Sanction Certainty:

An Evaluation of Erie County's Adult Probation Sanctioning System



Year Seven Study Period: April 1, 2009 – March 31, 2010 Final Report July 2011

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Prepared on behalf of the Erie County Department of Adult Probation and Parole, The Honorable Ernest J.

DiSantis, Jr. Erie County Court of Common Pleas

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

December 2009 marked the completion of the seventh year in which the Sanction Certainty (SC) policy has directed Erie County's approach to nearly all adult probation and parole caseloads. Shortly thereafter, March 2010 marked the completion of a ninth evaluation period of this directive, the first two of which were pilot and pilot replication studies. Sanction Certainty was a response to the somewhat subjective nature of the previous Violation Matrix sanctioning policy. The approach itself was expected to result in fewer violations per violator as well as shorter detention lengths, both of which transpired in the pilot and replication studies. Additionally, both studies revealed a decrease in the overall rate of revocation. Given the firm mandates of Sanction Certainty, the policy also resulted in an increased rate of detention. Despite this, the decreased detention lengths ultimately served to lower the average cost of incarceration per violator. Because of the long-term implementation of Sanction Certainty, it was decided that further evaluations, beginning with SC Year 3, would focus solely on the comparison of Sanction Certainty policy (pilot and pilot replication excluded). This would allow for data from the same program to be used for evaluation and comparison of trends.

When comparing the seven full-caseload Sanction Certainty study periods, the seventh year of Sanction Certainty has revealed mixed results in terms of program numbers and averages when compared to the first six years. SC Year 7 actually demonstrated many variances from SC Year 6; average number of days detained per violator in two of the three violation categories, the number of technical and new charge violators and the subsequent impact a substantially lower number of those violators brings, and average cost of incarceration per violator are just a few notable increases. When comparing SC Year 7 and SC Year 6, the only notable decreases relate to those "technical and new charge" violators. The total number of violators, the rate per thousand, and the total days detained all declined. Overall, the total number of violators increased by only 3%, the total number of days increased by 14.5% and the average number of days detained per violator increased by 12.2%. It is also interesting to note that when revoked offenders and outliers (defined in report) are removed, the average days detained drops by 58% from the overall population. This is a trend seen in all seven years of Sanction Certainty.

The total number of those violators who enter Sanction Certainty under "technical only" charges increased (by 8.5%) in SC year 7, resulting in only the second increase during the seven year study period. When comparing "new charge" violators, observers note mixed results. From SC years 1 through 3 the total number of violators consistently increased, but from SC years 3 through 6 the numbers continually decreased. SC year 7 ended this three year trend with a 28% increase in the number of new charge violators when compared to SC year 6. An undefined trend is recognized with consideration to those "technical and new charge" violators. From SC years 1 through 3 the total number of the "technical and new charge" violators decreased drastically, but the reverse was noted from SC years 3 through 6. When comparing SC year 6 to SC year 7, one will note a 43% decrease in the number of violators. Such an increase has the potential to have substantial effects on further study areas.

In conclusion, an emerging trend seems to be that Sanction Certainty does not have any stable trends. However, the policy seems to have a positive impact on the total number of all offenders as there has generally been a decrease in total number of violators in all seven years of the current Sanction Certainty policy. Nevertheless, year seven did continue the trend of a persistent increase in the average days detained per violator.

INTRODUCTION

This report compares the 2009-2010 (year seven) Sanction Certainty (SC7) study group to the previous six Sanction Certainty study groups that began in 2003-2004 in the areas of violations, detentions, incarceration costs, and revocations. Previous studies (Reade ZT and the MATRIX-p) are not included in this report. The current Sanction Certainty policy represents the first seven years for which the policy replaced the Violation Matrix and has been utilized for the entire population of Erie County's adult probationers/parolees.

VIOLATORS AND VIOLATIONS

Table 1 provides a comparison of the *number of violators* detained according to the type of violation committed. To calculate the totals, each individual violator was first counted once. Then, a small number of individuals were counted twice as a result of having violated under a particular category and subsequently committing a violation in a different categorization at a later date. This latter figure was subtracted from the overall number of violators detained. Therefore, the numbers reflect the number of individual violators within each category.

Table 2 provides an overview of the *number of technical violations* committed. While only one violation is necessary to detain an offender under Sanction Certainty, all violations for a given detention can be tabulated. Note that the same information concerning "new charges only" and "technical and new charges" is not reported; only the number of violating incidents for these categories is known (see Table 3).

Table 1: Comparison of Violators

rusic 1. companson or c	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
# Caseloads	14	14	15	14	14	15	15
N=	1,244	1,336	1,494	1,924	2,033	2,138	2,138
Technical Only:							
# Violators	191	176	199	294	325	319	372
Rate per thousand	154	131	133	153	160	149	174
% of N= caseload	15%	13%	13%	15%	16%	15%	17%
Average per caseload	14	13	13	21	23	21	25
New Charges Only:							
# Violators	118	92	123	129	165	129	108
Rate per thousand	95	68	82	67	81	60	51
% of N= caseload	9%	7%	8%	7%	8%	6%	5%
Average per caseload	8	7	8	9	12	9	7
Technical and New Charges:							
# Violators	40	70	34	40	31	47	52
Rate per thousand	32	52	23	21	15	22	24
% of N= caseload	3%	5%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Average per caseload	3	5	2	3	2	3	4
Total:							
# Violators	349	338	356	463	521	495	532
Rate per thousand	281	253	238	241	256	232	249
% of N= caseload	28%	25%	24%	24%	26%	23%	25%

The actual number of individual offenders within the study was 376, however, a small number of individuals (n=27) were counted twice as a result of violating under a particular category and subsequently committing a violation in a different categorization at a later date; the data reflect the number of individual violators within each category. This was the method of violator summation utilized in the previous studies.

Table 1 indicates the impact of Sanction Certainty among all violators. The rate per thousand offenders for "technical only" violators continually decreased form SC1 (174) to SC6 (131) with only one variance in this trend, that being SC3. SC7 broke from this trend, with an increase of 17.5% (154). The rate for "new charges only" violators continues to fluctuate. During the years between SC1 and SC3 the rate increased considerably. However, from SC3 to SC4 the rate decreased significantly only to increase again in SC5 followed by a decrease in SC6. SC7 continued this trend, increasing by 39.7% from SC6. The rate per thousand of those violators noted as "technical and new charge" decreased during SC3 (15) from previously consistent figures from SC2 and SC1; however during SC4 and SC5 this rate increased to near SC1 and SC2 rates. SC6 noted a drastic increase in the total number (increasing by 105%) and subsequent rate per thousand of those "technical and new charge" violators. SC7 noted a substantial decrease from SC6 in both total number of :technical and new charge" violators and rate per thousand to levels on par with earlier SC study periods.

Figure 1 graphically depicts the categorization of Sanction Certainty violators.

Figure 1: Graphical Comparison of SC Violators

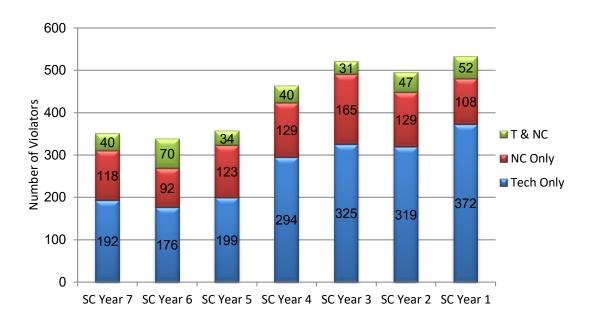


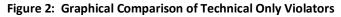
Table 2: Comparison of Technical Violations

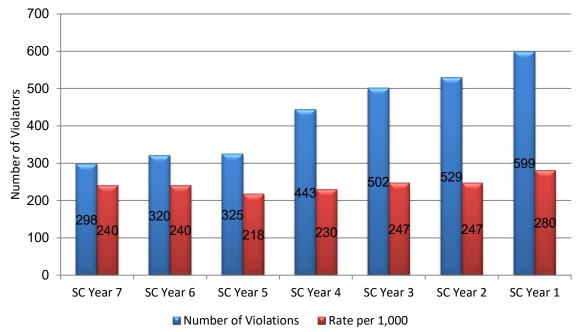
	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
# Caseloads	14	14	15	14	14	15	15
N=	1,244	1,336	1,494	1,924	2,033	2,138	2,138
Technical Only:							
# Violations	298	320	325	443	502	529	599
Rate per thousand	240	240	218	230	247	247	280
% of N= caseload	24%	24%	22%	23%	25%	25%	28%
Average per violator	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.6

Average number of violations per violator is calculated using the number of technical violators located in Table 1

A comparison of the average number of technical violations per violator (Table 2) indicates that the Sanction Certainty groups have remained consistent over compared years of this study. The rate per thousand of "technical only" violations has decreased from 280 in SC1 to 240 in SC7. It should be noted that a 10% increase in the rate per thousand for this population occurred from SC5 to SC6, but that the rate remained stable from SC6 to SC7. Regarding detentions, a total of 75 violators committed more than one violation. This population accounted for 161 of the 298 (54%) of the "technical only" violations in SC7.

Figure 2 illustrates the decline in overall technical violations as well as the general consistency of the rate per thousand.





DETENTIONS

Information regarding the *number of detainers lodged* is provided in Table 3. Information regarding the *length of detention* for each violating incident is provided in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 accounts for all detainers lodged. Table 5, however, makes some important distinctions. First, because some offenders will ultimately be revoked as a result of their violations (either a new charge or a second violation), they often remain detained for longer than typical periods of time while their forthcoming revocations are processed. Second, the seven study periods include a small percentage of individuals who were detained for an unusually long period of time for reasons particular to their own situations; these offenders are considered outliers from the norm. Excluding outliers and revoked offenders from calculations such as the average detention length can provide a truer picture of the study period as experienced by the majority of violators.

Table 3: Detention Comparisons

Table 3: Detention Comparisons											
	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year one				
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1				
# Caseloads	14	14	15	14	14	15	15				
N=	1,244	1,336	1,494	1,924	2,033	2,138	2,138				
Technical Only:											
# Violators	212	198	225	352	387	383	429				
Rate per thousand	170	148	151	183	190	179	201				
% of N= caseload	17%	15%	15%	18%	19%	18%	20%				
Average per caseload	15	14	15	25	28	26	29				
New Charges Only											
# Violators	124	98	129	132	166	137	113				
Rate per thousand	100	73	86	69	82	64	53				
% of N= caseload	10%	7%	9%	7%	8%	6%	5%				
Average per caseload	9	7	9	9	12	9	8				
Technical and New Charges:											
# Violators	40	70	35	40	31	50	53				
Rate per thousand	32	52	23	21	15	23	25				
% of N= caseload	3%	5%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%				
Average per caseload	3	5	2	3	2	3	4				
Total:											
# Violators	376	366	389	524	584	570	595				
Rate per thousand	302	274	260	272	287	267	278				
% of N= caseload	30%	27%	26%	27%	29%	27%	28%				
Average per caseload	27	26	26	37	42	38	40				

Table 4: Detention Length Comparisons

	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
# Caseloads	14	14	15	14	14	15	15
N=	1,244	1,336	1,494	1,924	2,033	2,138	2,138
Technical Only:							
# Violators	212	198	225	352	387	383	429
Total Days Detained	6,337	3,625	3,028	5,318	4,132	6,680	7,592
Average per violator	30	18	14	15	11	17	18
New Charges Only							

# Violators	124	98	129	132	166	137	113
Total Days Detained	10,488	8,638	10,419	10,655	13,263	11,406	9,241
Average per violator	85	88	81	81	80	83	82
Technical and New Charges:							
# Violators	40	70	35	40	31	50	53
Total Days Detained	3,735	5,681	2,498	2,219	1,892	3,712	2,662
Average per violator	93	81	71	56	61	74	50
Total:							
# Violators	376	366	389	524	584	570	595
Total Days Detained	20,560	17,944	15,945	18,192	19,287	21,798	19,495
Average per violator	55	49	41	35	33	38	33

Concerning "technical only" violators in Table 3, this year's rate per thousand offenders detained (170) increased by almost 15% when compared to SC6, but is still the third lowest of all SC study periods. The total number of violators in this category increased by 7% when compared to SC6, but remains much lower than the total number or violators in Sanction Certainty study periods one through five. The average number of days detained per violator (30), in Table 4, for this population increased by 67% when compared to SC6 to the highest level it has ever been.

As for "new charges only" violators, the rate per thousand offenders detained (100), shown Table 3, continues to show a steady increase since the inception of Sanction Certainty. When compared to SC6, the rate increased by almost 40%; it should also be noted that this is the highest level of all Sanction Certainty study periods. When analyzing Table 4, we see that the average detention length (85 days) for "new charge only" violators decreased (by 3%) when compared to SC6, placing SC7 on par with the first five Sanction Certainty study periods.

Finally, the rates per thousand for "technical and new charges" violators has continually increased from SC3 (15) to SC6 (52). When considering SC7, there is a drastic decrease in the rate per thousand compared to SC6 (38%); however the rate remains considerably higher than those of SC1 through SC5. The average detention length for this category of violators has shown similar trends when compared to the rate per thousand of this population. The average number of days detained per violator in SC7 (93 days) noted the highest length of time during the seven years of Sanction Certainty. Also, when compared to the previous year, SC7 noted an increase of approximately 15% in the average number of days detained for this population. It should be pointed out that even though the overall increase in days detained for this population has not been consistent, the average number of days detained for "technical and new charge" violators has increased substantially SC1 (by 86%).

Overall, there was an increase in the total number of detainers lodged (Table 3), when compared to SC6 (by 3%), which coincides with the increase this year in the total number of "technical only" and "new charge only" violators. The average days detained and total days detained also increased during SC7 when compared to SC6 as well (12% and 15% respectively). The change in days detained, both average days detained and total days detained, can be attributed to the increase in average days detained for "technical and new charge only" violators and total detention days for "technical only" and. For those "technical only" violators, average days detained increased by 67% and 75% respectively. For "new charge only" violators, average days detained decreased by 3% while total days detained increased by 21%. For those "technical and new charge only" violators, the average number of days detained increased by 15% while the total days detained decreased by 34%.

Figures 3 and 4 that follow depict the number of detention days based on charge category, as well as the average days detained per violator.

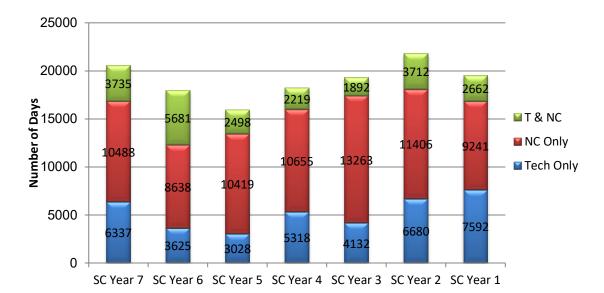


Figure 3: Graphical Comparison of SC Detention Days



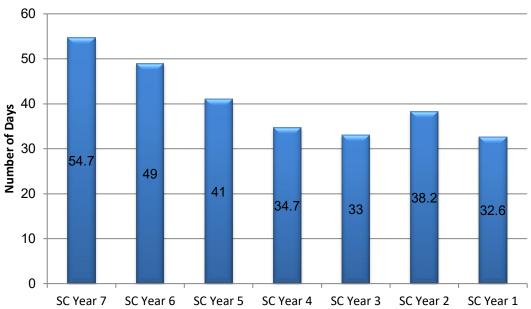


Table 5 displays the same trends as exhibited in Table 4, but excludes revoked offenders and outliers (those in parentheses). Being consistent with previous years' reports, 'outliers' were those violators detained for 150 or more days. This analysis appears to provide a truer picture of the average detention length as experienced by typical violators who will not yet face revocation. More detailed information regarding revoked offenders can be found in Table 8.

Table 5: Detention Length Comparisons

	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
# Caseloads	14	14	15	14	14	15	15
N=	1,244	1,336	1,494	1,924	2,033	2,138	2,138
	Total Minus Revoked and Outliers						
Technical Only:							
# Violators	122 (212)	136 (198)	165 (225)	245 (352)	280 (387)	290 (383)	326 (429)
Total Days Detained	1,803 (6,337)	1,397 (3,625)	1,103 (3,028)	861 (5,218)	1,088 (4,132)	3,407 (6,680)	3,920 (7,592)
Average per violator	15 (30)	10 (18)	7 (14)	4 (15)	4 (11)	12 (17)	12 (18)
New Charges Only							
# Violators	66 (124)	48 (98)	61 (129)	70 (132)	92 (166)	64 (137)	56 (113)
Total Days Detained	2,276 (10,488)	1,552 (8,638)	2,147 (10,419)	2,744 (10,655)	3,539 (13,263)	2,377 (11,406)	2,061 (9,241)
Average per violator	35 (85)	32 (88)	35 (81)	39 (81)	39 (80)	37 (83)	37 (82)
Technical and New Charges:							
# Violators	19 (40)	33 (70)	21(35)	27 (40)	18 (31)	26 (50)	28 (53)
Total Days Detained	606 (3,735)	1,085 (5,681)	445 (2,498)	501 (2,219)	408 (1,892)	1,029 (3,712)	480 (2,662)
Average per violator	32 (93)	33 (81)	21 (71)	19 (56)	23 (61)	40 (74)	17 (50)
Total:							
# Violators	207 (376)	217 (366)	247 (389)	342 (524)	390 (584)	380 (570)	410 (595)
Total days Detained	4,685 (20,560)	4,034 (17,944)	3,695 (15,945)	4,106 (18,192)	5,035 (19,287)	6,813 (21,798)	6,461 (19,495)
Average per violator	23 (55)	19 (49)	15 (41)	12 (35)	13 (33)	18 (38)	16 (33)

In SC 7 there were 6 outliers; in SC6 there were 13 outliers; in SC5 there were 6 outliers; in SC 4 there were 11 outliers; SC3 there were 14 outliers; SC2 there were 6 outliers. The numbers in parentheses refer to table 4.

Excluding outliers and revoked offenders, SC7 violators were detained for an average of 23 days, an increase of 28% over SC6. This is also the highest average days detained figure of any SC period. This average represents an increase in detention length minus revoked offenders and outliers over the previous six SC study periods. Removing those revoked and outlying violators shows that the average days detained per violator decreases by more than half compared to the figure for all violators.

Figure 5 graphically depicts all total violations as well as the totals when outliers and revocations are removed. Figure 6 compares the average number of days detained for these two populations.

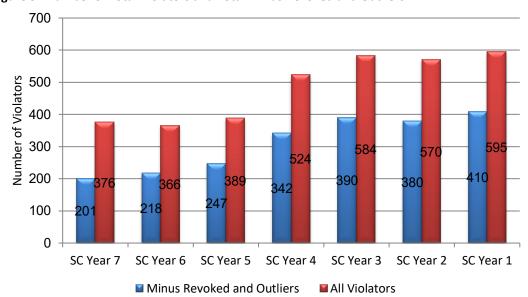
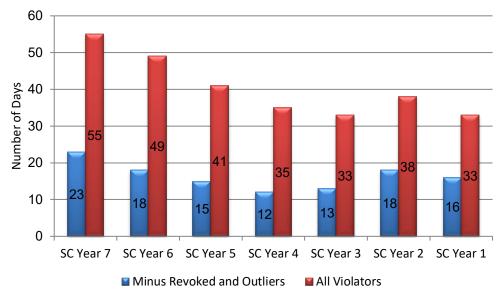


Figure 5: Number of Total Violators and Total Minus Revoked and Outliers





DETENTION COST COMPARISONS

Table 6 shows the average *cost of incarceration* per violator, regardless of the violation type, calculated by multiplying the average number of days detained by the daily cost of incarceration. (In an effort to maintain consistency, the original rate of \$53.00 per day from SC1 will continue to be used.).

Table 6: Cost of Incarceration

	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
Total # Violators Detained	376	366	389	524	584	570	595
Total # Days Detained	20,560	17,944	15,945	18,192	19,287	21,798	19,495
Average # Days Detained	55	49	41	34.7	33	38.2	32.8
Total Cost of Incarceration	\$1,089,680	\$951,032	\$ 845,085	\$ 964,176	\$ 1,022,211	\$1,115,294	\$1,033,235
Average Cost of Incarceration per Violator	\$2,915	\$2,597	\$ 2,173	\$ 1,839	\$ 1,749	\$ 2,025	\$1,738

Rates calculated using the daily cost of incarceration of \$53.00, as reported by the Erie County Prison.

Sanction Certainty recognized the second increase in a row in total number of days detained over the seven SC study years. When considering this, and the fact that average number of days detained increased, detention costs increased substantially in SC7. The average cost of incarceration per violator has increased by 12% from SC6 to SC7 (\$2,597 to \$2,915). The average cost per violator in SC7 is also the highest average cost when comparing all seven SC study periods. Also, as noted above, SC7 witnessed the second increase in a row in total cost of incarceration, increasing by 15% from SC6 (\$951,032 to \$1,089,680)

Cost of incarceration per thousand is provided in Table 7. These calculations utilize the total rate of violators detained per thousand offenders, the average incarceration length of detainees per specific sanctioning policy, and the daily cost of incarceration as reported by the Erie County Prison. The total rate of violators detained per thousand offenders was multiplied by the average incarceration length. The product was then multiplied by the Erie County Prison's daily cost of incarceration.

Table 7: Cost of Incarceration per 1000

	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
Total Rate of Violators Detained per Thousand	302	274	260	272	287	267	278
Average # Days Detained	55	49	41	35	33	38	33
Cost of Incarceration per Thousand	\$ 880,330	\$711,578	\$564,980	\$ 500,235	\$ 501,963	\$ 540,568	\$483,275

Rates calculated using the daily cost of incarceration of \$53.00, as reported by the Erie County Prison.

The rate of violators detained per thousand increased during SC7 to the highest rate ever when compared to the previous SC study periods. The average number of days detained also increased considerably during SC7 when compared to the other SC study periods. Thus, the cost of incarceration per thousand in SC7 has increased substantially (24%) from the average in SC6 as well as when compared to the other SC study periods.

While these incarceration cost figures indicate how alterations in the number of detainers lodged and length of detentions might affect incarceration costs, they should not be mistaken for a complete cost-benefit analysis. For instance, costs due to revocations are not included. Also, since potential recidivism

rates are not available for the individuals subsumed under the Sanction Certainty policy, it is impossible at this time to say whether or not the policy has dissuaded offenders from committing future crimes, the cost savings of which would be immense.

REVOCATIONS

Probation revocations under Sanction Certainty result from frequent violations or as a response to new criminal charges. Table 8 documents the *number of revocations* according to type of violation committed.

Table 8: Revocation Comparisons

	SC Year Seven	SC Year Six	SC Year Five	SC Year Four	SC Year Three	SC Year Two	SC Year One
	SC7	SC6	SC5	SC4	SC3	SC2	SC1
# Caseloads	14	14	15	14	14	15	15
N=	1,244	1,336	1,494	1,924	2,033	2,138	2,138
Technical Only:							
# Violators Revoked	90	61	60	103	107	91	102
Rate per thousand	72	46	40	54	53	43	47
% of N= caseload	7%	5%	4%	3%	5%	4%	5%
New Charges Only							
# Violators Revoked	58	43	63	56	61	69	50
Rate per thousand	47	32	42	29	30	32	23
% of N= caseload	5%	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%
Technical and New Charges:							
# Violators Revoked	21	32	13	12	12	24	23
Rate per thousand	17	24	9	6	6	11	11
% of N= caseload	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Total:							
# Violators Revoked	163	136	136	171	180	184	175
Rate per thousand	131	102	91	88	89	86	82
% of N= caseload	13%	10%	9%	9%	9%	9%	8%
Average per caseload	12	10	9	12	13	12	12

The overall number of revocations in SC7 (163) increased by 20% when compared to SC6 (136). In fact the total number of revocations in SC7 noted the first substantial increase in revocations ever witnessed during the SC study period examined. This increase can be attributed to the increase in revocations for those "technical only" violators and "new charge only" violators that increased by 48% and 35% respectively. The number of "technical and new charge only" violators decreased by 29%.

CONCLUSION

Over the past seven years, Sanction Certainty continues to show that the policy does work for many violators, reducing or maintaining the total number of violators. It appears that Sanction Certainty also continues to have a positive impact on the number of technical violations those "technical only" violators commit. Since SC1, the policy has resulted in a consistent decrease (50% from SC1 to SC7) of total number of "technical only" violations, while also recognizing a 49% decrease in the total number of violators during the same time period. However, SC7 noted a considerable increase in the total number of days detained. SC7 also continued to exhibit a higher average number of days detained per violator, a trend that has developed in during the past five SC study periods. Based on these changes it is then no surprise that the total cost of incarceration increased substantially in SC7, both in total cost as well as in average cost per violator. The increase in total cost can be primarily accounted for by the fact that, as previously mentioned, the total number of days detained as well as the average number of days detained increased when compared to SC6. The increase in the average cost per violator can be attributed to the average length of time detained per violator increasing considerably during the seven years studied.

Concerning revocations, SC7 witnessed increases in both the total number of revocations in SC6 and SC5, which were substantially lower than the first four SC study periods. The SC7 revocation rate per thousand continued to increase, culminating in the highest rate of any of the SC study periods examined here. This is best accounted for by a substantial increase in the number of "technical only" offenders who were revoked as a result of their violations. In fact, the number of "new charge" violators revoked also increased substantially, but the number of "technical and new charge" violators increased substantially (32 in SC6 to 21 in SC7).

In terms of the annual statistical variables for Sanction Certainty there has been much fluctuation from years 1 to 2, years 2 to 3, years 3 to 4, years 4 to 5, and years 5 to 6. However, it is important to note that no matter the number of violators there are positive trends; technical and new charge violators decreased, which had a substantial impact in other areas including days detained and total cost of detention for that population. The number of violation for "technical only" violators decreased, so too did the average number of days detained for those "new charge only" violators. However, one noticeable bit of information is the increase in average days detained per violator as well as total days detained that increased total detention costs considerably that arose during SC7. It will be important to note if this increase continues in any SC years to come.

The table on the following page compares the changes in various categories from its inception to its midpoint (Year 4) and the last year (Year 7). As the policy of Sanction Certainty continues to be implemented within the Erie County Court of Common Pleas, there have been many interpretations on whether it has been a successful policy. The numbers found in this report illustrate the statistical side of the findings; however, the impact on the offenders as well as the principle of judicial process must be taken into account when determining success as well.

Table 9: Quick Reference

	Te	chnical Violato	ors	Nev	v Charge Viola	tors	Technical	and New Chai	ge Violators	Totals		
	Year 7	Year 4	Year 1	Year 7	Year 4	Year 1	Year 7	Year 4	Year 1	Year 7	Year 4	Year 1
Total Violators	212 (-51%)	352 (-18%)	431	124 (+9%)	132 (+16%)	114	40 (-25%)	40 (-25%)	53	376 (-37%)	524 (-12%)	598
Total Violations	298 (-50%)	443 (-26%)	599	145 (+27%)	191 (+68%)	114	48 (-9%)	40 (-25%)	53	491 (-36%)	674 (-12%)	766
Total Days Detained	6,337 (-17%)	5,318 (-30%)	7,592	10,488 (+13%)	10,655 (+15%)	9,241	3,735 (+40%)	2,219 (-17%)	2,662	20,560 (+5%)	18,192 (-7%)	19,495
Average Days Detained	30 (+67%)	15 (-17%)	18	85 (+5%)	81 (NC)	81	93 (+86%)	55 (+10%)	50	55 (+67%)	34 (+3%)	33
Total Detention Cost	\$335,861 (-17%)	\$281,854 (-30%)	\$402,376	\$555,864 (+13%)	\$564,715 (+15%)	\$489,773	\$197,955 (+40%)	\$117,607 (-17%)	\$141,086	\$1,089,680 (+5%)	\$964,176 (-7%)	\$1,033,235
Average Detention Cost	\$1,584 (+70%)	\$801 (-14%)	\$934	\$4,483 (+4%)	\$4,278 (5%)	\$4,296	\$4,950 (+86%)	\$2,940 (+10%)	\$2,662	\$2,898 (+68%)	\$1,840 (+6%)	\$1,728

The percentage increases noted in the parentheses are based on comparisons of yearly changes from SC Year 1. Days detained (both averages and total) as well as detention costs (average and total) may be different from other tables in this report due to not excluding outliers and revocations in this table. This table represents the entire SC population; excluding offenders who committed the same type of violation multiple times (populations can be found in Table 1).

Sanction Certainty: An Evaluation of Erie County's Adult Probation Sanctioning System

Year Seven Study Period: April 1, 2009 – March 31, 2010 July 2011

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Prepared on behalf of the Erie County Department of Adult Probation and Parole, The Honorable Ernest J. DiSantis, Jr. Erie County Court of Common Pleas