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# **Policy Research Shop**

# New Hampshire's Juvenile Justice System

# An Investigation of Current Practices for Handling Youth in the Criminal Justice System

# Presented to the New Hampshire Senate Judiciary Committee

PRS Policy Brief 1213-02 April 2, 2013

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This report was written by undergraduate students at Dartmouth College under the direction of professors in the Rockefeller Center. The Policy Research Shop is supported by a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). The PRS reports were developed under FIPSE grant P116B100070 from the U.S. Department of Education. However, the contents of the PRS reports do not necessarily represent the policy of the U.S. Department of Education, and you should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government.



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#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This report provides an overview of how the current New Hampshire juvenile justice system operates with a particular focus on the system's placement options and probation and post-detention services. The study team analyzed two key indicators of the system's efficacy: the juvenile recidivism rate and the system's treatment of high-risk groups, including Children in Need of Services (CHINS), youth with special needs, and 17-year-old offenders. To provide insight into available options for juvenile justice reform, the study team analyzed the placement options and probation services in the juvenile justice systems of two other New England states—Vermont and Massachusetts. The study team also reviewed programs that successfully reduced recidivism rates among juvenile offenders in other regions. These analyses will serve to inform the state legislature on various policy options to consider as it works to address gaps in the current system and improve its efficacy.

PRS Director's Note: An earlier version of this paper was presented to the NH Senate Judiciary Committee on March 5, 2013. This revised version accounts for factual corrections made to procedures in the NH juvenile justice system. The authors wish to thank the Department of Children, Youth and Families and its staff from Juvenile Justice Services for their feedback.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

In New Hampshire, the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) works to promote the safety and well-being of youth through its Division for Children, Youth and Families (DCYF), which includes Child Protection Services (CPS), the Juvenile Justice Services (JJS) Bureau, and the Sununu Youth Services Center (SYSC).<sup>1</sup> The Circuit Court Family Division handles both child welfare and juvenile justice services cases, and consists of 26 locations that have jurisdiction over cases involving divorce, parenting disputes, child support, domestic violence, termination of parental rights, child abuse and neglect, Children in Need of Services (CHINS), delinquencies, and adoptions.<sup>2</sup> Within JJS, diversion typically will be recommended before a court appearance. To access services through the courts, a petition alleging delinquency or CHINS is filed in the appropriate court after which the youth will undergo an initial court hearing. During this hearing, the court considers several options, including placement in a diversion program, assignment of community service, allowance of the youth to remain in the community with a relative or friend, shelter care, placement in a group home, or detention in the SYSC. The judge determines which option is most appropriate, primarily whether the youth will be placed in an alternative setting to their home.<sup>3</sup> JJS data indicate that the number of youth involved in the system has been declining in recent years (see Table 1).



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Table 1. Youth Involved in New Hampshire Juvenile Justice Service	es, 2008-2012
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	SFY 2008	SFY 2009	SFY 2010	SFY 2011	SFY 2012
Delinquency	3,378	3,309	3,313	3,003	2,880
CHINS	883	873	891	798	325
Diversion	303	212	139	102	106
Other	80	71	52	75	76
Total number of	4,644	4,465	4,395	3,978	3,389
cases open					

Source: Bridges Information System provided by Anastasiya Vanyukevych, Senior Data Manager, Division for Children, Youth and Families

Two key issues in the state's juvenile justice system are recidivism rates and the treatment of juvenile offenders, particularly those who are at a higher risk for offending, such as CHINS and 17-year-olds who are treated as adult offenders in NH.<sup>4</sup> The state does not systematically track recidivism data, which complicates analyses of recidivism as well as the long-term rehabilitation of high-risk offenders within the system. The existing data, however, does offer insight into the efficiency and effectiveness of current juvenile justice programs. New Hampshire can also look to the juvenile justice systems of other states, particularly other New England states, for examples of programs and processes that have been effective. In addition, analyzing practices that have been proven nationwide to be effective in reducing recidivism can help the legislature develop evidence-based policies for the state juvenile justice system.

#### 2. OPTIONS IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Local police departments in New Hampshire use their discretion with youth who are suspected of committing an offense.<sup>5</sup> They can counsel and release the youth, thereby bypassing the court system.<sup>6</sup> Another option is to refer youth directly to a diversion program. If the youth is found eligible and accepts the referral, he or she will be rerouted from the court system and sent to one of the juvenile diversion programs that New Hampshire has to offer, as described further below. The police departments can also elect to file a juvenile petition in the event that they do not wish to make a direct referral. If they file a juvenile petition, the youth could be recommended to a diversion program, where the previous process is repeated, or the youth could go through the court process.<sup>7</sup> During trial, the judge assesses the safest and most appropriate place for the youth to stay, whether at home or somewhere nearby, and any necessary community-based interventions to "maintain the youth in their home and community."<sup>8</sup> The judge elects whether to order diversion, send the youth home, or place the youth at the John H. Sununu Youth Services Center (SYSC) or a residential treatment facility.<sup>9</sup> JJS officials report that:



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"If the youth goes through the formal court process there are many interventions that could be used to meet the needs of the youth and family. Most of the interventions used will be community based and will work to maintain the youth in their home and community. If there are safety risks identified placement outside the home can be ordered by the court [and] by statute there is a presumption that it will be most appropriate and least restrictive."<sup>10</sup>

According to Christopher O'Connor, the Prosecutor for the Lower Grafton County Prosecutorial Association of New Hampshire, the majority of juvenile defense lawyers are aware that the juvenile justice system is rehabilitative, not punitive. Prosecutor O'Connor stated that recently there has been an increase in diversion cases as opposed to committing youth to the SYSC secure treatment facility because diversion programs have a greater array of options for youth who commit certain offenses.<sup>11</sup>

In order to help assess which of these options is most appropriate for the youth in question and to ensure the proper placement of youth into those who are detained and those who are diverted elsewhere, Juvenile Justice Services (JJS) implemented a detention risk-screening instrument known as a Risk Assessment Instrument (RAI) on October 6, 2008.<sup>12</sup> The tool is meant to provide an evidence-based approach to make timely and effective decisions about the both the child's and the family's safety, permanency, and well-being.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Permanency Planning Teams (PPTs) were established in each district office in 2005 to help JJS to ensure permanency for youth entering the system.<sup>14</sup>

#### 2.1 Community-Based Programming

The first option is community programs, which branches out into many different and more specific alternatives in which the youth directly impacts or works with society. Typically, after a youth is sentenced, the judge may elect the option he or she views as most appropriate, for instance community service, a formal apology, or paid compensation for damages.<sup>15</sup> Non-residential community-based services that could be provided under this category include youth tracking services, in-home family counseling, traditional counseling, psychological testing, random drug and alcohol screening, and transportation to services.<sup>16</sup> Finally, a youth could also be assigned to conditional release (probation), placing him or her under the supervision of a Juvenile Probation/Parole Officer (JPPO); the judge and JPPO select conditions of the probation (such as medical treatment, curfew, compensation, and attendance in school).<sup>17</sup> The court also, at this time, elects whether it is appropriate for the youth to continue to live at home. If the court deems it inappropriate, an officer must request a court order from a judge and then complete a detention risk assessment screening (RAI) to prove that the youth should not



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remain in their previous residential location.<sup>18</sup>

#### 2.2 Secure Treatment and Detention Facilities

The second option available in the JJS is an out-of-home placement. The out-of-home placement options range from placement with friends or relatives and in foster homes to intensive educational treatment programs and SYSC.<sup>19</sup> These out-of-home placements require court orders and therefore cannot be made at the discretion of the police or probationary officer, unlike the other two options. In New Hampshire, the John H. Sununu Youth Services Center (SYSC) serves as a facility for both detention and secure treatment. The first program, SYSC, serves as a treatment facility for delinquent youth, while the second program, Youth Detention Services Unit (YDSU), provides services for youth awaiting a court disposition.<sup>20</sup> According to JJS staff, "New Hampshire DCYF is required to seek the least restrictive placement when it is determined the youth needs treatment in an out-of-home placement."<sup>21</sup>

In SYSC, youth aged 13 to 17 that have been committed are classified to residential units and enrolled in Treatment Programs. The successful completion of these programs is a precursor to transition back to the community facilitated by the New Hampshire Juvenile Parole Board. Youth participate in an accredited education program year round, and SYSC also offers youth the opportunity to work towards a high school diploma, to attend vocational programming, or to prepare for college.<sup>22</sup> Additional supplemental courses are also offered, such as computer education and life skills.<sup>23</sup> Before program completion, the expectation is that "youth will restore any harm caused to others in the commission of the delinquent acts."<sup>24</sup>

The second out-of-home program is the YDSU, which provides housing and support for youth prior to disposition from the court.<sup>25</sup> A typical youth's stay averages 7 to 21 days, and at the point of disposition, the youth is either committed to SYSC for secure treatment or placed in a less restrictive community setting.<sup>26</sup> In addition to offering the accredited education program seen in SYSC, YDSU also provides psycho-educational groups and crisis counseling. Therapeutic assessment and treatment also is provided when the court commits a youth.<sup>27</sup>

Only a small portion of the youth involved in the juvenile justice system, however, are placed in these facilities; out of the 4,857 youth that JJS delivered services to between December 2009 and December 2010, only three percent required either secure detention or secure commitment at SYSC, as shown by Figure 1.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, although SYSC has a 144-bed capacity, in recent years, it has only held an average of 60 youth at any one time, which contrasts the national trend of overcrowding in state juvenile corrections facilities.<sup>29</sup> The relatively small number of youth held in state correctional institutions



likely contributes to the facilities' cost inefficiencies. New Hampshire currently pays \$451 per day to hold youths in SYSC while the national average for juvenile correctional facilities is \$241.<sup>30</sup> The high cost of operation for the states' correctional facilities in their current under-filled state indicates that this may not be the most cost-effective option for New Hampshire.



Figure 1. Service Delivery to Youth in the New Hampshire Juvenile Justice System Between Dec. 2009 and Dec. 2010



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#### 2.3 Diversion Programs

As we discuss later in our research, diversion programs in New Hampshire are the most widely utilized option (see Figure 1).<sup>31</sup> Youth can be elected to attend a program by an officer either prior to filing a petition in the court or through the court, setting the petition on file until the successful completion of the diversion program. In some cases, the police department will directly refer a youth to a local diversion program. If so, the diversion program will notify the police department directly upon the youth's successful completion of the program, and the police will not file a petition with the courts. However, some programs do require that a petition be filed and that the judge instead make the order for diversion. In this case, the petition will be held without a finding along with a valid waiver of time limits. Upon successful completion of the diversion contract, the court is notified and can dismiss the petition. In the event that youth does not complete the contract, the traditional court process would proceed.<sup>32</sup> If elected to a diversion program, the youth and his or her parents first attend a meeting with a representative from the selected program to discuss whether the program fits the youth's needs.<sup>33</sup> If the youth is accepted, he or she will participate in the program until specified behavioral goals are achieved, which takes an average of two to six months. As a result, the only external funds these programs receive are small amounts from non-profit organizations, such as United Way.

According to Nicole Rodler, Chairperson of the New Hampshire Juvenile Court Diversion Network, funding is the primary obstacle for diversion programs in New Hampshire. As a result, many programs are forced to either close their doors or tailor their programs to specific criteria to obtain funding from other organizations.<sup>34</sup> Some programs are covered by municipal funds, which means that they are dependent on taxpayers to ensure financial stability. Other programs charge their clients on a fee-for-service basis determined by the curriculum and resources required.<sup>35</sup> In this situation, youth and their families consequently pay the costs of diversion programs should he or she elect to attend.

Current diversion programs in the state do not have authority to remove children from their homes. Rather, according to the DCYF and JJS staff, a diversion program "is a community-based educational program to help prevent further delinquent or CHINS behaviors."<sup>36</sup> Shelter care is commonly used for delinquents and CHINS, and there are currently two shelters in New Hampshire.<sup>37</sup> The shelters are intended for youth who need a temporary structured setting while a final residential placement is finalized and for youth who cannot return home at that time but hope to be able to within 60 days through treatment.<sup>38</sup> The North American Family Institute operates both the North Country Shelter, which is coeducational, in Jefferson and the Midway program, which is males only, and in Bradford. Each program can house up to 15 youth between the ages of 11



and 17 and provides assessment, counseling, education, and residential services.<sup>39</sup>

#### 3. PROBATION AND POST-DETENTION SERVICES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

In New Hampshire, "probation" is known as "conditional release." When a judge orders conditional release, youth are assigned a Juvenile Probation and Parole Officer (JPPO).<sup>40</sup> For youth in SYSC, a treatment team, which includes the youth's parents or guardian, the guardian ad litem, a treatment coordinator, school guidance counselor, residential staff members and the JPPO, determines the completion of his or her program and may recommend the youth transition back to the community.<sup>41</sup> Another alternative is for the court to release the youth at a review hearing. If a youth under seventeen is ordered on conditional release, the New Hampshire Juvenile Parole Board provides oversight.<sup>42</sup>

The JPPOs prepare Parole Supervision Plans for youth on conditional release. If a JPPO believes the youth has violated his or her parole requirements, the JPPO refers the youth to hearing officers and files a violation of parole with the parole board.<sup>43</sup> If the hearing officer then decides there is probable cause for such a violation, the juvenile is referred back to SYSC to await a parole revocation hearing.<sup>44</sup>

In New Hampshire, the rate of release from correctional facilities is significantly lower than the national average. Nation-wide, two-thirds of youth committed to correctional facilities are released within six months.<sup>45</sup> In 2001, the most recent year in which New Hampshire data was recorded, only 35 percent of those who had been committed that year were released within six months.<sup>46</sup> This could be due in part to the fact that New Hampshire's overall rate of juvenile commitment is significantly lower than the national average. As a result, a larger proportion of New Hampshire's committed youth may have behavior problems and other treatment needs, which could lengthen the amount of time required for preparation before release.<sup>47</sup> Another significant factor could be the proportion of serious and violent offenders in New Hampshire's committed population; 2001 data shows that 38 percent of committed juveniles had been charged for the same offense.<sup>48</sup>

The second of the four stated purposes for the juvenile justice system as stated in New Hampshire's Legislative Guide for Drafting Family and Juvenile Court Acts is to remove youth from "the consequences of criminal behavior, and to substitute a program of supervision, care, and rehabilitation."<sup>49</sup> New Hampshire Juvenile Justice Service's responsibility is to provide supervision and rehabilitation services to youth categorized as delinquent or CHINS.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, upon release, New Hampshire youth can participate in a voluntary aftercare program that offers eligible youth assistance in their



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reintegration. The program offers Education and Training Vouchers (ETV), federal funds that can be used for "cost of attendance" fees. These include such as books, room and board, and tuition, and Chafee funds, which are also federal funds that can be used for complementary expenses such as insurance and housing costs when the individual is not attending school.<sup>51</sup> Eligibility requirements for attaining these funds are restricted to individuals from 18 to 21 years of age. Moreover, individuals from JJS must have exited their placements on or after their 17th birthdays and must also have been placed in foster, relative, shelter, or residential care at some point during their last JJS case.<sup>52</sup> Thus, this restriction makes ineligible all youth who have been released on parole before the age of 17 and those who were committed to SYSC instead of being diverted to alternate locations of care.

#### 4. JUVENILE RECIDIVISM RATES IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

A key indicator of the efficacy of New Hampshire's juvenile justice system is the recidivism rate. Recidivism rates directly impact the cost of the juvenile justice system and provide insight into the effectiveness of the system's placement options, parole process and aftercare program. In an experimental study, the Annie E. Casey Foundation compiled all available studies on juvenile recidivism rates that were released from statefunded juvenile correctional facilities (see Appendix A), and noted a recidivism rate of 51.7 percent for New Hampshire.<sup>53</sup> This data was collected from unpublished JJS data provided by the JJS and was based upon whether youth previously committed to New Hampshire's secure juvenile treatment facility (YDC/SYSC) who turned 17 between 1998 and 2002 were later sentenced to adult probation or prison.<sup>54</sup> It is difficult, however, to compare states' recidivism rates because states have different definition of recidivism. For example, Massachusetts is listed as having a juvenile recidivism rate of 29 percent for youth released from the Department of Youth Services and then readjudicated and convicted for a new offense within twelve months.<sup>55</sup> New Hampshire's data, on the other hand, is based on a timeframe of nine to twelve years following the committed offender turning age 17.<sup>56</sup> As a result, any recidivism between one and nine years post-release in the Massachusetts system is not counted in the comparison. Moreover, the New Hampshire data does not consider juveniles released from the system and then reentered for a new offense prior to turning 17. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to assess accurately New Hampshire's recidivism rate as compared to the rest of the nation. JJS officials do report that, "JJS recently created a working definition of recidivism and entered into a joint research project with the New Hampshire Department of Corrections to address juvenile recidivism in a more comprehensive way."<sup>57</sup>



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## 5. HIGH-RISK GROUPS

Another key component in an assessment of New Hampshire's juvenile justice system is how well it meets the needs of youth who are at higher risk for entry into the system, such as CHINS and 17-year-old offenders. The absence of recidivism data complicates this analysis, but it is still beneficial to assess how the justice system currently treats such groups to then determine systemic issues that should be addressed.

#### 5.1 Treatment of CHINS

As of 2011, the legal definition of CHINS is "a youth under the age of eighteen with a diagnosis of severe emotional, cognitive, or other mental health issues who engages in aggressive, fire setting, or sexualized behaviors that pose a danger to the youth or others and who is otherwise unable or ineligible to receive services under RSA 169-B or RSA 169-C."<sup>58</sup> To qualify as a CHINS, parents, guardians, schools, or law officials must file a petition to the court, which must also be approved by the NH Department of Health and Human Services.<sup>59</sup> If the child is eligible for filing, the referral first goes to the local Juvenile Probation and Parole Supervisor (JPPS), and, if approved, the case is presented to the Juvenile Probation and Parole Field Administrator.<sup>60</sup> Finally, if the information is deemed appropriate for a CHINS position, the case is given to the Administrator for Well-Being along with a letter to demonstrate approval.<sup>61</sup>

In New Hampshire, the Revised Statutes Annotated (RSA) serves as the legal authority for DCYF and JJS in terms of how such agencies should receive and respond to youth who enter the justice system.<sup>62</sup> RSA-169D discusses the goals of addressing CHINS cases as first "to recognize that certain behaviors occurring within a family or school environment indicate that a youth is experiencing serious difficulties and is in need of services and corrective action in order to protect the youth from the irreversibility of certain choices, and to protect the integrity of the family and the authority it must maintain in order to fulfill its responsibilities to raise the next generation," and second "to further provide the youth with the treatment, care, guidance, counseling, discipline, supervision, and rehabilitation necessary to assist him in becoming a responsible and productive member of society."

However, according to Michael Skibbie, Policy Director of the Disabilities Rights Center, funding for CHINS services was cut dramatically in the last budget cycle, leading him to believe the system as a whole is less able to respond to the early signs of behavior problems.<sup>64</sup> He believes this reduction will likely result in a significant rise in the number of delinquency cases entering the system because youth who may have received interventions at earlier stages through the former CHINS system may now engage in more difficult behaviors that prompt their entrance into the juvenile justice system.<sup>65</sup>



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#### 5.2 Treatment of Youth with Special Needs

Youth with special needs are represented disproportionately in juvenile justice systems across the country. A report compiled by the American Bar Association Juvenile Justice Center, the Juvenile Law Center, and the Youth Law Center defines "disabilities" as Attention Deficit Disorder or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, developmental delays, learning disabilities, or severe emotional disturbances.<sup>66</sup> The report found that youth with disabilities are unable to comprehend, learn, or behave appropriately in certain situations and are thus at greater risk for delinquent behavior.<sup>67</sup> Youth with disabilities may be adversely affected at various stages of the justice process. According to the National Center for State Courts, disabled youth in juvenile systems are subject to harsher treatment at arrest, adjudication, and at disposition compared to similarly situated non-disabled youth. For example, at disposition, despite similar prior criminal records, youth with disabilities receive an average term of incarceration and/or probation that is two to three years longer than their non-disabled counterparts.<sup>68</sup>

In New Hampshire, several practices may affect disabled youth's experience in the justice system. New Hampshire courts screen youths during arraignments to ascertain whether or not the youth has been determined to have a cognitive disability, a mental illness, an emotional or behavioral disorder, or is identified as eligible for special education services.<sup>69</sup> Some have expressed concerns that this screening process does not fully assess the special needs of youth in the juvenile justice system.<sup>70</sup> The state has been working to develop programs that accurately assess a youth's mental health needs, such as the Foster Care Behavioral Health Program, which requires a comprehensive behavioral health assessment by JJS for every youth's first out-of-home placement by JJS.<sup>71</sup> The 2003 and 2010 New Hampshire Child and Family Services Review, however, found that appropriately assessing and addressing the mental and behavioral health of youth is an "area needing improvement."<sup>72</sup>

Youth in New Hampshire may enter pleas of "true" (in replacement of the adult plea of "guilty") during the arraignment without counsel present as long as there is no commitment at the time of the plea. State law, however, requires that youth who are determined to have a disability must consult with an attorney before entering a plea of "true." According to Kenneth Goonan of JJS, the judge has discretion over whether to accept pleas of "true" without counsel present, and pleas of true are typically not accepted if the petition is a felony, the youth is very young, or if the youth has mental health or educational issues.<sup>73</sup> Director Skibbie, however, believes that the state is not doing enough to ensure that youth with disabilities have access to appropriate representation.<sup>74</sup>



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#### 5.3 Treatment of 17-Year-Olds

In 1996 New Hampshire lowered its age of criminal prosecution as an adult from 18 to 17, consequently transferring all 17-year-old offenders from the juvenile to adult justice system. Legislators at the time were particularly concerned about maintaining age consistency with Massachusetts—because the age of criminal responsibility was seventeen in Massachusetts, legislators believed 17-year-olds might commit crimes in New Hampshire rather than be tried as adults in Massachusetts.<sup>75</sup> Massachusetts, however, has recently considered raising the age back to eighteen in order to maintain consistency with other legislation regarding the age of majority.<sup>76</sup>

There are significant developmental concerns associated with treating 17-year-old offenders as adults in the justice system. Many have argued that adult correctional facilities offer fewer opportunities for meaningful rehabilitation than juvenile correctional facilities. For example, a 2011 Center for Juvenile Justice report found that when seventeen-year-olds are incarcerated as adults, their parents are not necessarily notified of their arrest, they are not always required to attend school, nor are they provided with the necessary rehabilitative programs.<sup>77</sup> An inadequate rehabilitation program for 17-year-old offenders is particularly significant as it could contribute to higher recidivism rates.<sup>78</sup>

Cost is another consideration in the issue of treatment of 17-year-old offenders. Raising the age of criminal responsibility back to 18 would increase the number of youth admitted to the state's secure juvenile treatment facility. It is impossible to directly compare the costs of adult correctional facilities and New Hampshire's juvenile treatment facilities because of cost variability by state and county prison system, and the existing data does not make it clear that it would be more expensive to place 17-year-old offenders in juvenile facilities.<sup>79</sup> The budgetary impact of changing the age of criminal responsibility thus remains unclear; even though it appears that placing 17-year-olds in juvenile facilities is more expensive, only a small percentage of youth involved in the juvenile justice system are placed in correctional facilities.

#### 6. CASE STUDIES FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION

An examination of the juvenile justice systems in other New England states offers insight into available reform options that could be implemented in New Hampshire. In addition, an analysis of programs in other states that have been particularly effective in reducing recidivism among juvenile offenders can offer New Hampshire guidance on best practices.



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#### 6.1 Vermont Juvenile Justice System

In Vermont, a juvenile offender can either be placed in a detention facility or a diversion program. Most youth are placed in a diversion program, and the youth that are directed to a detention center are often placed in the same programs post-detention because of the overlap between probation and diversion options. Like New Hampshire, Vermont's Juvenile Justice System is located within its Child Welfare system. Juvenile offenders in Vermont thus have access to social workers trained in developmental issues, mental health disorders and substance abuse treatment. Furthermore, CHINS can access social workers trained in family dynamics and child abuse and neglect.

#### 6.1.1 Vermont Juvenile Justice Options

The purpose clause of Vermont's Juvenile Justice System emphasizes the restoration of the offender, the community, and victims to which the offender previously caused harm.<sup>80</sup> The state has Balanced and Restorative Justice (BARJ) philosophy, which holds that juvenile offenders aged 13 to 18 can either be directed to a secure detention facility or diverted to one of several diversion programs. BARJ programs stress the youth's accountability to his or her community's safety through skill development classes and programs. Such programs often require youth to pay restitution, complete community service, receive counseling, and participate in community panels, among other restorative actions.<sup>81</sup>

Vermont has only one secure detention facility, the Short-Term Program at the Woodside Juvenile Rehabilitation Center. This program serves the function of New Hampshire's SYSC and Youth Detention Services Unit and has 30 available beds to accommodate youth in both short-term detention and long-term corrections.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, in 2007, Vermont had the lowest juvenile residential placement in the country at just 69 placements per 100,000 youth, compared to New Hampshire's 125 per 100,000 and the national average of 279 per 100,000.<sup>83</sup>

With so few youth held in secure detention, the state relies more on community-based and diversion programs. An interesting example of a diversion program in Vermont is the Valley Court Diversion Program (VCDP) that serves the Upper Valley area of both Vermont and New Hampshire. Because of this interstate service, comparisons can be made between the operations of the program in each of the two states to make recommendations for improvement in both states' systems. VCDP costs average approximately \$200 more per participant in the New Hampshire counties than in the Vermont counties. The cause of this discrepancy is the aforementioned lack of funding by the New Hampshire legislature for diversion programs.<sup>84</sup> However, it is hard to compare the efficacy of the program in the two states because of a lack of recidivism data for New



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#### 6.1.2 Vermont Juvenile Probation/Aftercare System

Unlike New Hampshire, Vermont has not implemented an RAI to determine levels of probation supervision. The National Center for Juvenile Justice reports, however, that the state is currently developing this tool.<sup>85</sup> The state has Restorative Panels and Restitution Programs that are tasked with defining the harm of the acts of delinquents and accordingly creating and supervising a plan to rectify such harm to the most realistic extent possible. Many plans are based again on the BARJ principles. Therefore, probation options largely overlap with diversion options, and many youth placed in secure detention are subsequently admitted to BARJ programs as part of their probation plans. These programs have been proven to reduce probation periods. Currently, of the 330 juveniles on probation, 65 percent have been on for less than a year, and only 14 percent have been there for longer than two years.<sup>86</sup> Social workers fill the role of JPPOs in Vermont, and are in charge of supervising these plans. In addition, state Street Checkers provide assistance by working with schools, parents, and police officers to monitor youth's activities while on probation in their communities. This supervision continues until the individual turns 18 after which Department for Children and Families is no longer responsible for the youth.<sup>87</sup>

The Annie E. Casey Foundation's data on recidivism during the after care period does not include figures from Vermont.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, it is currently difficult to assess the efficacy of Vermont's justice system in preventing future re-entry. Specific case studies of particular programs, however, provide insight into juvenile recidivism in the state. For instance, in the VCDP, the directors are required by the attorney general's office to do quarterly reporting on their recidivism statistics. Previously, the agency would keep cases for three years before shredding them. Now, directly before shredding the files, the agency checks Vermont court records online to see whether the individual in question reoffended. If not, the agency can comfortably report that that individual has not reoffended in three years.<sup>89</sup> However, the agency is unable to provide such data for the New Hampshire counties that they serve (namely Lebanon and Lower Grafton County) because quarterly reporting is not required because of the lack of revenue to fund such data collection.<sup>90</sup>

#### 6.2 Massachusetts Juvenile Justice System

The Massachusetts juvenile justice system is a particularly relevant case study because like New Hampshire, the state treats 17-year-old offenders as adults rather than juveniles. The Massachusetts system is also an interesting case study because it underwent major reforms in the 1970s and developed a strong emphasis on community programs.



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#### 6.2.1 Massachusetts Juvenile Justice Options

Until 1972, the Massachusetts juvenile justice system was characterized by large-scale detention facilities. After undergoing major reforms in the 1970s, the system now relies predominantly on community programs to address delinquency.<sup>91</sup> In 1970, Massachusetts closed its five juvenile correctional facilities that had come under federal scrutiny for abuse and mismanagement.<sup>92</sup> In their place, the state created halfway houses, local programs for the youth that had previously occupied these facilities. These "houses" became alternatives to correctional facilities that served as group homes for youth who did not require secure confinement.<sup>93</sup> What began as a summer program designed by Harvard University students for Department of Youth Services youth developed into a comprehensive aftercare program for youth leaving the system, the Community Advocates Program (CAP), in which youth were put into small groups of four or five and given access to tutoring, surrogate homes, and employment opportunities in small businesses. This model became known as the Outreach and Tracking model.<sup>94</sup> The CAP program, now known as the Key Program, still serves as the basis for Massachusetts's nonresidential services for youth in the justice system. In addition, the Outreach and Tracking model has been implemented in many states, including Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Utah,<sup>95</sup> as it has been shown to be a cost-effective alternative to correctional facilities and a more effective method of reintegration.<sup>96</sup>

In 1985, 15 years after Massachusetts closed their correctional institutions, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency did a cross-state comparison and found that Massachusetts's juvenile justice system was less reliant on secure confinement and had the lowest recidivism rate of all the states that were analyzed. This study provided strong evidence for the effectiveness of a juvenile justice system emphasizing community-based programs supported by a few secure treatment programs for the most serious delinquency cases.<sup>97</sup>

#### 6.2.2 Massachusetts Juvenile Probation/Aftercare System

Massachusetts was the birthplace of probation and its stated purpose in the state is rehabilitation under the supervision of a probation officer and public protection.<sup>98</sup> The secondary purposes are punishment, deterrence, and retribution on the part of the offender.<sup>99</sup> Probation officers are members of the community who supervise offenders' behavior and report back to the courts. The Massachusetts Probation Service is responsible for collaborating with local agencies to provide aftercare programs to youth on parole (in addition to the abovementioned nonresidential services offered by the Key program) such as anger management and community service programs.<sup>100</sup>



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The state's aftercare programs also include the Night Light Program and the Fatherhood Program. The Night Light Program pairs one probation officer with two police officers to make surprise visits to high-risk youth probationers at night to tackle juvenile violence.<sup>101</sup> The Fatherhood Program is a 12-week program that teaches offenders, many of whom did not grow up with a father in the home, how to be attentive parents to their own youth.<sup>102</sup> Such programs are two of many innovative efforts by the Massachusetts Probation Service to provide aftercare services to former youth offenders.

#### 6.2.3 Massachusetts Juvenile Justice Treatment of Youth with Special Needs

To identify youth with special needs entering the court system, Massachusetts has a screening instrument known as the Massachusetts Youth Screening Instrument-Second Version (MAYSI-2). This instrument is used within the first few days of admission into the system to screen youth on seven scales for potential emotional, behavioral, or psychological disturbances.<sup>103</sup> It is brief, administered at low costs, and can be given to a wide range of male and female adolescents spanning multiple ages and ethnicities.<sup>104</sup> According to the Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, such a tool has been found to be both reliable and valid not for formal diagnoses but rather for first identifying youth in need of immediate clinical interventions.<sup>105</sup> The results can additionally be used to assist judges in making placement decisions for young people in the Massachusetts system.<sup>106</sup>

To serve youth with special needs once they are in the system, Massachusetts has implemented an elaborate juvenile court clinic system.<sup>107</sup> Its system contracts with the law and psychiatry program at the University of Massachusetts to ensure the quality of the clinicians certified to work in such clinics.<sup>108</sup> The use of such clinics is controversial, however, as many argue that community mental health centers are a more appropriate and effective setting for conducting clinical treatment.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, more research into the costs and benefits of such clinics should be conducted before considering implementation in New Hampshire.

#### 6.3 Other Best Practices Nationwide to Further Consider

Below are several practices implemented in various parts of the country that have proven effective in reducing recidivism rates among youth. They therefore provide New Hampshire with viable alternatives to secure detention facilities that could improve the efficacy of the system for all types of offenders, including the aforementioned high-risk groups of youth.



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#### 6.3.1 Juvenile Assessment Centers

Juvenile Assessment Centers (JACs) are being implemented across the nation as a way to deal more effectively with the complex needs of youth involved in the juvenile justice system. These centralized centers attempt to address needs, such as mental health and substance abuse treatment, child welfare, and other social services agencies by combining professionals in each department in a single entry point at which youth can be comprehensively assessed initially.<sup>110</sup>

The Miami-Dade County in Miami, Florida opened a JAC in 1997. The program was created out of a belief that a broad network of community-based services should be available for youth who are entered into the justice system as they likely have multiple interrelated problems that cannot be dealt with by one approach alone or without the cooperation of community professionals who would best be able to rehabilitate and reintegrate these offenders.<sup>111</sup> The system resulted in increased efficiency. For instance, police processing time was reduced from six hours to 15 minutes.<sup>112</sup> However, this also led to an increase in the number of youth who entered the system. Therefore, Miami also created a Post-Arrest Diversion (PAD) Program for first-time nonviolent offenders.<sup>113</sup> Not only did this program better suit the needs of such offenders, but it also reduced the load on the justice system.

## 6.3.2 Growing Up FAST Diversion Program

Growing Up FAST (Families and Adolescents Surviving and Thriving) is a family-based diversion program that was developed using a logic-based evaluation model that sequentially evaluates inputs, program activities, outputs, and outcomes. The key to this model is assessing efficacy by dividing outcomes into causally related initial, intermediate, and longer-term outcomes. While the outcomes describe the program's actual products, such as treatment plans for youth, the outputs constitute a translation of those results into how effectively the larger societal issues of juvenile crime are being addressed through such statistics as recidivism rates. This model allows for concrete goals to be amended frequently depending on how the treatment plan is progressing.<sup>114</sup>

The use of such a model has resulted in a five-level diversion program in which each level builds upon the successful completion of the previous level. Youth between the ages of 12 and 16 are eligible for the program and must be accompanied by an adult who can be involved in each level of the process.<sup>115</sup> Additionally, each level requires some accomplishment on the part of the family unit. For instance, the purpose of level three is



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for the child to learn about various skill-building activities and then co-teach them, along with their program facilitator, back to their families to emphasize youth participation and to involve and better inform families.<sup>116</sup> Future levels allow the families to create their own resource maps, listing sources of support available to the child to plan for his or her rehabilitation once released from the system.<sup>117</sup>

By focusing on youth strengths and his or her potential upon release from the program, the program resulted in a 50 to 65 percent decrease in likelihood that a participant would be arrested again, as compared to peers.<sup>118</sup> Although the model was implemented in only five states as of 2000, it is a representative example of how family-centered diversion options can reduce recidivism.

# 6.3.3 Michigan's Adolescent Diversion Project

This mentoring-based diversion program, which has now been running for 35 years, was started in 1976 by a professor at Michigan State University who spent two semesters training undergraduate psychology students on the juvenile justice system in Michigan and the principles underlying a mentor-based approach to treating juvenile offenders.<sup>119</sup> These students were then paired with youth found guilty of minor crimes, and the undergraduates were responsible for mentoring them and their families for 18 weeks. The goal of the program was to form a positive relationship between the mentor and the adolescent in order to help the adolescents communicate more effectively with their families. The program also sought to connect youth with constructive resources that fostered their interests, such as dance studios or computer labs. By emphasizing strengths, the professor who piloted the program was able to cut the recidivism rate by half, resulting in the program's replication in multiple cities around the state with funds from the National Institute of Mental Health.<sup>120</sup>

## 6.3.4 Washington State's TeamChild Program

TeamChild is a diversion program established in Washington State in 1995 out of the belief that low-income youth between the ages of twelve and eighteen whose basic needs are not being met can be diverted away from delinquency with the provision of simple services to meet needs, such as schooling. The program targets juveniles who are currently facing criminal charges, who have been released on parole or through diversion, or who are CHINS. The program provides access to education, housing, healthcare and other related public services for free through both state funding and private donations. Moreover, TeamChild aids youth with disabilities in gaining access to quality mental health care services.<sup>121</sup> This community-based program has proven to be largely effective. An evaluation done on a group of TeamChild participants six months after they left the program found that they were four times less likely than their peers to have



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contact with the justice system again.<sup>122</sup>

#### 6.3.5 Wilderness Camps

Wilderness camps are another alternative to traditional detention facilities. They vary widely with respect to setting and program components but all of them generally advocate a "learning by doing" approach. Such programs have become widespread and target individuals that range in age from eleven to seventeen. These programs generally focus on physical activities and developing interpersonal relationships in efforts to improve youth's self-esteem and consequently reduce delinquent behavior.<sup>123</sup> According to an analysis done on 28 different studies of wilderness programs, juvenile offenders who participated in such programs had a recidivism rate of 29 percent compared to a rate of 37 percent among comparable peers.<sup>124</sup>

As these programs have become increasingly widespread, a number of different models have been implement with varying success rates. One of the most studied national programs that has demonstrated success is VisionQuest, a program in which individuals spend twelve to fifteen months in a wilderness orientation program, an outdoor adventure program, and a final community therapy program. Afterwards, these youth participate in an aftercare program known as HomeQuest that offers them support in re-entering their communities. Using a one-year post-release period as a basis for comparison, participants experienced recidivism rates 50 percent lower than peers.<sup>125</sup>

## 7. EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES TO CONSIDER

Although such studies are infrequent and results have been limited, the few research projects studying juvenile diversion programs may be useful options for New Hampshire to consider.

#### 7.1 Control Group Study in Idaho of Diversion Programs

A 2004 study in Idaho compared the effectiveness of three different diversion programs in reducing juvenile recidivism.<sup>126</sup> First-time offenders were randomly assigned to three experimental groups: the Juvenile Accountability Program (JAP), the Youth Court or the Magistrate Court. These groups were then compared to an educational control group.

Those in the JAP initially went through an assessment process to determine whether they would need additional services, such as alcohol/substance abuse counseling, and those who were identified as being in need were diverted to such resources. While in the program, youth were required to complete a certain amount of community service, pay



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restitution according to their offense, attend classes on alcohol or drug awareness, make a supervised visit to the jail to visit an inmate who had been imprisoned for alcohol, drugs, or violence, and finally write an essay upon completion of the program reflecting on their experiences. Those in Youth Court were served sentences by their peers, generally high school students, who served as the jury and acted as the offenders' attorneys. Such sentences usually involved components of the above program, including community service, tobacco or alcohol education counseling. Those in the Magistrate Court were sentenced in a traditional court and, unlike those in the other two groups, received a permanent record and a fine. Furthermore, this group received no rehabilitation services, such as counseling and classes. Finally, the juveniles in the Educational Control Group were offered voluntary counseling services, given a warning, and shown a short film before being released.

Although the study is still ongoing, initial trends show that the JAP had the lowest recidivism rate and the educational control group had the highest. It is important to note, however, that the number of participants was limited: the control group had nine juveniles re-offend and the JAP had three.<sup>127</sup> At the same time, these findings do provide some evidence that diversion is more effective than not providing any sort of structured or required program for the offender.

One final finding that may be worth consideration is the researchers' belief that a possible reason for the JAP's success is the labeling perspective, a theory that delinquents offend due to negative interactions with people in authority, such as the police.<sup>128</sup> The JAP was the only program of any of them to not incorporate such interactions, for even the Youth Court procedures are backed by authority figures.

#### 7.2 A Meta-Analysis of Experimental Studies of Diversion Programs

In 2012, researchers completed a meta-analysis comparing all previous studies done on diversion programs. This study included 28 studies that involved 57 experimental comparisons and 19,301 youth.<sup>129</sup> The study's findings are summarized below:

- The effects of diversion programs were non-significant in four of the five types of programs: case management, individual treatment, youth court, and restorative justice
- Family-based programs, however, were associated with statistically significant reductions in recidivism
- The authors reported that average recidivism rates for the experimental and control conditions were similar (31.4 percent versus 36.3 percent), but noted even this slight change could arguably be beneficial in rehabilitating juvenile offenders.



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- Because of small sample sizes for studies that measured other outcomes aside from recidivism, such as drug use and school truancy, these outcomes were not analyzed,<sup>130</sup>
- The researchers could not draw conclusions about the effectiveness of programs for youth offenders with mental health problems because there are few of these diversion programs (only one of the studies they looked at actually was of a specialized diversion program for mental health and substance use problems and from what they found, those youth did have reduced rates of recidivism).
- Diversion program research has not yet looked into the potential benefits of matching interventions to clients specifically based on that population's characteristics, i.e. tailoring to gender, age subgroups, or even level of risk for reoffending.<sup>131</sup>

#### 8. IMPLICATIONS FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE

One option for the legislature to consider is increase support for community-based programs. This would be in line with how the juvenile justice system is currently structured; data from 2009 and 2010 indicate that the majority of youth involved in the juvenile justice system were placed in community-based programs rather than secure detention. The legislature could consider providing support for diversion programs. Both Massachusetts and Vermont have implemented juvenile justice models focusing on community-based and diversion programs rather than detention, and there is evidence that this has led to decreased costs and lower recidivism rates. The results of programs such as the Growing Up FAST Diversion Program and Michigan's Adolescent Diversion Project provide further support for the effectiveness of diversion programs in reducing recidivism. The 2011 meta-analysis of diversion programs discussed above, however, provides a more ambiguous view of the effectiveness of diversion programs.

There are several different options New Hampshire could consider in modifying their treatment of high-risk youth. With regard to 17-year-olds, a viable option might be to raise the age of criminal prosecution as an adult from 17 to 18. Bearing in mind the desire to maintain consistency with Massachusetts, other considerations should be taken into account such as the fact that studies have shown that inadequate treatment of seventeen-year-old offenders treated as adults could lead to higher recidivism rates. One option to consider for youth with disabilities and CHINS is the introduction of a diversion program similar to Washington's TeamChild Program that specifically focus on giving CHINS and youth with disabilities access to resources. Another possibility is to implement a more extensive screening process at the time of a juvenile's arraignment. The tool used by Massachusetts to screen juveniles has been shown to be useful in formal diagnoses as well as assisting judges in their placement decisions.



# Appendix A. Annie E. Casey Foundation's Compilation of Available Recidivism Data for Youth Released From State-Funded Juvenile Correctional Facilities<sup>132</sup>

		1		Time frame			
State	Recidivism measure	Population	RELEASE DATE	(month/year post-release)	Recidivism Rate	Source	Notes
Alabama	no data	Population	DATE	postieleasel	Nate	aduice	NULUS
Alaska	readjudication/conviction for a new offense	Juvenlies released from secure treatment	2008	12 months	38.1%	Alsaka Office of Management and Budget, online "Performance" report for Division of Juvenile Justice (accessed Sept. 2010).	
Arizona	return to custody (juvenile or aduit) for new offense or technical violation	Youth released by the Arizona Deparment of Juvenlie Corrections (ADJC)	2007	12 months	38.2%	Arizona Department of Juvenile Corrections Annual Report (2009)	
			2006	24 months	43.3%		
			2005	36 months	51.9%		
	Incarceration as adult (Arizona Department of Corrections	Youth released by the Arizona Deparment of Juvenile Corrections (ADJC)	2007	12 months	8.4%	Arizona Department of Juvenile Corrections Annual Report (2009)	
			2006	24 months	15.0%		
			2005	36 months	23.4%		
Arkansas	percentage or new admissions to juvenile custody who are returning after previous commitment	youth committed to juvenile custody in FY 2009	varied	varied	23%	Division of Youth Services Annual Statistical Report (State Fiscal Year 2010)	
California	rearrest for a new offense	28,000+ youth released from California Youth Authority Facilities from 1988 through 2000	1988-2000	36 months	74%	Unpublished study by the California Youth Authority, detailed by San Jose Mercury News on Oct. 17, 2004	
Colorado	new filing for a felony or misdemeanor offense"	Youth released from Division of Youth Corrections (DYC)	2007-2008	12 months	38.8%	Recidivism Evaluation of Committed Youth Discharged in Fiscal Year 2007- 08, Report of Colorado Division of Youth Corrections (Jan. 1, 2010)	"Not all rearrests result in case filings.
Connecticut	return to custody (juvenile)	Youth released from the Connecticut Juvenile Training School	January 1- December 15, 2009*	0-11.5 months	33%	Correspondence with the Department of Children and Families, Bureau of Juvenile Services	"There are no recidivism data for one or more year after release from the training school.
Delaware	rearrest for a felony offense	Juveniles released from Levels III, IV, and V juvenile facilities	2006	12 months	34%	Office Management and Budget Statistical Analysis Center - Delaware Juvenile Recidivism (2007)	
	rearrest for feiony and misdemeanor offenses	Juveniles released from Levels III, IV, and V juvenile facilities	2006	12 months	67%	Office Management and Budget Statistical Analysis Center - Delaware Juvenile Recidivism (2007)	
	retum to custody (juvenile or aduit facility)	Juveniles released from Ferris School, the state's training school for boys.	2002	12 months	72%	Office Management and Budget Statistical Analysis Center - Delaware Juvenlie Recidivism (2007)	Unlike other states, Delaware's return to custody data include you placed into pre-trial detention, not only those committed to custody following adjudication.
				24 months	83%		
				36 months	86%		
				48 months	89%		
District of Columbia	reconviction for a new offense within Washington DC	Youth released from Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services	2007	12 months	25%	Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services Public Safety Outcomes Study (October 2008)	Does not include recidivism events that occur in nearby states of Maryland and Virginia.
Florida	rearrest for any delinquent (misdemeanor or felony) offense	Youth released from residential placements	2003-2004	12 months	59%	Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Outcome Evaluation Report (2006)	
	rearrest/referrais for a felony offense	Youth released from residential placements	2003-2004	12 months	45%	Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Outcome Evaluation Report (2006)	



State	Recidivism measure	Population	RELEASE DATE	Time frame (month/year post-release)	Recidivism Rate	Source	Notes
	readjudication/conviction for new offense	Youth released from residential placements - low-risk programs	2007-2008	12 months	51%	Florida Deparment of Juvenile Justice Comprehensive Assessment Report (2008-2009)	
		Youth released from residential placements - moderate-risk programs			45%		
		Youth released from residential placements - high-risk programs			46%		
		Youth released from residential placements - maximum-risk programs			40%		
	readjudication/reconviction for	Youth released from residential				Florida Department of Juvenile Justice	
	a felony offense	placements	2003-2004	12 months	22%	Outcome Evaluation Report (2006)	
	return to juvenile custody or						
	adult conviction leading to prison or probation	Youth released from residential placements	2003-2004	12 months	28%	Florida Department of Juvenile Justice Outcome Evaluation Report (2006)	
Georgia	readjudication/conviction for new offense	Youth released from Youth Development Campuses (YDC)	2007	12 months	46.6%	Georgia Department of Juvenile Justice Recidivism Report (FY2007)	
		Youth released from other residential placements	2007	12 months	24.4%		
		Youth released from both YDC and other residential placements	2007	12 months	34.3%		
						Controls Department of Investig	
		Youth released from YDC	2006	24 months	54.3%	Georgia Department of Juvenile Justice Recidivism Report (FY2007)	
		Youth released from other residential placements Youth released from both YDC and	2006	24 months	39.0%		
		other residential placements	2006	24 months	53.0%		
		Youth released from YDC	2005	36 months	55.2%	Georgia Department of Juvenile Justice Recidivism Report (FY2007)	
		Youth released from other residential placements	2005	36 months	42.9%		
		Youth released from both YDC and other residential placements	2005	36 months	51.9%		
Hawall	rearrest for any delinquent (misdemeanor or felony) offense	Youth released from Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility	1996-1998	24 months	82.2%	Incarcerated Juveniles and Recidivism In Hawaii Hawaii Attorney Generai (2001)	
	readjudication/conviction for new offense	Youth released from Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility	1996-1998	24 months	57.3%	Incarcerated Juveniles and Recidivism In Hawaii Hawaii Attorney General (2001)	
	return to custody (juvenile or adult facility	Youth released from Hawall Youth Correctional Facility	1996-1998	24 months	32.2%	Incarcerated Juveniles and Recidivism In Hawaii Hawaii Attorney General (2001)	
Idaho	readjudication/conviction for new offense	Juveniles released from Idaho Juvenile Department of Corrections (IJDC)	2005	12 months	27.8%	Juvenile Recidivism in idaho, idaho Department of Juvenile Corrections (2008)	
			2005	24 months	37.3%	Juvenile Justice in Idaho, Idaho Department of Juvenile Corrections (2006)	
	return to juvenile custody	Juveniles released from Idaho Juvenile Department of Corrections (IJDC)	2005	12 months	3.5%	Juvenile Recidivism in Idaho, Idaho Department of Juvenile Corrections (2008)	
		Juveniles released from Idaho Juvenile Department of Corrections (IJDC)	2002	24 months	9.4%	Juvenile Recidivism in Idaho, Idaho Department of Juvenile Corrections (2002)	
						Investig Desidudes in Idaha Idaha	
	incarceration as adult	Juvenlies released from Idaho Juvenlie Department of Corrections (IJDC)	2005	12 months	3.2%	Juvenile Recidivism in Idaho, Idaho Department of Juvenile Corrections (2008)	
Illinois	rearrest	Youths released from Illinois youth corrections facilities	1996-2003	18 months	49%	Data cited in Research Brief, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Agency (July 2008)	
Indiana							



State	Recidivism measure	Population	RELEASE DATE	Time frame (month/year post-release)	Recidivism Rate	Source	Notes
	total return to custody (adult	Juveniles released from state				Juvenile Recidivism, Indiana	
	and/or juvenile)	correctional institutions	2005	36 months	35.9%	Department of Corrections (2008)	
	total return to custody (adult and/or juvenile) for a new offense	Juveniles released from state correctional institutions	2005	36 months	25.4%	Juvenile Recidivism, Indiana Department of Corrections (2008)	
	retum to juvenile custody for technical violation	Juveniles released from state correctional institutions	2005	36 months	10.4%	Juvenile Recidivism, Indiana Department of Corrections (2008)	
	incarceration as adult	Juveniles released from state correctional institutions	2005	36 months	20.8%	Juvenile Recidivism, Indiana Department of Corrections (2008)	
lowa	percentage or new admissions to juvenile corrections facility who are returning after previous commitment	Juveniles admitted to state juvenile corrections facilities in Fiscal Year 2010	varied	varied	16%	email communication from Iowa Department of Human Services	
Kansas	return to juvenile custody or adult corrections for a new offense or technical violation		July 1, 2006 to June 30, 2007	12 months	30.1%	Kansas Juvenile Justice Authority Briefing to Legislature (September 24 and 25, 2008)	
Kentucky	no data			24 months	33.6%		
Louisiana	return to custody (juvenile or adult) based on a new offense	Youth discharged from juvenile custody (both secure and non-secure combined)	2007-2008	12 months	15.0%	Louisiana Office of Juvenile Justice	
Louisiana		(onioned)	2006-2007	24 months	25.1%		
			2005-2006	36 months	29.1%		
		Youth discharged from secure juvenile custody	2007-2008	12 months	20.9%	Louisiana Office of Juvenile Justice	
			2006-2007	24 months	32.9%		
			2005-2006	36 months	39.3%		
		Youth discharged from non-secure Juvenile custody	2007-2008	12 months	14.5%	Louisiana Office of Juvenile Justice	
			2006-2007 2005-2006	24 months 36 months	24.6% 28.2%		
Maine	no data		200-200		20.2.8		No data are available on recidivism rates among Maine youth released from custody. However, the states does regularly examine subsequent juvenile adjudications for all youth referred to juvenile court.
Maryland	rearrest (Juvenlie or adult)	Juvenile released from residential facilities	2008	12 months	56%	Maryland Department of Juvenile Services online StateStat Spreadsheet (accessed Sept. 2010)	
			2007	24 months	70% 74%		
			2006	36 months	7478		
	readjudication/conviction for a new offense	Juvenile released from residential facilities	2008	12 months	20%	Maryland Department of Juvenile Services online StateStat Spreadsheet (accessed Sept. 2010)	
			2007	24 months	38%		
			2006	36 months	45%		
	retum to custody (juvenile or adult facility)	Juvenile released from residential facilities	2008	12 months	15%	Maryland Department of Juvenile Services online StateStat Spreadsheet (accessed Sept. 2010)	
			2007	24 months	31%		
Massachusetts	readjudication/conviction for a new offense	Youth released from Department of Youth Services supervision and custody	2006	36 months	39% 29%	The book, "Just for Youth: Advocating for Youths in the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services" by the Mental Health Legal Advisors Committee cited a 2009 Department of Youth Services Recidivism Study	According to the report, 29% figure does not Include other youth who had been arrested for crimes within 12 months but whose cases were still pending.



State	Recidivism measure	Population	RELEASE DATE	Time frame (month/year post-release)	Recidivism Rate	Source	Notes
Michigan	rearrest for a felony offense	Youth supervised by the Michigan Department of Human Services and released from residential treatment	2002-2005	24 months	37%	Michigan Department of Human Services	
	readjudication/conviction for new felony offense	Youth supervised by the Michigan Department of Human Services and released from residential treatment	2002-2005	24 months	22%	Michigan Department of Human Services	
	Incarceration in adult facility	Youth supervised by the Michigan Department of Human Services and released from residential treatment	2002-2005	24 months	10%	Michigan Department of Human Services	
Minnesota	readjudication/conviction for new felony offense	Juvenlies released from MCF-Red Wing	2001-2002	12 months	26%	Minnesotta Department of Corrections, Performance Report Fiscal Year 2006	
				24 months	43%		
				36 months	53%		
	return to custody (juvenile or adult facility)	Juvenlies released from MCF-Red Wing	2001-2002	12 months	15%	Minnesotta Department of Corrections, Performance Report Fiscal Year 2006	
				24 months	26%		
				36 months	38%		
Mississippi	no data						
Missouri	return to custody (juvenile or adult) for a new offense	Youth released from custody by Missouri Division of Youth Services	2005	12 months	9.1%	Unpublished data provided by Missouri Department of Youth Services, cited in The Missouri Model: Reinventing the Practice of Rehabilitating Youthful Offenders, Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2010.	
				24 monhts	14.5%		
				36 months	16.2%		
	return to custody (juvenile or aduit) for a new offense or technical violation	Youth released from custody by Missouri Division of Youth Services	2005	36 months	24.3%	Unpublished data provided by Missouri Department of Youth Services, cited in The Missouri Model.	
	Incarceration as adult	Youth released from custody by Missouri Division of Youth Services	2005	12 months	2.3%	Unpublished data provided by Missouri Department of Youth Services, cited in The Missouri Model.	
				24 months	7.1%		
Montana	return to juvenile custody for a new offense or probation/parole violation)	Youth released from juvenile facilities	2007	36 months 36 months	8.5% 27% boys; 29% girls	Correspondence with the Youth Services Division, Montana Department of Corrections	
	return to juvenile custody for a new offense	Youth released from juvenile facilities	2007	36 months	10% boys; 6% giris	Correspondence with the Youth Services Division, Montana Department of Corrections	
	incarceration as adult	Youth released from Pine Hills Correctional Facility	2005-2009	0-5 years	7.5%	Correspondence with the Youth Services Division, Montana Department of Corrections	
Nebraska	no data						
Nevada	no statewide data"					*Correspondence with Nevada Division of Children and Family Services	
New Hampshire	sentenced to adult probation or prison	Youth previously confined in a state juvenile corrections center who turned 17 between 1998-2002	varied	9-12 years after reaching of majority	51.7%	Unpublished data provided by New Hampshire Division for Juvenile Justice Services	
New Jersey	return to custody (juvenile or adult)	Youth previously committed under the New Jersey Juvenile Justice Commission	2004	12 months	25.6%	New Jersey Juvenile Justice Commission (2004, released 2007)	
New Mexico	return to juvenile custody	Youth released from Children, Youth, and Families Department facilities	2009	24 months 24 months	36.7% 10.1%	Children, Youth, and Families Department Key Performance Report	
New York	rearrest for any delinquent (misdemeanor or felony) offense	Youth released from New York Division for Youth	1991-95	12 months	52%	New York State Office of Justice Systems Analysis Report (1999)	
				24 months	68%		



State	Recidivism measure	Population	RELEASE DATE	Time frame (month/year post-release)	Recidivism Rate	Source	Notes
				36 months	75%		
	readjudication/conviction for new offense	Youth released from New York Division for Youth	1991-95	12 months	39%	New York State Office of Justice Systems Analysis Report (1999)	
				24 months	55%		
				36 months	62%		
	return to custody (juvenile or adult)	Youth released from New York Division for Youth	1991-95	12 months	25%	New York State Office of Justice Systems Analysis Report (1999)	
				24 months	39%		
				36 months	45%		
North Carolina	subsequent complaints	Juveniles released from Youth Development Centers	2004-2005	36 months	34.2%	North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission (2008)	
	rearrest (adult)	Juveniles released from Youth Development Centers	2004-2005	36 months	50.5%	North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission (2008)	
	rearrest (adult)	Juveniles who were first adjudicated in 1997 and later committed to training school	varied	average of 7.2 years	67.8%	Juvenile to Adult, North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission (2007)	
	criminal conviction (adult) by June 2006	Juveniles who were first adjudicated in 1997 and later committed to training school	varied	average of 7.2 years	58.3%	Juvenile to Adult, North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission (2007)	
	Incarceartion as an adult	Juveniles who were first adjudicated in 1997 and later committed to training school	varied	average of 7.2 years	31.7%	Juvenile to Adult, North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission (2007)	
North Dakota	return to juvenile custody or sentenced to adult probation supervision or prison	Youth released from state custody	2007-2008	12 months	16.5%	Unpublished data provided by North Dakota Division of Juvenile Services	
Ohio	return to custody (juvenile or adult)	Youth released from a Department of Youth Services correctional facility	2002	two to three years (through end of FY2004)	46.0%	Evaluation of Reclaim Ohio	
Oklahoma	rearrest/referral for a criminal offense	Juveniles released from residential placements	2006	12 months	25.6%	Office of Juvenile Affairs Annual Report (FY2007)	t
Oregon	readjudication (juvenile court for a felony offense) or felony reconviction (adult court)	Youth released from Oregon Youth Authority closed custody (parole)	2005	12 months	8.9%	Oregon Youth Authority Report(FY2001-05, published May 2007)	
		Youth under jurisdication of Deparment of Corrections released to post-prison supervision from Oregon Youth Authority closed custody		12 months	8.8%		
Pennsylavania	no statewide data"					*Correspondence with Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare	
Rhode Island	no data						
South Carolina	rearrest for any delinquent (misdemeanor or felony) offense	Youth born in 1981 who were Incarcerated as juveniles		adult records as of 12/2002 (at age 21)	72.8%	Cohort Study (2003)	
	readjudication/conviction for a new offense	Youth born in 1981 who were Incarcerated as juveniles		adult records as of 12/2002 (at age 21)	59.9%	Cohort Study (2003)	
	new offense charge	Juveniles released from juvenile corrections facilities	2005-2006	12 months	46.6%	South Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice Report Card (2004)	From 2004 report card, later report cards have ni provided recidivism for youth released from custody or provided data only for youth served in special programs.
				24 months	68.1%		
		Youth born in 1981 who were		adult records as of 12/2002 (at	30.6%	Cohort Study (2003)	
	incarceration as adult	Incarcerated as juveniles		age 21)			
South Dakota	return to juvenile custody	Youth released from residential youth corrections program	2007	12 months	46.0%	South Dakota Department of Corrections Annual Report (2009) Data cited in 2010 performance audit	Rate does not include
Tennessee	retum to juvenile custody			12 months	15.8%	of the Tennesse Division of Juvenile Justice by state's Division of Audit	youth incaceration in adu facilities.



State	Recidivism measure	Population	RELEASE DATE	Time frame (month/year post-release)	Recidivism Rate	Source	Notes
Texas	return to custody (juvenile or adult) for new offense or probation violation	Youth released from Texas Youth Commission custody	2005	12 months	25.9%	Texas Legislative Budget Board	
				24 months	36.4%		
				36 months	43.3%		
Utah	no data*					*Correspondence with Utah Division of Juvenile Justice Services	
Vermont	no data						
Virginia	reaarrest (petitioned juvenile complaint for a new criminal offense or an adult arrest)	Juveniles released from juvenile correctional centers	2008	12 months	46.9%	Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice	Reoffense data do not Include technical violations.
			2007	24 months	71.8%		
			2006	36 months	74.7%		
	readjudication/conviction for a new offense	Juveniles released from juvenile correctional centers	2007	12 months	41.5%	Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice	
			2006	24 months	56.6%		
			2005	36 months	71.9%		
	return to juvenlie or adult custody for a new crime	Juvenlies released from juvenile correctional centers	2007	12 months	27.4%	Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice	
			2006	24 months	46.0%		
			2005	36 months	61.8%		
Washington	readjudication/conviction for a new offense	Youth released from custody of Juvenile Rehabilitation Administration (JRA)	1990	13-year follow- up	75.0%	Washington State Institute for Public Policy (October 2006)	
West Virginia	no data						
Wisconsin	return to juvenile or adult custody for a new crime	Youth released from juvenile correctional institutions	2005	24 months	17.5%	Division of Juvenile Corrections Report (2007)	
Wyoming	no data						



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