



# Vermont Statewide Evaluation of Treatment Courts

## Chittenden County Treatment Court Key Findings Report

Submitted by NPC Research  
For questions contact:  
Shannon Carey, Ph.D.  
[carey@npcresearch.com](mailto:carey@npcresearch.com)

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# Evaluation Background

Treatment courts provide integrated substance use disorder treatment, behavioral health services, and intensive judicial supervision as an alternative to incarceration. The ultimate goals of these courts are to reduce rearrests, increase public safety, and provide treatment and other recovery support services to justice-involved individuals with substance use or mental health disorders to promote long-term recovery and enhance the quality of life for participants and their families.

Many studies have demonstrated that treatment courts effectively reduce recidivism, including fewer rearrests and less time incarcerated.<sup>1</sup> These positive outcomes for treatment court participants in turn reduce taxpayer costs with substantial returns on investments. For example, Bhati and colleagues found a cost-benefit ratio of 1:2.2 (that is, for every dollar invested in the program, there is a return of \$2.20),<sup>2</sup> while Carey et al. found a cost-benefit ratio of 1:4.6 (for every \$1 spent there was a return of \$4.60).<sup>3</sup>

This report provides the findings of the outcome and cost evaluation for the Chittenden County Treatment Court (CCTC). In 2021 and 2022, the Vermont Judiciary initiated a statewide process, outcome and cost evaluation of its adult treatment courts: CCTC, Washington County Treatment Court (WCTC), Rutland County Treatment Court (RCTC), the Southeast Regional DUI Treatment Docket (SERDTD) and the Chittenden County Mental Health Court (CCMHC). Process evaluation reports were completed in September 2022 that assessed program alignment with best practices.

The outcome evaluation was planned to measure whether the program achieved intended participant outcomes and goals, including reduced recidivism and successful program completion, as well as whether the program delivered treatment and other services as intended. The economic impact of Vermont's treatment courts was evaluated through a detailed cost analysis. The cost evaluation calculated the cost of the program and participant outcomes.

Data were analyzed from several administrative data sources, including program databases, court records, incarceration and probation records, as well as data from local treatment providers. Notably, service and treatment data were found to be incomplete and are therefore not included in this report. *Detailed methodology and data sources are provided in a separate Methods Appendix.*

Findings are presented along with information about the context affecting participant outcomes including program practices, state and local policies, and resources (or lack of).

1. For example, see Carey, S. M., Mackin, J. R., & Finigan, M. W. (2012). What Works? The 10 Key Components of Drug Court: Research Based Best Practices. *Drug Court Review*, 8(1), 6–42.

2. Bhati, A. S., Roman, J. K., & Chalfin, A. (2008). To treat or not to treat: Evidence on the prospects of expanding treatment to drug-involved offenders. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

3. Carey, S. M., & Finigan, M. W. (2004). A Detailed Cost Analysis in a Mature Drug Court Setting: A Cost-Benefit Evaluation of the Multnomah County Drug Court. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*. 20(3) 292-338.

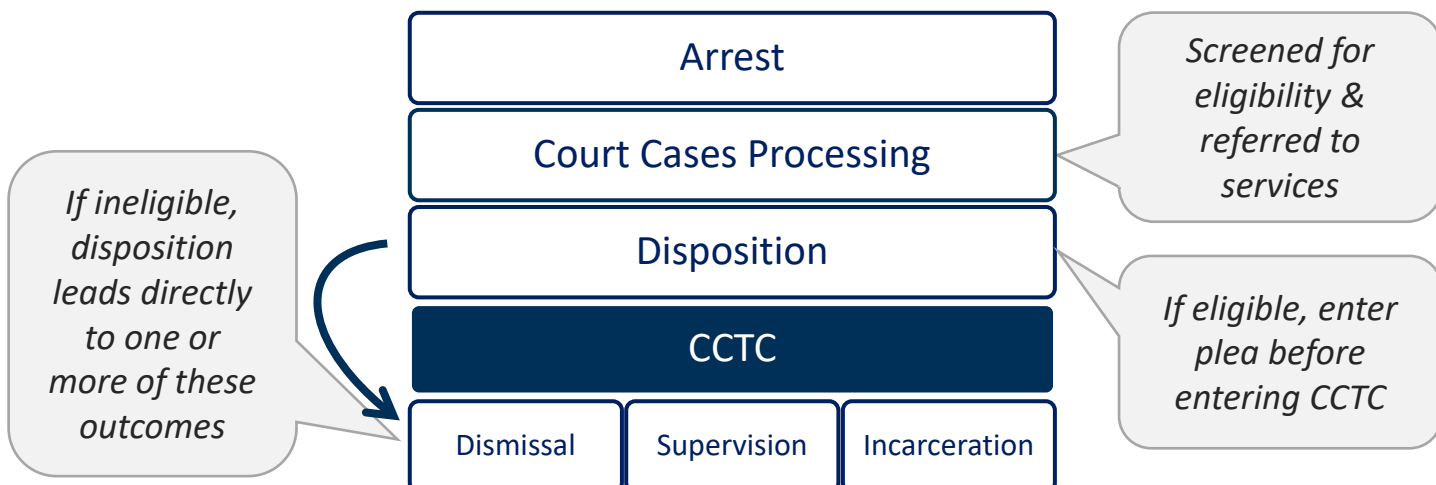
# Chittenden County Treatment Court (CCTC)

## Program and Participant Overview



# CCTC: Participant Identification and Path

The graphic below illustrates how and at what point in the court case individuals are identified and referred to the CCTC, as well as the alternatives if they are found ineligible. Charges identified as eligible for CCTC most commonly include **drug** and **property** related offenses.



Entering the program requires **entering a plea**, often with maximum jail caps if the participant fails to complete the program and with the intention of dismissing the jail time upon successful completion. Those not entering the program continue through the court system and have a variety of outcomes, including jail, prison, probation, or case dismissal.

This evaluation analyzes participant data at each point in the system. State and local policies, as well as program practices all impact participant outcomes, as do the resources (or lack thereof) available in the community.

## Factors Affecting Participant Outcomes



Often out of the program's control, the referral timeline, funding, and treatment reimbursements all are affected by **state and local policies**, some of which have shifted dramatically over the years.



**Program practices** have changed from 2015 to 2019, when the participants analyzed in this report entered. Major shifts that may affect outcomes are noted in this report.



A lack of **resources**, including treatment, and most notably housing and transportation, can reduce the likelihood of participant success, regardless of program and state policies.

# CCTC: Participant Overview

*The sample of individuals used in this evaluation were all participants who entered the CCTC between 2015 and 2019.*

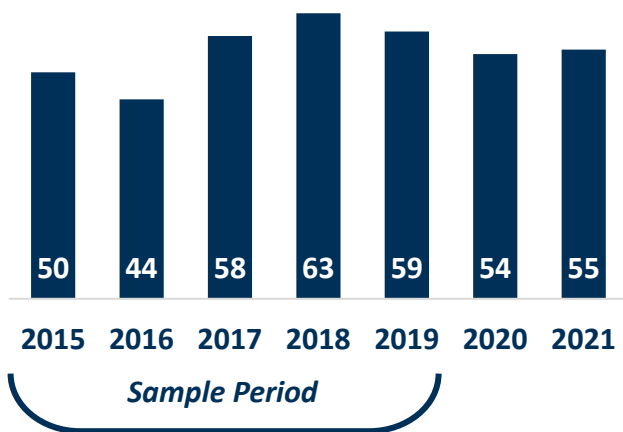
## Why use this sample?

Evaluating participants who entered in 2015-2019 provides at least 2 years of recidivism data. Participants who entered more recently have not had enough time pass to adequately assess their long-term recidivism. This also allows sufficient time for participants to enter and complete the program based on the average time to complete (~16 months). In addition, having several years of participant data allows a large enough sample size for valid analyses.

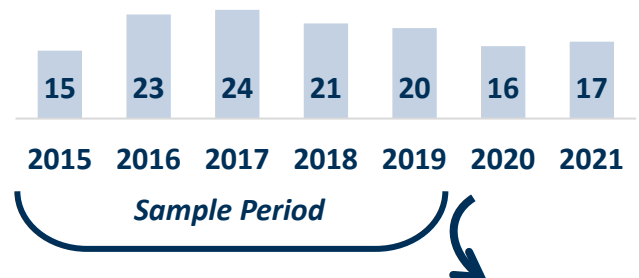
## Keep in mind:

- Participant outcomes reflect treatment court practices during this time period. Process changes and improvements have been made since then.
- Because recidivism is measured 2 years after program entry, results include both in-program and post-exit recidivism.

*On average, CCTC served a census of 55 individuals each year from 2015 to 2019*



*There were 21 new program entries each year on average from 2015 to 2019*

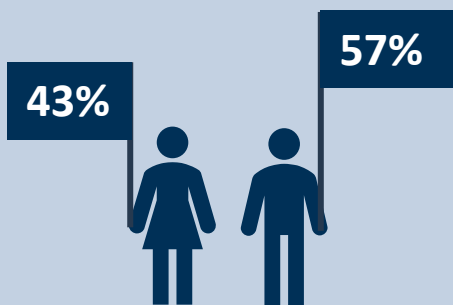


*2020's dip in entries is likely related to the COVID-19 pandemic.*

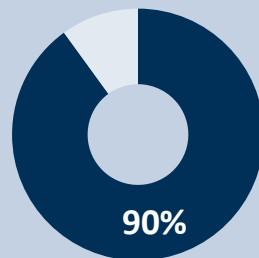
# CCTC Participant Overview

## 2015 to 2019 Entries

### Who Entered?



Slightly more men entered the program



9 out of 10 participants in the program were white

Average age at entry:

**33** years old

Average age increased from **28** years old for participants who entered between 2003 to 2014

### CCTC participants appear to be high risk, averaging nearly 6 arrests in the 2 years prior to program entry

**Most offenses were property related (3 on average) and misdemeanors (over 4).** Participants averaged 2 felonies and less than 1 each for drug and person related charges.

Typically high risk participants in other programs across the country average 2-3 arrests in the 2 years prior to entry. CCTC had the highest average number of 2-year prior arrests out of the Vermont treatment courts.



**State & Local Policy:** Criminal justice reform in VT, including Act 61 (2017), the Youthful Offender Statute (2017), and the Justice Reinvestment Act (2019), altered eligibility requirements and additional diversion opportunities. This may have contributed to the increase in the average age of participants.



**Program Practices:** CCTC has assessed for and accepted high risk individuals into the program, which follows best practice.



**Resources:** Increased risk is associated with greater service needs, which requires resources. Shortages and lack of funding in treatment services create challenges to meet the treatment needs of participants, including mental health services and residential treatment. Without extensive resources available in the community, successfully meeting the needs of the population can be difficult.



# Outcomes

Recidivism and cost outcomes were measured against a matched comparison group of individuals who were arrested and charged with a treatment court eligible arrest in Chittenden County but did not enter the CCTC. The comparison group was matched to the CCTC participants on age, gender, race, and arrest history. The separate Methods Appendix provided with this report gives more details.

## Match success!

There were no statistically significant differences between the CCTC participants and the comparison group on demographics, age, or criminal history indicators.

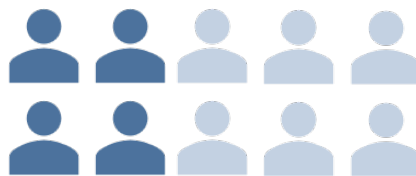
	CCTC (N=93) Percent	Comparison (N=93) Percent
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	58%	62%
Female	42%	38%
<b>Race</b>		
White	91%	88%
Non-White	9%	12%

	CCTC (N=93) Mean	Comparison (N=93) Mean
<b>Age at Program Entry (Years)</b>	33	33
<b>Mean Arrests/Charges: 2 years prior to entry date</b>		
All prior arrests	5.5	5.7
Prior person arrests	0.7	0.4
Prior property arrests	2.9	3.2
Prior drug arrests	0.8	0.8
Prior DUI arrests	0.12	0.16
<b>Severity</b>		
Prior misdemeanor arrests	4.4	4.3
Prior felony arrests	1.9	2.0



# CCTC Outcomes: Graduation Rate

**41%** of the exited participants successfully graduated from the CCTC program.



National average = **59%**

Graduates stayed in the program almost 50% longer than non-graduates

**Graduate** average time: 20 months

**Non-grad** average time: 13 months



CCTC is meeting best practices related to time in the program of at least 12 months.

Non-white and white participants graduate at equivalent rates

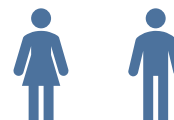


**44%** of non-white participants graduate



**41%** of white participants graduate

Men and women successfully complete CCTC at the same rates



There are no disparities in graduation rates by gender, race/ethnicity, age, or criminal history.



**Program Practices:** While the graduation rate is lower than the national average, the risk level of participants is very high (with an average of nearly 6 arrests in the 2 years prior to program entry) compared to adult treatment courts nationally and the highest among the VT programs. The graduation rate likely reflects this challenging population with complex needs. CCTC serves as a final effort to avoid long-term incarceration.

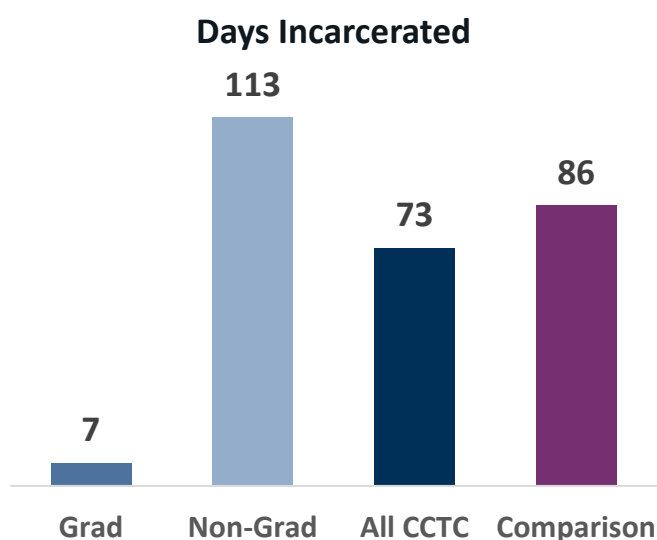


**Resources:** Resource shortages in VT may hinder graduation. Given the extremely high risk level, participants may not get the intensity of services to meet their assessed needs. The scarcity of housing, transportation, health care, and social services means that participants' basic human needs are often not being met, which detracts from their focus on recovery. A lack of resources may also contribute to some participants exiting the program unsuccessfully within a short period of time.

\* Exited participants do not include the 3% who died or transferred to another program during the program. The graduation rate excludes the 12% of participants in the sample who were still active at the time of data export.

# Justice Involved Outcomes: Incarceration & Supervision

Total days incarcerated within the 2 years post program entry was considerably higher for CCTC participants who *did not graduate* the program – driving the overall participant average to be close to their matched comparison group. CCTC graduates averaged only 7 days of incarceration.



VT Department of Corrections (DOC) data capture incarceration from any source, such as a new arrest or jail sanctions imposed by CCTC. The DOC database was used to calculate time incarcerated. During the 1-year period after program entry, **93% of the non-graduates** had at least one episode of incarceration while in the program. The CCTC program database showed that **85% of non-graduates** received a jail sanction during their first year of program participation – a high rate of incarceration – whereas **33% of graduates** received a jail sanction during their first year.

Incarceration tends to lead to higher recidivism. High incarceration rates (numbers of individuals incarcerated) and lengthy time spent incarcerated likely increased the recidivism of non-graduates. Incarceration also likely reduced the graduation rate.

Maximum jail sentences on pleas for those entering the program may result in harsher sentences for those who try to address their substance use disorder by participating, compared to those who never enter the program. Although eligible charges typically result in jail time, it is possible some comparison individuals had their charges dismissed or were offered shorter sentences or probation. Indeed, **CCTC participants averaged 105 days on probation** while the **comparison group averaged 238 days on probation**.



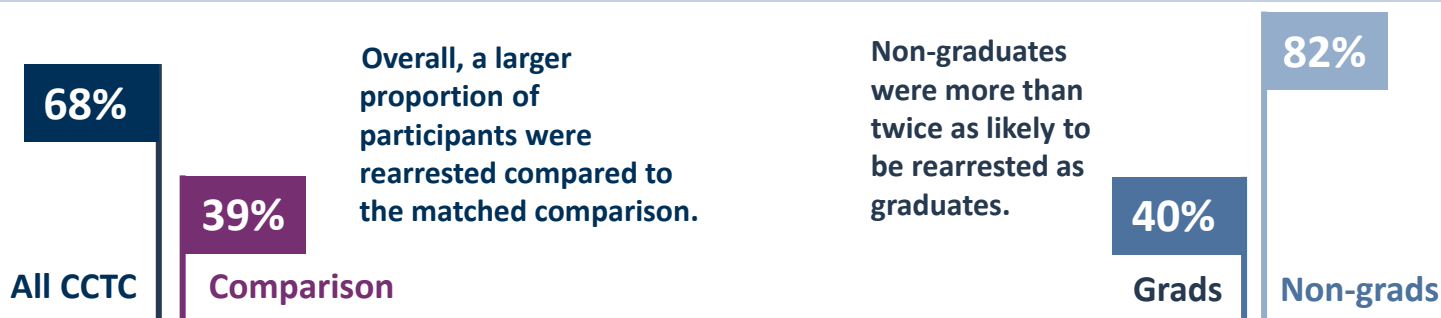
**State & Local Policy:** There are no state-level formal agreements with partner agencies. Without agreements requiring alignment with best practices, partners have engaged in practices that inadvertently harm participants. Some past State’s Attorneys created offers that increased jail time for failure to complete treatment courts, thereby deterring participation and punishing people for their attempt to address their substance use disorder. Other partners also increased incarceration time for non-graduates leading to increased recidivism.



**Program Practices:** The CCTC program database revealed a high rate of jail sanctions for non-graduates, with 85% of non-graduates receiving a jail sanction in their first year of program participation, which likely contributed to increased recidivism in the evaluation sample. Notably, the CCTC has reported in more recent years rarely using jail sanctions and now in alignment with newer research and recommendations to use jail sparingly.

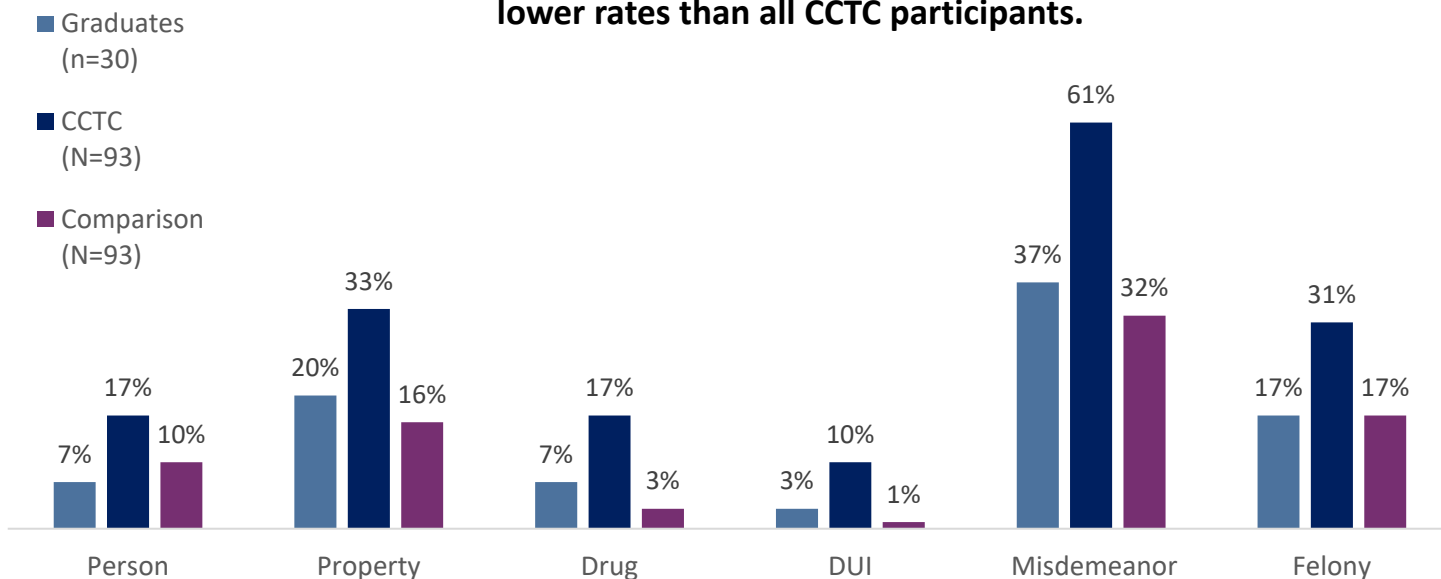
# Justice Involved Outcomes: Recidivism

**CCTC participants are rearrested more often than the comparison group 2 years after program entry. CCTC graduates had far lower rearrest rates than non-graduates.**



Recidivism outcomes are presented as the rearrest rate (the percentages of individuals in the participant and comparison groups that are rearrested). Arrests are used as a measure of recidivism because they are an indication of engagement in criminal activity at the time an incident occurs in contrast to using measures such as convictions, which may not occur for several months to years after an incident (or a conviction may not occur at all).

**At 2 years post entry, CCTC participants were rearrested at higher rates for all charge types and severities. CCTC graduates were rearrested at substantially lower rates than all CCTC participants.**



**Participants also had a higher average number of rearrests.** Participants averaged almost 2 rearrests, while the matched comparison group averaged closer to 1 rearrest over the same 2-year period. *See Appendix A for more details.*

Graduates tend to have similar recidivism outcomes as the matched comparison group (although not better outcomes), but all participants (which includes non-graduates) have considerably worse recidivism.

There are many factors contributing to this outcome discussed on the next page.

# Justice Involved Outcomes: Recidivism

## *What contributed to higher recidivism among participants?*

**The factors contributing to higher recidivism for participants span and intersect across policies, program practices and resources.**

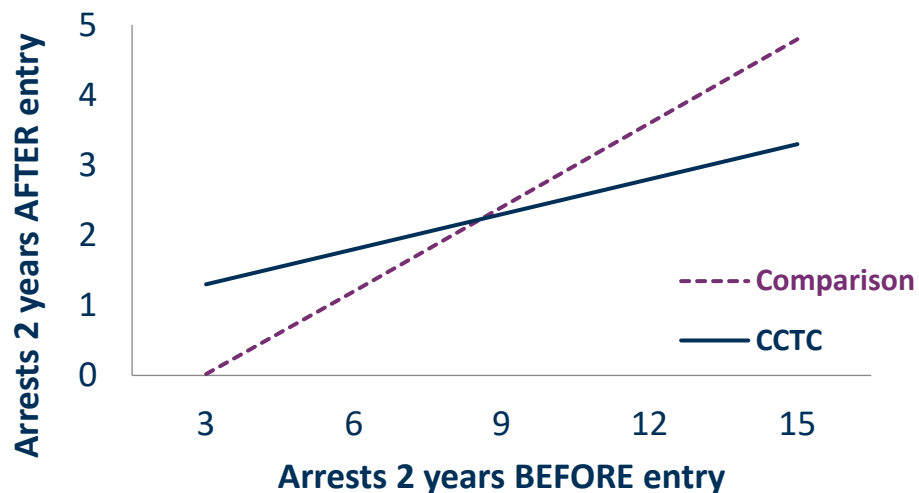
It is important to note that the CCTC program has made improvements since the time period of the sample used in this study (2015-2019) and there are new team members. The recommendations below include suggestions for continuing those improvements, or new recommendations based on the outcome results.

- **Extensive time incarcerated.** Time spent incarcerated means participants are unable to participate in the program activities and services intended to support their recovery, and incarceration tends to lead to higher recidivism. Non-graduates in particular spent extensive time incarcerated, including incarceration from sources outside of the program.
- **Judicial rotations.** Treatment courts have better outcomes when the judge has *at least 2* years of treatment court experience. Judges tend to be least effective in their first year on the treatment court bench, with outcomes improving in the second year and thereafter. Judicial turnover exacerbates the instability in participants' lives. This is evident in Vermont in the results from the 2017 evaluation of the CCTC where recidivism increased in the years after a new judge rotates into the program. Vermont's current 2-year judicial rotations mean that judges rotate just when they reach the threshold for improved participant outcomes.
- **Increased surveillance.** Higher recidivism rates may be a byproduct of the "surveillance effect" in which participants are more likely to be arrested simply because they are surveilled and caught more frequently. This may be particularly true in Vermont communities where law enforcement may have repeat offenders and unsuccessful participants on their radars.
- **Inadequate treatment.** Treatment agencies and the CCTC were under-resourced due to staffing vacancies, high turnover, and low reimbursement rates, and may not have had the ability to provide the type or dosage of treatment required to support long-term recovery.
- **Structural and resource limitations hampered the ability to follow best practices.** The CCTC did not have all the resources and staff necessary to follow evidence based best practices during the study period (2015-2019) , and there was high turnover among team members. The CCTC staff did the best they could within their circumstances during this period. In fact, the 2022 process evaluation found that a strength of the CCTC is its multidisciplinary team with strong communication.

# Justice Involved Outcomes: Recidivism

## *CCTC participants at higher risk benefit the most from participation*

CCTC participants with higher numbers of prior arrests had better outcomes than the matched comparison group, indicating **those at higher risk are benefitting the most** from the program.



The figure above shows the number of times an individual was arrested in the two years before entering the program (along the bottom axis) in relation to the number of times an individual was arrested in the two years after program entry (the left axis). The dark blue line shows that higher risk CCTC participants (those with more priors) do better (have fewer rearrests) than the higher risk comparison group members (the dotted purple line). In contrast, lower risk participants (those with fewer priors) have worse outcomes (more rearrests) than the lower risk comparison group members. This indicates that the CCTC program is doing better with the high risk target population than those at moderate risk, but the program needs to consider how to adjust services to meet the needs of individual participants based on their specific risks and needs.



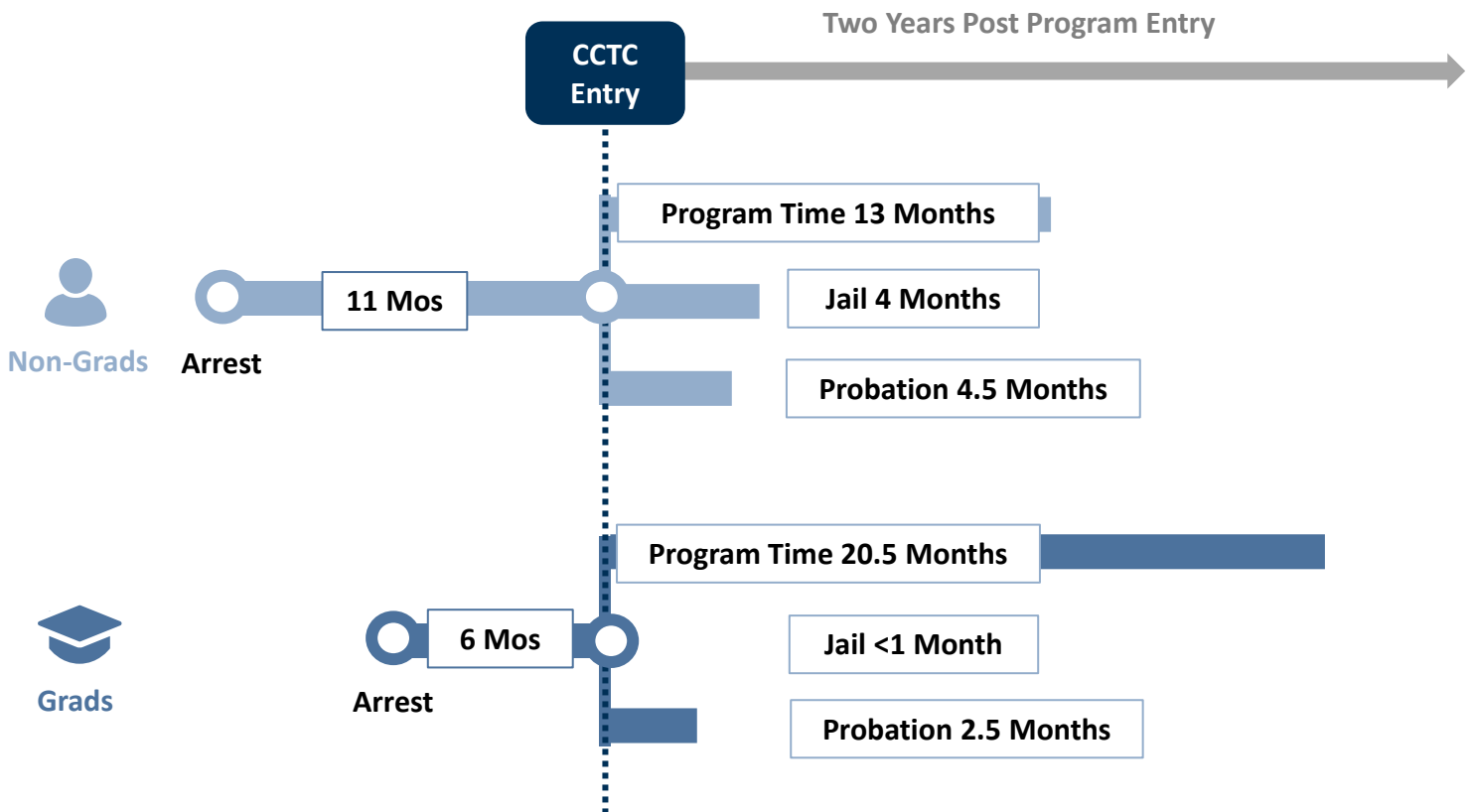
**Program Practices:** Best practices indicate that treatment courts should serve high risk populations. CCTC appears to serve these individuals effectively, but those at slightly lower risk are not benefitting from program participation.



**Resources:** Services are not one size fits all. Those at high risk (or need) may have a different set of service requirements and the resources available in the community may not meet the service needs for each participant, regardless of the program's ability to identify a participant's unique service needs.

# Justice Involved Outcomes: Timelines

*CCTC non-graduates wait longer to enter, exit sooner, and spend more time incarcerated and on probation*



**State & Local Policy:** Participants on furlough may be under DOC jurisdiction. Incarceration may be outside of the program's control, especially when those individuals are rearrested or otherwise violate probation or parole while in the program.



**Program Practices:** Graduates spend over 6 months longer in the program than non-graduates, suggesting that the CCTC may want to attempt to retain struggling participants longer, having individualized and integrated case plans may help with this.



**Resources:** The program may be struggling to get adequate treatment for their participants' substance use disorders due to a lack of state funding for treatment. Policy changes have now reduced residential treatment to 14 days, while most residential programs are 60, 90, and even 120 days long.



# Cost Analysis

Cost outcomes were calculated using the same participant and comparison groups as the outcome evaluation. The cost evaluation was conducted using the transactional and institutional cost analysis (TICA) approach by analyzing the costs of program activities (the investment cost) as well as the costs of outcomes (including arrests, new court cases, time in jail or prison, and time on probation or parole) to measure whether there was a cost offset, or savings, due to more positive participant outcomes. *See Appendix B for more cost results, and the separate Methods Appendix provided with this report for more methodology details.*

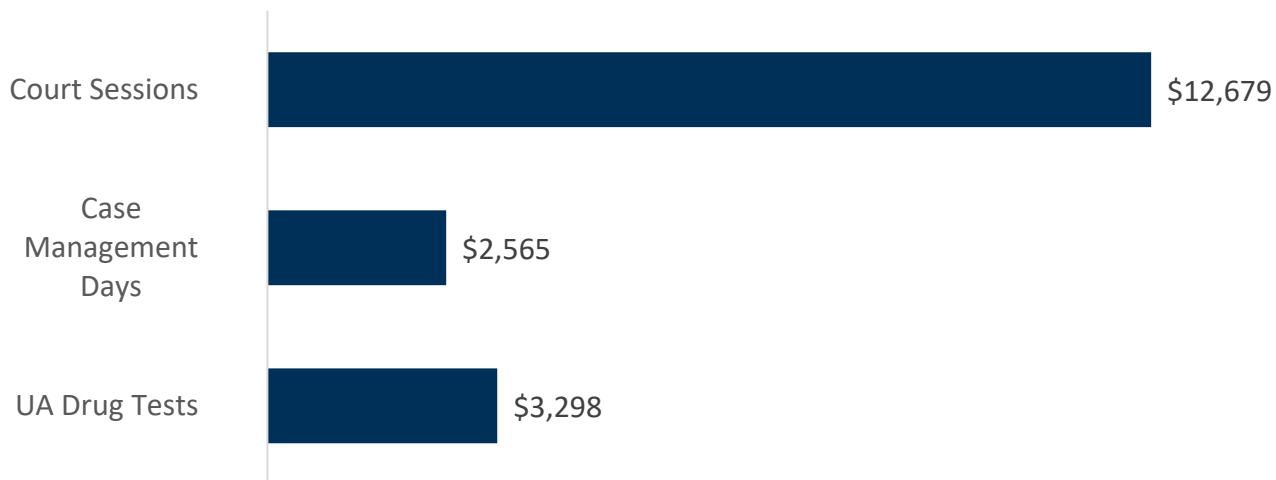
# CCTC INVESTMENT COSTS

## CCTC Program Investment Costs = \$18,542 Per Participant

CCTC program costs, also called investment costs, were calculated for each event (or “transaction”) experienced by those participants who exited the CCTC (N = 79).<sup>1</sup> Based on program data, the following transactions resulted in an overall cost of \$18,542 per participant from entry to exit.<sup>2</sup> This is in the typical range of treatment court program costs based on cost studies performed by NPC in treatment courts across the United States, roughly \$4,000 to \$30,000 per participant, although the CCTC total does not include treatment costs (more on this in the “important note” below).<sup>3</sup> An examination of cost by transaction shows that:

- **Court sessions represented the greatest cost.**
- **Drug testing represented the second largest cost.**
- **Case management represented the smallest portion of program cost.**

### Chittenden County TC Total Cost = \$18,542 Per Participant



**IMPORTANT NOTE:** The total cost of the program provided above does not include treatment services, which are an integral part of the program. Site-specific substance abuse treatment data were not complete and so could not be included in this cost analysis. Substance use disorder treatment costs from other treatment courts from NPC studies nationwide averaged \$10,688 and ranged from \$639 to \$35,743 per participant.

1 Active participants were still incurring program costs so are not included in investment cost calculations.

2 More detailed cost results are provided in Appendix B.

3 Program costs range from \$4,035 to \$30,624 based on treatment court cost evaluations conducted by NPC in California, Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York and Oregon. The average program cost across all these programs is \$11,683 (See reports and publications at [www.npcresearch.com](http://www.npcresearch.com)).

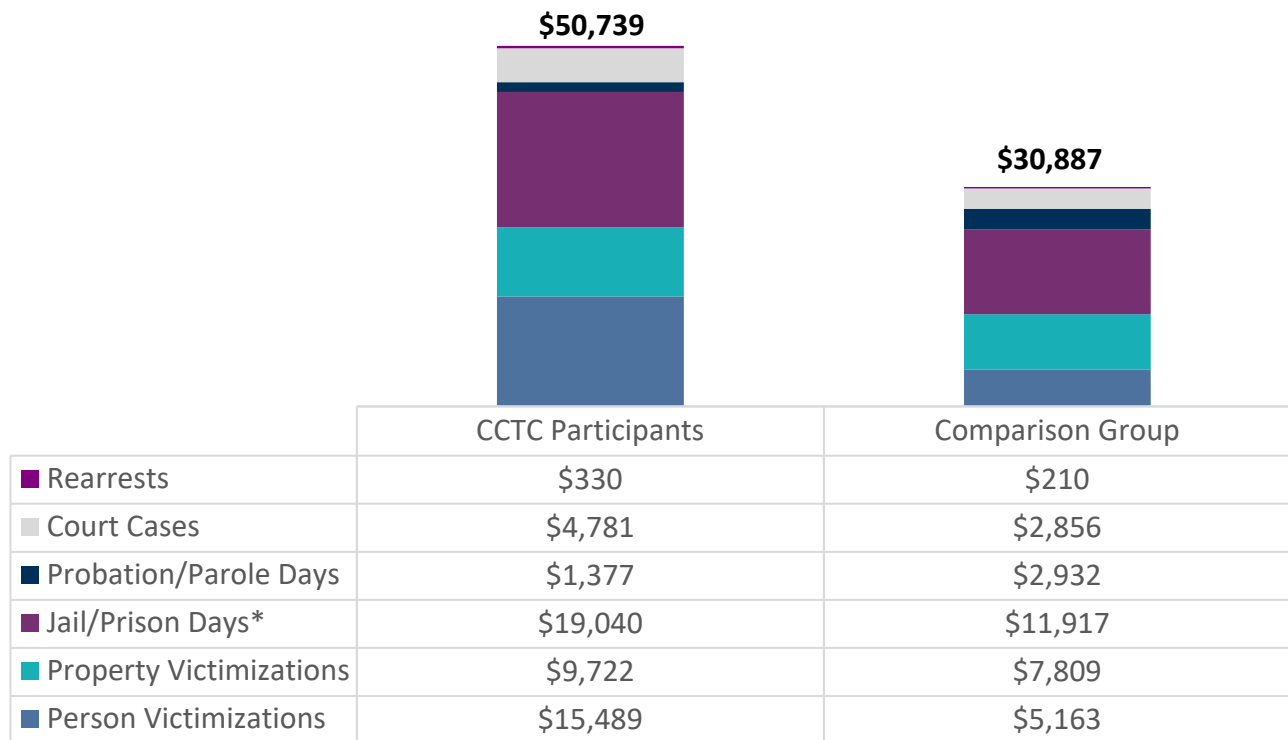


# CCTC OUTCOME COSTS

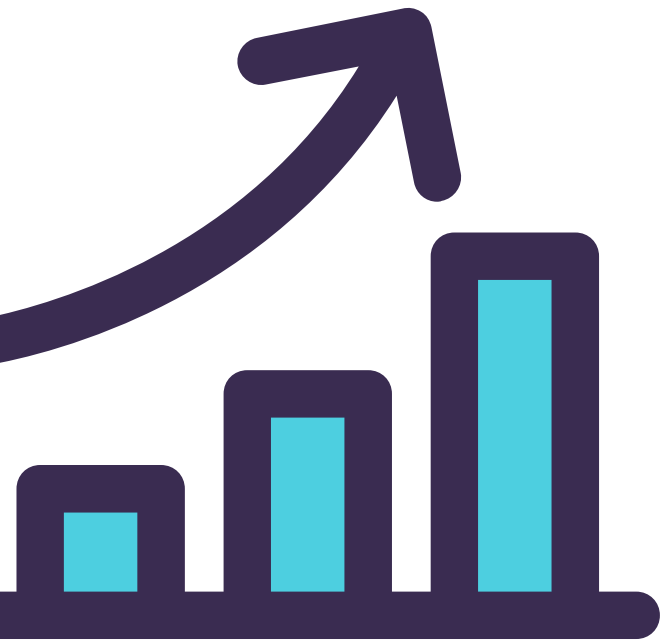
## CCTC did not produce outcome savings

The difference in the 2-year outcome costs between all CCTC court participants and the comparison group was \$19,852 *more* per participant. This difference shows that there is not a benefit, or savings, to Vermont taxpayers and to society at large for CCTC participants, mainly due to more jail/prison days, and victimizations (the societal costs attributed to person and property crimes with victims). The figure below shows all costs that were related to, and available for, the outcomes reviewed across groups. CCTC participants had fewer probation/parole days than the comparison group, but more of every other outcome transaction. More details on the cost analysis results are available in Appendix B. Full cost methods are provided in a separate Methods Appendix.

### CCTC Outcome Costs Per Participant Over 2 Years = **\$19,852** Higher Than the Comparison Group



\* The jail time used for the cost analysis was calculated differently than the jail time presented in the outcome study. The outcome study showed jail days served within the two years after entry. Jail days for the cost analysis includes the total time served based on each participant's full incarceration episodes for any episode that *started* sometime in the two years after program entry, even if an episode ended after the end of the 2-year period.



# Key Recommendations



# Key Recommendations

*Notably, many challenges to program effectiveness are occurring on the state level and reflect state and local policies, as well as resource limitations. These statewide challenges include the lack of a statewide infrastructure needed for treatment court success, judicial rotation requirements, no requirements for state-level formal agreements with partner agencies, underfunding from the state and low state leadership buy-in. These factors are largely outside of the influence of the CCTC. See the statewide report for recommendations to address these larger statewide issues that are barriers to treatment court success in Vermont.*

## **CCTC can continue to work on process improvement to promote positive outcomes for participants.**

- **Ensure adherence to best practice standards.** Vermont now has a statewide Policy and Procedure Manual based on the best practice standards. Work with the Programs Manager to ensure CCTC is in compliance with all best practice standards.
- **Continue efforts on the process improvement plan (PIP) based on the process evaluation results.** Treatment courts that monitor and evaluate their programs and make changes based on the feedback have significantly better outcomes, including twice the reduction in recidivism rates and over twice the cost savings.
- **Retain participants longer and avoid discharging too soon.** Studies demonstrate that treatment courts where participants spend at least 12 months in the program have lower recidivism. However, the length of time needed to succeed in treatment courts varies based on individual participant needs. Given that the graduation rate in this program is lower than the national average, and non-graduates exit the program much sooner than graduates, it is possible that the non-graduates were discharged before they received the appropriate dosage of treatment and other services they needed. It is important for the program to learn about the barriers that have prevented participants from successfully completing and find ways to address those barriers. It may be helpful to review the resources on avoiding termination provided in the following link ([“What have you done to avoid termination”](#)).
- **Add law enforcement to the team.** A key recommendation from the process evaluation was to add law enforcement representation to the team, which has been shown to reduce participant recidivism.
- **Minimize jail sanctions.** In accordance with newer guidance to use jail sanctions sparingly, CCTC reported reducing the use of jail sanctions for participants in recent years. Minimize jail sanctions as much as possible since incarceration tends to increase recidivism.
- **Prioritize working with a local advisory committee.** These committees can build community support for the program, address participant needs in the community (e.g., housing and transportation), review program performance, advocate for funding, and help with acquiring resources. This is particularly important given the scarcity of community resources in Vermont. The process evaluation included a recommendation to establish this committee. If not already established, prioritize building this committee. If a committee has since been established, prioritize building an effective and high-impact partnership.

# Appendices

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# Appendix A: Additional Recidivism Results



## Average Number of Rearrests

In the main report, recidivism was provided as the two-year rearrest *rate* (the number of individuals who were rearrested at least once in the two year period out of the total number of individuals in the group). The table below provides the average number of rearrests per person for the participant group (graduates, non-graduates, and all participants) and the comparison group. The results are similar to the recidivism rate, with CCTC participants having a higher average number of arrests as the comparison group for all charge types.

Mean Number of Rearrests at 2 Years Post-Entry

Arrest Type	<i>Grads</i> (n=30)	<i>Non-Grads</i> (n=49)	All CCTC (N=93)	Comparison (N=93)
<b>All Rearrests</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>1.1</b>
Person	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1
Property	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.5
Drug	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.03
DUI	0.03	0.14	0.11	0.01
Misdemeanors	0.6	1.9	1.4	1.0
Felony	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.2

# Appendix B: Detailed Cost Evaluation Results



## APPENDIX B: CCTC DETAILED COST EVALUATION RESULTS

Detailed cost methodology can be found in the separate Methods Appendix provided as a companion to this report.

### Program Costs

Program transactions for which costs were calculated include CCTC court sessions (including team meetings), case management, substance use disorder treatment, drug testing, and jail sanctions. Obtaining the cost of CCTC transactions for court sessions and case management involved asking each CCTC team member for the average amount of time they spend on these activities (including any time needed to prepare for these activities), observing their activities on a site visit and obtaining each CCTC team member's annual salary and benefits from a supervisor or financial officer at each agency involved in the program. As this is typically public information, some of the salaries were found online, but detailed benefits information often came from the agency's financial officer or human resources department. In addition to salary and benefits, the indirect support rate and jurisdictional overhead rate were used in a calculation that results in a fully loaded cost per participant. The indirect support rates and overhead rates for each agency involved in the program were obtained from agency budgets that were found online or by contacting the agencies directly. All cost results provided in this report are based on fiscal year 2023 dollars or were updated to fiscal year 2023 using the Consumer Price Index.

**Court Sessions.** Court sessions are typically one of the most staff and resource intensive program transactions. These sessions include representatives from the following agencies:

- Vermont Judiciary
- Vermont State's Attorney's Office
- Vermont Office of the Defender General
- Vermont Department of Corrections - Probation and Parole
- City of Burlington Police Department
- Howard Center

NPC based the cost of a court session (the time during a session when a single program participant interacts with the judge) on the average amount of court time (in minutes) each participant interacts with the judge during the court session. This included the direct costs for the time spent for each CCTC team member present, the time team members spend preparing for the session or in team meetings, the agency support costs, and jurisdictional overhead costs. NPC calculated the cost for a single CCTC court appearance at \$495.45 per participant.

**Case Management** is based on the amount of staff time dedicated to case management activities during a regular work week and is then translated into a total cost for case management per participant per day (taking staff salaries and benefits, and support and overhead costs into account).<sup>1</sup> The daily cost of case management was calculated to be \$5.33 per participant.

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<sup>1</sup> Case management included meeting with participants, evaluations, phone calls, referring out for other help, answering questions, reviewing referrals, consulting, making community service connections, documentation, file maintenance, and referrals.



**Substance Use Disorder (SUD) Treatment** for CCTC participants was provided by the Howard Center as well as other area providers. CCTC staff estimated that 100% of program participants use public funds for their treatment services. NPC obtained treatment costs from the State of Vermont Medicaid billing rates (\$122.48 per encounter or \$30.62 per 15 minutes); however, the treatment data NPC obtained were not usable for this cost analysis. In lieu of site-specific treatment data, the costs from other treatment court cost analyses that NPC has conducted nationwide over the past 8 years are listed here to provide the average and range of costs that would be expected to apply in Vermont for treatment services. The nationwide treatment costs averaged \$10,688 and ranged from \$639 to \$35,743 per participant. These costs are shown for informational purposes, but they were not included in the program costs because they are not specific to the site being analyzed.

**Drug Testing** was provided by the Howard Center and was generally billed to health insurance. The court mainly uses urinalysis (UA) tests. The Howard Center bills at \$35.00 per test.

**Jail Sanction** costs are provided by the Vermont Department of Corrections. Using budget and average daily population information from Vermont Department of Corrections Budget documents, the cost per person of jail was calculated to be \$220.60 per day.<sup>3</sup>

### Program Cost Results by Transaction

Exhibit B1 displays the unit cost per program related event (or “transaction”), the number of events and the average cost *per individual* for each of the CCTC events for all participants who exited the program<sup>2</sup> and for graduates. The sum of these events or transactions is the total per participant cost of the CCTC program. The Exhibit includes the average number of events and costs for all CCTC participants regardless of completion status (*N* = 79) and for CCTC graduates (*N* = 30).

**Exhibit B1. CCTC Program Costs per Participant by Transaction**

Transaction	Unit Cost	CCTC Graduates		All CCTC Participants	
		Avg. # of Events per Graduate	Avg. Cost per Graduate	Avg. # of Events per Person	Avg. Cost per Person
Court Sessions	\$495.45	33.97	\$16,830	25.59	\$12,679
UA Drug Tests	\$35.00	147.37	\$5,158	94.23	\$3,298
Case Management Days	\$5.33	625.33	\$3,333	481.24	\$2,565
Jail Sanction Days <sup>3</sup>	\$220.60	1.87	N/A	4.06	N/A
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$25,321</b>		<b>\$18,542</b>

<sup>2</sup> Program participants included in the program cost analysis are those who had sufficient time to complete the program and who exited the program either through graduation or termination. Active participants were not included in the analysis as they were still using program services so did not represent the cost of the full program from entry to exit.

<sup>3</sup> Jail sanction days are included in the table but are not included in the costs as the jail sanction data was an estimate from the program. All jail time is included in the outcome costs, and to avoid any double counting of jail time, it was omitted from program costs.

The unit cost multiplied by the number of events per person results in the cost per person for each transaction during the course of the program. When the costs of the transactions were summed, the result was a total CCTC program cost per participant of \$18,542. The largest contributor to the cost of the program was court sessions (a total of \$12,679), followed by drug testing (\$3,298) and case management (\$2,565). Note that total program costs are likely much higher as SUD treatment and jail sanctions are not included in the total.

### ***Program Cost Results per Agency***

Another useful way to examine program costs is by agency to further understand which agencies are contributing resources and overall resource allocation. Exhibit B2 shows that the taxpayer costs accruing to the Howard Center (for court sessions, case management, and drug testing) account for 40% of the total program cost per participant. The next largest cost (30%) was to Vermont Judiciary for court sessions, followed by the Vermont Office of the Defender General (13%) for court sessions and case management.

**Exhibit B2. CCTC Program Costs per Participant by Agency**

<b>Agency</b>	<b>Avg. Cost per Person for CCTC Graduates</b>	<b>Avg. Cost per Person for all CCTC Participants</b>
Howard Center	\$10,612	\$7,438
Vermont Judiciary	\$7,274	\$5,479
Vermont Office of the Defender General	\$3,285	\$2,495
Vermont State’s Attorney’s Office	\$1,662	\$1,252
Vermont Department of Corrections - Probation and Parole	\$1,363	\$1,027
City of Burlington Police Department	\$1,125	\$851
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$25,321</b>	<b>\$18,542</b>

### ***Program Cost Summary***

The total taxpayer cost for the CCTC program was estimated at \$18,542 per participant and \$25,321 per graduate. Note that these totals do not include any SUD treatment or jail sanction costs, as those data were not usable for the cost analysis. Overall, the largest portion of CCTC costs was due to resources put into court sessions (an average of \$12,679, or 68% of total costs), followed by drug testing (\$3,298, or 18%), and case management (an average of \$2,565, or 14% of total costs). When program costs were evaluated by agency, the largest portion of costs accrued to the Howard Center (\$7438, or 40% of total costs), followed by Vermont Judiciary (\$5,479, or 30%), and the Vermont Office of the Defender General (\$2,495, or 13%).

## CCTC Outcome Costs

Outcome costs include any events (transactions) that occur after program entry that were not related to program activities. For this study, criminal justice system related events and life events were included in the cost analyses. These events included arrests, court cases, days in jail/prison, time on probation/parole, and victimizations (person and property crimes).

The cost per **Arrest** incorporated the time of the law enforcement positions involved in making an arrest, the salaries and benefits for those positions, support costs and overhead costs. Information about which law enforcement agencies typically conduct arrests was obtained by talking with program staff along with web searches. The cost of an arrest used in this analysis was the average cost of an arrest by the Burlington Police Department, Essex Police Department, and Chittenden County Sheriff's Office. NPC contacted staff at these law enforcement agencies to obtain time and cost information, but some cost information was obtained online from agency budgets or pay scales. NPC used that information to calculate the cost of an average arrest episode. The average cost of a single arrest was \$189.63.

**Court Cases** include those criminal cases that were dismissed as well as those cases that resulted in conviction. Because they were the main agencies involved, court case costs in this analysis were shared among the Vermont Judiciary, Vermont State's Attorney's Office, and Vermont Office of the Defender General. Using budget and caseload information from each agency, the cost of a Court Case was calculated to be \$3,006.69.

**Jail and Prison** were provided by the Vermont Department of Corrections. Using budget and average daily population information from Vermont Department of Corrections Budget documents, the cost per person of jail/prison was calculated to be \$220.60 per day.

**Probation and Parole** costs were calculated using online information on the Department of Corrections- Field Services Division's budget and caseload. The average cost of probation and parole was \$11.76 per person per day.

**Victimization** costs were calculated from the National Institute of Justice's *Victim Costs and Consequences: A New Look (1996)*.<sup>4</sup> The costs were updated to fiscal 2023 dollars using the Consumer Price Index. Property crimes were \$15,937.43 per event and person crimes were \$51,629.54 per event.

The outcome cost analyses were based on a cohort of individuals who participated in the CCTC program and a matched comparison group of individuals who were eligible for the CCTC program but who did not attend the program. The same program and comparison groups used for the outcome evaluation were used for the cost analyses. These individuals were followed through administrative data for 2 years post program entry (and a similar time period for the comparison group). This study

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<sup>4</sup> The costs for victimizations were based on the National Institute of Justice's *Victim Costs and Consequences: A New Look (1996)*. This study documents estimates of costs and consequences of personal crimes and documents losses per criminal victimization, including attempts, in a number of categories, including fatal crimes, child abuse, rape and sexual assault, other assaults, robbery, drunk driving, arson, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. The reported costs include lost productivity, medical care, mental health care, police and fire services, victim services, property loss and damage, and quality of life. In our study, arrest charges were categorized as violent or property crimes, and therefore costs from the victimization study were averaged for rape and sexual assault, other assaults, and robbery and attempted robbery to create an estimated cost for violent crimes, arson, larceny and attempted larceny, burglary and attempted burglary, and motor vehicle theft for an estimated property crime cost. All costs were updated to fiscal 2023 dollars using the consumer price index (CPI).

compared recidivism and other outcome costs for the groups over that 2-year period by transaction, as well as the outcome costs by agency.

The outcome costs discussed below do not represent the entire cost to the criminal justice system or other public systems. Rather, the outcome costs include the transactions for which NPC’s research team was able to obtain data and cost information on both the CCTC and comparison group from the same sources. **Note that some possible costs or cost savings related to the program were not considered in this study. These include health care expenses and CCTC participants legally employed and paying taxes. The gathering of this kind of information is generally quite difficult due to HIPAA confidentiality laws and due to the fact that much of the data related to this information are not collected in any one place, or are not collected at all. Although NPC examined the possibility of obtaining this kind of data, it was not feasible within the time frame or budget for this study.**

### Outcome Cost Results by Transaction

Exhibit B3 shows the average number of recidivism-related events per individual for all CCTC participants and the comparison group over 2 years. These events were counted from the time of program entry (an estimated “program entry date” was calculated for the comparison group to ensure an equivalent time period between groups). Exhibit B3 also shows the average number of recidivism-related events per individual for CCTC graduates. The results for graduates are provided to illustrate the outcomes for participants who have successfully met all program requirements and have completed (graduated from) the treatment court program. **However, graduates should not be directly compared to the comparison group. The comparison group is comprised of all individuals who were eligible for entry into the treatment court, which includes people who would have graduated, and also people who may have been terminated. It is not possible to determine who in the comparison group would have graduated and who would not, therefore, it is only valid to compare all treatment court participants (which includes graduates and non-graduates) to the comparison group.**

**Exhibit B3. Average Number of Events per Person over 2 Years from CCTC Entry**

Outcome Events	Average Number of Events (per Person)		
	CCTC Graduates (N = 30)	All CCTC Participants (N = 93)	Comparison Group (N = 93)
Probation/Parole Days	62.3	117.09	249.33
Jail/Prison Days	6.7	86.31	54.02
Rearrests	0.7	1.74	1.11
Court Cases	0.67	1.59	0.95
Property Victimitizations	0.37	0.61	0.49
Person Victimitizations	0.1	0.3	0.1

Overall, as demonstrated in Exhibit B3, CCTC participants had more of every outcome transaction than the comparison group, except for probation/parole days. CCTC graduates had fewer of every outcome transaction than all CCTC participants (graduates cannot be fairly compared to the comparison group).

Exhibit B4 displays the costs of outcomes by transaction that occurred in the 2 years after program entry for all CCTC participants and the comparison group, and also the costs of outcomes for CCTC graduates. Exhibit B4 shows the costs of both the taxpayer funded systems and non-taxpayer funded societal outcomes (victimizations). The first subtotal displays the costs associated with *criminal justice* outcomes that occurred in the 2 years after program entry, and the second subtotal displays the costs associated with *societal* outcomes (victimizations) that occurred in the 2 years after program entry, followed by the grand total that sums the criminal justice and societal outcomes.

**Exhibit B4. Taxpayer and Societal Outcome Costs per Person over 2 Years from CCTC Entry**

Outcome Events	Unit Cost	CCTC Graduates (N = 30)	All CCTC Participants (N = 93)	Comparison Group (N = 93)
Jail/Prison Days	\$220.60	\$1,478	\$19,040	\$11,917
Court Cases	\$3,006.69	\$2,014	\$4,781	\$2,856
Probation/Parole Days	\$11.76	\$733	\$1,377	\$2,932
Rearrests	\$189.63	\$133	\$330	\$210
<b>Subtotal for Criminal Justice Recidivism</b>		<b>\$4,358</b>	<b>\$25,528</b>	<b>\$17,915</b>
Property Victimizations	\$15,937.43	\$5,897	\$9,722	\$7,809
Person Victimizations	\$51,629.54	\$5,163	\$15,489	\$5,163
<b>Subtotal for Other Societal Costs</b>		<b>\$11,060</b>	<b>\$25,211</b>	<b>\$12,972</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$15,418</b>	<b>\$50,739</b>	<b>\$30,887</b>

Exhibit B4 shows that the difference in the 2-year outcome cost between all CCTC participants and the comparison group was (\$7,613) per participant, indicating that CCTC participants cost more than the comparison group when only criminal justice specific costs were included (mainly due to more time incarcerated). When societal costs were included, the difference in the 2-year outcome cost between all CCTC participants and the comparison group increased to (\$19,852) per participant, indicating that CCTC participants cost more than the comparison group when both taxpayer funded and societal costs were included. This difference shows that there is not a benefit, or savings, to taxpayers, due to lower criminal justice system recidivism, nor a savings to society at large due to lower numbers of victimizations committed by CCTC participants. The cost associated with graduate outcomes is less than the cost of outcomes for all participants (which includes non-graduates who have higher recidivism costs).

### Outcome Cost Results per Agency

The taxpayer funded outcome costs were also examined by agency to determine the relative benefit to each agency that contributed taxpayer resources to the CCTC program. The transactions shown in the previous Exhibit were provided by one or more agencies. If one specific agency provides a service or transaction (for example, the Vermont Department of Corrections provided all probation days), all costs for that transaction accrued to that specific agency. If several agencies all participate in providing a service or transaction (for example, the Vermont Judiciary, Vermont State’s Attorney’s Office, and Vermont Office of the Defender General were all involved in court cases), costs were split proportionately amongst the agencies involved based on their level of participation. Exhibit B5 provides the publicly funded cost for each agency and the difference in cost between the CCTC participants and the comparison group per person. A positive number in the difference column indicates a cost savings for CCTC participants.

**Exhibit B5. Outcome Costs per Person by Agency over 2 Years from CCTC Entry**

Agency	CCTC Outcome Costs per Participant	Comparison Outcome Costs per Person	Cost Difference per Person
Victimizations	\$25,211	\$12,972	(\$12,239)
Vermont Department of Corrections	\$19,040	\$11,917	(\$7,123)
Vermont State’s Attorney’s Office	\$1,715	\$1,025	(\$690)
Vermont Office of the Defender General	\$1,649	\$985	(\$664)
Vermont Judiciary	\$1,417	\$846	(\$571)
Vermont Department of Corrections - Field Services Division	\$1,377	\$2,932	\$1,555
Law Enforcement	\$330	\$210	(\$120)
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$50,739</b>	<b>\$30,887</b>	<b>(\$19,852)</b>

Exhibit B5 shows that none of the involved agencies benefitted from savings associated with CCTC participation, with the exception of the Vermont Department of Corrections - Field Services Division (probation and parole). As demonstrated in Exhibit B5, the total outcome cost over 2 years from program entry for the CCTC per participant was \$50,739, while the cost per comparison group member was \$30,887. The difference between the CCTC and comparison group represents a loss of \$19,852 per participant.



For questions about this report or project, please contact  
Shannon Carey at [carey@npcresearch.com](mailto:carey@npcresearch.com)

[WWW.NPCRESEARCH.COM](http://WWW.NPCRESEARCH.COM)