



Juvenile Detention Reform

A Guide for County Officials

Second Edition, 2011

Community Services Division
National Association of Counties

NACO *National Association of Counties*

The Voice of America's Counties

Juvenile Detention Reform

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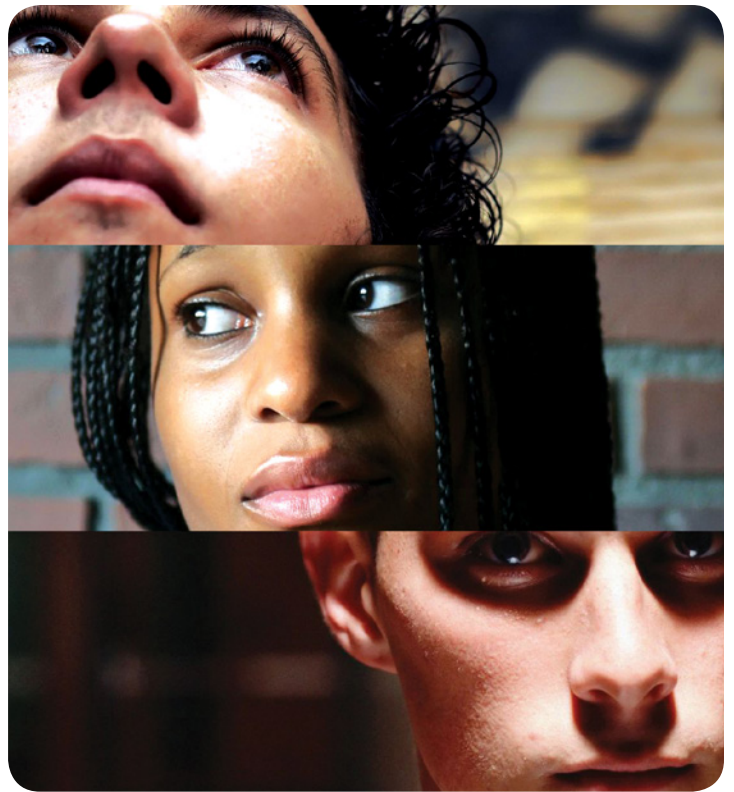
As more troubled youth are being placed in juvenile detention centers, many counties are at a crossroads for how to solve the problem of juvenile detention overcrowding. In facing these problems in the past, the solution has been to simply add more detention beds. However many counties are now taking a major step towards improving local juvenile detention practices by closely examining current practices and searching for proven alternatives. Research shows that the juvenile crime rate across the country has decreased, yet reliance on secure detention is up. Given these incongruous trends, some counties have taken a deeper look at current juvenile detention practices to evaluate why more youth are being placed in secure facilities.

Reforms are desperately needed in local juvenile justice system across the country. Too many youth are often unnecessarily or inappropriately detained, with long-lasting negative consequences for both public safety and youth development. Increasingly counties must confront the challenges of finding alternatives to juvenile detention in order to reduce costs and improve community cohesion. In order to make dramatic and influential reforms in the juvenile justice system policymakers and practitioners will need clear guidance about how to develop programs that are appropriate to the needs of youth families and communities. This guidebook captures alternative practices to juvenile detention that counties can implement in their respective communities.

Why Juvenile Detention Reforms Are Necessary

Youth that are at the greatest risk of failing to make successful transitions to adulthood are often those involved within the juvenile justice system. These youth come disproportionately from impoverished single-parent homes located in disinvested neighborhoods and have high rates of learning disabilities, mental health and substance abuse problems.¹ Reformation of the juvenile justice system is essential towards improving the livelihood for a community and county. This guide addresses the necessary reforms that should be made in juvenile detention and highlighting the alternatives to juvenile detention.

Most juveniles are unnecessarily detained usually on grounds for non-violent charges. More than two million youth arrests occurred in 2007; of these arrests, approximately five percent were categorized as violent index crimes.^{1,2} Approximately one in five youths with a delinquency case brought before the court results in detention.³ Detention admissions number an estimated 400,000 young people annually nationwide.⁴ Sixty-six percent of detention facilities reported holding youth who do not need to be in detention as they wait for mental health services in the community.⁵ There is a great deal of support for community-based programs as alternatives to detention.⁶ The most effective programs at reduc-



ing recidivism for youth exist in the community rather than the juvenile justice system.⁷ Community-based diversion programs, drug treatment programs and evening reporting centers aid in decreasing youth recidivism. These programs are often less costly than detention.⁸

Affects on Counties

When young people are unnecessarily detained, counties pay the costs of most of the services they receive while detained. Counties many times are unable to tap into federal or state funding streams, which usually will not cover youth services while they are detained. For example, while mentally ill or drug involved youth are detained counties often cannot bill Medicaid to pay for those services until youth have left the facility. If these same youth were under community supervision, the county could share the costs with the federal and state government to pay for these services.⁹ Rather than turn detention centers into new mental health and drug treatment institutions, JDAI allows counties to quickly figure out how to provide the appropriate supervision, support, and when necessary, public health services to young people in the community. If a young person's real need is special education services, it is often cheaper for young people to receive those services in a school or community setting than if those services is provided with in the local detention center. This is possible with effective supervision and a well-functioning detention system.

¹ Violent crimes consist of homicide, voluntary manslaughter, criminal sexual assault, robbery and aggravated assault/ battery.

As expensive to operate as they are, detention centers do not ensure the rehabilitation of the young people they hold nor do they always ensure their safety while detained. There is a growing body of research that is demonstrating that lowering juvenile detention populations are commensurate with improved public safety strategies, and increase the likelihood that kids diverted from secure detention to community alternatives will have a much greater chance of avoiding adult criminal behavior. Research has found that short-term affects of juvenile detention include sexual assault risk, mental health disorders, and physical danger risks. Youth who spend time in custody are less likely to complete high-school, less likely to find employment, more likely to be re-arrested and more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol.¹⁰ Researchers have found that youth arrested for minor offenses and held in juvenile detention were seven times more likely to be arrested and incarcerated as adults than youth who had been kept out of the juvenile court system.¹¹

Research by the Oregon Social Learning Center has shown that when youth are congregated together for treatment, they are more likely to have worse short term behavior and fare worse as adults in their employment, family stability, and interpersonal relationships than youth treated individually.¹² In contrast to the impact the overuse of detention has on young people, the communities that reduced detention populations experience the same or greater crime drop than that experienced in the rest of the United States. There have been many examples of counties utilizing alternatives to the detention of young people producing better results that cost less.

Costs

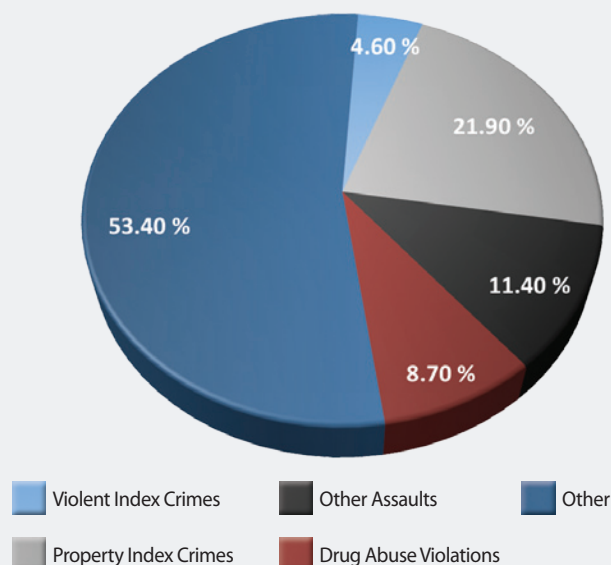
Detention costs for adult and juveniles are enormous in the United States. The Bureau of Justice Statistics found that for both juvenile and adult corrections combined, local governments spent more on the justice system than states or the federal government. "In 2006, local governments funded half (or \$109 billion) of all direct justice system- police protection, judicial and legal services, corrections- expenses in the United States. State government spending accounted for 33% (or \$69 billion) of the money spent nationwide on direct justice services; federal funding accounted for 16% (or \$36 billion)."¹³ Nationwide detention costs for taxpayers equal approximately \$1 billion per year.¹⁴

The cost of juvenile detention alone is also particularly high. The average cost for a single juvenile detention bed over a period of time is exceedingly expensive. "The average cost to build, finance and operate a single detention bed over its first twenty years is approximately \$1.5 million per bed."¹⁵

Alternatives

Counties are searching for detention reforms to decrease costs, encourage and maintain public safety, support youth and promote system efficiency. Local governments aim to move away from relying on secure detention by considering proven alternatives. One youth reform strategy counties can consider is the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI).

Figure 1: number of Persons Arrested Under 18 Years of Age by Offense Charge, 2008



Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Crime in the United States 2008*. Washington, D.C., Retrieved September 10, 2010 from http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/data/table_32.html.

The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative is a process. It is a set of strategies and policies designed to improve system efficiency and decrease reliance on youth detention; it is not a typical "program." The JDAI process leads to decreased detention populations, better outcomes for youth and savings for counties. JDAI accomplishes these goals while maintaining and even improving public safety. Improving system efficiency ensures that only the appropriate youth are detained, and only for the minimum amount of time possible.

The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative

The Annie E. Casey Foundation's Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative launched in December of 1992 as a multi-year, multi-site pilot project. The project aimed to demonstrate that jurisdictions can establish more effective ways to accomplish the purposes of detention through efficient policies and procedures.¹⁶

The initiative's four objectives are:¹⁷

1. Eliminating the inappropriate or unnecessary use of secure detention,
2. Minimizing failures to appear and the incidence of delinquent behavior,
3. Redirecting public finances from building new facility capacity to responsible alternative strategies, and
4. Improving conditions in secure detention facilities.

Pilot sites aimed to achieve these objectives through changes in detention policies and practices. These changes are sought through eight core strategies:¹⁸

1. Collaboration
2. Collection and utilization of data
3. Objective admissions screening
4. New or enhanced non-secure alternatives to detention,
5. Case processing reforms,
6. Flexible policies and practices to deal with “special” detention cases,
7. Persistent and determined attention to combating racial disparities and
8. Intensive monitoring of conditions of confinement for youth.

The pilot sites used objective data to illuminate problems and propose solutions. Critical scrutiny of systems’ operations determined opportunities for improved efficiency. Initial sites considered improving the admissions system to ensure the detention only of high-risk youth. The analysis included current case processing decisions and the effect on length of stay in incarceration. Pilot sites also created alternatives to ensure that detention was not the only option.¹⁹

Most of the pilot sites experienced success with JDAI and currently serve as models. Due to the successful results of JDAI, additional counties and states are opting to participate. JDAI currently operates in one-hundred ten local jurisdictions in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia (D.C.) and continues to expand.²⁰

The Annie E. Casey Foundation recognizes that committing to improving strategies and policies around youth detention requires hard work and dedication. The Annie E. Casey Foundation initiates

conversation to begin and is present throughout the process to ensure local jurisdictions’ commitment to the model.

A Cost-Effective Public Safety Approach

JDAI helps avoid construction of new detention centers by providing less expensive community-based alternatives. Cook County, Illinois, avoided the construction of a two-hundred bed facility to reduce overcrowding by investing \$3 million annually on detention alternatives. Projected costs of the new facility were estimated to be \$300 million. As a result of utilizing the JDAI process, the county will save almost \$250 million over twenty years.²¹

JDAI assists communities with closing wings or units of current detention centers. Three sixteen-bed units closed over a three year period in Multnomah County, Oregon. These closings allow the county to save \$2.4 million annually in operating costs; since the closings, the cumulative savings equal more than \$7 million.²² Overall, twenty-seven JDAI sites have closed detention centers.²³

JDAI strategies save counties money by increasing overall system efficiency. The strategies help shift public safety investments from detention to community-based alternatives. These non-secure alternatives are less expensive and more effective than detention.²⁴

Cost savings are not at the expense of public safety. Through JDAI strategies to decrease reliance on youth detention, public safety can not only be maintained but improved. Three JDAI model sites saw their juvenile arrests for serious violent offenses decline more than juvenile violent arrests nationwide in the same period.²⁵

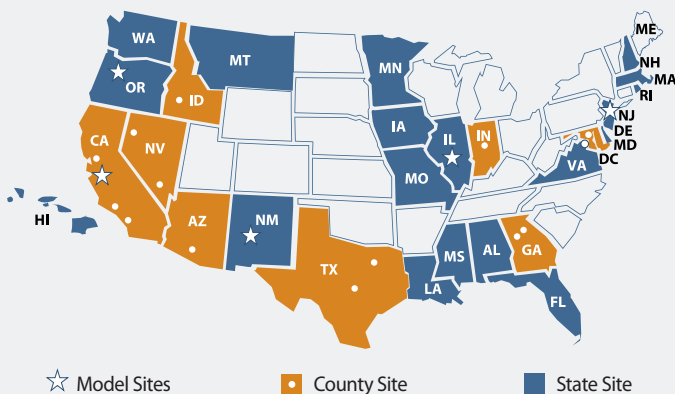
JDAI fosters collaboration between various systems that serve youths and law enforcement. Through validated risk assessment instruments, JDAI helps identify youth most likely to recidivate. Community-based alternatives to detention improve supervision and facilitate the success of the youth, contributing to the increases in public safety.²⁶

The Role of County Elected Officials

Funds needed for implementation and sustainability mainly come from state advisory groups, state government appropriations, re-allocated funds previously spent on detention, foundation and private grants and local governments. County officials can assist with implementation by providing funds necessary for development and sustainability.

County elected officials play a critical role in youth detention reform in ways other than financial support. As the primary provider at the local level in health, social services and juvenile corrections, county government has a unique function in this process. Counties can help provide the organizational framework necessary for construction of a comprehensive youth reform plan.

Figure 2: National Map of Current JDAI Replication Sites, July 2010



Source: Power Point Presentation of John Rhoads, Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative, Technical Assistance/Team Leader. Presented during educational session Justice for All: Effective County Juvenile Justice Efforts on Tuesday, July 20th, 2010 at the National Association of Counties Annual Conference and Exposition in Washoe County, NV.

County officials can initiate an analysis of the overall detention system that determines which youth are placed in secure detention and why. Information gained from this pursuit may reveal gaps or overlapping services. Counties need to know what contributes to the inefficiencies and high costs associated with running detention systems. It may turn out that many of the youth placed in the system have mental health needs better addressed elsewhere. Many could probably benefit from community supervision rather than detention. Knowing how the overall system is currently working and which youth are in detention and why will guide the reform process.

Many counties find that placement in detention may be unrelated to the public safety risks youth pose. Availability of detention beds often drives the use of secure detention. Youth can benefit more from community supervision at considerable cost savings to counties.

Although the benefits of JDAI are great, implementing and sustaining these strategies is not easy. Public support, political will, and a strong local leader are necessary.²⁷ County elected officials can have an impact by enacting legislation and introducing changes that support JDAI reforms.

Local elected officials act as conveners and collaborators, bringing all key stakeholders together for the purpose of building consensus on youth detention reform. County commissioners can promote system efficiency, help seek and secure necessary funding and get creative with redeploying existing budgets.²⁸ It takes the knowledge and political will of county policy makers to implement and support the appropriate reforms in the juvenile detention system. These reforms enhance system efficiency, improve the conditions in existing facilities, eliminate the inappropriate use of secure detention and increase community safety.

There are currently five JDAI model sites: Bernalillo County, New Mexico; Santa Cruz County, California; Multnomah County, Oregon; Cook County, Illinois; and the State of New Jersey. The model sites featured here have utilized county elected official leadership for continued success with JDAI. These sites maintain particular success

in reducing youth detention for improved youth outcomes and cost-savings, all while sustaining public safety.

Model Site Examples

Bernalillo County, New Mexico

Bernalillo County added two fifteen-bed detention units from 1994 to 1996 as its juvenile population steadily increased. In 1998, the county faced a fifty percent to sixty-five percent staff turnover rate, unsafe conditions and a high special needs population in the facility. The county began evaluating costs for additional expansion and decided to examine other options.

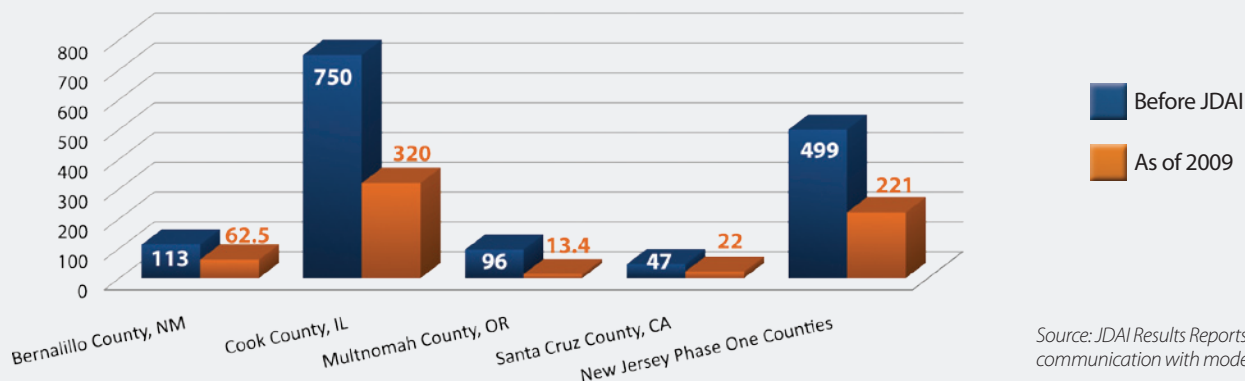
“It became apparent to the stakeholders that we would never be able to build our way out of overcrowding and that a more effective way of dealing with this was to look at the problem differently. JDAI gave us the opportunity to do just that,” says Doug Mitchell, JDAI Coordinator for Bernalillo County.

This led to discussions with the Annie E. Casey Foundation and in 2000, the county joined on as a site for the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative. County leaders concluded they needed significant detention and systems reform, and that all stakeholders needed to be part of that change process. This reform included the development of alternatives to detention.

Bernalillo County developed several key alternatives to detention. One of the more unique alternatives is a children’s community mental health center, established in 2001 and located on the juvenile detention center campus. The children’s mental health center originated as a collaborative effort with the county juvenile detention center, medical assistance division, and Medicaid managed care organizations.

Detention administrators recognized a need for community-based behavioral health services to prevent children with mental health needs from ending up in detention facilities. Many children befell

Figure 3: Average Daily Population Reduction in Model JDAI Sites



Source: JDAI Results Reports 2009 and personal communication with model sites.

this fate simply because there was no other place to get services. This facility is the only licensed children's community mental health center in the state of New Mexico. Funding came about through an initial investment from Bernalillo County and from the local Medicaid managed care organization. It receives ongoing funding from billing Medicaid for services. The center provides a continuum of services for the highest-need children.

Bernalillo County established a Community Custody Program (CCP) and Youth Reporting Centers (YRC) as additional alternatives to detention. The CCP includes electronic and global positioning bracelet monitoring. The CCP served ninety youth in the fourth quarter of Fiscal Year 2009-2010 with a ninety-nine percent success rate. The Youth Reporting Centers are for day and evening reporting; separate facilities exist for boys and girls. The YRC served one hundred thirty youth in the fourth quarter of Fiscal Year 2009-2010 with over a ninety-nine percent overall success rate. The Probation Department has discretion to refer youth with a technical violation to this program instead of secure detention.²⁹

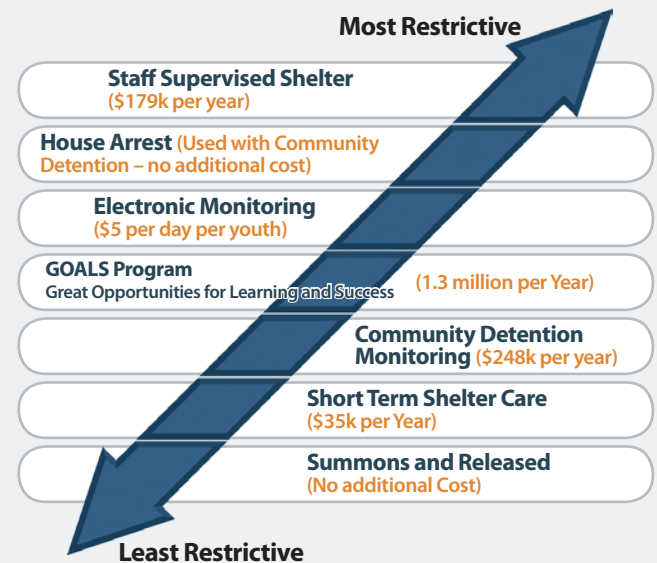
These alternatives also improved outcomes for youth of color. The average daily population count of youth of color in detention decreased by almost forty-eight percent from 1999 to 2010. During this same time period, youth of color placements and commitments reduced by a little over seventeen percent.

A new alternative for Bernalillo County youth will soon be in place to assist with diverting youth from detention. The county is in the process of partnering with local community providers to develop a fifteen-bed co-ed transitional living cottage. The transitional living cottage is intended for youth who are typically stuck in detention as they await placements. An average reduction of ten detained youths is the goal through this new alternative.³⁰

Bernalillo County continues to focus on utilizing data to make informed detention policy decisions to decrease youth detention rates. "Kids are often brought to detention because they upset an adult, but they are not a threat to public safety," said Mitchell. Since implementing the JDAI model in 2000, Bernalillo County reduced its detention population from over one-hundred ten youth to an average daily population of about sixty-three in the fourth quarter of Fiscal Year 2009-2010.³¹ Reducing the youth detention population positively affected public safety. When comparing the total arrest rates for youth in Bernalillo County in 1998 to those in 2007, the county reduced arrests by almost sixty-four percent. Nationally during this same time period arrest rates decreased by almost ten percent.³²

Bernalillo County's alternatives not only maintain public safety, they are cost effective as well. The Community Custody Program and Youth Reporting Centers alternatives each cost less than detention. While youth detention costs \$280 per day per youth, CCP and YRC cost \$30.01 per day per youth.³³ JDAI eliminated the need to build any new detention units in the past ten to fifteen years allowing for significant cost-avoidance by circumventing new construction and operating costs.

**Figure 4: Detention Alternatives
Multnomah County**



Source: Section 14, alternatives to detention at the Preliminary Hearing, Multnomah County Department of Community Justice, Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative, Section 14, August 2006. www.co.multnomah.or.us/dcj/jsddetreformnotebook.shtml (accessed September 29, 2010).

The Bernalillo County Commissioners were, and continue to be, critical partners in initiating and sustaining JDAI. Seventy-six percent of total leveraged funds for JDAI in Bernalillo County come from local government funds.³⁴ This is not new money; the commissioners allowed the juvenile detention administrators to re-allocate existing resources to undertake JDAI reforms, rather than cut the budget. "The commissioners left our budget alone and they agreed to raise staff salaries to reduce the high turnover rate. The commissioners stuck by our side and we needed their support. They invested in us and gave us the flexibility to move in a direction we wanted and our job was not to embarrass them in the end," said Tom Swisstack, director of the Bernalillo County Juvenile Detention Center.

Multnomah County, Oregon

Juvenile crime peaked in Portland in 1994 amid rising fear of juvenile "super predators" after a few high-profile cases. In conjunction with these events, a study revealed that the only secure juvenile detention facility in Multnomah County was continuously at capacity. As a result, Multnomah County was court-ordered to rebuild its crowded facility. The new detention center became an opportunity to engage community leaders about detention priorities moving forward. Led by then Multnomah County Chair Beverly Stein, a group of roughly forty county leaders met for over a year to discuss these priorities. Multnomah County decided to adapt the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative model and quickly focused on lowering juvenile detention populations through defining kids as "high risk" or "high-need."

Youth defined as “high risk” are likely to reoffend while awaiting a court appearance or are unlikely to appear at court. Youth defined as “high need” benefit most from services and alternatives to detention.³⁵ Multnomah County decided that youth labeled “high-risk” are appropriate for detention; those deemed “high-need” are appropriate for alternatives. Determining which kids were appropriate for detention and which were not enabled Multnomah to focus on the goal of ensuring that detention is used only when necessary to protect community safety and assure appearance in court. This determination is made through the application of clear policy and a validated detention risk assessment.

Multnomah County began to develop youth detention alternatives ranging from slightly restrictive to very restrictive. Alternatives currently offered are summons and release, short term shelter care, community detention monitoring, youth development services, electronic monitoring, house arrest and staff supervised shelter.³⁶

Community detention monitoring keeps track of those youth determined to be high risk of failing to appear for adjudication but not enough of a risk to warrant detention. This is a court-ordered seven days per week program. Monitoring of youth occurs through face to face visits and phone calls.

Youth Development Services (YDS) focus on opportunities, supports, advocacy and skills to ensure youth have the essential components to lead a crime-free life. Services offered include school reconnection advocacy, a school Transition Center, cognitive-behavioral courses, and employment readiness & placement. A school partnership is also part of this program. The Multnomah County Department of Community Justice provides two full-time juvenile counselors in Portland public schools. These counselors assist with keeping youth in school by quickly addressing behavioral

issues. The School Reconnection Services and Transition Center usually compliment other programming as part of pre-trial release plans.³⁷

Accountability programs provide opportunities for youth to repair harm and strengthen connection to community through participation on community service and restitution work crews. Revenue contracts with local environmental and park services allow youth work for restitution that is paid directly to victims.

House arrest and electronic monitoring are more restrictive forms of alternatives to detention. Electronic monitoring utilizes technology to monitor the whereabouts of youth. House arrest requires twenty-four hour adult supervision in the home.

Staff Shelter Care youth receive twenty-four hours per day supervision. This is a temporary placement for up to twenty-eight days for those youth who do not need detention but lack additional housing options while awaiting hearings.

A public/ private partnership supports efforts to reduce the number of youth in detention. The Central Police Precinct and the Juvenile Community Justice Department teamed up to create the Youth Reception Center. The Reception Center serves status offenders and homeless and runaway youth twenty-four hours per day, seven days per week. Services include education, shelter beds, medical services, food, clothing and screening and referral to case management. During the pilot phase of the Reception Center Project, a thirty percent reduction in the number of youth brought to the secure Detention facility occurred.³⁸

All of the alternatives and strategies developed as a result of JDAI significantly lowered youth detention populations in Multnomah

Other JDAI Successes

Model sites are not the only jurisdictions experiencing accomplishments due to JDAI strategies. Many JDAI sites showcase achievements, whether it is shifting funds to community alternatives, the use of technology, a regional partnership, or cost-avoidance practices.

Pierce County, WA, reforms closed a fifty-bed detention unit. The closing of this unit shifted roughly \$800,000 to support new community-based alternatives.⁵⁸ Caddo Parish, LA, reduced its average detention population from thirty-one in 2008 to nineteen in 2009 by diverting low-risk youth to a new Misdemeanor Reporting Center.⁵⁹

Pima County, AZ continues to work with various partners to analyze racial disparities throughout the juvenile justice system. The County created a new Domestic Violence Assessment Center after learning of the disproportionate amount of Latino youth placed in detention for domestic disturbances.⁶⁰

Many counties experience positive changes in detention centers as a result of JDAI strategies. Hennepin County, MN, revised staff training on the use of restraints and increased safeguards for youth charged with disciplinary violations. Mental health services improved as a result of Hennepin County’s JDAI efforts as well. Pima County, AZ, increased visitor hours and translated a resident hand book into Spanish. Montgomery County, AL also extended visitation opportunities and increased access to education.⁶¹

Technological advances assist counties with decreasing youth detention populations. Oregon counties utilize video-conferencing for psychiatric consultations. New Mexico conducts youth detention screening assessments through a centralized call-in center. This call-in center is for youths statewide and is available at all hours every day of the year.⁶²

County. The total annual admission prior to JDAI was two-thousand nine-hundred fifteen youth. In 2009 that number lowered to four-hundred seventy-eight, roughly an eighty-four percent reduction. Juvenile Crime Referrals decreased during this same time period from five-thousand three-hundred ninety-one youth to two-thousand three-hundred fifty-eight youth.³⁹

These alternatives result in significant savings for counties compared to the average daily cost of \$315.00 per youth for detention in Multnomah County.

The cost per youth per day in Youth Development Services is around \$16.67, and in Accountability Programs it is \$30.64.⁴⁰

Shelter night care is \$120.00 per youth per night, and Community Detention/ Electronic Monitoring are approximately \$50.00 per youth per day.⁴¹

In the last decade, Multnomah County closed four sixteen-bed units due to the decrease in the juvenile detention population. The cost avoided per sixteen-bed unit closure amounts to \$1,839,600, for a total of \$7,358,400.⁴²

The increase in alternatives to detention did not cause an increase in crime. In fact, the overall arrest rate for youth decreased fifty-three percent in Multnomah County from 1994 (pre-JDAI) to 2007. During this same time period the decrease was approximately twenty-nine percent nationally. In terms of the youth violent arrests rate, Multnomah County experienced a decrease of fifty-two percent from 1994 (pre-JDAI) to 2007. During the same time period nationally there was a forty-three percent decrease.⁴³

These alternatives also led to fewer youth of color in detention. Pre-JDAI, seventy youth of color were in detention. In 2009, the number of youth of color in detention dropped to nine.ⁱⁱ

County commissioners are a vital part of Multnomah County's success with implementing JDAI strategies and policies. They continue to be intimately involved in juvenile justice policy decisions and a key factor in sustainability. The Local Public Safety Coordinating Council (LPSCC) co-chair is County Commissioner Judy Shiprack. The LPSCC charters the Juvenile Justice Council (JCC), the primary county juvenile justice policy group. Commissioner Diane McKeel sits on the LPSCC as well and routinely attends JCC meetings. Multnomah County Chair Jeff Cogen recently launched an Equity Initiative to address issues of racial disparity in county services; this action aligns with JDAI's goal to address the overrepresentation of minorities in juvenile detention.⁴⁴

As Multnomah Commissioner Judy Shiprack states, "As one of the early pioneers in JDAI, Multnomah County can attest to the long-

term benefits of participation. We have experienced first-hand the promised improvements in system efficiency, public safety and taxpayer savings. Our detention admissions continue to decline while at the same time we see improvements in our failure-to-appear and re-offense rates. We have also seen the impact of JDAI reform broaden from improvements in our detention policies to improvements in our case processing. Multnomah County Juvenile Court now has one of the fastest dockets in the nation. The positive impacts are far-reaching."

Santa Cruz County, California

In the mid- 1990's, Commissioner Mardi Worhoudt worked with the County Administrative Officer to create a task force addressing juvenile justice issues. A study was conducted and found that the local facility designed to hold forty-two youth often detained sixty youth in poor conditions of confinement. Latino youth in the Juvenile Hall represented twice as many as the ratio of Latino Youth in the community. This study acted as a wake-up call for the County to begin looking at ways in which to do business differently. In 1996, Santa Cruz signed on to the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative and committed to changing their youth detention policies and practices. The Board of Supervisors provided leadership in this process and worked alongside community stakeholders.

The Santa Cruz County Probation Department took the lead with implementing JDAI and youth detention reforms. They developed a series of community based alternatives so that law enforcement, the courts and other systems actors had options to choose from. The alternatives include home supervision, electronic monitoring, evening reporting centers and a wraparound program.⁴⁵

Home Supervision is a form of house arrest used in place of detention allowing for Probation aides to supervise youth in their own homes. Electronic Monitoring is slightly more intensive than Home Supervision. Youth receive electronic monitoring in addition to personal contact while pending disposition.

The Evening Center provides after school and evening structured social and recreational planning and community supervision and is a community-based response to probation violations or new criminal offenses. It provides services such as assessments, community service opportunities, skill building and educational, vocational and treatment services.

The Wraparound Program is a family and multi-system collaborative family-driven program. Its main purpose is to keep youth who are at risk of out of home placement in their homes. Each team working with the family system, consists of the youth, mental health and substance abuse professionals, and a parent and/or supportive family or community member.

Once the reforms took effect, Santa Cruz experienced a significant drop in their costs. Juvenile Hall costs Santa Cruz almost \$400 per day per youth, while alternatives are much less

ⁱⁱ This number represents the daily average of detained youth of color excluding Ballot Measure 11 youth. The Ballot Measure 11 Initiative in Oregon requires youth to be tried as adults when charged with any one of twenty-one serious crimes.

costly. The Evening Reporting Center costs slightly less than \$100 per day per youth. Detention Alternatives such as home supervision and electronic monitoring cost less than \$50 per day per youth.⁴⁶ Additionally, community based alternatives were better able to provide evidence based, youth development and family centered programs to reduce problem behaviors linked to recidivism than in the custodial setting.

An increase in crime did not accompany the implementation of these alternatives. From April 1 to June 30, 2010, Home Supervision and Electronic Monitoring served eighty-five youth. Of those eighty-five youth, only one exited the program due to a Failure to Appear. None of the youth in Home Supervision or Electronic Monitoring committed a new offense.⁴⁷

Comparing pre-JDAI numbers from 1996 to current 2009 data, Santa Cruz County reduced the average daily population by just over fifty-four percent. During this same time period, state commitments reduced by almost seventy-three percent and the failure to appear rate reduced by three percent. Compared to 2006 numbers, youth detention admissions decreased by fifty-six percent in 2009, while the average length of stay in detention decreased by thirty-four percent.⁴⁸ These results did not come at the expense of additional crime. From 1996, when Santa Cruz began JDAI reforms, to 2007, the violent crime arrest rate for youth under age eighteen decreased by almost four percent. During this same time period, the arrest rate for all crime for youth under age eighteen decreased by nearly thirty-two percent in Santa Cruz County.⁴⁹

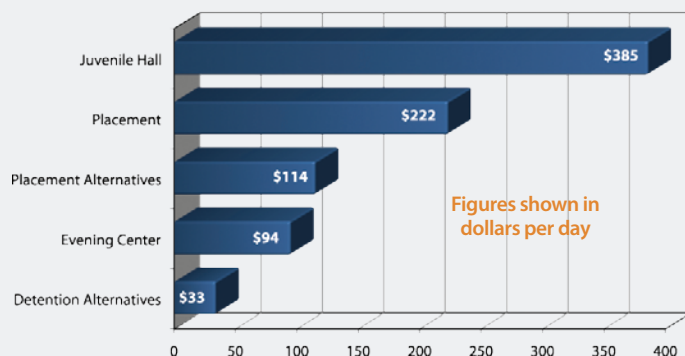
The alternatives also produced a positive effect for reducing the number of youth of color in the juvenile justice system. Since their involvement with JDAI began, Santa Cruz County reduced the number of youth of color in the average daily population by approximately sixty percent. During this same time period, state commitments for youth of color decreased by almost eighty percent.⁵⁰

County officials played an important role in bringing JDAI to Santa Cruz County and continue to be a critical component of the current success of JDAI in Santa Cruz County. Almost twenty percent of funds leveraged for JDAI in 2009 came from the local government.⁵¹ This represents a significant local government investment in JDAI. Local governments are also looking to increase outside revenue; Santa Cruz found that good youth detention alternatives are also funded through state, federal and private funding.

Santa Cruz aims to continue and expand current youth detention alternatives efforts. The evening reporting center staff plans to create an education credit recovery program in partnership with the County Office of Education for those behind in educational credits toward high school graduation.⁵² An intense and renewed commitment to lowering disproportionate minority contact and confinement is another goal. The Santa Cruz County Probation Department's relationship with Children's Mental Health and other community based organizations is continuously evolving to improve interventions.

Figure 5: Santa Cruz County Juvenile Justice Interventions General Funds Cost per Child

Detention alternatives include home supervision, electronic monitoring and advocacy and recreation services through a community based agency.



Source: Scott MacDonald, Chief Probation Officer, Santa Cruz County. From PowerPoint Presentation *Reinventing Justice, Building Just, Equitable and Cost Effective Justice Systems While Advancing Public Safety*.

Building upon these relationships Santa Cruz is able to extend independent living services to young adults ages eighteen to twenty-four. Future programs and efforts will expand youth detention alternatives and improve JDAI outcomes.

JDAI efforts face challenges moving forward during this time of economic downturn. The budget decreased by twenty percent for Fiscal Year 2010-2011. In order to offset these lost funds, creative planning and outreach are necessary. Efforts to expand collaborations with community partners to develop, augment, and continue services are underway. Probation managers currently keep important alternative to detention programs open through a combination of local, state, federal and private funds. Those working for JDAI reforms in Santa Cruz County hope to enhance current and discover additional partnerships to continue JDAI reforms youth so desperately need.⁵³

Cook County, Illinois⁵⁴

In 1993, Cook County decided to create a strategic plan to address chronic overcrowding issues. The County found that working with the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative was the best option for addressing their challenges and goals of their strategic plan. The system quickly moved from a philosophy of lock them up to the current approach of admitting youth to the least restrictive setting possible.

The strategic plan included the development of viable alternatives to detention. Current alternatives include Court Notification, Community Outreach Supervision, Home Confinement, Evening Reporting Centers, Sheriff's Work Alternative Program for Juveniles (S.W.A.P.), Electronic Monitoring Program and Staff Secure Shelter.⁵⁵

All households receive notice via telephone and letter prior to all court hearings during the pre-adjudication stage through the Court Notification program. This helps reduce failure to appear rates, as does the Community Outreach Supervision (COS) program. COS is court-ordered community based supervision where youth are directed to receive a range of community-based services.

Home Confinement restricts youth to their homes with periodic confirmation of compliance through home visits by the Probation Department. The Evening Reporting Center provides structured social and recreational planning and community supervision. The Center opens from 4:00 pm to 9:00 pm and is an additional condition to an order of home confinement. Seven evening reporting centers are available for youth.

The Sheriff's Work Alternative Program (S.W.A.P.) is a supervised work program equal to the number of days a youth would have

received in the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center. S.W.A.P. is available for non-violent males ages thirteen to seventeen.

Electronic Monitoring is a more restrictive alternative to detention available to Cook County youth. Electronic Monitoring requires electronic surveillance of home restriction. Families are heavily involved in this process.

Short-term Shelter Care is available for youth who require non-secure detention. Youth may also arrive in shelter care if they await a placement in a longer term non-secure setting. Services available in short-term shelter care include educational instructions, recreation, living skills, counseling, health education and transportation to court. Cook County offers girl-specific evening reporting centers and shelter care.

Cook County experiences significant and sustained cost-savings as

Rural Counties and JDAI ⁶⁴

As of 2005 there are two-thousand fifty-one non-metropolitan (rural) counties in the US.⁶⁵ Many of these counties speculate whether juvenile detention reforms such as JDAI are possible and appropriate in rural areas.

The answer is yes; JDAI can adapt to be just as successful in rural areas as it is in urban and suburban areas. Rural jurisdictions have unique challenges and strengths that the JDAI model can address and utilize.

Some challenges rural jurisdictions face includes limited budgets and fewer juvenile justice experts or key personnel available. Geography and transportation contribute to challenges rural areas face with juvenile justice. Case processing is often slow due to availability of system personnel and long travel distances. There is often a lack of non-profit and private organizations to utilize as partners in juvenile reform efforts.

Despite these challenges, there are also unique advantages for rural areas wanting to facilitate juvenile detention reform. Rural areas are already experts at developing low-cost solutions with small budgets. Rural areas also enjoy flexibility and adaptability of their systems; larger youth systems are not as easily changeable. Strong local leadership can influence changes to a rural system that can make a large impact quickly.

County elected officials can facilitate bringing all stakeholders together to work meaningfully towards youth detention reform solutions. Partnering with neighboring counties is a successful strategy many rural jurisdictions use to implement significant youth reforms. County elected officials are in a great position to execute these partnerships.

There are a multitude of JDAI strategies and solutions rural counties can use to implement youth reforms. Small changes

such as expanding the use of electronic home detention and taking advantage of existing community programs make a large impact. Enhancing the use of modern technologies assists with overcoming long distances and allows for speedier case processing. Empowering probation officers to move cases forward without a judge's order or court hearing aids prompt case handling. All of these solutions decrease the amount of time youth spend in detention.

There are many rural examples of JDAI success. In Illinois, five counties that used detention extensively came together to implement JDAI. They all implemented a risk assessment instrument to ensure the detention of only the right youth, and developed alternatives to detention for low-risk youth. The judges from all five counties (which made up the 15th circuit) made a concerted effort to reduce the average length of detention, utilize alternatives where available, and expedite case processing.

Within two years of implementing JDAI strategies, the amount of youths in detention dropped from two-hundred seventy-one to one-hundred thirty-one youth. Specifically, Lee County spending for youth detention declined from \$49,050 in 2000 to less than \$8,000 in 2002, where it remains on average.

In Oregon, several central and eastern rural counties implemented an objective risk assessment tool and enhanced their electronic monitoring capacity for use in home detention. In two of these counties, detention admissions fell from two-hundred twenty-nine youth in 2005 to one-hundred forty-eight youth in 2006.

JDAI is successful in rural counties because the strategies work with the unique challenges and traits they possess. Rural counties are able to implement changes and experience successes in youth detention reform as a result.

a result of implementing youth detention alternatives. The cost per alternative program is much less than the per diem rate of holding a youth in detention. These alternatives allow Cook County taxpayers to save millions of dollars.

County Commissioners played and continue to play an important role in Cook County's JDAI efforts. The representative of the County Board President initially co-chaired the collaborative. Commissioners continue to demonstrate support through the appropriation of funds for detention alternatives. Although a primary challenge for Cook County continues to be the budget crisis, Cook County has been able to sustain alternative programming based on data. Once an alternative program demonstrates effectiveness, the county includes funding for the program into the budget. This county support promotes sustainability of JDAI efforts and demonstrates the county commitment to youth detention alternatives.

New Jersey⁵⁶

The Juvenile Justice Commission was established in 1995 by statute to lead the reform of the juvenile justice system in the State of New Jersey, and to serve as the state's youth correctional agency. The Annie E. Casey Foundation took note of New Jersey's early detention reform efforts, and in 2003 the Foundation chose New Jersey for statewide replication of the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative. With the support of the NJ Attorney General, the Juvenile Justice Commission provides the management and staffing infrastructure for implementing and sustaining JDAI statewide, and leads the initiative in partnership with the New Jersey Judiciary.

Five counties began implementing JDAI in 2004. In 2006, JDAI expanded to five additional counties. By the close of 2010, fifteen New Jersey counties will be official JDAI replication sites, with plans to expand JDAI strategies and policies to all twenty-one counties.

New Jersey demonstrates notable outcomes. Four years after the first five counties implemented JDAI there were approximately forty-four percent fewer youth in detention centers. Most of this reduction is accounted for by a sharp reduction in the detention of youth of color. The second set of five counties to implement JDAI experienced an almost twenty-three percent reduction in the number of youth held in detention centers.

Achieving and sustaining these results statewide requires collaboration and management of a substantial infrastructure. County sites are able to access best practices and proven programs. Detention specialists offer data collection, reporting, and analysis, allowing counties to develop specific action plans and remain focused on desired outcomes.

The reductions in youth detention have led to substantial cost-savings. With excess space resulting from the detention population reductions, several New Jersey detention facilities have consolidated to share services over the past several years.

The Future of the Juvenile Alternatives Initiative JDAI⁶³

While JDAI celebrates its many achievements, the initiative eyes additional goals to enhance its success over the past twenty years and increase replication.

Reducing racial and ethnic disparities continues as a focus for JDAI. A reduction in racial and ethnic disparities is an achievement only a few JDAI sites can lay claim to. Reducing these disparities is important for the Initiative moving forward.

Engaging the families of court-involved youth also continue to be important. The Foundation is planning to expand its focus to the correctional institutions at the deep end of the system that use a large portion of corrections budgets. These institutions and training schools create and contribute to terrible taxpayer results and youth outcomes.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation also seeks to continue replicating sites across the country. One goal is to expand JDAI in multiple jurisdictions to reach at least three-fourths of the nation's youth population by 2015. In order to reach this goal, the Initiative looks to state-wide initiatives or clusters of counties. The expectation is that the success of clusters of counties will persuade additional counties to participate in JDAI, with the purpose that the initiative will eventually move state-wide. More efficient training and technical assistance are results of this type of replication strategy. Recent successes in statewide replication have JDAI eager to continue in this direction. Seventeen states are JDAI participants as of July 2009.

Public safety is not declining as a result of the reductions in youth detention and newfound reliance on community-based alternatives. Juvenile arrests actually continue to decline in New Jersey since the onset of JDAI. In 2008, counties in the first five sites saw a decrease in arrests by almost eighteen percent, while the second set of five county sites experienced an almost sixteen percent drop in juvenile arrests.

The JDAI efforts in New Jersey serve as a model of governmental cooperation. There is tremendous broad based state and local collaboration supporting the implementation and sustainability of JDAI statewide. System stakeholders include local elected officials, courts officials and local law enforcement among others. These stakeholders collaborate to ensure the successful implementation of JDAI's eight core strategies.

In late 2008, the Annie E. Casey Foundation designated New Jersey as a model site, the first state to hold that honor. New Jersey achieved this status due to the impressive outcomes achieved in such a short period of time. New Jersey aims to implement JDAI policies in all twenty-one counties and continue its work as a model site for other potential statewide JDAI initiatives.

Conclusion

Two-thirds of detained youth are held for non-violent offenses.⁵⁷ Many, if not all, of these youth would benefit from community services. The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative employs strategies and policies to ensure that only the right kids are detained and for the minimum amount of time possible.

JDAI model sites prove that comprehensive reforms can reduce juvenile detention rates safely. Alternatives to detention provide significant cost-avoidance and cost-savings opportunities for counties. Local leadership is essential for the success of JDAI sites; county officials can work to bring stakeholders together for meaningful collaboration to improve the juvenile justice system. They can be champions of juvenile reform and assist in sustaining the policies and strategies needed for change. County officials can work with existing budgets to redirect current funds into JDAI strategies and positive youth development.

The benefits of youth detention reforms are vast and extremely important for county commissioners to consider. Youth detention reforms improve system efficiency, but most importantly they allow youth opportunities to become healthy, well-adjusted and productive adults. “Our view is that JDAI is a better, more efficient way of doing business that does not adversely affect public safety. In the long run it will save taxpayer funds through cost avoidance and produce better outcomes.” – Doug Mitchell, Bernalillo County JDAI Coordinator.

Resources

Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF)

To demonstrate that jurisdictions can establish more effective and efficient systems to accomplish the purposes of juvenile detention, the Foundation established the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) in 1992. The objectives of JDAI are to reduce the number of children unnecessarily or inappropriately detained; to minimize the number of youth who fail to appear in court or re-offend pending adjudication; to redirect public funds toward successful reform strategies; and to improve conditions of confinement. www.aecf.org/MajorInitiatives/JuvenileDetentionAlternativesInitiative.aspx

JDAI Help Desk

The on-line clearing house for information on the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI). The Help Desk is an electronic library featuring juvenile justice data & policy analyses, descriptions of best practices, examples of reform tools as well as individualized assistance to help in planning for effective change (www.jdaihelpdesk.org). The Pretrial Justice Institute (PJI) manages the JAI Help Desk. For more information on PJI, please visit www.pretrial.org.

National Association of Counties (NACo)

Provides technical assistance to counties through a mix of educational programming on justice issues including pretrial strategies,

youth, criminal justice planning, jail diversion and co-occurring mental health and substance abuse disorders. Through these grant supported projects, NACo helps counties find solutions to effectively implement and sustain community-based initiatives. To carry out these program activities, NACo is supported by both federal and foundation grants, including the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

To order resources and materials from the Annie E. Casey Foundation specifically on JDAI, please contact Rebecca Hsieh, Community Services Justice Associate at 202.942.4279 or rhsieh@naco.org.

For more information on NACo's criminal justice program, please contact Maeghan gilmore, Program Director for Health, Human Services and Justice at 202.942.4261 or mgilmore@naco.org. Please visit NACo's website at www.naco.org for additional information.

Coalition for Juvenile Justice (CJJ)

The Coalition for Juvenile Justice serves as a national resource on delinquency prevention and juvenile justice issues. Nationwide, more than 1,500 CJJ volunteers from the public and private sectors—professionals, concerned citizens, and advocates for children and families, and youth themselves—participate as members of state advisory groups on juvenile justice.

www.juvjustice.org

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)

OJJDP, a component of the Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, accomplishes its mission by supporting states, local communities, and tribal jurisdictions in their efforts to develop and implement effective programs for juveniles. The Office also strives to enable the juvenile justice system to better protect public safety, hold offenders accountable, and provide services tailored to the needs of youth and their families.

www.ojjdp.gov

Campaign for Youth Justice

The Campaign for Youth Justice (CFYJ) is dedicated to ending the practices of trying, sentencing and incarcerating youth under the age of 18 in the adult criminal justice system. CFYJ advocates for juvenile justice reform through providing support to federal, state, and local campaigns; coordinating outreach to parents, youth, and families; fostering national coalition-building; encouraging media relations; conducting research; and publishing reports and advocacy materials.

www.campaignforyouthjustice.org

Justice Policy Institute

The mission of the Justice Policy Institute (JPI) is to promote effective solutions to social problems and to be dedicated to ending society's reliance on incarceration. JPI writes extensively on juvenile justice issues, including releasing a report in 2010 titled *The Cost of Confinement: Why Good Juvenile Justice Policies Make Good Fiscal Sense*.

www.justicepolicy.org

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