THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN PROBATION AND PAROLE ASSOCIATION W W W . A P P A - N E T . O R G

A P COMMUNITY JUSTICE & SAFETY FOR ALL P A

VOLUME 40

NUMBER 1

WINTER 2016

JUYENILE

A PERSPECTIVES SPOTLIGHT WINTER / SPRING 2016

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president's message

hildren are different than adults. I know that firsthand, after raising three teenagers who were only one grade level apart. At one point, all three were attending the same high school. Parent-teacher conferences became a form of speed dating.

I remember the day when a very unhappy man brought home my youngest teenager by the shirt collar. The man, driving through the neighborhood, was the surprised recipient of a ripe tomato thrown through his open window. My son's explanation? He was bored.

Another son took his father's motorcycle to school when we were out of town. Not only was snow predicted that day, he didn't even have a license. His explanation? He wanted to show his friends his dad's cool bike.



SUSAN BURKE PRESIDENT

My daughter, the oldest, had her own share of brain lapses and they usually involved her friends or a boyfriend and staying out too late.

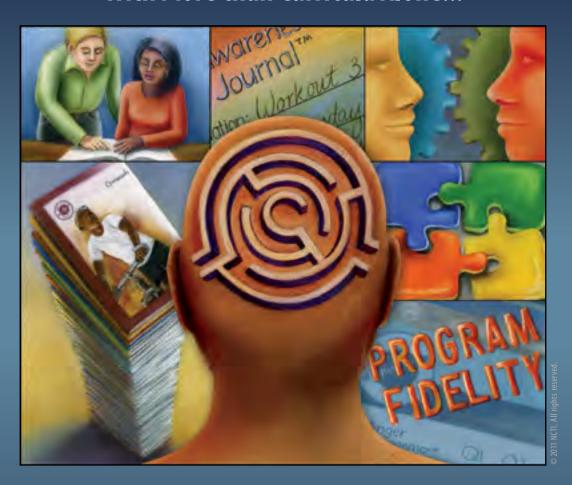
Their father, a sworn peace officer, could have arrested them for assault, possession of a stolen vehicle, and other minor crimes. But we handled their transgressions in much the same way most parents do – an apology letter and a free car wash for the driver, revocation of privileges, and more restrictive curfews. We recognized that our kids, like all teenagers, were afflicted with the disease of youthfulness. Fortunately, it's not fatal and teenagers eventually recover from it

But science has confirmed that youthfulness is a real biological condition. Scans of an adolescent's brain

demonstrate that it is physically different than an adult's brain. The gray matter that surrounds the brain is a different thickness and is still in the process of developing the higher functioning neural connections of an adult. These differences are particularly evident in the prefrontal cortex, the area of the brain responsible for reasoning and judgment.

As a result, young people lack the ability and life experience to make appropriate decisions in stressful situations or to act upon those decisions in a meaningful and just way. They are more likely to respond from an emotional perspective rather than a

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I remember the day when a very unhappy man brought home my youngest teenager by the shirt collar. The man, driving through the neighborhood, was the surprised recipient of a ripe tomato thrown through his open window. My son's explanation? He was bored.

reasoned or consequential perspective. Young people are more impulsive and vulnerable to outside influences and suggestion. Add a complex trauma history to the mix and the response can be unpredictable and sometimes extreme.

Because of this extended maturation process, in March 2005 the U.S. Supreme Court abolished the death penalty for individuals who committed their offense prior to age 18, citing scientific evidence that children are less culpable than adults. Writing for the majority, Justice Kennedy noted that adolescents were found to be over-represented statistically in virtually every category of reckless behavior. The opinion stated that juveniles have less control over their own environment, and lack the freedom that adults have in escaping a criminogenic setting.

In the 10 years since this ruling, the juvenile justice system has begun to view youths through more of a developmental lens rather than a punitive lens. There is now greater understanding that because a youth is not just a "mini-adult," supervision and intervention strategies for court-involved youth require a different approach if we want to be successful in reducing recidivism and improving outcomes. Fewer youths are being incarcerated and more are being served closer to home in community-based settings. One of the consequences of this approach is that individuals who are supervised in the community are increasingly more complex and challenging than those in the past. Probation officers, parole officers, and those who work in diversion and pretrial services are becoming more adept at taking into consideration developmental issues, trauma histories and environmental conditions. The work we do is challenging and difficult. Yet most find the work rewarding because young people have the greatest capacity to learn, to grow and to change.

My teenagers are now young adults - ages 20, 22 and 23. They hold full time jobs, have gone to school and, more importantly, have (mostly) recovered from their bout with youthfulness. Most young people will do just as well if given the opportunity.





















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JUVENILE JUSTICE REFORMS— MODERNIZING PARENS PATRIAE



FAYE S. TAXMAN
EDITORIAL CHAIR FOR PERSPECTIVES
APPA

■he juvenile justice system has been in transition for the past 10 years. From its inception, the juvenile justice system was designed to take the best interest of the youth into account when making decisions. In the early 1980s, as the adult system pushed a "tough on crime" agenda and talked about super predators, many juvenile justice systems responded by adding accountability, punishment, and victim's rights to the stated goals of the system. Legislatures across the United States implemented laws that increased minimum sentences, mandated incarceration for specific crimes, and simplified the process for juveniles to be bound over to adult courts. These changes led to more than 100,000 youth incarcerated at any given time and roughly 1,000,000 youth on some form of community supervision.

Starting a little over a decade ago, with the help of researchers and advocates alike, the juvenile justice system has recognized that tougher does not equal better. The risk, need, and responsivity principles (RNR) have been around since the mid-1990s, but has finally taken hold across the nation in regards to juvenile justice agencies. Early research by Lowenkamp and Latessa, along with meta-analyses conducted by Lispey and colleagues, has afforded the juvenile justice system

the unique insight into how ensuring that we target the right youth, under the right circumstances, using the right approaches is imperative in addressing the needs of the individual youth.

This issue of Perspectives highlights the transition that the juvenile justice system has gone through over the past 10 years and what it faces moving forward. Angela Irvine's piece sets the stage with a discussion of the progression from incarceration to community and challenges us to examine the practices that have been in place for decades and the impact they have on our youth, especially youth of color and the LGBQ/GNCT youth. Myrinda Schweitzer and Stephanie Spiegel's article highlights changes that have been made in Ohio that have seen an 80 percent reduction in the incarcerated youth population. Stephanie Bays and Allison Harris' article follows the same theme and offers a perspective of how Dallas County has implemented a series of interventions in an effort to keep young people in the community while providing effective treatment. And lastly, Sandra Pavelka and Doug Thomas remind us that our field cannot maintain the good work that has been done in reforming the juvenile justice system without developing a clear, efficient way to target, track, and measure the outcomes of these efforts.

Ultimately, the juvenile justice system is poised to make great strides over the next decade. Recognizing that young people, even those that commit serious violent acts, are still developing and that implementing a continuum of services shaped by risk, need, and responsivity principles will serve our youth and the community well.

In addition to the featured articles, we also have several updates from the field including OJJDP's work assisting juvenile probation departments to implement EBP, Technology Update, and APPA News.

Fy J Jan

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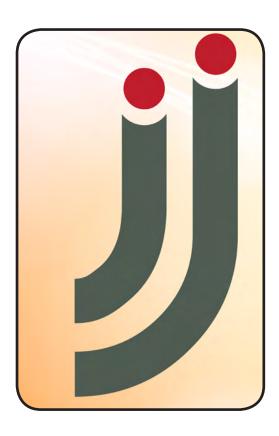
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about the cover

The Juvenile Justice logo for Perspectives was designed to evoke the idea of the parent/juvenile relationship without trivializing or stereotyping. The "parent/child" relationship is visualized by the acronym for Juvenile Justice ("JJ") and by the orientation of the smaller "J" (The Juvenile) being held by the larger "J" (The Adult) in a nurturing and uplifting manner. This logo was deisgned by John R. Higgins of the American Probation and Parole Association.

instructions to authors

Probation and Parole Association's members on relevant policy and program issues and provides updates on activities of the Association. The membership represents adult and juvenile probation, parole, and community corrections agencies throughout the United States and abroad. Articles submitted for publication are screened by an editorial committee and, on occasion, selected reviewers, to determine acceptability based on relevance to the field of criminal justice, clarity of presentation or research methodology. Perspectives does not reflect unsupported personal opinions. Submissions are encouraged following these procedures: Articles can be emailed to perspectives@csg.org in accordance with the following deadlines:

SUMMER 2016 ISSUE: MAY 1, 2016

FALL 2016 ISSUE: AUGUST 1, 2016

WINTER 2017 ISSUE: NOVEMBER 1, 2016

SPRING 2017 ISSUE: FEBRUARY 1, 2017

Unless previously discussed with the editors, submissions should not exceed 12 typed pages, numbered consecutively and double-spaced. All charts, graphs, tables and photographs must be of reproduction quality. Optional titles may be submitted and selected after review with the editors.

All submissions must be in English and in American Psychological Association (APA) Style. Authors should provide a one paragraph biography, along with contact information. Notes should be used only for clarification or substantive comments, and should appear at the end of the text. References to source documents should appear in the body of the text with the author's surname and the year of publication in parentheses, e.g., to (Mattson, 2015, p. 73). Alphabetize each reference at the end of the text using the following format:

Mattson, B. (2015). Technology supports decision making in health and justice. *Perspectives*, 39(4), 70-79.

Hanser, R. D. (2014). *Community corrections* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

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Perspectives is published four times annually by the American Probation and Parole Association through its secretariat office in Lexington, Kentucky. ISSN 0821-1507

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where community partnerships are restoring hope by embracing a balance of prevention, intervention and advocacy.

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Results are measured and direct our service delivery;

Dignity and respect describe how each person is treated;

Staff are empowered and supported in an environment of honesty, inclusion and respect for differences; and

Partnerships with stakeholders lead to shared ownership of our vision.

The American Probation and Parole Association is an affiliate of and receives its secretariat services from The Council of State Governments (CSG). CSG, the multibranch association of the states and U.S. territories, works with state leaders across the nation and through its regions to put the best ideas and solutions into practice.





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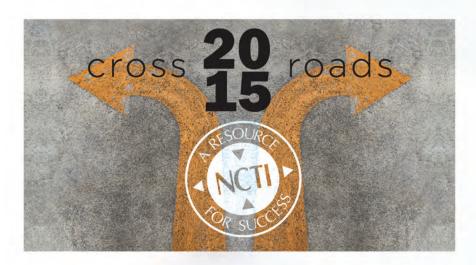
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appa specialized training spotlight





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PRESENTER: ROBERT L. THORNTON

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Virtually every week in the United States a media report is published describing a hazardous duty incident involving a probation, parole or community corrections officer or agency. Administrators will often find themselves in a position to respond to these occurrences without the requisite knowledge and training to manage the situation appropriately. The operational and monetary costs to an agency are extraordinary if administrators are not prepared for the unexpected.

This program provides a statistical basis for administrators to justify staff safety as an agency priority and presents the foundation for emphasizing staff safety training. The legal responsibilities that administrators have to provide safety training to staff are also examined throughout the presentation. This program is designed specifically for administrators to learn the appropriate response methods to hazardous incidents in the office, field and home environments. The role of social media, both positive and negative, is also discussed in this program, along with strategies to reduce the impact of stress on staff and managers when an incident occurs.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Participants will be able to:

- Describe the realities of threatening situations and incidents where officers and staff are killed and injured.
- Review what the courts tell us through legal case citations to support training.
- Examine policies and procedures which provide direction for staff in responding to incidents and threatening situations.
- Develop a strategic plan for addressing pertinent areas such as budget, collaboration and inclusion.
- Discuss the importance of safety in relation to social media positive and negative uses.
- Identify strategies to reduce the impact of stress on staff in the areas of crisis management, workload and self-assessment (taking care of YOU).
- List six steps for developing effective safety training.

LENGTH OF PROGRAM

8 hours





TECHNOLOGY UPDATE: NEW AND IMPROVED FIELD SEARCH SOFTWARE - FS 5.0

Probation and parole officers now have access to an updated version of Field Search, a free computer forensics tool provided by the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center (NLECTC) System.

Field Search is a fast, powerful, yet easy method of examining computer use. Typically launched via USB drive, Field Search works live on the offender's computer and quickly finds evidence that officers can easily insert into a report to be used in court proceedings.

The NLECTC System originally developed Field Search in 2006, with funding from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), to fill a specific void. At that time, there was no software product available for use in the field by non-technical probation and parole officers. Field Search was created to provide officers with a free tool that would allow them to quickly and efficiently search a target computer and create a detailed report of findings.



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Although many changes are transparent to the average user, there are a number of new features and upgrades that will be helpful in everyday searches.

After the initial funding expired, project coordinator Jim Tanner and software developer Jim Persinger worked on a voluntary basis to produce five subsequent iterations of Field Search, with the most recent (FS 5.0) released in early January 2016.

Current Field Search users know that the software quickly finds potential evidence such as internet histories, images, multimedia files and results from text searches. However, FS 5.0 delivers a number of significant new capabilities. For starters, Field Search has been completely recompiled, recoded and rebuilt to improve its compatibility with today's hardware and software. As a result, the software can run a complete scan of a hard drive, analyze the contents and produce a report in less than an hour – even though the hard drives of 2016 are much larger than those of 10 years ago and even though FS 5.0 has vastly expanded capabilities, as compared to the original version.

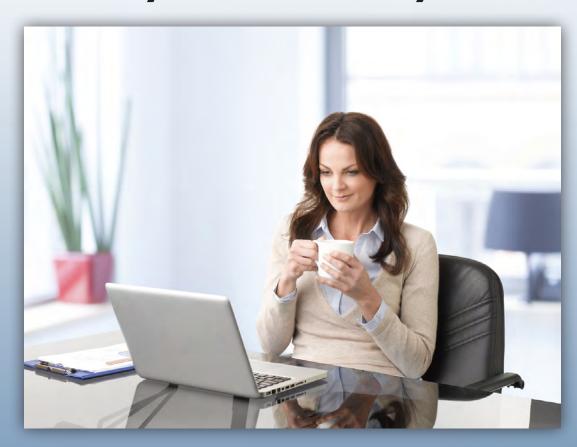
Although many changes are transparent to the average user, there are a number of new features and upgrades that will be helpful in everyday searches. One of the most significant is the expanded keyword search function. Previous updates provided the capability to search for a word or phrase in any language that uses the Latin alphabet. FS 5.0 takes a big step forward and extends searches to include any language spoken on this planet, whether it uses the Latin alphabet or Arabic, Cyrillic or Eastern language characters – or anything else. This change was made primarily in response to requests from users working in domestic terrorism operations as well as in the U.S. military, which trains soldiers to use Field Search as a battlefield forensics. tool to guickly analyze data when there is neither time nor ability to bring a recovered computer back to a lab. As diversity is rapidly increasing within the probation and parole population, this expanded language capability is important for community corrections as well.

FS 5.0 also provides the ability to search an offender's chat history. Officers can now examine Skype, Windows Live, ICQ and Yahoo Messenger activity to determine who the offender has been chatting with, the content of the communication and when it occurred.



A Force for Positive CHANGE.

American Probation and Parole Association Community Corrections Buyers' Guide



The Community Corrections Buyers' Guide is the information resource that our 37,000 members and other industry professionals have asked for, providing them with a one-stop resource to find the products and information they need.

Particularly important when searching a pedophile's computer, FS 5.0 provides the ability to scan a computer drive for matches against known HASH sets, which are essentially the virtual "fingerprint" of a computer file. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children maintains a HASH database of all known child pornography files. If an agency has access to this database, staff can use Field Search to compare the files from offenders' computers and locate matches.

Perhaps the most significant change is that FS 5.0 is fully compatible with Windows 8 and 10 as well as with the most current versions of Internet Explorer, Edge, Opera, Chrome and Mozilla/Firefox. The software maintains compatibility with older versions as well.

Additional new features/upgrades include:

- Pictures in the Image Gallery can now be sorted by date accessed, allowing Field Search users to see which pictures were accessed most recently.
- Improved reporting speed and greater ability to export reports as PDFs.
- Improved and faster media rendering.

So much of life today occurs in the virtual world, and understanding and monitoring an offender's computer use can be a critical element in the supervision process. Most agencies appreciate this reality; however, many struggle with funding issues and as a result, lack resources in this area. The upgraded Field Search software allows probation and parole agencies access to an easy-to-use, yet powerful, forensics tool and the best part is that it is completely free.

Field Search is available free of charge to qualified law enforcement and corrections personnel.

For more information on Field Search, including how to request a copy, please visit http://www.justnet.org/fieldsearch/fs_main.html.

For further information on the APPA Technology Committee, please feel free to contact Joe Russo at jrusso@du.edu

JOE RUSSO is Corrections Technology Lead for the Justice Technology Information Center (JTIC), a component of the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center System (NLECTC), and chair of the APPA Technology Committee.



*** FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL ***

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spotlight on safety



n discussing use of force issues and physical control techniques with juvenile supervision agencies we often hear "we can't do that with juveniles." The basic theme is that the control techniques that may be used on adults cannot be used on juveniles. The problem with that philosophy is that it is not based upon legal precedent or the actual attacks experienced by those who supervise or work with justice-involved youth.

Case law regarding use of force dictates that appropriate responses to threat are to be based upon the threat posed and an "objectively reasonable" response to that threat (Graham v. Connor, 1989). Many things go into an appropriate response: the size of the assailant, the size of the officer, the assailant's ability to cause physical harm or death, and any weapons available to or in possession of the assailant. No case law says that an appropriate response is based upon the age or sex of the assailant.

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When people hear the word juvenile they often think of someone in the 9-12 age range. But statistically, youth in that range are not usually involved in high-level attacks against probation/parole officers. However, as those involved in working with juveniles know, those under supervision can many times be 16, 17 or even in their 20s depending on the laws in their jurisdiction.

Research by Community Corrections Institute shows that juvenile probation/ parole officers feloniously killed in the line of duty have been killed by the "youth" they supervise and those youth have been males in the 16 and 17 year age bracket. For example:

Mary Fine, a juvenile probation officer in Detroit, Michigan was beaten and strangled to death by a 16-year-old boy she supervised when she went to the boy's home for a scheduled home contact.

Arnold Garcia, Group Supervisor with the Los Angeles County Probation Department, was beaten to death with the leg of a table when two juveniles, ages 16 and 17, attempted to escape from a juvenile detention facility.

DEVELOP POLICY IN KEEPING WITH THE LAW

When working on policy development with juvenile agencies we sometimes see policy regarding use of force that states officers cannot use lethal force against juveniles. We must remember that lethal

force is usually defined in state law as force that *may* cause serious injury or death. So let's reflect on the two cases above.

In the case of Ms. Fine, as an administrator, would you say that if Ms. Fine could not disengage from the situation, e.g., push the assailant away or apply some less-than-lethal technique, or if those techniques did not stop the assault, she could not use some other technique that may cause serious injury or death to save her life? When posed with that question people will usually say of course she could use what would be defined as lethal force; a poke to the eyes, a strike to the throat, or a hit to the assailant's head with a weapon of opportunity. So why have a policy with force limiting language that is contrary to guidelines given by the Supreme Court?

How about policies that direct officers to use "the minimal amount of force necessary" to stop a threat? What is minimal force? If I apply some form of control tactic and put the assailant on the ground and disengage while you strike the person with a fist to stop the attack and then run away, who is right?

If you do not have the training or the physical ability to apply control tactics that do not involve a strike and thus, possibly less injury to the assailant, but yet you can strike the person with a fist or a board lying on the ground and get away, are you wrong?

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The Council of State Governments/American Probation and Parole Association (CSG/APPA) in partnership with the American Correctional Association (ACA), American Jail Association (AJA) and the Center for Innovative Public Policies (CIPP), with funds from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) manages the Discover Corrections website.

The higher State and Federal Courts have acknowledged that such attacks are dynamic and call for split second decisions. As stated by the Supreme Court in *Graham v. Connor*, the "reasonableness" of a particular use of force must be judged from the perspective of a reasonable officer on the scene, not from the perspective of a lay person. They also stated, "Not every push or shove, even if it may later seem unnecessary in the peace of a judge's chambers, would denote an excessive force verdict."

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

With recent use of force incidents involving police there has been extensive review—not always by those who are versed in use of force law and policy changes—and it will continue to occur. It is important to note that these changes, either current or proposed, do not change the current laws regarding use of force. Most proposed changes involve more training and emphasis on verbal deescalation.

It is also important to note that the cases receiving the greatest notoriety involve police trying to make arrests. This is not the case with the majority of use of force cases involving juvenile probation/parole officers. With juvenile force cases the main emphasis has been officer safety and survival.

In January, 2016 the Police Executive Research Forum, a police research and policy organization, issued the paper:

"Use of Force: Taking Policing to a Higher Standard," which includes 30 Guiding Principles. Of the principles, some can apply to both adult and juvenile probation and parole agencies. Using the policy numbers as listed in the paper, the following Guiding Principles can certainly apply to probation and parole:

- 1. The sanctity of human life should be at the heart of everything an agency does.
- Adopt de-escalation as a formal agency policy.
- 6. Duty to intervene: Officers need to prevent other officers from using excessive force.
- 14. Training academy content and culture must reflect agency values.
- Officers should be trained to use a Critical Decision-Making Model.
- Use Distance, Cover and Time to replace outdated concepts.
- 17. De-escalation should be a core theme of an agency's training program.
- 18. De-escalation starts with effective communications.
- 19. Mental Illness: implement a comprehensive agency training program on dealing with people with mental health issues.

- Tactical training and mental health training need to be interwoven to improve response to critical incidents.
- 23. Training as teams can improve performance in the field.
- 24. Scenario-based training should be prevalent, challenging and realistic.
- 25. Officers need access to and training in less-lethal options.

AREAS OF CONCERN

While use of force experts endorse many of the suggestions, some of the paper's suggestions have raised concerns on the part of law enforcement force experts. The document also calls for changes that could be applicable to adult and juvenile probation and parole, but could have negative consequences for both the officer and the agency. Again, using the numbers reflected in the Guidelines:

 Departments should adopt policies that hold themselves to a higher standard than the legal requirements of Graham v. Connor.

When agencies take it upon themselves to go beyond legal standards, the agency can create undue legal exposure and liability for both the agency and officers.

3. Police use of force must meet the test of proportionality.

The paper states that "In assessing whether a response is proportional, officers must ask themselves, 'How would the general public view the action we took?'"

For probation and parole officers, merely responding to the immediate situation can be overwhelming. Taking time to worry about how the general public, that often lacks education in the legal use of force, would view the situation can create a critical hesitation that can mean the difference between successfully controlling a situation or the officer becoming a victim.

Historically in community corrections, in use of force cases involving injury to the officer, the issue has not been the excessive use of force—but not using enough force fast enough to stop the threat. Not everyone will agree on use of force decisions. That's why we have case law to guide us and that is why *Graham* set a "reasonableness" standard. The Supreme Court recognized the need for officers to have the flexibility to respond in different ways to the same threat level.

Other criticisms note that some of the other suggestions seem to imply that use of force situations tend to be all the same and thus can be handled by creating additional policies and procedures.

In community corrections incidents involving use of force for officer survival, no additional polices would have made a difference in the outcome of the situation. What would have made a difference is a different response based upon training, which the majority of the officers lacked.

SUMMARY

Community corrections agencies can enhance officer safety by recognizing that a response to a threat is based upon the ability of the assailant to do harm to the officer, not an age or legal designation such as adult or juvenile. Policies should be written in keeping with well established case law and should not contain force-limiting language that can cause critical hesitation on the officer's part and/or result in increased liability exposure for the officer or agency.

No agency can create a policy or procedure that will guarantee officer safety. Agencies should provide general guidelines on officer conduct, training on use of force parameters, and then focus on providing proper training in officer safety skills, identification of the unique characteristics of those who assault and kill probation and parole officers, and how and when to effectively disengage from potentially hazardous situations. Additionally, provide appropriate training that gives officers the physical skills to stop the threat when they cannot disengage, irrespective of the assailants' age, sex or size.

RESOURCES

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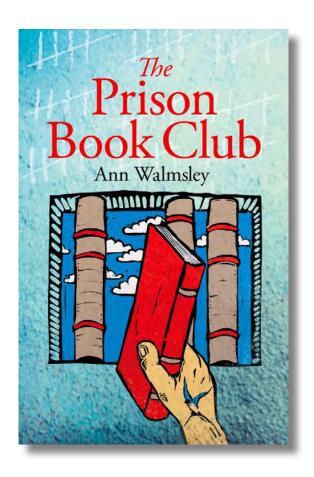


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THE PRISON BOOK CLUB

BY ANN WALMSLEY
VIKING: PENGUIN CANADA BOOKS INC.
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It is rare that we come across a book that records the work of volunteers and the positive impact of their interventions in the lives of offenders. Yet, there are countless such interventions occurring in the correctional environment. The stories are rarely told except in small authorings. in local newsletters or the websites of the volunteer agencies involved. There have been memoirs written by correctional workers and offenders and on occasion, by volunteers. This memoir, "The Prison Book Club," describes the author Ann Walmsley's experience in two prison book clubs in federal prisons in Ontario, Canada. A magazine journalist who has received numerous awards for her writing, Ann, a dedicated book club member, founded her first book club at the age of nine. What makes this memoir of interest to me is the uniqueness of the account and the personal growth experienced by the author—as well as the changes in some of the book club participants. This is a hopeful book, written with compassion and humor, which makes it very readable and interesting. It is an encouraging story for those of us who work with offenders and strive to divert them from criminal activity. The book consists of 21 chapters, in which 19 of them are reports on book club meetings and the discussions that ensued from the reading assignment. The author has changed the names of the participants, the staff and the volunteers with the exception of her own name and the name of the book club organizer. The dialogue in the book is based on recordings of the sessions and interviews

with a select number of the participants; the memoir is the result of participants and the prison administration giving their permission to publish. The result is a rich narrative of the prisoners' reactions to what they read and offers insightful discussions between prisoners and the volunteers.

The first chapter sets the stage for the author's involvement that led to the writing of the memoir. Ann's friend, Carol Findlay, invited her to attend a book club that she'd started in a men's prison. The members included drug traffickers, bank robbers and murderers. Although the author admired the work Findlay was doing, she was unsure of her ability to participate. Eight years previously she had been living in London, England, where she had been the victim of a violent street mugging. She was not sure she would be able to sit down and talk with prison inmates. Afraid of being re-traumatized by the experience, she almost declined to participate. She was encouraged by her friend Carol, and she remembered and reflected on a statement her father had once said to her: "If you expect the best of people they will rise to the occasion." Walmsley didn't want to allow her fear to pre-judge those who might be attempting to change their own lives. So she embarked on a remarkable 18 month journey that would help her escape her prison of fear. Ann attended book clubs in federal prisons and her involvement produced this book about how the power of literature changed attitudes and perspectives for some readers. The key to the change is the combination of reading and discussing others' ideas and views on characters and comparing their own experiences with the experiences portrayed.

The next 19 chapters recount the experiences of the volunteers and prisoners and their discussions of books that had been selected. The discussions resulted in interesting and insightful exchanges between What makes this memoir of interest to me is the uniqueness of the account and the personal growth experienced by the author as well as the changes in some of the book club participants.

On another occasion, the book club created questions that were sent to another author who had agreed to reply to auestions from the group. These opportunities were of great assistance in expanding the participants' connections to the outside world and sharing impressions from the prisoner's point of view.

the participants about the characters, ideas and events contained in the books. On one occasion, an author came to the meeting and answered questions regarding his book. On another occasion, the book club created questions that were sent to another author who had agreed to reply to questions from the group. These opportunities were of great assistance in expanding the participants' connections to the outside world and sharing impressions from the prisoner's point of view. For some of these prisoners, the stay in prison would be a long one and not all of them had connections on the outside. If they did have visitors, the travel and search procedures for visiting were an obstacle for family and friends.

Throughout the book the author makes thoughtful reports on the views of the prisoners that cause the reader to reflect on the issues being discussed, remembering that what is being recorded is not the discussion of a university seminar but of those deprived of their liberty and of whom some have committed serious crimes. One example I found interesting was the author's comment upon reading the journal of one of the participants. She writes, "...how many different types of prisoners there were in the world. Prisoners in cells, prisoners of religion and prisoners of those threatening violence. Even prisoners of fear, as I once had been." Another example occurred while discussing a book about a family that hid Jews who had fled from the Germans in the Second World War. The group leader started the discussion by asking, "Are you going to be able to find that thing called home when you leave here and what effect has that had on you, being placed here for a period of time?" The responses were varied and included comments such as:

- Things have changed, stores gone, but the streets remained the same.
- The problem of having a criminal record makes it difficult to reestablish yourself.
- A child or wife can affect where a home is or was.
- There is a difference between us and the Jews who were removed from their homes, we got caught!
- For most people, being home is doing drugs and eating once every three days, while in prison we are eating three meals a day. The result is that some people prefer prison to being out there.

These comments leave much to reflect on, especially for those who are interested in establishing reintegrative practices that consider the value of community stabilization, including housing and jobs that create a stake in conformity for the returning prisoner.

The closing chapter contains results of interviews with some of the former book club members who are now on parole or residing in halfway houses. At the time of writing, the majority are still making progress on their efforts to remain in the community. Walmsley notes that although it was not the intention of the book clubs to rehabilitate offenders, there has been research that indicates a link between reading literary fiction and the

development of empathy and how reading may contribute to informal learning and pro-social behavior. She closes the book by noting that, "I had created meaning with men who represented the very thing I feared."

I found this an encouraging book to read and I also thought the memoir format could provide a useful means for probation officers to give the public an understanding of the important work they do in helping offenders change and in providing community safety services.

DONALD G. EVANS is a Past President of the American Probation and Parole Association, Toronto, Canada.

international update

BY BILL BURRELL



The International Relations Committee of APPA is embarking upon an exciting new project designed to raise the awareness of APPA members about probation outside of North America. Under the leadership of committee chair, Julie Truschel, the committee has decided to build on APPA's experiences with the World Congress. The first World Congress on Probation was held in London in 2013, and was attended by a small group of APPA members. At the London event, APPA was invited to host the second World Congress. That invitation was accepted and APPA and the International Community Corrections Association (ICCA) jointly sponsored the World Congress on Community Corrections in Los Angeles in 2015. These experiences have sparked an interest in APPA assuming a larger role on the international stage.



This new project seeks to increase the awareness of and interest in the international community of probation.1 While many consider probation an American creation (some of our British colleagues may disagree!), probation has spread and is now found the world over. The first World Congress in London had representatives from 55 countries. During its meeting at the Winter Training Institute in Atlanta, the International Relations Committee decided to explore this international probation community and share its findings with the readers of Perspectives. The committee members have each identified a country—eight altogether—whose probation system they will explore (not in person, unfortunately) and then share their findings in future International Updates.

For the first installment of our international tour, we turn to the Confederation of European Probation

(CEP), a co-sponsor of the London World Congress. CEP represents probation systems in some 36 countries in Europe, ranging from Albania to the United Kingdom. The CEP website has summaries of probation in its member countries. These can be viewed at:http://cep-probation.org/knowledgebase.

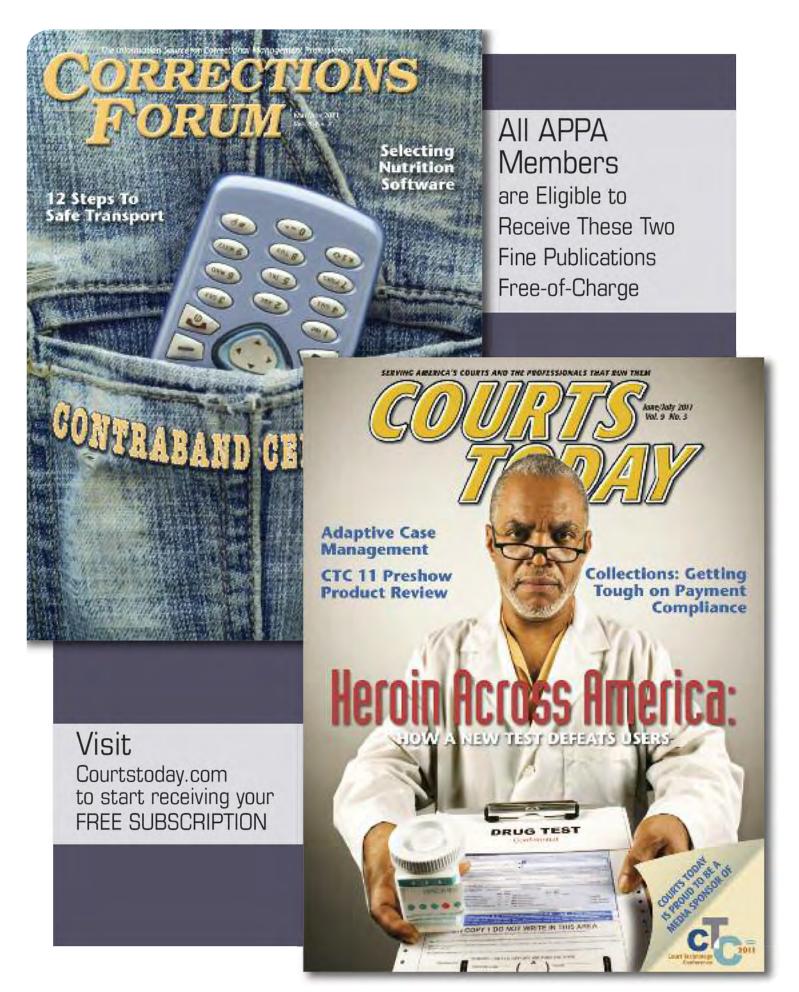
We think you will find this information interesting and we hope that it whets your appetite for the future installments of our world tour. If you are interested in knowing more about the International Relations Committee or in serving as a member, contact Julie Truschel at julietruschel@comcast.net.

ENDNOTES

1 In most of the world, the term "probation" encompasses both court-imposed community supervision as well as post-incarceration supervision (parole).

APPA RESEARCH COMMITTEE DESIGNATED AS A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE ISSUES, POSITIONS AND RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE.

The newly named Research Subcommittee—under the Issues, Positions and Resolutions (IPR) Committee—met at the Atlanta APPA Winter Institute on February 1, 2016 with Dr. Natalie Pearl as the new chair. With 15 participants, this subcommittee had engaging discussions about the new status as a subcommittee and on the best ways to integrate into the overall IPR mission. The research subcommittee sees one important part of their contribution to IPR is to ensure that positions and resolutions undertaken by APPA are well grounded in the existing research literature. In addition, the subcommittee has reaffirmed its commitment to ensuring that academic research on topics of interest are accessible to practitioners in the field. In furtherance of this goal, the subcommittee is working under the leadership of Dr. Brett Garland of Missouri State University, who has surveyed the APPA membership about the research needs of their community corrections agencies to put together a panel for the Spring meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) in Denver from March 29-April 2. The joint APPA/ACJS panel will be Thursday, March 31 at 9:30 a.m. If you are planning to attend this conference, please join us for this important roundtable discussion. Also, if these topics are of interest to you please plan to join us at our subcommittee meeting in Cleveland at the 41st Annual Training Institute.



psn update

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-PROBATION/PAROLE PARTNERSHIPS: RESULTS FROM A SURVEY OF THE APPA MEMBERS

It is not unusual for police to come into contact with probationers or parolees. Indeed, a study of four California cities revealed one in five arrests involved an individual under community supervision (Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2013; for more examples see Braga, 2008; Braga, Kennedy, Waring, & Piehl, 2001; Papachristos, Meares, & Fagan, 2007). Clearly, increased coordination between police and probation/parole agencies remains a salient issue. Yet research on partnerships has been isolated to specific regions of the country, often qualitative in nature (Alarid, Sims, & Ruiz, 2011; Murphy, 2003, 2005) or focused on law enforcement perspectives (Kim, Gerber, & Beto, 2010; Kim, Gerber, Beto, & Lambert, 2013; Kim, Matz, Gerber, Beto, & Lambert, 2013). In 2015, a survey on partnership prevalence and concerns was disseminated to probation/parole leaders and officers affiliated with the American Probation and Parole Association (APPA). This update briefly discusses the results in relation to four research questions (for detailed results and a more thorough discussion of partnerships see Matz, 2016):

- What partnership typologies are the most prevalent between police and probation/parole agencies?
- To what extent are those in leadership positions in probation/parole agencies favorable to engaging in these partnerships?
- To what extent are those in frontline officer positions favorable to engaging in these partnerships?
- What variables, informed by the empirical literature, most influence these perceptions?

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Of 621 leaders (e.g., directors, chiefs) successfully contacted, 177 (29 percent) completed the questionnaire. Respondents represented 25 states, including Alaska (one percent), Alabama (one percent), Arizona (five percent), California (eight percent), Colorado (three percent), Connecticut (one percent), Florida (one percent), Georgia (four percent), Idaho (three percent), Illinois (five percent), Indiana (14 percent), Louisiana (one percent), Massachusetts (three percent), Missouri (one percent), Minnesota (one percent), Nebraska (three percent), Nevada (one percent), Ohio (37 percent), Pennsylvania (two percent), Rhode Island (one percent), Texas (one percent), Utah

(three percent), Virginia (one percent), Washington (one percent), and West Virginia (one percent).

In addition, 156 (23 percent) out of 682 frontline officers successfully contacted via stratified random sample, responded to the survey. Respondents represented 24 states, including the District of Columbia (one percent), Alaska (one percent), Alabama (two percent), Arizona (12 percent), California (three percent), Colorado (three percent), Georgia (one percent), Illinois (eight percent), Indiana (12 percent), Kansas (one percent), Kentucky (one percent), Missouri (two percent), Minnesota (five percent), Montana (one percent), North Dakota (three percent), New York (eight percent), Ohio (five percent), Oklahoma (four percent), Oregon (six percent), Pennsylvania (three percent), Tennessee (one percent), Texas (12 percent), Virginia (two percent), Washington (one percent), and Wyoming (three percent).

Agency characteristics were similar between the leadership group and frontline officer group. A majority described their agencies as having a predominantly rural orientation, focused on adult probation supervision under the judiciary at the county level. The number of respondents that indicated officers were sworn was roughly 50:50. Less than a quarter of respondents indicated officers were required to be armed with a firearm, with around 40 percent from each group noting firearms were strictly prohibited.

However, about 35 to 50 percent noted non-lethal force was an option. In terms of demographics, females represented about 40 percent of the respondents for both groups, with some respondents choosing not to answer. Experience level at the department and in criminal justice tended to be about two to five years longer for leadership on average than that of officers, though both groups of respondents had spent an average of 10 years in their current position.

MOST PREVALENT PARTNERSHIPS

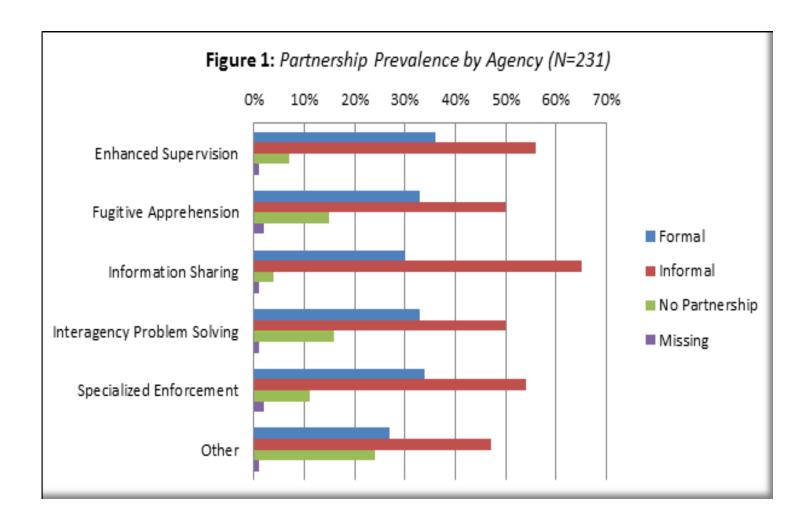
Prior research has categorized partnerships between law enforcement and probation/parole agencies into five typologies: enhanced supervision, information sharing, fugitive apprehension, specialized enforcement and interagency partnerships (Parent & Snyder, 1999). More recent research further distinguished partnerships in terms of their formal or informal nature (Kim et al., 2010). Formalized partnerships are distinguishable by their use of operational agreements, protocols, contracts, and/ or memoranda of understanding (MOU). Boston's Operation Night Light is often regarded as the first formal policeprobation/parole partnership, formed in 1992. Informal partnerships, which have existed for decades (Nash, 2008), are built between individuals from their respective organizations and often dissolve once a key individual retires, transfers, gets promoted or leaves their organization.

psn update

Figure 1 shows the results for partnership prevalence among the 231 agencies represented by the 333 respondents. Clearly, it is rare for probation/parole agencies to not be involved in a partnership of some extent with law enforcement. About 95 percent of the agencies represented within this study indicated they possessed an information sharing partnership, followed by 92 percent engaged in some form of enhanced supervision, 88 percent in specialized enforcement, 83 percent in fugitive apprehension, and 83 percent engaged in interagency problem solving partnerships. Interestingly, however, the majority of these partnerships were informal in nature, ranging from about 50-65 percent for each categorization.

LEADERSHIP AND OFFICER PARTNERSHIP FAVORABILITY

An eight-item index was constructed to capture respondents' interest in partnerships with law enforcement. These items asked to what extent one agreed or disagreed with several items using a five-point Likert scale, such as, "I would be in favor of partnership with law enforcement agencies becoming standard operating



procedure," "agency staff strongly support partnership," and "our agency's executives and supervisors strongly support partnership with law enforcement." The same questions were asked of both leadership and officer respondents. Results were similar for both groups, indicating strong support for partnerships exist. That said, one item in particular was associated with greater ambiguity than the others, "Our agency's executives and supervisors are currently seeking new partnership opportunities with law enforcement agencies." Whereas over 50 percent of respondents from each group agreed or strongly agreed with all other items, only about 25-30 percent agreed with this particular item. Interestingly, about 44 percent of leadership respondents and 33 percent of officer respondents marked neither agree nor disagree with this statement. It should also be noted that officers were less certain of leadership's interest in partnerships, tending to mark neither agree nor disagree more often.

FACTORS THAT MOST INFLUENCE INTEREST IN PARTNERSHIPS

Detailed quantitative analyses examined the impact of various factors, derived from the empirical literature, that most influenced respondents' interest in partnerships. Using a statistical procedure known as hierarchical multiple regression (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson, & Tatham, 2006), it was found that leadership respondents' partnership interests were significantly influenced by perceptions of

extrinsic benefit (i.e., perceived impact on crime and recidivism) and the support of agency executives and supervisors. These two variables accounted for about 57 percent of the variation in the leaders' perceptions of partnership favorability. Officers' partnership interests were significantly influenced by their rehabilitative ideology (i.e., if they believed a balance of accountability and rehabilitation was the key to probationer/ parolee success), leadership support, and stalking horse concerns (i.e., officers who were concerned about police abuse were less interested in partnerships). These three variables accounted for about 67 percent of the variation in officers' perceptions of partnership favorability. Note, agency characteristics (e.g., adult vs. juvenile supervision, sworn status, firearm use, agency size), personal demographics (sex, years of work experience), and level of current engagement in partnerships possessed no significant association with leaders' and officers' interests in further partnerships with law enforcement.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This national level study on perspectives of partnerships with law enforcement represents the first attempt to gather comprehensive insight from probation and parole agencies. Results demonstrate that few probation/parole agencies do not engage in partnerships with law enforcement, though the majority remains informal endeavors. It is also clear that probation and parole agencies are very interested in working with law

enforcement, regardless of the focus or orientation of their department (e.g., adult or juvenile supervision, sworn and armed or not sworn and unarmed).

The support of leadership, consistent with prior qualitative research (Alarid et al., 2011), is the strongest variable influencing officers' interest and engagement in partnerships. Officers have also noted concerns of police abuse (a.k.a., stalking horse concerns), of which APPA recently provided a state-level legal review (Matz, Turner, & Hemmens, 2015; Turner, Hemmens, & Matz, 2014; see also Adelman, 2002, 2007; Colbridge, 2003; Jermstad, 2002, 2003). Agencies should consider providing training specifically on this issue and also define the parameters in which law enforcement may or may not enter a probationer/parolee's residence or conduct a search of a person under supervision without probable cause or a warrant (with or without the presence of the supervising probation/parole officer).

For leaders, their interest in partnership is influenced greatly by their perceived potential for positive outcomes in regards to crime and recidivism reduction (i.e., extrinsic benefits). To date, police-probation/parole partnerships have generally been regarded as a promising practice, with little empirical research available to validate their effectiveness (e.g., Worrall & Gaines, 2006); they are influenced to a great deal by their often-informal nature. Training on the formalization of partnerships and outcome

research could prove beneficial in helping establish a clear research agenda for their evaluation, ideally legitimizing the benefits of these programs and practices with their outcomes.

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ENDNOTES

1 PSN Update is supported by Cooperative Agreement Number 2015-GP-BX-K002, awarded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance under the Project Safe Neighborhoods (PSN) anti-gun/gang initiative. The Bureau of Justice Assistance is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the Office for Victims of Crime, and the SMART Office. Points of view in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official policies or positions of the U.S. Department of Justice.

2 Research conducted under this study was supported in part by a Graduate Student Research Grant awarded by Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

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ension has always existed between the beliefs that the juvenile justice system must focus on the best interest of the individual youth (i.e., parens patriae) while protecting the community with swift punishment (McCord et. al., 2001). To address both conflicting concerns, juvenile justice systems seek innovative intervention models to address the complex task of rehabilitating young offenders while also holding the youth accountable for their offending behavior, thus maintaining a safer community. One intervention model used by the juvenile justice system has been the use of deferred prosecution programs. Specifically, the "Diversion Court" is a specialty program used to target low to medium risk youth. Even though there are no exact criteria for what embodies a diversion program, there is one common goal, which is to decrease youth exposure to the juvenile justice system (Models for Change, 2011).

First adopted by the adult criminal justice system, diversion programs have also proven to be beneficial to the juvenile justice system. Occurring prior to adjudication, each system uses diverse methods when applying diversion programming. However, common characteristics include a youth's avoidance of formal juvenile court processing, decreasing a youth's exposure to institutional settings, providing appropriate treatments at the community level, and promoting family involvement (Models for Change, 2011, p. 7-15). It is a commonly held belief that, with the combination of focused treatment services and specialized supervision, diversion programs can decrease the rates of recidivism and reduce the stigma attached to juvenile justice system involvement (McCord et. al., 2001, p. 167-176).



In Texas, counties hold the responsibility of prosecuting juvenile cases through the local District Attorney's Office or through the County Attorney's Office (TJJD, 2015). With this, county juvenile departments act as front-line representatives providing progressive therapeutic interventions and sanctions, including diversion programming. A groundbreaking report released in 2015, "Closer to Home: An Analysis of the State and Local Impact of the Texas Juvenile Justice Reforms," measured recidivism at the county level with an indepth analysis of eight Texas counties (Fabelo et. al., 2015). Among these Texas counties, Dallas County had the lowest rate of recidivism at 27 percent. Even though a clear link between diversion programming and low recidivism rates was not established in the study, it does not necessarily mean that these measures are irrelevant (Fabelo et. al., 2015, p. 1-84). Early indicators, such as program completion and recidivism rates (six months post-graduation), demonstrate promising outcomes for the Dallas County Juvenile Department's (DCJD) diversion programs. This article briefly examines the DCJD diversion programs and their unique position within the Dallas County juvenile justice system.

WHAT IS A DCJD DIVERSION COURT?

Approximately 100,000 juveniles are arrested or referred to the Texas juvenile justice system each year (TJJD, 2015). Receiving 6,000 to 7,000 referrals per year, Dallas County is one of four counties with the highest rate of referrals (Children at Risk, 2014). Dallas County Diversion Courts offer direct services to youth identified as the most vulnerable and underserved within this population. From traditional diversion programs, like Mental Health Court and Drug Court, to new approaches, like Youthful Offender's Court, DCJD strives to implement standard program components with innovative and research-based solutions to better address the needs of Dallas County youth. Within this process, there are several key stakeholders, tools, and interventions that offer support to youth and their families. Key components, identified by DCJD, include collaborative efforts amongst stakeholders, therapeutic methodologies, and a consistent, progressive process of supervision. Below, these components are concisely discussed as a crucial link in the young offender's successful completion and graduation from the diversion program.

FIRST CONTACT²

Since the District Attorney's Office is charged with the responsibility of prosecuting juvenile cases, DCJD has formed a collaborative relationship with the office to ensure that every youthful offender has limited contact with the department, when deemed appropriate. It can be argued that this team-oriented relationship is the most significant component to the ongoing success of any deferred prosecution process.

The District Attorney's Office shares the same investment in diverting youthful offenders as the juvenile department to expedite the process to protect the community. It is imperative to identify referred youth who would benefit from available services. Because the department has the ability to provide professional recommendations to the DA's Office, the young offender is accurately and swiftly paired with a program that best suits his/her needs. When a youth first makes contact with DCJD, the family is tasked with a long process of navigating an unfamiliar, complex system. The department and the DA's Office accelerate a youth's access to services and simplify the process for families by diverting youth, who are most often first-time offenders, to diversion court programs. Youth and their families promptly receive services tailored to addressing the offending behavior and any specific unmet needs. As a result,

diversion programming simultaneously limits exposure to the juvenile justice system and safeguards the community. As a crucial link between the DA's Office and DCJD, a collaborative effort is essential for the success of any diversion program.

DIVERSION PROGRAM PHASES

Another essential component to a DCJD diversion program is the use of a documented process that is typically adhered to by the specialty courts, or diversion courts. A standard court protocol allows for consistent supervision across several diversion programs. For DCJD, this protocol is a progressive model that consists of four character phases, creating a base program that includes developing positive characteristics and addressing adverse behaviors. Included is a brief summary of what the phases entail.

Over the course of three to six months, in each diversion court, youth complete three character phases and an aftercare phase.³ As they advance through the character phases, supervision levels and court hearings decrease. During this time, youth participants and their families meet regularly in a casual courtroom setting, during the evening, with a judge and other stakeholders to discuss progress and offer support. They examine values such as trustworthiness, responsibility, fairness, and citizenship during at least three programmatic phases. Each phase utilizes



community services and department programs that confront risk factors for criminal and violent behavior. Any specific needs discovered during the process are targeted with wraparound services. The court specifically addresses poor academic attendance and performance, negative social skills, lack of empathy, and unhealthy relationships with every participant. With an over-arching goal of expanding participants' world view during the program phases, participants develop better cognitive skills such as moral reasoning, problem solving, and critical thinking. In the final aftercare phase, monitoring, such as curfew checks and school visits occur as they are needed and the court continues to follow the youth's progress. Charges are not filed once the youth participant successfully completes the program.

INTERVENTION AND REHABILITATION (STAKEHOLDERS)

Every phase involves a teamwork approach to enhance a youth's success. Within the diversion court process, there are key stakeholders who hold essential responsibilities, which offer methods of intervention and rehabilitation. This includes the judge, the juvenile probation officer, the therapist, court staff, the District Attorney's Office, and community partners. The efforts of these stakeholders are considered essential for a successful

diversion program. More specifically, the role of the juvenile probation officer and the role of therapeutic services are examined.

Juvenile participants undergo an intense level of supervision by matching them with a specialized juvenile probation officer, who is the youth's first point of contact. The probation officer carries a smaller caseload, and this enables them to act as mentors, service brokers, advocates, report writers, case managers, and to perform other duties as needed. With the help of community partners, probation officers identify and address specific needs and criminal behavior risk factors with each participant.

For a diversion program to be considered successful, it may be necessary to provide a combination of intense and comprehensive services, which include individualized treatment consisting of multi-systemic therapeutic services (McCord et. al., 2001, p. 167-176). The Dallas County Juvenile Department (DCJD) provides youth with multicultural-based Functional Family Therapy (FFT). FFT provides referred youth with homebased therapy that focuses on treating the youth and their family.

With a combination of supervision provided by the probation officer and the court, therapeutic services, and

wraparound services, youth and their families are offered individualized services that increase the youth's likelihood of success. Each DCJD diversion court possesses unique features that are molded around a youth's success. The diversion programs discussed in this paper are Drug Court, Mental Health Court, E.S.T.E.E.M. Court, Diversion Male Court, and Youthful Offenders Court.

DRUG COURT

In a study released in 2014 by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), decreasing trends of drug and alcohol abuse were found among youth in the United States. Even though these are promising results, arrest rates for drug-related offenses remain high among juveniles (NIDA, 2014). Many youth who come in contact with DCJD reflect the trend of drug-related offenses. In 2014, DCJD received 585 referrals and the majority of referrals (78.5 percent) were first time drug offenses.

Established in 2002, DCJD's juvenile drug court was the first diversion court to serve Dallas County youth. The DCJD Drug Court was established to directly address youth who have been arrested for drug related charges (misdemeanor possession of alcohol or a misdemeanor drug offense). The aim of the juvenile drug court is to quickly provide a barrier between future drug and alcohol abuse

and those who come in contact with the juvenile justice system. Following the standard DCJD diversion structure, both youth and family members are encouraged to participate in every phase, which includes court room appearances and community-based services. Even though the drug diversion court is the most familiar, it has been instrumental in the development of all other diversion court programming.

MENTAL HEALTH COURT

A low percentage (17 percent) of Texas children have access to mental health treatment services, as compared to the national average (21 percent), which increases the likelihood that Texas youth will encounter the juvenile justice system (Interim Report to the 84th Texas Legislature, 2015). In 2014, the total DCJD detention/pre-adjudication population receiving individual psychotherapy increased by 14.51 percent, from 441 juveniles to 505 juveniles. This reflects the lack of access to affordable community-based treatment services.⁵

A well-known and established diversion court is the Mental Health Court (MHC). MHC seeks to provide participating youth that have diagnosable mental health disorders with a means to receive treatment. A distinctive component of this court is community collaboration



between DCJD and Metrocare psychiatric services. Not only are participating youth able to receive in-home therapeutic services, but they are provided with medication management as well. As the only mental health court in North Texas and with a completion rate of 66 percent, DCJD's Mental Health Court is well prepared to serve as a model for surrounding counties interested in addressing this nationwide crisis.

E.S.T.E.E.M. COURT

Founded in 2012, the ESTEEM (Experiencing Success Through Empowerment, Encouragement and Mentoring) Court targets a female population at high risk for commercial sexual exploitation and diverts them from further entry into the juvenile justice system. This court program specifically reaches girls who exhibit risk factors associated with being a victim of human sex trafficking and child exploitation. The DCJD established the ESTEEM Court diversion program to help curb the trend of commercial sexual exploitation (also known as domestic minor sex trafficking) in Dallas County. Commercial sexual exploitation is sexual exploitation of children primarily for financial or other economic reasons with maximum benefits for the exploiter (Isaac, 2011). Studies indicate that the number of cases identified as commercial sexual exploitation is increasing (Kotrla, 2011).

Due to the high amount of transient youth and the area's access to major transportation hubs, the FBI ranks the Dallas County area as one of the top ten hubs for commercial sexual exploitation.

DCJD provides their most qualified probation and clinical staff to high risk victims as part of the team that implements programming and interventions. Services aim to curb documented risk factors associated with trafficking and exploitation. Participants are enrolled in the program as space allows (a limit of 12 girls at one time) or as girls fit the target population. Unique to ESTEEM Court, are girls' groups and parents' support groups that meet with a therapist immediately following the review hearings. Parents needing an outlet for support and education often attend the parent support group, even during weeks they are not required in a review hearing. During the six-month program, the participant is empowered by completing several phases of supervision that foster structure, support, and open communication. FFT counselors meet weekly in the home with the youth and their families and their therapist attends their court hearings. Ultimately, ESTEEM Court decreases a participant's entry into the juvenile system and improves the outcomes for families.

DIVERSION MALE COURT

Since 1988, juvenile justice agencies noticed alarming trends of a disproportionate number of minorities in the juvenile justice system compared to non-minorities in communities across the United States. DCJD is a site for the Annie E. Casey's Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiatives and its efforts to implement the initiative's strategies; it examined points in the juvenile justice system where over-representation exists. Data from the department indicated that of the 2000 youth that are detained throughout 2015 in the DJCD detention center, 53 percent are African American, 39 percent are Hispanic and eight percent are white.⁶

The department launched the Diversion Male Court (DMC) in February 2013 to specifically divert minority males from formally entering the criminal justice system. The DMC program works closely with the District Attorney's office to identify candidates that would have otherwise been adjudicated for a firsttime misdemeanor or felony offense such as burglary, theft, assault, and criminal trespassing. Minority juvenile males consistently represent more than half of all violent offenses committed by juveniles in Dallas County. In an effort to curb this pattern, the DMC targets minority males that are at risk for violent behavior or have experienced violent trauma. Youth

are examined for potential risk factors for violence such as illicit drug use, peer groups, low parent involvement, academic failure, and community involvement. There have been over 100 successful Diversion Male Court graduates since early 2013.

The DMC utilizes successful components of other diversion and probation programs, such as Functional Family Therapy, truancy monitoring programs, gender responsive assessments, service learning, and case management. Anecdotal evidence indicates that part of DMC's early success is due to the stakeholders. The probation officers and other stakeholders act as mentors and role models for participants, encouraging pro-social behavior.

YOUTHFUL OFFENDER COURT

Nationally, the number of young offenders up to the age of 12, who pass through the juvenile justice system, has increased by 33 percent over the last ten years (Snyder, 2001). Dallas County data demonstrates a high number of youth, between 10 and 13 years old, who have committed offenses, such as assault and burglary (approx. 851 youth). However, by providing early treatment and intervention services to this population, the young offender is more likely to succeed (OJJDP, 1995).



The DCJD recently introduced a new program that addresses the urgent need to provide services to these young offenders (10-13) called the Youthful Offenders Court (YOC). A participant does not typically meet requirements for other diversion programs, but they are first time offenders and would still benefit from early intervention. Participants typically display underdeveloped cognitive functioning and a lack of maturity because of age and inexperience. YOC utilizes the standard diversion protocol but offers specialized services to the younger participants. For instance, young offenders meet every other week to present assignments to the judge, which are based on the youth's maturity, reading level, and level of comprehension. Assignments are also based on their personal interests and educational needs, like math tutoring.

CONCLUSION

Creating meaningful and viable alternatives to deter future criminal involvement is a priority for DCJD.

These diversion court programs are still relatively new within Dallas County.

Each court follows best practices set by other diversion courts, particularly the Drug Court model. However, most of the diversion programs (sans a process evaluation completed in 2013 of ESTEEM Court) have not undergone a rigorous, long term, program evaluation. Early indicators such as program completion

and recidivism rates six months after graduation indicate that the diversion programs are successful at deterring future criminal involvement. The challenge for this department is to capitalize on early successes involving collaborations with the district attorney's office and the judiciary.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Dallas County data listed is from the Dallas County Juvenile Case Management System, JCMS, 2012-2014.
- ² It is important to note that Texas State Law defines a youth's age as 10 years old but not yet 17 at the time the act was committed.
- ³ According to the Texas Family Code, youth are able to participate in a deferred prosecution program up to a maximum of 180 days.
- ⁴ Dallas County data listed is from the Dallas County Juvenile Case Management System, JCMS, 2012-2014
- ⁵ Dallas County data listed is from the Dallas County Juvenile Case Management System, JCMS, 2012-2014.
- ⁶ Data from the August 2015 Director's report to the Dallas County Juvenile Board.

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PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT IN JUVENILE JUSTICE: DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING MODEL REPORTING SYSTEMS





o accomplish the desired outcomes, jurisdictions are responding to the need for transparency and accountability by developing measures for performance. This article identifies six steps for developing and implementing performance measures for juvenile justice systems. These measures, successfully applied in several jurisdictions nationally, are essential in furthering dialogue and expanding these methods for implementation in current and future justice systems, thus creating more efficient and effective internal systems.

INTRODUCTION

To accomplish the desired outcomes, jurisdictions are responding to the need for transparency and accountability by developing measures for performance. Policymakers continue to clarify the goals and the mission of the juvenile justice system, while addressing performance and system accountability measures which have previously been minimal and, in many cases, non-existent. This article will discuss the significance of applying accountability and performance measures to juvenile justice agencies nationally and describe how balanced and restorative justice (BARJ) provides an excellent paradigm for measuring and reporting juvenile justice outcome measures, thus facilitating accountability to the public.



Performance measures help organizations clarify goals and establish reasonable and meaningful objectives, thereby allowing the juvenile justice system to establish its own benchmarks and set its own agenda.

PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT IN JUVENILE JUSTICE

Measuring performance assists jurisdictions in determining what is needed to achieve intended juvenile justice system purpose. Performance measures provide an empirical basis for planning, assessing and improving juvenile justice operations. Measures of juvenile justice system performance may be used to confirm relevancy of juvenile justice and to demonstrate system accountability. They also may be used to increase public faith and trust in the juvenile justice system, while inoculating juvenile justice against unfair and unwarranted criticism. Performance measures help organizations clarify goals and establish reasonable and meaningful objectives, thereby allowing the juvenile justice system to establish its own benchmarks and set its own agenda (Bazemore, 2006; O'Brien et al., 2003). Research conducted in 2006 by the American Prosecutors Research Institute (APRI) maintained a case for measuring and applying performance outcomes and measures for the juvenile justice system. The monograph reported on the results of an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), a U.S. Department of Justice sponsored national project that demonstrated that it is both possible and valuable to measure the performance of juvenile justice systems. The APRI monograph suggested three primary rationales for measuring juvenile justice system performance. First, a normative justification—measuring performance is the "right thing to do"—the public has a right to receive information about the outcomes of publicly funded activities. An informed public is more likely to support and participate in public processes. Alternatively, lack of information about public activities increases the likelihood of suspicion, distrust, and criticism. Second, a pragmatic justification—performance measures send signals to policy-makers, administrators,

and staff about what is important and what needs to be accomplished. Third, an empirical and theoretical justification—valid and reliable measures of performance may be logically linked to other long-term outcomes (e.g., public safety, social responsibility) (Bazemore, 2000; 2006).

The OJJDP demonstration project, identified in the APRI monograph (2006), built on the previous efforts in Pennsylvania and Deschutes County, OR to develop and implement performance measures for juvenile justice based on BARJ. Four jurisdictions participated in the OJJDP initiative and developed or enhanced their own report cards— Allegheny County, PA; Deschutes County, OR; Cook County, IL; and the state of South Carolina. The juvenile justice performance measures developed through this project reflect the balanced and restorative justice (BARJ) mission which emphasizes community protection as well as individual accountability and competency development.

To measure juvenile justice performance, specific goal-driven outcome measures were developed. For example, to measure community protection, jurisdictions collect data on the number of new offenses, serious violations, or probation while under juvenile court supervision. To measure

accountability, jurisdictions may report on the amount of restitution paid or community service completed as a proportion of the amount of restitution or community service ordered. Measures of competency development may include the successful completion of competencybased interventions, progress and behavior in school, employment, or vocational training. Jurisdictions may also include performance measures for goals that are ancillary to the BARJ model. For example, Pennsylvania determined that mental health and substance abuse treatment interventions did not fit their definition of competency development; however, these interventions are often necessary prerequisites for achieving community protection, accountability, and competency development and should be included in outcome reports (Thomas, 2008; Thomas, 2005; Torbet & Thomas, 2005).

BASIC STEPS FOR DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING PERFORMANCE MEASURES

The core performance measures strategies described in this article have been successfully replicated in several diverse jurisdictions over a ten year period. While the strategy is flexible enough to match the unique characteristics of multiple jurisdictions, six essential features remain constant across jurisdictions, including: articulate mission-



driven outcomes, establish an unambiguous unit of analysis, develop consistent data collection instruments, identify reliable data collection agents, establish a clear strategy for entering and processing data, and assure regular and consistent dissemination of information generated by the data.

A clear and unambiguous mission is a necessary prerequisite to measuring performance.

ARTICULATE MISSION-DRIVEN OUTCOMES

A clear and unambiguous mission is a necessary prerequisite to measuring performance. Juvenile justice performance measures predicated upon the BARJ mission emphasize community protection, offender accountability, and competency development. The BARJ mission is particularly useful for developing performance measures because it has been thoroughly researched, carefully articulated, and presents clear, unambiguous goals that suggest several logical objectives.

In addition, the BARJ model has been adopted fully or in part by over two-thirds of the U.S. The BARJ mission mandates three primary goals for the juvenile justice system: community protection, offender accountability, and competency development (Pavelka, 2008). It is against these goals that the juvenile justice system will be measured. Outcomes are the tangible evidence that the objectives for each goal have been achieved.

ESTABLISH AN UNAMBIGUOUS UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The APRI project established the individual case as the unit of analysis. In this context, the case represents the sum total of juvenile court activity from the time the case is opened (i.e., with a disposition of informal probation, probation, placement, etc.) to the time the case is closed (i.e., with a formal court order ending juvenile court involvement). A case does not represent the totality of an individual's involvement with the juvenile court.

DEVELOP CONSISTENT DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Simplicity and brevity are the hallmarks of effective data collection instruments. The data collection instrument used by the APRI strategy is a form completed at the time of case closing. The case closing form is brief, organized around mission-driven goals, and includes questions related to specific expected outcomes of the case (e.g., remaining crime free, completing community service, paying restitution, completing treatment, or competency building activities). Effective data collection forms exhibit the following basic characteristics:

- Brief: Just one to three pages.
- Simple: Data are immediately available to data suppliers (i.e., probation officers); limited research or file reviews are required.
- Meaningful: Information collected has both immediate and long-term relevance to probation officers, supervisors, administrators, and judges.
- Provide immediate feedback: The case closing form should be capable of immediately reporting useful information to judges, juvenile court staff, prosecutors, and others.
- Generate valued outputs: Individual case closing reports are regularly reviewed by supervisor and judge; aggregate outcome reports are reviewed by administrators, supervisors, and staff; outcomes are used to secure funding; and "report cards" are submitted to citizens.

IDENTIFY RELIABLE DATA COLLECTION AGENTS

Juvenile probation officers or active case managers serve as the data collectors. They are responsible for accurately and thoroughly completing the case closing forms. To increase accuracy and reliability of the data, juvenile probation officers or case managers are expected to complete the forms immediately upon termination of the case. It is further recommended that a supervisor review each form prior to data entry. Accurate data collection is essential in order to maintain the integrity of research. Clear instructions for the correct use of the data collection will reduce the likelihood of errors occurring. The primary rationale for preserving data integrity is to support the detection of errors in the data collection process, whether errors are made intentionally (deliberate falsification) or not (systematic or random error). It is important to preserve data integrity at different points in the research timeline with activities that take place before



data collection begins (quality assurance) as well as with activities that take place during and after data collection (quality control).

ESTABLISH A CLEAR STRATEGY FOR ENTERING AND PROCESSING DATA

The ability to efficiently and accurately enter and process outcome data is central to the successful implementation of a strategy for measuring performance. This is accomplished best with an automated data processing system. Some jurisdictions use a stand-alone database developed specifically for entering, processing, and reporting juvenile justice performance measures. Other jurisdictions have modified larger system-wide management methods to include the performance measures and produce outcome reports.

ASSURE REGULAR AND CONSISTENT DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION GENERATED BY THE DATA

Several outcome reports were developed through the APRI initiative, including system-wide "report cards" that provide information regarding specific benchmark outcomes for jurisdictions. Other output reports include summary outcome reports for individual juvenile probation officers, juvenile probation supervisors, and juvenile court judges. Reports may also be developed that describe outcomes by type of supervision (e.g., informal probation cases, probation cases, and aftercare cases) and offender characteristics.

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES

Developing and implementing performance standards for juvenile justice systems will provide a universal strategy for measuring juvenile justice system performance. By establishing a common, yet adaptable, model and definitions; unambiguously articulating the goals, objectives, activities, and outcome measures; establishing a replicable and easily implemented strategy for data collection and processing; and suggesting a range of reports designed to demonstrate the nature of the juvenile justice system, the quality and effectiveness of juvenile justice programs can be consistently measured, and the detail of research and evaluation improved.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICES IN JUVENILE JUSTICE

BY MYRINDA SCHWEITZER, M.A. AND STEPHANIE SPIEGEL, M.S.

t the heart of Ohio's juvenile justice system is the mission to rehabilitate youth and empower their families. However, juvenile justice actors have implemented different strategies with varying degrees of success over the years including imprisonment in a state run facility, boot camps, intensive probation, electronic monitoring, and various programs designed to address a specific area of need (Schweitzer, 2016). It was not until the mid-90s that the state encouraged youth to be served as close to home as possible and placement in a state run facility be reserved for those of highest risk. In support of the localization of the juvenile justice system, counties were provided funding and technical assistance by the Ohio Department of Youth Services (DYS) to develop alternatives to incarceration and to reduce the number of youth sent to state-run facilities.

REFORMING OHIO'S JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

As one of the first states to embrace youth de-incarceration strategies, Ohio invested in system level change efforts as a way to transform their juvenile justice system. The first of these initiatives, RECLAIM Ohio, was established in 1994 to reduce commitments to DYS and expand counties' use of local programs (Moon, Applegate, & Latessa, 1997; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2005). On-going evaluations of RECLAIM Ohio consistently find that RECLAIM reduces counties' reliance on the DYS, empowering courts with more local alternatives to impact youth outcomes (Latessa, Lovins, & Lux, 2015; Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2008; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2005). The Targeted RECLAIM (TR) initiative advances the RECLAIM model by offering select counties additional monies to provide evidence-based and/or evidence-informed programming in the community. Today, 15 counties participate in TR and offer a variety of different programs including Thinking for a Change (Bush, Glick, & Taymans, 1997), Aggression Replacement Training® (Goldstein, Glick, & Gibbs, 1998), Pathways to Self-Discovery and Change (Milkman & Wanberg, 2005), University of Cincinnati Cognitive Behavioral Interventions for Substance Abuse (UCCI, 2011), and Effective Practices in Community Supervision (Smith & Lowenkamp, 2008), as well as Multi-Systemic Therapy (Henggeler, Melton, & Smith, 1992) and High Fidelity Wraparound (Winters & Metz, 2009) services. These programs target higher risk youth with multiple criminogenic needs, and have created the capacity for counties to effectively serve youth close to home (Schweitzer, 2016).



TARGETED RECLAIM

In partnership with the University of Cincinnati Corrections Institute (UCCI) and Case Western Reserve University (CWRU), counties are provided initial and ongoing training, coaching, and implementation support. In addition to these four types of support counties must also participate in quarterly work group meetings. This technical assistance has been especially critical given that many corrections professionals continue to experience considerable challenges related to "how to make it work" (Gendreau et al., 1999, 2000), despite the well-developed literature regarding "what works" in reducing recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Cullen & Gendreau, 2001; Gendreau, 1996). To illustrate the types of support available, a description of the support provided by the UCCI is provided below.

PROGRAM TRAINING

Training is an essential and integral part of effective correctional service. Formal training is provided by staff from the UCCI, as well as by contracted master trainers in the selected intervention. At a minimum, instruction on how to use cognitive-behavioral strategies (e.g., use of role play and modeling techniques) and core correctional practices (e.g., effective use of reinforcement) is provided (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Program staff are also

invited to participate in bi-annual booster trainings that are designed to review key lessons in selected curricula and offer advanced training (or practice) in core correctional practices and cognitivebehavioral strategies.

COACHING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Coaching involves hands-on modeling or co-facilitation of interventions as well as observation with feedback. Coaching also includes video or phone conferences with program staff to review any changes that have been piloted or to problem-solve issues around program implementation and quality assurance. Throughout coaching, program facilitators and staff are able to share their experiences and/or challenges with the UCCI to help improve the quality of services.

QUALITY ASSURANCE

Several different quality assurance mechanisms are offered as part of TR. Many are specific to the selected intervention(s), but generally, many use a contact session observation form, group observation form, youth exit survey, and/or a pre/post test. Program supervisors are often trained on how to use structured rating forms to assess best practices in the facilitation of group as well as the use of core correctional practices. Supervisors are also encouraged to use the observation form as a way to enhance staff's use

of and fidelity to best practices, rather than to evaluate or grade their staff. As part of the QA process, program staff are also coached on how to administer pre and post assessments such as the Anger Questionnaire (AQ) and Criminal Sentiments Scale-Modified (CSS-M) and how to use these data internally to gauge youths' progress in meeting treatment (or, supervision) goals. Additionally, UCCI provides regular progress reports that detail areas of strength, recommendation in service delivery, and on-going quality assurance efforts in order to give the state and local agencies feedback.

EVALUATION

All counties receiving TR funds are required to submit youth data for program evaluation and work with university partners to ensure ongoing efforts are made toward continuous quality improvement. Briefly, UCCI assesses and reports the recidivism rates of youthful offenders receiving TR services to similar youth released from DYS in the same fiscal year. Additionally, the report highlights whether or not the counties identify the appropriate (moderate to high risk) target population for the selected intervention. Program and policy recommendations, as well as recommendations for forthcoming reports drawn from the findings, are also provided.

A TARGETED RECLAIM CASE STUDY

During fiscal year 2011, a small northern county in the state of Ohio committed 37 youth to DYS. Noting Ashtabula's limited resources and a lack of local programming, the county reluctantly relied on DYS as the primary means to address juvenile delinquency. Regardless of offense severity or risk level, youth were often placed within a state facility because there was no other option available. When approached by DYS to participate in TR in 2012, Ashtabula Juvenile Court firmly committed to changing their juvenile justice footprint by increasing the availability of local programming and ensuring quality.

The court did not take this commitment lightly as they embarked on the transformation of their juvenile justice system. First, key administrative staff and the Chief Probation Officer met with university partners and openly shared the internal challenges of implementing evidence-based practices. Several initial implementation meetings were held to brainstorm solutions to address these barriers including, increasing communication with line staff to help the shift in philosophies and culture, creating expectations around training and coaching in an effort to improve staff skills, establishing a data collection and entry process to monitor the delivery



of treatment, and collaborating with community treatment providers to improve the consistency of services across the board.

With a strong plan in place, the next step was training. The Ashtabula Juvenile Court staff was trained in a variety of evidence-based interventions designed to reduce the risk and needs of moderate to high risk youth. First, staff was trained in the Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS) model. The purpose of the EPICS model is to teach community supervision officers how to translate the principles of effective intervention into practice, and, more specifically, how to use core correctional practices and behavioral strategies in face-to-face interactions with youth. As part of this training, staff spent three days in a classroom environment learning how to use open-ended questions, build rapport, identify and restructure pro-criminal and risky thoughts, and – through didactic presentations and live practice sessions – reinforce pro-social thoughts or beliefs. Staff were also trained on structured skill building and problem solving techniques. Staff then participated in five coaching sessions to practice delivering the intervention, with feedback from coaches.

Staff were also trained in Thinking for a Change (T4C) and Aggression Replacement Training (ART)®, and still continue to

receive ongoing coaching and support. The quarterly observations alternate between T4C and ART groups. During visits, staff are evaluated on their use of core skills and given feedback on areas of strength and areas for improvement. Specifically, staff are rated very satisfactory, satisfactory, or in need of improvement on the quality of their interpersonal and engagement skills; their use of reinforcement strategies to promote pro-social behavior; and their understanding of and ability to use cognitive restructuring and skill building techniques including: the frequency of open-ended questions, facilitation of role play (or practice) sessions, and feedback during group. Strategies or suggestions related to areas for improvement are also discussed with program staff.

A leader within the juvenile court recognized that in order to sustain these efforts, the court had to internally monitor and track progress, thus initiating the third step of the implementation process. This step involved the tracking of data, which included the development of a tracking form as well as the process and individuals responsible for the tracking. In doing so, Ashtabula County has been able to monitor progress using pre/post testing and more accurately determine a youth's successful completion of programming. Moreover, the data is accurately reported to their university partner for on-going analyses.

Finally, the court's ability to implement local, high fidelity, evidence-based practices is due to their continued support for and commitment to what works. In this way, Ashtabula County staff regularly participate in TR-booster sessions, actively engage in program implementation meetings, and frequently communicate with their coach. Moreover, when new staff are hired, they are purposely paired with veteran staff until training becomes available and on-going coaching can be received as well.

This positive report is not to say that Ashtabula County did not experience challenges along the way. Indeed, the court has experienced staff turnover and delay in the group cycles due to the limited availability of trained staff. Although the program has demonstrated a strong understanding of the responsivity needs of youth, the court has had difficulty in providing transportation and/or improving accessibility to these interventions. Despite these challenges, problem-solving with the UCCI and DYS has led to real-world solutions and better outcomes for their youth.

SUPPORT FOR A COMMUNITY-BASED APPROACH

Since participating in TR, Ashtabula County has decreased the number of youth placed within DYS by approximately 84.0 percent (Schweitzer, 2016). Through TR, the staff continues to maintain high fidelity to the CBT model, with strong support from the juvenile court's administration. Facilitators have also demonstrated a strong understanding of and ability to use cognitive restructuring techniques, beyond the curricula manual script, for effective intervention and behavior change.

Even further, a number of outcome and evaluation studies conducted by university partners have found that community-based alternatives provided through Targeted RECLAIM and BHJJ have contributed to decreases in DYS's population, while simultaneously reducing rates of recidivism (see e.g., Kretschmar, Butcher, & Flannery, 2014; Labrecque & Schweitzer, 2012, 2013; Lovins, 2011). In a recent evaluation, Spiegel, Schweitzer, & Latessa (2016) found youth who remained in the community through Targeted RECLAIM were less likely to recidivate than youth released from DYS that same year (approximately eight percent versus 42 percent, respectively), regardless of risk level or whether the program was provided in the community, was considered a residential program, or was a family intervention. In this way, TR was effective at creating opportunities for evidence-based programming to be delivered close to home while at the same time decreasing admissions to DYS, all without compromising public safety.



CONCLUSION

Indeed, "Ohio has been at the forefront of national juvenile justice reform and realignment efforts," and continues to serve as a model for other states looking to implement best practices in corrections (Celeste, 2015, p.1; Lux, Schweitzer, & Chouhy, 2015). Notable however is the impact TR has had on individual counties. Those counties participating in TR have increased the availability and improved the quality of programs within their hometown, with a goal of improving the lives of their youth. The case study of Ashtabula County is just one example of how a local court can actively engage in the delivery of evidence-based juvenile justice practices to improve youth outcomes. Decreasing their commitments by 84.0 percent from fiscal year 2011 to fiscal year 2014 suggests that a significant number of youth have a chance to lead a different life in the state of Ohio and most notably in Ashtabula County.

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ince 2002, state and local youth justice systems across the country have undergone huge reforms. The success of these reform efforts can be seen in a dramatic 41 percent reduction in youth incarceration rates over the past ten years (Davis et. al., 2014b). Forty-eight of 50 states have experienced reductions in the number of youth incarcerated in state facilities (Davis et. al., 2014b), with California experiencing a 75 percent reduction in incarcerated youth. In 1997, California held 10,000 youth in their central state facilities and 10,000 youth in their county facilities. Today, there are roughly 700 youth remaining in the state system and 4,400 youth in county facilities (Davis et. al., 2014b; Irvine, 2015).

Despite these reductions, research still suggests that youth of color are significantly more likely than white youth to be incarcerated. Compared with white youth, Latino youth are 1.7 times more likely, Native American youth are 3.3 times more likely, and Black youth are 4.6 times more likely to be incarcerated than white youth (W. Haywood Burns Institute, 2016).

Other data similarly show that, while the overall numbers have dropped, the proportion of incarcerated youth who are of color is increasing (Graves et. al., 2014; Davis et. al., 2014b). In 2002, the majority of youth who were sentenced to probation, out-of-home placement, and secure facilities were of color: 66.8 percent of youth receiving these sentences were of color. In 2012, this proportion rose to 80.4 percent (Davis et. al., 2014b).



Additionally, while there is little longitudinal data on lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning, gender nonconforming, or transgender (LGBQ/GNCT) youth, research shows that this population is overrepresented. Gallup poll data indicates that 7-8 percent of the general youth population is lesbian, gay, bisexual, or questioning (Wilson et al., 2014). A study of seven detention halls around the country shows that 20 percent of youth report being LGBQ/GNCT. A similar study of all California detention halls, ranches, and camps shows that 20 percent of the incarcerated population is LGBQ/GNCT (Irvine & Canfield, 2016). This overrepresentation is particularly pronounced for girls. While 13-14 percent of detained boys are GBQ/GNCT, 40-50 percent of girls are LBQ/GNCT (Irvine & Canfield, 2014).

As such, the failure, harm, and unnecessary cost of incarceration impacts all youth remaining in the juvenile justice system, but continues to fall disproportionately on youth of color, LGBQ/GNCT youth, and their families. In particular:

- Incarceration fails to produce better justice outcomes for youth. 70-80 percent of youth are rearrested within two to three years. Additionally, 38-58 percent of youth released from facilities are found guilty of new offenses within two years (Mendel, 2011). Some research even suggests that incarceration may increase recidivism (Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006). Benda and Tollet (1999) compared different predictors of recidivism. They compared poor relationships with parents, gang membership, a history of carrying a weapon, and a prior secure commitment. Of these, the greatest predictor of recidivism was a prior commitment to a secure facility.
- Incarceration harms young people. Incarcerated youth are often subject to sexual abuse, physical abuse, and use of isolation and restraint (Mendel, 2011). A study by the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that 9.5 percent of youth are sexually abused by their peers or staff (Beck et. al., 2013). Aside from being harmed physically, conditions of confinement and practices such as isolation and restraint can worsen the mental health of young people (Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006). Incarcerated youth have two to four times the suicide rate of their peers in the community (Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006)
- Incarceration wastes money. Considering that placement in secure facilities is ineffective and harmful, cost benefit analyses show that unnecessary incarceration of youth is a waste of money (Mendel, 2011). According to the American

Correctional Association (ACA), the average cost of incarcerating a young person for one day in 2008 was \$241, which translates to \$88,000 for twelve months. Incarceration costs even more in some sites. Auditors recently found that the cost of incarcerating a youth in the Los Angeles detention hall is \$233,000 annually (Therolf, 2016). As it turns out, community-based programs bring dramatically larger amounts of savings in the long run. An extensive cost-benefit analysis in Washington State found that for every dollar spent on county detention, the community received \$1.98 in savings through a reduction in the costs of crime. The savings were far greater, however, for other interventions. For every dollar invested in diversion and mentoring, the community received \$3.36 in savings. For every dollar invested in Aggression Replacement Therapy, the community received \$10.16 in savings. And for every dollar invested in Multi-systemic Therapy, the community received \$13.36 in savings (Aos, 2002; Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006). This suggests that communities should be using these alternatives to incarceration whenever possible.

Given the harms of incarceration, we must seek alternatives. Despite successful efforts to deincarcerate youth around the country, this movement faces ongoing challenges. Stakeholders must continue to reform the juvenile justice system by taking lessons from the past that can be used to shape goals for the future.

LESSONS FROM THE RECENT PAST

Successful reform of youth justice systems across the country rests on four interrelated strategies:

PASS LEGISLATION AND OTHER FUNDING BILLS TO REDUCE INCARCERATION

Over the past twenty years, state legislatures across the country have reduced incarceration in the secure facilities by passing bills or budgets that:

- Make categories of crimes such as status offenses, misdemeanors, and non-violent felonies ineligible for incarceration in state facilities (Davis et. al., 2014b; Mendel, 2011); and
- Provide fiscal incentives to move supervision and incarceration responsibilities from state to county agencies (Davis et. al, 2014b).



Seven states—Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas—passed legislation limitina admission to state secure facilities for particular types of offenses. Connecticut in 2006 and Alabama in 2008 passed laws barring status offenders from state secure facilities (Davis et. al., 2014a). And Texas (in 2007), Florida (in 2011), and Georgia (in 2013) passed legislation barring misdemeanants from their facilities (Davis et. al., 2014a). With the passage of Senate Bill 81 (SB 81), the state of California has gone the furthest, however, by barring status offenders, misdemeanants, and most felons from their system. Instead, only youth committing the most serious, violent, and sex offenses can be sentenced to the state's Department of Juvenile Justice (Davis et. al., 2014a; Mendel, 2011).

Nine states—Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, New York, Texas, Illinois, Ohio, and Nebraska—created a fiscal incentive to move youth from state secure facilities to county probation departments. For example, in 2007, Texas Senate Bill 103 (SB 103) authorized some funding to support counties willing to serve youth who were historically sent to a state secure facility. This provision was strengthened in 2009 and 2011 through bills that merged two different juvenile justice agencies and further increased funding

to counties (Davis et. al., 2014a; Fowler, n.d.). The Supervision and Treatment Services for Juveniles Program, an item in the 2011 New York State budget, incentivizes counties to serve youth in their communities outside of restrictive placement. The provision placed a cap on the amount each county may spend on detention and still receive state funds. Further, counties were reimbursed for alternatives for out-of-home placement and pretrial detention and were required to implement detention risk assessments (Davis et. al., 2014a; Office of Children and Family Services, 2015). In 2013, Georgia established a voluntary grant program—a \$5 million fund that began in 2014 and an additional \$1 million in federal funds to help counties develop local options to serve youth. The money is awarded through a competitive grant process that requires the identification of performance goals that seek a reduction in commitments to the state (Davis et. al., 2014a; Pew Charitable Trust, 2013).

ADOPTION OF THE RISK PRINCIPLE

Research has consistently shown that, while high-risk probationers experience a decrease in recidivism from targeted programs, probationers with low risk scores actually have an increased recidivism rate when referred to the same programs (Andrews & Bonta, 2003; Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Andrews et. al., 1990; Lipsey, 2009; Lipsey et. al.,

2010). Low risk youth, in fact, have the lowest recidivism rates when they are diverted from the system entirely (Baglivio, 2013).

With the increase in funding bills designed to create fiscal incentives to serve youth in local jurisdictions and to adopt evidence-based practices, local probation departments began to purchase risk assessment instruments (Davis, Irvine, and Ziedenberg, 2014a). These risk assessments are now being used to guide probation violation decisions, out-of-home placements, and service referrals. In the most knowledgeable jurisdictions, low risk youth have been placed on informal probation caseloads or diverted entirely from the court. The practice of using the risk principle, combined with reduced incarceration for misdemeanants and status offenders, reduces the overall number of youth in secure facilities.

PLACING, TREATING, AND SUPERVISING YOUTH CLOSE TO HOME

Youth justice stakeholders attribute the reduction in incarceration to a number of efforts to move youth closer to home (Davis, Irvine, & Ziedenberg, 2014c). State and county agencies across the country took a number of steps over the past ten years to move youth to less restrictive out-of-home placements that were closer to home (Davis et al., 2014c).

As centralized state secure facilities often built in rural communities far from most young people's homes—refused to house misdemeanants and status offenders, youth were placed more often in their local county facilities (Davis et al., 2014c). As these local county facilities also refused to hold misdemeanants, probation violators, or status offenders in either pre-adjudication detention or postadjudication locked facilities, more youth were placed on county supervision (Davis et al., 2014c). As jurisdictions began to adopt the practice of placing youth in the least restrictive placements, judges began to sentence youth to alternatives to incarceration and community supervision (Fazal, 2014). Courts also began to reduce the number of youth in residential treatment for substance use, mental health, and sex offender treatment. Instead, the courts began referring youth to local community-based treatment providers (Davis et al., 2014c).

DIVERSION PROGRAMS

As various stakeholders in the youth justice system began to recognize that low risk young people shouldn't be involved in court or placed on formal probation, various diversion programs have been developed. Police and probation departments in cities like Oakland, CA and New York City developed youth courts as an alternative to preadjudication detention, probation, or



Rather than duplicating a court setting. restorative iustice programs often create circles that allow the person who has committed the crime to speak with their victim. apologize, and commit to an activity that will compensate for any harm they have caused.

post-adjudication incarceration (Canfield & Yusuf, 2014). In these programs, youth who are caught shoplifting or in possession of small amounts of alcohol or drugs for the first time are sent to mock courts run by their peers. Their peers hear their cases and recommend community service to make up for any harm caused (Canfield & Yusuf, 2014). There are diversion programs that are recreational, such as an athletic league run by the police in Watsonville, CA (Watsonville Police Department, 2016). Still other diversion programs describe themselves as restorative justice initiatives. Rather than duplicating a court setting, restorative justice programs often create circles that allow the person who has committed the crime to speak with their victim, apologize, and commit to an activity that will compensate for any harm they have caused (Sherman & Strang, 2007).

Program evaluations and research have mixed findings. Some programs find reductions in recidivism over time and others do not (Canfield & Yusuf, 2014; Sherman & Strang, 2007). Nonetheless, the practice of diverting youth removed young people with minor charges from the justice system—if only during the time that they would ordinarily have been processed by the courts and placed on community supervision with probation officers (Mendel, 2011).

NEXT WAVE OF REFORMS

Despite the successes that accrued over the past ten years, there are four ways the youth justice field can continue to reduce the number of youth held in secure facilities as well as reduce racial and ethnic disparities and the overrepresentation of LGBQ/GNCT youth.

LEGISLATION AND FUNDING BILLS

As discussed above, statewide legislation and funding bills in Ohio, Illinois, Texas, New York, Michigan, and California led to huge reductions in the number of youth held in state-run secure facilities. With the exception of California, these bills made status offenders and misdemeanants ineligible for state secure facilities. California went one step further by creating a list of "707(b)" offenses serious, violent, and sex offenses that would be eligible for placement in the Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ). This legislation was paired with fiscal incentives for counties to serve youth locally and greatly reduced the number of youth in the DJJ. Other states would see further reductions in the number of youth in secure facilities if they also made lower level felons ineligible for state secure facilities.

County jurisdictions could also learn from the lessons of the California legislation. Counties have the power to convene multi-agency task forces to review local data and develop matrices that guide dispositions. These tools can guide probation officers and judges to limit placements in secure facilities and congregate care—reserving these dispositions for youth who have committed the most serious violent crimes.

MULTI-SYSTEMIC COORDINATION

When researchers are able to combine data about multiple youth-serving systems, suspected links are often verified. For example, a study of youth in seven detention halls around the country found that nine out of ten youth—regardless of race identity, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression—have been suspended or expelled before entering juvenile detention (Irvine & Yusuf, 2015). The same study found that a significant number of youth in the juvenile justice system come from the child welfare system. According to youth surveys, 11 percent of young people had previously been removed from their home because someone was hurting them (Irvine & Canfield, 2016). Unfortunately, LGBQ/ GNCT youth—and 90 percent of LGBQ/ GNCT youth are of color—are more likely to have a history with child welfare. Thirty percent of LGBQ/GNCT youth in the research sites have previously been removed from their homes because someone was hurting them (Irvine & Canfield, 2016).

These and other findings suggest that cross-system data analysis would help communities identify risk factors that drive juvenile justice involvement. Cross-system coordination would also provide the opportunity to provide prevention programs before juvenile



justice involvement occurs. Task forces that include representatives from all child-serving agencies should be formed that create data driven decisions for the entire community rather than each of the agencies working in silos.

EXPANDED COLLABORATION WITH YOUTH AND THEIR PARENTS

A handful of jurisdictions around the country have started adopting strategies to engage families. A series of interviews with system stakeholders discovered that some probation departments have developed parent bills of rights; others have provided technical assistance for parents engaging in the system; and still others have formed youth and family team meetings to include parents in system decisions (Davis, Irvine, & Ziedenberg, 2014d). Agencies like Washington D.C.'s Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services and Texas' Juvenile Justice Department developed bills of rights that act as formal administrative positions on the role of parents. Both documents state that parents are to be treated as partners and collaborators in decisions about their children (Davis et al., 2014d). Technical assistance for parents with children in the system has taken several different forms. One example is Silicon Valley De-Bug, in San Jose, CA, which holds weekly meetings for parents who learn to compile documents that will undergird their childrens' public defense (Bigelow,

2015). Another example is Community Connections for Youth in the South Bronx, NY, which provides ongoing coaching for parents advocating for their children whether they are in the courts, currently incarcerated, or on community supervision (Bocanegra, J., Canfield, A., Okelola, V. & Irvine, A., personal communication, September 15, 2015). In order to better serve youth, systems in sites such as Washington, D.C. and Jefferson County, AL, have started to incorporate parents into Youth Family Team Meetings. These meetings review each young person's history and make collaborative decisions about out-of-home placement and service referrals (Davis et al., 2014d). Involving youth, parents, and their communities in the youth justice system will help parents understand the court process and let stakeholders make more accurate assessments of young people's needs, leading to greater successes.

COMMUNITY-BASED ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION FOR HIGH-RISK YOUTH WITH SOME VIOLENT OFFENSES

While research on programs for low risk and first time offending youth have mixed results, research on programs for high-risk youth with serious and violent charges is more consistent. For example, rigorous randomized control trial and quasi-experimental studies of restorative justice programs for youth with property

and other low level crimes have mixed results (Sherman & Strang, 2007). In contrast, restorative justice programs for youth with violent crimes consistently show reductions in re-convictions (Sherman & Strang, 2007).

Targeted programming for youth with some violent and serious charges can, in fact, provide an alternative to incarceration (Fazal, 2014). In Wayne County, reformers reduced out-ofhome placements by 50 percent and were replaced by intensive communitybased programming and supervision. In response, recidivism was reduced from 56 percent to 17.5 percent (Fazal, 2014). Similarly, an evaluation of programs run by Youth Advocates Program followed 3,523 high-risk youth. The researchers found that 86 percent of the participants remained arrest-free during program participation (Evans & Delgado, 2014a). Moreover, youth who had stayed in their communities for longer lengths of time had fewer subsequent out-of-home placements (Evans & Delgado, 2014b).

These successful programs share some important characteristics including individualizing services, involving families, staffing programs with people who come from the same communities and have the same experiences with the juvenile justice system, engaging youth in work, and creating long-term connections

to community (Fazal, 2014). Similar programs in other communities will increase the success of youth of color and LGBQ/GNCT youth while reducing the harm and cost of incarceration.

ENDNOTES

1 For this study, the term "youth of color" represents Asian, Latino, Black, and mixed-race youth. In 2002, Asian youth represented 1.3 percent of the study sample, Latino youth represented 15.4 percent, Black youth represented 48.5 percent, and mixed-race youth represented 3.4 percent. In 2012, Asian youth represented 0.1 percent of the study sample, Latino youth represented 15.9 percent, Black youth represented 63.2 percent, and mixed-race youth represented 2.0 percent.

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calendar of events

APRIL 12-16

2016 NAAWS Training Conference (North American Association of Wardens & Superintendents); Tulsa, Oklahoma. For more information, go to http:// naawsonline.org/conf/

APRIL 17-20

National Correctional Industries
Association 2016 National Training
Conference; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
For more information, go to http://
www.nationalcia.org/national-trainingconference

APRIL 20-22

Texas Association of Drug Court Professionals-2016 Annual Drug Court Training Conferenc; San Antonio, Texas. For more information, go to http://www.cmitonline.org/ cal/?mode=view&item=816

APRIL 26-29

IL Probation and Court Services
Association Spring Conference 2016;
LaSalle, Illinois. For more information,
go to http://ipcsa.org/events/springconference-2016/

MAY 5-6

Breakthrough Strategies to Teach and Counsel Troubled Youth; SeaTac, Washington. For more information, go to https://www.youthchg.com/teacherworkshops/

MAY 12-13

International Latino Gang Investigators Association; Ontario, California. For more information, go to https://www.ilgiaonline. org/training/32-ilgia-8th-annual-inlandempire-gang-symposium-2016

MAY 15-18

2016 Association of Paroling Authorities International (APAI) Annual Training Conference; Daytona Beach Shores, Florida. For more information, go to http://www.cmitonline.org/cal/?mode=view&item=807

MAY 25-27

MN Association of County Probation Officers 59th Annual Spring Conference Breezy Point, Minnesota. For more information, go to http://www.macpo.net/ event-2145417

JUNE 8

Annual Probation Practitioner Conference 2016 Sheffield, England. For more information, go to https://regonline.activeeurope.com/builder/site/default.aspx?EventID=1813605



AUGUST 28-31

APPA 41st Annual Training Institute; Cleveland, Ohio. For more information, go to www.appa-net.org.