

Out for Life: Pathways to More Effective Reentry for Texas Juvenile Offenders

by Jeanette Moll
Juvenile Justice Policy
Analyst

Key Points

- Current parole programming has not produced optimal results for Texas juveniles, taxpayers, or the public safety, and the budget has remained constant even while parole populations dropped by half.
- Intensive reentry programming provides a better transition back to a youth's home, community, and school, and can reduce recidivism 25-50 percent over traditional parole programming.
- Slightly shorter lengths of stay for low-risk juveniles do not negatively impact public safety, and can save Texas taxpayers millions.

Introduction

When Texans pay to lock up a youth, they seek to redress the offense that occurred, protect the public for the period of incarceration, and rehabilitate that youth to reduce the risk of future criminal behavior. It is principally to accomplish this latter goal of long-term recidivism reduction that supervision and treatment by the juvenile justice system continues after the actual period of incarceration and into a period in which the youth is on parole.

How many youth continue to break the law and are reincarcerated at taxpayer's expense depends not just on the effectiveness of the institutions where they served time, but also upon the effectiveness of parole and reentry programs that seek to transition them back into the free world. In fact, ineffective reentry programming would virtually nullify any treatment or therapy the youth received while committed to state custody, as it would prevent translation of the treatment to the youth's home environment. Because of the key role parole plays in reforming juvenile offenders and ensuring the lessons learned in residential treatment are sustained when the juvenile returns home, successful reentry programs can dramatically reduce recidivism rates.

The existing parole programming mandated by the Texas Juvenile Justice Department (TJJD) currently produces rates of reincarceration of 41.2 percent and 35.7 percent after three years, for youth released in 2006 and 2007, respectively.¹ These results must be closely evaluated, especially in light of alternative parole programming currently being used within two pilot programs in major urban centers in Texas, Harris County and Bexar County.

These programs represent promising opportunities to reformulate parole for Texas juveniles into a cost-efficient and effective aftercare program. Intensive reentry and a more effective parole process can be paired with slight reductions in the length of stay for particular Texas youth without affecting public safety. The commitment time reductions can be devoted, instead, to reentry programs, resulting in both reduced recidivism and lower costs for Texas taxpayers.

Texas Juvenile Justice Department Parole Programming

The current system of parole and reentry services provided to offenders released from residential treatment is administered by TJJD, with a portion (30 percent of the parole population) contracted out to county-level probation departments or private organizations.² Parole surveillance can be intensive, moderate, or minimum, depending on offense severity.³ There are also specialized reentry programs available, based on chemical dependency, sexual behavior, or mental health issues.⁴

While on parole, TJJD parole officers hold scheduled office visits with youth, make unscheduled visits to school, work, and home, and may include random curfew checks in the parole process. Youth are required to undertake 40 hours of constructive activity per week (such as employment, education, treatment, or community service),⁵ and the parole officer assists the youth in setting and meeting educational goals. TJJD has recently begun to incorporate Functional Family Therapy and Multi-systemic Therapy in select locations.⁶ In

addition, Senate Bill 103, in 2007, required the agency to create a reentry and reintegration plan for each released youth, which addressed housing, family counseling, mentoring, academic and vocational planning, and other specialized treatments, as applicable.⁷ House Bill 3689 further required the state to also consider the skills necessary for successful reentry, comprehensive transition programs, and community providers the agency could enter into contracts with to provide reentry services.^{8*}

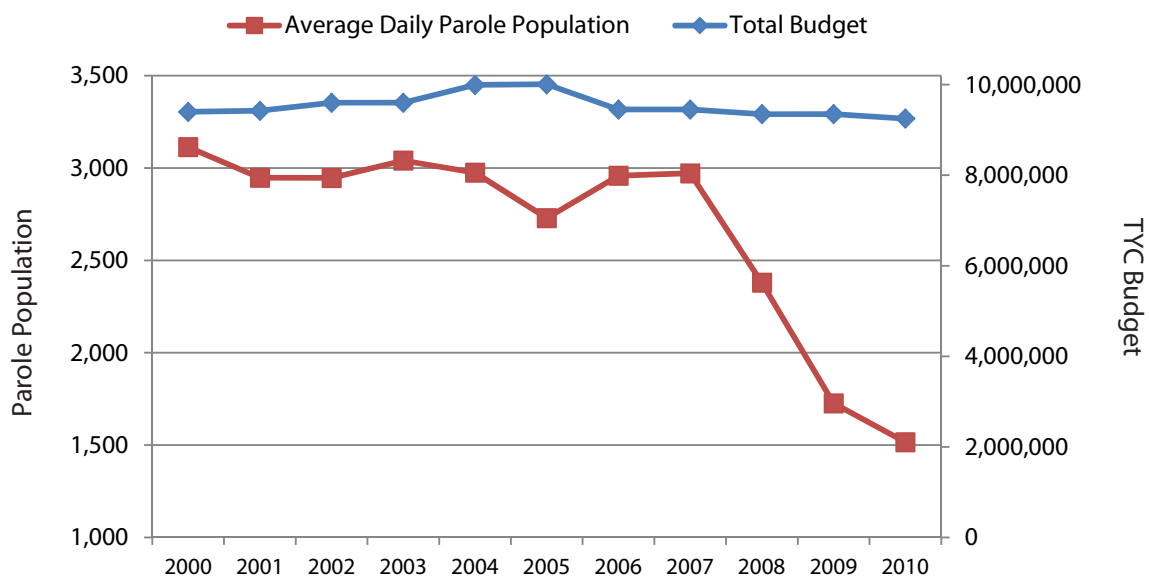
The time spent on parole for Texas youth also varies. Most non-violent offenders can be put on “Fast Track Parole,” which decreases the length of time on parole from nine months to six months, and release from supervision occurs only after all the requirements for a discharge have been met.⁹ Sentenced and “Type A Violent Offenders” (those charged with murder, attempted murder, capital murder, aggravated sexual assault, and sexual assault¹⁰) remain on parole until the age of 19.¹¹

For moderate or low severity offenders to be discharged from parole under the standards in TJJD’s General Admin-

istrative Policy Manual,¹² the offender must complete the surveillance and supervision requirements, comply with parole conditions, be free of pending delinquency petitions or criminal charges, complete 60 hours of community service, and have been involved in 40 hours of constructive activities per week for at least 30 days. However, a discharge may be approved earlier if other factors so justify. Discharge may also be granted directly out of residential placement, due to age (TJJD’s jurisdiction statutorily concludes at the age of 19), or other special circumstances.

In 2010, budgeted expenditures were \$23.11 per day per juvenile offender on parole;¹³ and, actual expenditures were \$23.97 per day per juvenile offender in 2011.¹⁴ This price tag has doubled since 2007, when costs were under ten dollars per day, which was at a time when the number of supervised youth was double the number in 2011.¹⁵ The minimum time on parole is six months, which means (barring early discharge based on special circumstances) the total average cost for parole is \$4,163, at a minimum. The total budget for parole services was \$12,173,963 in 2010, part of which included a \$2.9 million dollar federal grant to start up a pilot project.¹⁶

Stagnant Budget; Declining Parole Population



Sources: TJJD and Legislative Budget Board

* The statutory changes that came after an internal audit, conducted in 2007, found that 37 percent of youth were not discharged from parole in accordance to policy, including discharge prior to meeting the minimum requirements and discharge after eligibility date has passed. The audit additionally found that there were no significant differences in the parole outcomes for youths who had fully completed incarceration treatment phases and those who had not. The parole department also did not have access to youths’ risk levels calculated by the institution. The agency concurred with the findings of the audit department, and planned to respond to the issues highlighted by the report.

The budget for parole operations has hovered around nine million dollars for a decade. The parole population, however, experienced a sharp drop off after 2007, as a result of the decreased levels of commitments to state institutions. But even with this population drop off, the budget for parole programming has remained the same.

These services that are, at least, nominally available under the traditional parole programming and TJJD's multi-million dollar budget, however, have produced questionable results when considered in light of current recidivism measures. In 2007, the most recent three-year outcome data available, 35.7 percent of Texas youths were reincarcerated¹⁷ as noted above, and just about half of those youths (18.3 percent) were reincarcerated within one year.¹⁸ Rearrest rates, which are much higher than reincarceration rates since not all arrests result in adjudications and incarceration, totaled 73.6 percent after three years, for youths released in 2006.¹⁹ Finally, in 2010, there were 3,143 parolees supervised by the state, and 14.3 percent had their parole revoked.

To put this in perspective, 1,521 youths were back in a state lockup at some point within three years of their release and parole, 2,433 juveniles were rearrested after being treated and receiving parole programming, and 451 Texas juveniles were unable to follow one or more conditions of their parole.

These rates are less than encouraging given the amount spent on treating these youth both in a state secure facility and on parole. Taxpayers must be assured that the \$359 daily price tag for incarceration and the \$23 daily price tag for parole are effectively producing the highest measure of reformed juveniles that is feasible. In order to make that determination, a comparison to two pilot parole projects can reveal whether more youth can be effectively reformed during the reentry phase.

Parenting With Love and Limits

One of two pilot programs currently being conducted within TJJD's parole program is the Parenting with Love and Limits program, or PLL. PLL is a reentry program being used in Harris County, Texas, as well as select sites across the country. PLL combines group and family therapy to prevent recidivism in youth by retraining families to incorporate new skills into their parenting.²⁰

Group therapy includes youth, parents, and siblings, with no more than six families at one time.²¹ During each two-hour class, one hour is spent as a group and one hour is spent with parents and teens counseled separately.²² Family therapy includes intensive one- to two-hour sessions.

These therapy sessions produce two important products for the youth's progress. The first is the formation of new parenting skills to work through the risk factors which could lead to future justice system involvement by the youth. Parents develop their skills to provide more structure and clear boundaries for the youth in the home so that law enforcement and correctional interventions are not needed. The second is a "typed-out, loophole-free contract."²³ The contract sets out the youth's goals and the necessary steps to achieve those goals, and ensures that each youth and family is held accountable and is making progress.

PLL has been recognized as an evidence-based model by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's National Registry of Evidence-based Programs and Practices,²⁴ the Promising Practices Network,²⁵ and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Model Programs Guide.²⁶

PLL currently costs approximately \$5,926 per youth, which encompasses family involvement from the first day of incarceration through family groups and video conferenced family therapy, an aftercare family plan in place before discharge, as well as three months of aftercare.²⁷

While preliminary, the results of the PLL program thus far are promising. A few of the sites where PLL is currently being used as a reentry program have produced a small number of performance measures for comparison purposes. In Indiana, 16 percent of youths referred to a PLL program were readjudicated for another offense within one year.²⁸ Another pilot site featured a 30 percent rearrest rate and a 14 percent recommitment rate for the 153 youths who completed PLL—a 27 percent reduction in recidivism as compared to a matched sample of youths who had received standard reentry programming.²⁹ In an extremely small sample of youths in Florida—15—using the PLL program, only two earned new charges after six months of release, and neither were recommitted for those charges.³⁰

However, PLL may provide benefits beyond decreasing recidivism risks in the youth, by reforming familial attitudes generally. There are high rates of youth with justice-involved family members, totaling 42.6 percent of new commitments in 2011,³¹ and 46.5 percent of juveniles at the county level had a parent involved with the criminal justice system.³² Within the Dallas County Juvenile Probation Department, 20 percent of youths reported a family member in the juvenile justice system.³³

PLL provides increased family discipline and authority that will not only create better parenting for the youth enrolled, but siblings and other family members. Therefore, the benefits of this program should be recognized as, in many cases, extending beyond the juvenile's recidivism risk and to each member of the family.

PLL recently began providing parole services to youth in Harris County. The outcome data will need to be carefully tracked to determine whether it can decrease recidivism in the same ways as other pilot sites have begun to witness.

Children's Aftercare Reentry Experience

The Children's Aftercare Reentry Experience, or CARE, is a pilot program created through a partnership between BCFS Health and Human Services, a private non-profit organization, Bexar County Juvenile Probation (BCJP), and the state.³⁴ The program serves youth reentering Bexar County from TJJD and the local county-run post-adjudication facility, the Cyndi Krier Center.

Prior to the creation of CARE, BCFS had provided probation alternative programming and services for foster youth to prepare them for independent living. Both programs provided wraparound-type services in one non-residential facility, including mentoring, employment strategies, life skills classes, educational services, and other key programs to ensure that at-risk youth were able to lead productive, independent lives. Using this background, BCFS worked with juvenile justice agencies to formulate a reentry program with all of these services as well as restorative justice, which ensures that youth understand the effects of their actions on victims and the community. The reentry program begins before the youth is released from residential treatment, and incorporates the youth, his or her family, public and private partnerships, treatment, and supervision in a singular location.

CARE's ability to provide a variety of services in one setting ensures far more accountability for the youth involved. Within one building, youth can access BCFS resources, but also local community partners, education resources (including ensuring reentry to public education, vocational and trade education), and other area non-profits. Youths can more easily and efficiently navigate the array of aftercare resources available to them, both public and private. Furthermore, this centralized location ensures a continuum of care

without duplication of services or overlap, which is designed to promote efficient yet comprehensive reentry.

Each service is strength-based, meaning it focuses on a youth's strengths and goals, rather than weaknesses, and holds each person in that child's life—mentors, family members, service providers, and the youth him or herself—accountable with signed contracts and checkups on progress. Furthermore, services are far more intensive than basic parole. For example, CARE ensures that every child receives some type of mentoring—individual or group, based on each child's needs. In contrast, in the 2010 fiscal year, only 1.2 percent of youth on the state's standard parole received mentoring services.³⁵

Further, information sharing is efficient in the CARE transition center. There is no interagency delay in service and information sharing, but rather full disclosure amongst each stakeholder. Finally, the administration of CARE through a private non-profit increases the collaborative possibilities with other private, non-profit resources, expanding treatment options for youth without additional taxpayer funding.

The Department of Labor provided a grant for the formation of this pilot project. The original grant was for just over one year and totaled \$2,884,560, and was keyed to providing services for 450 youths.³⁶ This translates to a cost of just over \$6,400 per juvenile, based on a six-month service period (although CARE currently provides treatment anywhere from four months to one year, based on a youth's individual needs).

As of June 30, 2011, 509 youths had enrolled in the CARE program.³⁷ Studies are currently being conducted on the outcomes of this program. However, BCJP was able to track recidivism amongst juveniles who had successfully completed the CARE program. Out of 93 successful completions,* only 15 were re-arrested for a felony or Class A or B misdemeanor within one year of their completion, and only seven of those were found delinquent as a result of that offense.³⁸ All seven were given a disposition of probation. This data is limited to re-offense information within the juvenile system, and longitudinal data is essential to determine the long-term effects of this program.

However, after one year, rearrest rates of 16 percent, readjudication rates of 8 percent, and zero reincarcerations present far better outcomes than the current one-year reincarceration rates of 18.3 percent. While long-term outcomes are necessary to determine the true effectiveness of this program, these rates are encouraging.

*The number of juveniles tracked by BCJP is lower than the number of total enrollees in CARE for two reasons: first, BCJP is only tracking youth who have been out of residential care for one year. Second, BCJP is currently only developing recidivism rates for youth who successfully completed the CARE program, under the theory that those youth accurately represent the full benefit provided by CARE.

Cost Savings with Effective Reentry

It is clear that there are opportunities to reduce recidivism by strengthening reentry programming for Texas youths. Less recidivism results in a lower human and economic toll on victims of crime. Moreover, while reentry programs come with a price tag, they can be implemented in ways that reduce total costs to taxpayers.

The cost savings possible through more effective reentry programs are two-fold. First, the decreased rates of recidivism reduce the burden taxpayers must incur in the future on the same youth. This leads to lower overall juvenile incarceration expenditures in each subsequent year that previously incarcerated youth do not recidivate and are not reincarcerated. Second, even though these programs cost more than the current reentry programming provided by the state, largely due to the vastly increased array of services and supervision, if paired with slightly reduced lengths of stays for the youth referred to the programs—which have been shown not to increase recidivism—the result could be front-end cost savings that both offset the costs of intensive parole programming as well as decrease overall juvenile justice expenditures.

A more intensive supervisory period during a youth's reentry has the potential to reduce both new offenses and technical commitments to youth lockups for parole rule violations. Recidivism is reduced with targeted services and programs designed to address each youth's specific risk factors and needs, as well as a greater array of services. Technical commitments, on the other hand, which are parole revocations for rules violations rather than a new felony or misdemeanor, also may be reduced with a more focused reentry program.

In the 2011 fiscal year, 104 youths had their parole revoked for a technical violation of parole, and sent back to a secure facility.³⁹ In comparison, only 31 parole revocations in that year were due to a new felony-level incident, and 76 youths were revoked to a secure facility for a new misdemeanor offense.⁴⁰ With intensive reentry, technical violations can be reduced, as each youth is more carefully monitored and service plans integrate the youth and family directly, increasing the likelihood of compliance.

Minimum Length of Stay Reductions

The first component of a more effective reentry program involves slight reductions in the minimum length of stay for Texas juvenile offenders. Such reductions not only provide the opportunity to place youth in intensive reentry services, but also do not present significant risks to public safety, as the length of stay reductions proposed are backed by re-

search demonstrating that recidivism rates do not increase as a result of reducing length of stay parameters. As a result, public safety is not harmed, and more effective reentry is made possible.

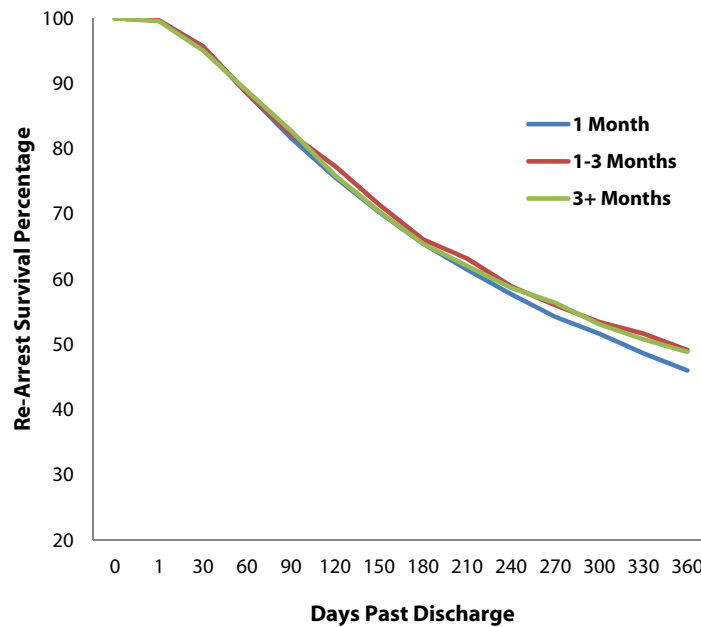
Currently, TJJD sets a minimum length of stay in residential facilities based on offense severity and risk to the community (or prior delinquency history), and can range from nine months to two years.⁴¹ The current average length of stay for all new commitments was 17.1 months in 2010.⁴² And for general offenders, which usually encompasses juveniles charged with a non-violent offense or property crime, in the 2009 fiscal year, the average length of stay was 11.3 months.⁴³ General offenders made up 46 percent of new commitments in 2009,⁴⁴ in contrast to the mere 7 percent of offenders committed between October of 2010 and September of 2011 under a determinant sentence.⁴⁵

There is evidence that the length of stay for certain juvenile offenders can be effectively reduced, without resulting impacts on public safety or recidivism rates. Researchers have found that residential treatment for juveniles with shorter lengths of stay—around six months—are associated with increased treatment effectiveness and gains in positive outcomes, and that longer lengths of stay do not increase positive outcome measures.⁴⁶ Another study of 16,779 youths in Florida in a two-year time period found that lengths of stay had no statistically significant relationship to recidivism—rather, “age at first offense, age at program release, and prior adjudications exhibit the strongest associations with recidivism.”⁴⁷ Under a bivariate analysis (a face-value analysis of the data, without controlling for other risk factors) for low-risk and moderate-risk youth, increased length of stay had very little effect on recidivism rates.⁴⁸ Another study which used a multivariate study (controlling for risk factors) similarly found “no significant relationships between length of stay and recidivism.”⁴⁹

Other research has found that for low- and moderate-risk juveniles, with lengths of stay between three and 13 months, longer stays had little or no impact on rearrest rates, when matched with like juveniles with shorter lengths of stay.⁵⁰

The data in Texas generally supports these conclusions. First, the minimum lengths of stay required in Texas have fluctuated over the years. Currently, the lowest-risk youth, both in terms of offense severity and risk assessment, have a minimum length of stay of nine months, while the highest-risk youth have a minimum length of stay of 24 months.⁵¹ Prior to the implementation of this policy in 2009, in the two previous decades, lengths of stay ranged from no minimum length to 48 months.⁵²

Rearrest Survival by Time Past Minimum Stay



Sources: Chuck Jeffords, Texas Juvenile Justice Department

While it is important to not overemphasize correlations between recidivism rates and lengths of stay, as a myriad of factors are involved, data from Texas beginning in fiscal year 2008 shows that time spent past the minimum length of stay had little effect on one-year rearrest rates. Youths who stayed one month past their minimum, as compared to youths who stayed three or more months past their minimum length of stay were rearrested at largely comparable rates—less than a four point difference.⁵³ Further, the rearrest rates by length of stay differed within the same margin for lengths of stay between less than 12 months to 18 months, and reincarceration rates differed within the same margin for all lengths of stay.⁵⁴

This analysis suggests that slight reductions in length of stay after having satisfactorily completed treatment in the TJJD facility would be appropriate for many youth who are not among the most serious offenders. Many of the most serious offenders would have either been tried as adults or given a determinate sentence. Of course, even though it appears there would be no change in recidivism rate over the

medium and long term, there is a slight risk for whatever brief period the youth is not incarcerated when they otherwise would have been. However, the evidence suggests that risk is more than offset in many cases by the substantial recidivism reductions achievable through intensive reentry programs like PLL and CARE.

Certainly, in the context of juvenile correctional facilities, where the focus is far more attuned to treatment and rehabilitation, a key factor in determining whether a juvenile's length of stay may be reduced should be completion of treatment programming and accomplishment of rehabilitation goals, rather than generalized minimum lengths of stays.

In fact, TJJD itself recognizes that the commitment may be shortened when treatment is completed, and high security incarceration may not be required for the administrative minimum. Under its General Administrative Policy Manual section 85.45,⁵⁵ certain youth are eligible to be transferred to a medium restriction facility or halfway house* prior to the completion of their minimum length of stay. The criteria are:

* Halfway houses, a "step-down" to a medium security facility, have produced generally positive results. In 2010, youth transitioned through halfway houses through the CoNEXTions program were 9 percent less likely to be rearrested and 46 percent less likely to be reincarcerated. However, as of 2010, halfway houses cost taxpayers \$282.01 per day, per youth, and the total capacity at halfway houses is only 218 beds, 171 of which were full in September of 2011. Therefore, while halfway houses are preferable to continued incarceration for certain youth such as those without a family or who would return to an abusive environment and have no means of self-sufficiency, there is more untapped potential for saving money while promoting public safety through the use of intensive reentry initiatives coupled with slightly shorter lengths of stay.

- No major rule violations within 60 days (for low or moderate offenses) or 120 days (high severity offenses);
- Completion of a portion of their minimum length of stay in a high restriction facility, from six months (low severity offense) to all but six months (high severity offenses);
- Participation in specialized treatment or curriculum;
- Consistent participation in academic programs, workforce development, skills development (dependent on the youth’s individual case plan) and consistent demonstration of skills learned; and
- Completion of a draft community reintegration plan.

In addition, sentenced youths and sex offenders who have not completed the sexual behavior treatment program are not eligible for transition to halfway houses. And after a transition has been approved, the juvenile court, prosecuting attorney, parole officer, and chief county juvenile probation officer are notified.⁵⁶ These same standards could be applied to reducing lengths of stay for low-level offenders who would then be subject to intensive reentry programming.

For example, the youths committed to state lockup as general offenders—which totaled 688 in 2009—could still serve eight months incarcerated in a high security TJJD residential facility, as long as they complete their treatment programs without incurring any major rule violations, and

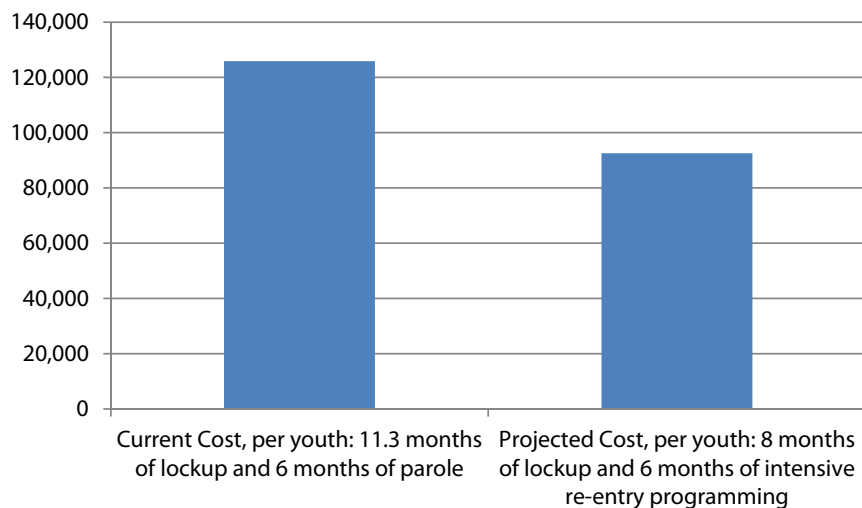
be released three months earlier than the current average length of stay. At this point, the youth would be eligible, under TJJD standards, to be transferred to a halfway house, but instead could be placed into a parole program with increased rates of effectiveness.

Three fewer months translates to cost savings of over \$22 million. A small portion of this cost savings could pay for the application of intensive parole services, such as PLL or CARE, to these youths, at a cost of between \$3 and \$4 million. The rest of the cost savings can effectuate budget reductions for TJJD.

Furthermore, additional cost savings could be realized through recidivism reduction. Under TJJD’s current rates of returning youth to commitment, and given that the average length of stay for a recommitment to state lock-ups was 18.4 months in September of 2011,⁵⁷ the cost of reincarceration for 688 youths under current reincarceration rates would be almost \$48 million.

In contrast, if PLL and CARE’s preliminary recidivism rates hold true, under a conservative estimate, recidivism rates could be reduced 25-50 percent, then Texas taxpayers could save between \$13 and 25 million, based on the fewer numbers of youths recidivating. These savings are the result of just one year’s worth of new commitments to TJJD. Such potential savings must be carefully tracked to ensure the recidivism rate reductions are realized and cost savings do indeed result.

TJJD Projected Costs Comparison



Sources: TJJD and author’s calculations

Less extensive length-of-stay reductions would also produce positive results. One month off of the average length of stay for general offenders, in addition to the cost of an intensive reentry programming, would produce a total cost per juvenile more than \$8,000 less than current costs. If only 500 youths took part in this process, the total front-end cost savings would be \$4,000,000. In addition, more effective re-entry could produce reductions in recidivism rates long-term and associated cost-savings.

For some youth, reducing the time spent in a TJJD facility would not require a formal policy change, as most youth already stay in a residential facility past their minimum length of stay. To reduce the length of stay for these youth, all that must be done is to ensure that their treatment is completed as quickly as possible after their minimum length of stay is reached. For other youth, it may be advisable to reformulate the minimum length of stay standard, which is found in TJJD's General Administrative Policy Manual section 85.25.⁵⁸ The process for such a change is like any agency rulemaking power, with publication in the Texas Register, public comment, and board approval.

Once lengths of stay have been reduced, formally or informally, the Legislature and the Legislative Budget Board will be able to reflect shorter lengths of stay in its juvenile offender population projections and budgetary calculations,

and future budgets for TJJD will reflect lower costs for institutional services.

Conclusion

Reentry programming represents a state's juvenile justice department's last opportunity to ensure that whatever treatment and progress accomplished by a juvenile while incarcerated, for typically less than a year and a half, is sustained post-release. Effective reentry can be the key to delivering the long-term public safety benefit that is realized when a juvenile delinquent becomes a productive, crime-free adult. TJJD's current parole outcome benchmark, as measured by recidivism, leaves room for improvement. The preliminary data on PLL and CARE indicate such forms of comprehensive reentry programming that leverage family and community involvement may deliver better results for youth and public safety.

Furthermore, the use of such programs, in conjunction with slightly reduced lengths of stay, would present an overall cost savings for each youth, which in the aggregate would represent substantial budgetary reduction for TJJD. While longitudinal data is needed to make a final determination of the efficacy of such comprehensive reentry programs, they represent promising opportunities for achieving more effective reentry for Texas youths, and better outcomes for youth and taxpayers alike. ★

* The number of youth eligible for a reduction in length of stay and placement in intensive reentry should be determined by TJJD staff familiar with that youth's progress. However, as a benchmark, in Fiscal Year 2011, 365 youths committed to TYC as a new commitment had never been placed outside the home before; 614 youths had no prior felony adjudications; and 751 youths were committed for second degree felonies, third degree felonies, or state jail felonies (as opposed to sentenced offenders or first-degree felons). These classes of juvenile offenders represent those most likely to benefit from intensive reentry.

Endnotes

- ¹ Legislative Budget Board, "Statewide Criminal Justice Recidivism and Revocation Rates" (Jan. 2011).
- ² Texas Youth Commission, "Parole Program Overview: Contract Parole" (7 Nov. 2011).
- ³ Texas Youth Commission, "Parole Program Overview" (7 Nov. 2011).
- ⁴ Texas Youth Commission, "Parole Program Overview: Specialized Aftercare" (7 Nov. 2011).
- ⁵ Texas Youth Commission, "General Administrative Policy Manual 85.95" (Nov. 2011).
- ⁶ Texas Youth Commission, "Cultivating Success: The Reentry and Reintegration of TYC Youth" (June 2010) 5.
- ⁷ Senate Bill 103, 80th Legislature.
- ⁸ House Bill 3689, 81st Legislature.
- ⁹ Texas Youth Commission, "Parole Program Overview" (7 Nov. 2011).
- ¹⁰ Texas Youth Commission, "How TYC Classifies Offenders" (Sept. 2001).
- ¹¹ Texas Youth Commission, "Parole Program Overview: Length of Parole" (7 Nov. 2011).
- ¹² Texas Youth Commission, "General Administrative Policy Manual 85.95" (Nov. 2011).
- ¹³ Texas Youth Commission, "Fiscal Year 2010 Operating Budget" (Dec. 2009).
- ¹⁴ Legislative Budget Board "Agency Budget and Performance Measures for Fiscal Years 2007-2011" (Feb. 2011).
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Texas Youth Commission, "Fiscal Year 2010 Operating Budget" (Dec. 2009) 33.
- ¹⁷ Legislative Budget Board, "Statewide Criminal Justice Recidivism and Revocation Rates" (Jan. 2011).
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ "What is PLL?" (accessed 1 Nov. 2011).
- ²¹ Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, Office of Program Accountability, "A Sourcebook of Delinquency Interventions" (2011) 41.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, "National Registry of Evidence-based Programs and Practices" (13 Nov. 2011).
- ²⁵ Promising Practices Network, "Programs that Work" (13 Nov. 2011).
- ²⁶ Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency, "Model Programs Guide" (13 Nov. 2011).
- ²⁷ Scott Sells, "Toward a More Efficient and Effective Juvenile Justice System: An Alternative to Traditional Juvenile Incarceration, Parenting with Love and Limits" (2010) 3.
- ²⁸ Ibid, 8.
- ²⁹ The Justice Research Center, "Parenting with Love and Limits (PLL) Re-Entry Services: Evaluation Summary" (Aug. 2011).
- ³⁰ Scott Sells, "Toward a More Efficient and Effective Juvenile Justice System: An Alternative to Traditional Juvenile Incarceration, Parenting with Love and Limits" (2010) 9.
- ³¹ Chuck Jeffords, Texas Youth Commission, email, Oct. 7, 2011.
- ³² Pernilla Johansson, Research Manager, Dallas County Juvenile Department, email, Nov. 4, 2011.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Texas Youth Commission, "2010 Annual Review of Agency Treatment Effectiveness" (Dec. 2010) 18.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Christian Courson, CARE Project Director, Texas Youth Commission, email, Oct. 26, 2011.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Dennis Donelson, Information Manager, Bexar County Juvenile Probation, email, Nov. 2, 2011.
- ³⁹ Chuck Jeffords, Texas Youth Commission, email, Oct. 18, 2011.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Texas Youth Commission, "Determining How Long Youth Stay in TYC" (5 Nov. 2011).
- ⁴² Texas Youth Commission, "TYC Population Trends" (Dec. 2010).
- ⁴³ Chuck Jeffords, "Average Length of Stay 1994-2009," Texas Youth Commission, email Oct. 14, 2009.

- ⁴⁴ Texas Youth Commission, "Commitment Profile for New Commitments Fiscal Years 2005-2009" (Dec. 2009).
- ⁴⁵ Legislative Budget Board, "Current Correctional Population Indicators: Adult and Juvenile Correctional Populations Monthly Report" (Oct. 2011).
- ⁴⁶ See Heather J. Hair, "Outcomes for Children and Adolescents After Residential Treatment: A Review of Research from 1993 to 2003," *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 14:4 (Dec. 2005) 551-575; Thomas Loughran et al, "Estimating a Dose-Response Relationship Between Length of Stay and Future Recidivism in Serious Juvenile Offenders," *Criminology* 47:3 (2009).
- ⁴⁷ Kristin Parsons Winokur et al., "Juvenile Recidivism and Length of Stay," Justice Research Center, *Journal of Criminal Justice* 36:2 (2008).
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Bruce Frederick, "Factors Contributing To Recidivism Among Youth Placed With The New York State Division For Youth," New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, Office of Justice Systems Analysis Research Report (1999).
- ⁵⁰ Edward Mulvey, "Highlights From Pathways to Desistance: A Longitudinal Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders," U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Juvenile Justice Fact Sheet (Mar. 2011).
- ⁵¹ "Determining How Long Youth Stay in TYC," Texas Youth Commission (May 2010).
- ⁵² Chuck Jeffords, Co-Research Director, Texas Juvenile Justice Department, email Dec. 13, 2011.
- ⁵³ Chuck Jeffords, Co-Research Director, Texas Juvenile Justice Department, presentation to TYC Board Programs Committee (25 Mar. 2011).
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Texas Youth Commission, "General Administrative Policy Manual 85.45" (Nov. 2011).
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Legislative Budget Board, "Current Correctional Population Indicators: Adult and Juvenile Correctional Populations Monthly Report" (Oct. 2011).
- ⁵⁸ Texas Youth Commission, "General Administrative Policy Manual 85.25" (Nov. 2011).

About the Author

Jeanette Moll is a juvenile justice policy analyst in the Center for Effective Justice at the Texas Public Policy Foundation.

Prior to joining TPPF, she served as a legislative aide in the Wisconsin Legislature, where she dealt with various policy issues, media affairs, and constituent outreach.

Moll earned a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She then earned a J.D. from the University of Texas School of Law, where she served on the board of the Texas Review of Litigation and interned with a federal bankruptcy judge, a Texas appellate court judge, and a central Texas law office. She is a member of the State Bar of Texas.

Texas Public Policy Foundation

The Texas Public Policy Foundation is a 501(c)3 non-profit, non-partisan research institute.

The Foundation's mission is to promote and defend liberty, personal responsibility, and free enterprise in Texas and the nation by educating and affecting policymakers and the Texas public policy debate with academically sound research and outreach.

Funded by thousands of individuals, foundations, and corporations, the Foundation does not accept government funds or contributions to influence the outcomes of its research.

The public is demanding a different direction for their government, and the Texas Public Policy Foundation is providing the ideas that enable policymakers to chart that new course.

