizational relationships between the courts, probation, and law enforcement. The fidelity findings for the four DFE HOPE programs suggested very good to excellent fidelity to key tenets of the HOPE/SCF model. The only exception was the ability of the programs to successfully execute one element of the "swift" component of HOPE—namely, the ability to bring individuals before the HOPE judge within 3 days of a violation. In most cases, the delay was due to the inability to swiftly locate absconders. **So, overall, the DFE suggests that probation based on a model of strict accountability with non-draconian penalties for violations of conditions can be successfully implemented in a variety of settings. But this**

supervision approach will not reduce recidivism rates or costs.

However, the strong positive findings produced by the Hawaii program were not replicated in the four DFE sites. **Overall, HOPE probationers and individuals under PAU did equally well in terms of new arrests and new convictions, although HOPE probationers were more likely than PAU probationers to experience a new conviction in the Arkansas site.** Although there was a small difference in the numbers of arrests experienced by the HOPE and PAU groups, this difference did not persist when we controlled for street time suggesting that the fewer arrests for HOPE probationers was simply due to them being in jail, in residential treatment, or in prison and, thus, not 'available' for additional arrests.

Probation revocations were higher in Arkansas and Oregon for those on HOPE probation and were similar in the other two sites. This finding suggests that differences in probation and judicial practices or differences in the amenability of different populations may influence the outcomes (and costs) of implementing HOPE/SCF programs. Specifically, increased surveillance and a willingness to revoke probation in response to repeated observed violations may lead to higher revocations. Alternatively, some may be less responsive to the deterrent effects of short jail stays embedded in HOPE/SCF programs. Additional analysis is needed to determine if either of these is an appropriate explanation for the DFE findings.

The DFE sites benefited from technical assistance and the presence of full-time, on-site HOPE program coordinators supported by grant funds, likely enhancing fidelity. HOPE implementation required more drug tests, court resources for warning and violation hearings, and resources to execute warrants in response to violations. As the two groups experienced similar numbers of arrests and convictions and were more likely to be revoked in two of the four sites, HOPE costs are likely higher than the costs of PAU, a finding that agencies should take into consideration as they consider whether to implement HOPE/SCF programs.