

# Reforming Juvenile Detention in Texas

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## Recommendations

- Given its costs and ill effects for juveniles and families, juvenile detention should only be ordered when a youth represents a risk to the public safety.
- Both re-offense rates and the number of youth failing to appear have decreased in jurisdictions reducing their detention populations.
- Risk assessments, deferred prosecution programs, evening reporting, and specialized dockets all provide avenues for more effective juvenile rehabilitation without relying on detention.

## Introduction

In the 1990s, the Annie E. Casey Foundation initiated the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative, or JDAI. Aimed at stemming the increase in detained juveniles across the country, JDAI began selecting sites and states to provide assistance and grants for implementing alternatives to pre-trial detention.\*

The JDAI program involved the collaboration between the Annie E. Casey Foundation, state agencies, and community organizations, data collection and analysis, and stakeholder outreach and education. The goals of the JDAI program were to reduce unnecessary detention while minimizing re-arrest and failure to appear rates to obtain more successful outcomes for juveniles and the public safety.

In 2007, Dallas and Harris counties were selected to participate in JDAI, and implemented alternatives to detention for select youth accordingly. These alternatives still incorporate supervision in varying contexts, but do not necessarily involve the secure incarceration of juveniles in a traditional detention facility. In both locations, decreased detention rates have led to more effective outcomes for juveniles and cost savings for taxpayers while continuing to protect the public safety.

The 163 other juvenile probation departments across Texas, to which around 100,000 juveniles are referred each year, and which supervise over 70,000 juveniles each year, can pursue similar detention alternatives without a grant from JDAI. Creating more effective detention policies can benefit these counties just as in Dallas and Harris counties, primarily through

cost savings and increasing opportunities for juvenile rehabilitation. Ultimately, due to the costs and ramifications of juvenile detention, in conjunction with the nature of some juveniles detained, Texas counties can and should look to Dallas and Harris counties' efforts in juvenile detention reforms for lessons in implementing their own juvenile detention reform.

## Short Term Successes: Avoiding Unnecessary Detention Increases Positive Outcomes

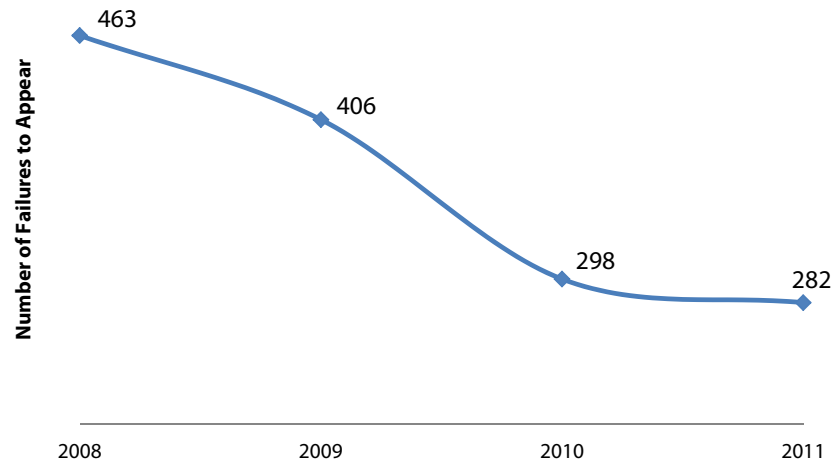
It may be counterintuitive, but decreasing detention rates amongst specific low-risk youth actually leads to increased positive outcomes in both future criminality indicators and youth who appear at scheduled court dates. JDAI sites have demonstrated that detention populations can be reduced without an increase in new crimes committed or absconding by youths awaiting adjudication, which indicates that there is significant opportunity for other jurisdictions to safely reduce detention.

First, unnecessary detention has a significant effect on the juvenile and case outcomes. Detention precipitates higher rates of incarceration, even for similarly situated youth. Studies have found that youth are more likely to eventually receive formal judicial intervention and incarceration, even when controlling for offense severity, race, age, and gender.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, youth can learn deviant behavior when housed with more dangerous or violent youth, an effect called "peer deviancy training."<sup>2</sup> This effect on juveniles, in addition to the costs involved, suggest supervision alternatives to detention are preferable when possible.

*continued*

\* In this context, detention refers to the pre-trial secure confinement of juvenile offenders.

## Decrease in Failures to Appear in Harris County, 2008-11



Second, however, detention reductions can be made without attendant risks to public safety. Nationally, sites participating in the JDAI program saw a decrease in new offenses committed while awaiting adjudication. On average, re-arrest rates while awaiting adjudication dropped 6.1 percentage points,<sup>3</sup> representing a decrease in re-arrest rates by targeting incapacitation at only those juveniles who are at a high risk of reoffending.

Finally, jurisdictions that implemented more targeted detention procedures did not see any increase in the rate of juveniles failing to appear for their court dates or required meetings. The national average amongst JDAI sites was a 7.2 percentage point decrease in the rate of juveniles failing to appear for court dates or other requirements.<sup>4</sup> Specific sites credit more effective supervision outside of detention with their success, including Cook County, Illinois, which reported an increase from 60 to 87 percent of youth showing up for court dates, and Santa Cruz County, California, which reports that 90 percent of youths now successfully appeared in court.<sup>5</sup>

These results have been mirrored locally. In fact, the most recent data shows that rates of juveniles failing to appear for their court dates in Harris County have decreased every year since JDAI was initiated in that county. In 2011, there were

282 failure to appear findings, as compared to 463 in 2008, a 39 percent decrease in failures to appear.<sup>6</sup> While the absolute number of failures to appear having decreased by 39 percent is significant, given that fewer youths are in detention, the percent of failures to appear has also decreased, from 2.22 percent (comparing failures to appear to all referrals\*) to 1.78 percent in 2011.<sup>7</sup>

This data reveals that high rates of detention are not required to prevent re-offending prior to adjudication, nor ensure that youths appear in court. Given the risks involved in detention, as well as the attendant familial separation when a youth is placed out-of-home, the benefits to decreasing detention are compounded when analyzed in conjunction with the decreased rates of reoffending while waiting for trial and increased rates of court appearance.

### Long Term Successes: Reduced Crime and Recidivism Rates

Beyond short-term reductions in reoffending, reducing detention rates amongst particular youth do not appear to result in increased crime rates in jurisdictions that have implemented detention alternatives.

\*These referral rates, like those out of the annual reports issued by juvenile departments, includes referrals based on administrative offenses, such as "motion to modify order, hold as material witness, request of change of custody, issuance of pick-up order, or motion for release and transfer."

While JDAI has only been implemented in Harris and Dallas counties a short while, preventing analysis of whether there are long term reductions in crime or recidivism in the specific youth diverted from detention, rates of referrals and overall crime rates offer indicators of crime that suggest detention alternatives have not resulted in risks to the public safety.

In Harris County, the number of referrals to the juvenile probation department has decreased 23 percent, from 23,214 referrals in 2007 to 17,978 in 2010, the number of youth on probation declined 35 percent, and the number of youth admitted to residential facilities dropped 46 percent.<sup>8</sup>

In Dallas County, the number of referrals to the juvenile probation department dropped from 10,727 total referrals in 2007<sup>9</sup> to 8,145 total referrals in 2010, a drop of 24.1 percent.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, Harris County and Dallas County recorded almost a quarter fewer referrals in the time period in which JDAI was implemented in those counties—all while state-wide referrals to juvenile probation departments dropped only 15.2 percent.<sup>11</sup> Thus, they had a much greater decrease in juvenile crime rates, as measured by referrals, than the rest of the state—10 and 11 points greater, respectively. While there isn't enough data to fully credit detention alternatives as a contributing factor for this increased drop, it at least did not increase crime risks in those counties.

Further, beyond mere referral rates, the latest reported national arrest rate data reveals that Texas as a whole has also dropped its violent crime index from 188 in 2007 to 174 in 2009, well below the national average of 274.<sup>12</sup>

This data reveals that neither of the major crime indicators—referral rates nor the violent crime index—reveal any increase in crime since detention alternatives were implemented in Harris and Dallas counties. Furthermore, those two locations, which decreased their detention rates, actually saw a greater crime drop than the rest of the state between 2007 and 2010. While it will be important to determine whether the specific youth diverted from detention recidivated, detention alternatives have clearly not contributed to any increase in crime in Texas.

## Right-Sizing Juvenile Detention: Costs and Outcomes

The benefits a juvenile probation department can reap from the implementation of detention alternatives, however, go far beyond the short- and long-term benefits of better outcomes for juveniles and safer communities. Counties can also obtain significant fiscal benefits from such alternatives.

Detention is clearly a costly option. In 2010, the reported cost per day, per juvenile, was \$39.68, from both state and local funds.<sup>13</sup> As the average length of stay in a detention center was almost 14 days in 2010, a county spends at least \$555.52 to detain a juvenile before any formal adjudication of delinquency takes place.<sup>14</sup> For the 42,850 detention placements in 2010, this represents an average cost of more than \$23 million in Texas.

However, these averages include rural counties with far smaller detention expenditures than more urban Texas counties. A more accurate picture of detention costs can be found through analyzing the detention budgets in Dallas and Harris counties. In Dallas County, the total juvenile detention budget in the 2009 fiscal year was \$12,644,918.<sup>15</sup> This is an average of \$3,547 per detained juvenile. In Harris County, their 2010 juvenile detention budget totaled \$15,490,476, an average of \$3,533 per detained juvenile.<sup>16</sup>

This cost may be unnecessary in many instances. Detention is primarily aimed at protecting public safety by incapacitating a juvenile offender prior to adjudication. However, there is evidence that low-level juvenile offenders who pose little or no risk to the public are being detained. Out of those 42,850 detention placements prior to adjudication, 6,113 of the detentions were for youths charged with Class A or Class B misdemeanors (such as possession of small amounts of drugs, trespassing, harassment, burglary of a vehicle, or stealing a check), or for contempt of a magistrate's order.<sup>17</sup> In addition, 148 placements involved alleged Children In Need of Supervision behavior, or C.I.N.S.\*<sup>18</sup> This data merely suggests there is room to decrease detention rates, and replicate the cost savings found in Dallas and Harris counties.

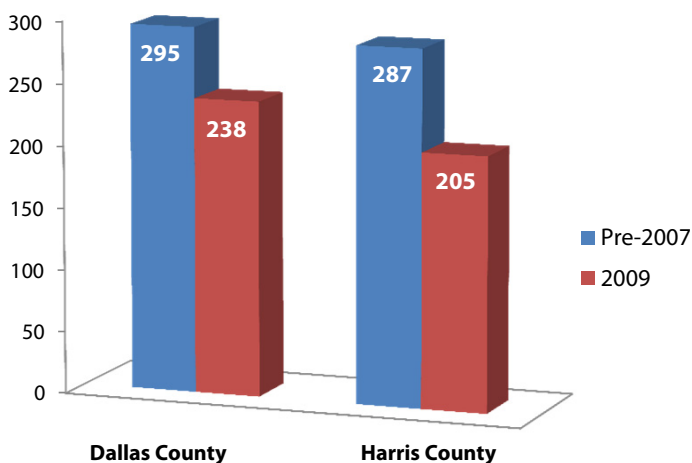
\* C.I.N.S., as defined by the Texas Family Code Section 51.03(b), is "conduct, other than a traffic offense, that constitutes: a) the violation of a state penal law of the grade of misdemeanor punishable by fine only; b) the violation of a penal ordinance of any political subdivision of the state; c) truancy; d) running away from home; e) inhaling paint, glue, or certain other chemicals; f) single instance of public intoxication; g) the violation of a school district's previously communicated written standards of student conduct for which the child has been expelled; h) the violation of a child at-risk court order issued under Section 264.305 of the Family Code; or i) failure to attend school under Section 25.094 of the Education Code (only applies to counties with a population of less than 100,000)."

## Decreased Detention Rates in Dallas and Harris Counties

After almost five years of working with the JDAI program, Dallas and Harris counties have adopted several effective strategies for reducing juvenile detention and implementing pre-trial supervision of juveniles in other settings. These include a dedicated mental health court, a program to assist youth in obtaining their Graduate Equivalency Degree (GED), a specialized Gang Court, a Girls Court for victims of human trafficking or youths charged with prostitution, a specialty court for youths with drug or alcohol problems, and a Deferred Prosecution Program. Across a variety of progress measures, these two counties have shown considerable decreases in juvenile detention.

After two years of implementation, both Dallas and Harris counties reduced their average daily detention population by significant levels,<sup>19</sup> even while more youths were under the supervision of the local juvenile probation departments after the 2007 and 2009 efforts by the legislature to realign state facilities. In addition, Dallas County reduced their length of stay per juvenile by an average of six days, while Harris County saw a decrease of two days, which further reduced costs for pre-adjudication juvenile detention.<sup>20</sup> This allowed Dallas County to reduce their average daily population (see below) and eliminate 30 detention beds, while Harris County reduced the number of beds by 89,<sup>21</sup> including the closure of a 45-bed detention center.<sup>22</sup>

### Average Daily Population in Detention Centers

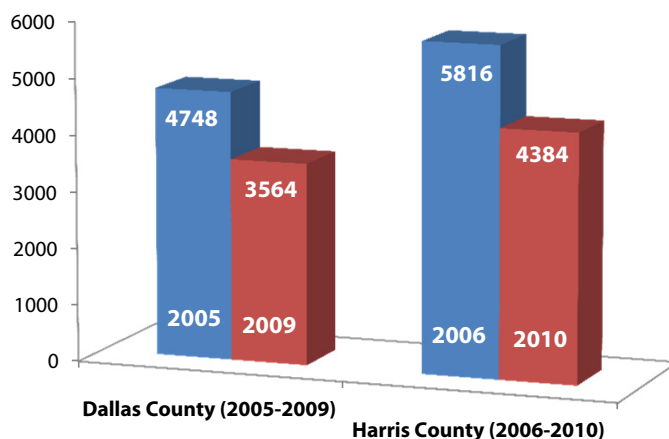


Between 2005 and 2009, Dallas County reduced detention rates for youth by 24.9 percent, from 4,748 to 3,564, (see Fig-

ure below)<sup>23</sup> while from 2006-2010, Harris County reported a 25 percent decrease in detention admissions, from 5,816 to 4,384.<sup>24</sup>

Fewer detained youth created the opportunity for budget savings. Dallas County reported \$1 million in annual cost savings,<sup>25</sup> while Harris County pointed to a 25 percent reduction in detention costs.<sup>26</sup> Harris County was able to reduce staff by 4 percent, from 1,409 full and part-time staffers to 1,354 between 2006 and 2010,<sup>27</sup> resulting in additional cost savings.

### Detention Admissions



Dallas County and Harris County have thusly seen more youth appearing in court, fewer youth reoffending after their arrests, a greater drop in crime drop in crime, fewer youth detained, and budgetary savings by implementing alternatives to detention. The next section will briefly review which alternatives were implemented.

## Major Detention Reform Opportunities for Texas Counties

### Using Risk Assessments to Make Detention Decisions

One of the primary ways that JDAI pilot sites, including Harris County, have reduced detention is through the use of a risk assessment instrument. Such an instrument can indicate the likelihood that a particular youth may reoffend, thereby providing key information in making the decision whether to detain a youth prior to formal processing.

In January of 2009, Harris County began using a risk assessment instrument on all youth brought to their detention center to determine whether to detain the youth.<sup>28</sup> Their risk instrument considers the most serious alleged offense under

## Risk and Needs Assessment

Risks	Needs
The juvenile's age at first offense	Traumatic events
Total number of referrals	Mental health needs
Drug use	Failing under supervision
Previous runaway attempts	Sibling criminal history
Chronic truancy	Violent felony offense
School disciplinary referrals	Failing two or more subjects in school
Failing a school grade level	Frequent substance abuse
Aggressiveness	
Parental supervision	
Parental criminal history	
Peer group issues	

the current referral, additional charges, prior delinquencies, pending petitions, previous failures to appear, and previous failures to comply with conditions of release.<sup>29</sup> After analyzing these factors, Harris County can avoid detaining low-risk and some medium-risk youth without impacting public safety. This measure contributed to Harris County's 25 percent reduction in juvenile detention rates, along with decreased re-arrest rates and decreased rates of failures to appear.<sup>30</sup>

Under current statutory authority, other local probation departments can implement similar risk analyses for use in detention decisions. In 2009, the Texas Legislature passed House Bill 3689, which directed the juvenile probation department in Texas to complete a risk and needs assessment for each child.<sup>31</sup> That same year, the state governing body for juvenile probation departments began developing a risk and needs assessment, and rolled it out to the counties in 2010,<sup>32</sup> which were required to use the risk assessment instrument beginning in September of 2010.<sup>33</sup>

The assessment was designed to focus on factors predictive of re-offense,<sup>34</sup> and includes 11 risk and seven needs factors to identify youth likely to recidivate, producing a low, medium, or high risk score, and a low, medium, or high needs\* score.<sup>35</sup>

Statewide results of the risk analysis reveal that, out of the 46,097 juveniles given the assessment in the 2011 fiscal year, 5,052 were high risk, 14,128 were medium risk, and 26,917 were low risk.<sup>36</sup>

Probation departments are already required to use this risk assessment under state law; however, by using this risk assessment to make detention decisions as Harris County does, local juvenile probation departments can reduce detention populations without risking public safety. The same factors used in Harris County's risk analysis are each considered by the state-mandated risk and needs assessment, along with a myriad of other factors. By ensuring that the analysis is completed prior to making the detention decision, and further implementing county-level standards that require incorporation of the risk analysis into the detention decision, counties can make evidentiary findings as to each juvenile's need for detention, or suitability for supervision beyond detention pending adjudication.

### ***Deferred Prosecution Programs under Current Statutory Authority***

Harris County has implemented a highly successful Deferred Prosecution Program to more effectively handle first-time offenders without turning to unnecessary detention. Through collaboration between the juvenile probation board and the district attorney's office, the program permits first-time offenders charged with a Class A or Class B misdemeanor to avoid formal adjudication.<sup>37</sup> The juvenile and his or her family sign a contract with the county which requires certain services and benchmarks for rehabilitation.<sup>38</sup> If the juvenile successfully completes the terms of the contract, no criminal charges are ever filed, and the youth avoids a criminal record.<sup>39</sup>

\*A "needs score" does not predict re-offense likelihood, but can identify the intensive or specialized services that would be most applicable to that juvenile and thus aid in preventing re-offending.

Harris County has served more than 4,000 juveniles under its Deferred Prosecution Program with a 90 percent success rate (defined as not being re-referred to the Juvenile Probation Department), which the county estimates to have saved more than \$2.4 million.<sup>40</sup>

There is existing statutory authority for other juvenile probation departments to implement a similar program. Under Texas Law, Section 52.031 of the Family Code, the state authorizes juvenile boards to establish a first offender program for youths charged with C.I.N.S. conduct or a misdemeanor not involving either violence to a person or a prohibited weapon.<sup>41</sup> Under such a program, the youth cannot have previous adjudications, but also cannot be detained. The youth and his or her family must consent to participation, and depending on the nature of the case, disposition options include:

- Victim Restitution,
- Community Service Restitution,
- Counseling or Rehabilitation Services, and
- Periodic Reporting.

Since detention is not allowed for youths participating in this program, county-level juvenile boards in Texas can use this statutory authority to establish a first offender program similar to Harris County's Deferred Prosecution Programs, and reduce overall juvenile detention rates.

The evidence suggests a county-level program targeting first-time offenders would have a substantial impact. State-wide data reveals that out of the 86,548 total referrals to juvenile probation in 2010, 48 percent of referred youth had no prior referrals.<sup>43</sup> By implementing a first-time offender, deferred adjudication program within current statutory authority, local juvenile probation departments can reduce juvenile detention, as well as the costs involved with formal processing.

For example, Tarrant County created a first-time offender program in conjunction with the Lena Pope Home, which handles youth referred by law enforcement directly to the program, avoiding formal adjudication. After classes involving both the youth and his or her parents, as well as substance abuse and educational components, a youth can graduate from the program, if completed successfully, or be referred back to law enforcement. Of the 1,474 youths served in the program since 2005, only 22 have been formally adjudicated following participation in the program, less than 1.5 percent of participants.<sup>44</sup> First-offender programs are particularly effective in their ability to treat de-

linquent behavior early, prior to a pattern of bad behavior taking shape.

### ***Using a Mental Health Docket to Reduce Detention***

Another approach to reducing unnecessary juvenile detention is through the use of a specialized mental health court or docket within a court. Mentally ill juveniles, in particular, may be detained due to concerns about the effects of their mental illness. By ensuring judicial system processing that incorporates treatment of their mental illness, local probation departments can avoid unnecessary detention of these youths.

In Harris County, the mental health court docket provides at least six months of supervision and rehabilitation programs, featuring individualized treatment plans and coordination with local mental health resources.<sup>45</sup> As of October of 2010, of the 35 youth who had been assigned to the mental health docket, 86 percent have avoided subsequent referrals,<sup>46</sup> and in February of 2011 the County reported that 42 of 51 youth had successfully completed the program.<sup>47</sup> By avoiding detention of mentally ill juveniles, Harris County saved the estimated \$240 per day cost of detention for this class of offenders.

Other counties wishing to replicate the mental health docket have existing authority to do so. There are two main components to establishing a mental health court or docket in Texas. First, under state law, the county's juvenile board has the authority to designate one or more juvenile courts, and further to change the designation.<sup>48</sup> County level juvenile boards may designate one of their existing juvenile courts, or further even a docket within that court for mentally ill juvenile offenders.

The second component involves collaboration. Harris County works with local providers, both public organizations and private non-profits, to implement community-based treatment alternatives. The plan produced for each juvenile includes some form of mental health treatment, which must be completed for successful discharge from the mental health court.

While authority exists for such a project, future policy changes may ease the establishment of the collaboration necessary for a mental health court or docket. In 2011, the Texas Legislature passed Senate Bill 1106, which requires disclosure of information from educational records, health records, and records regarding the prior use of governmental services upon request by another agency.<sup>49</sup> The legislation also autho-

rized the establishment of internal protocols to facilitate the information sharing, and ensures that information privacy is still respected even while sharing this information. Local juvenile boards can take advantage of this authority granted by the Legislature and make the needed requests and establish memoranda of understanding, as the adult justice agencies already do, with local probation departments, school districts, and community mental health services establishing protocols for requesting and sharing such information.<sup>50</sup>

## Other Options for Juvenile Boards

### *Using an Evening Reporting Center to Reduce Detention*

Harris County established an evening reporting center that provides education, recreation and counseling between 3 p.m. and 9 p.m.<sup>51</sup> This program ensures that juvenile offenders are receiving some form of supervision in lieu of detention, and also provides a safe place away from negative influences on the juvenile.

Although a relatively new programmatic tactic by local juvenile authorities, evening reporting centers are showing preliminary indications of success. Berks County, Pennsylvania, created an evening reporting center in 2008. The center provides supervision, education, family outreach, drug testing, and life skills development between the hours of 3 p.m. and 9 p.m. each weeknight.<sup>52</sup> In 2009, 68 youth were referred to the evening reporting center, of which 100 percent attended their scheduled court hearings, 96 percent did not commit a new offense, and 85 percent successfully completed all other requirements of the program while reporting to the center.<sup>53</sup> Through the use of the evening reporting center and other detention reforms, Berks County reduced its detention population by over 50 percent, saving over \$2 million.<sup>54</sup>

County level juvenile boards can establish an evening reporting system as part of their authority to conduct juvenile probation supervision methods generally.

### *Shelter Options in Lieu of Detention*

Some juveniles are detained after a referral to a juvenile probation department not because of the risk they pose to the public, but rather due to a chaotic, unstable, or dangerous home environment. Harris County implemented an emergency shelter in the form of a community-based residential alternative to detention if the youth has significant family conflict which prevents an immediate return home.<sup>55</sup> This prevents unnecessary detention while providing time for

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## **Youths involved in a gang present unique risks for public safety, and specialized treatment of these youths may present the opportunity to reduce both detention and future gang activity.**

the home environment to stabilize. Counties can partner with the Department of Family and Protective Services to secure temporary shelter or foster living situations for referred youth with these home issues.

Harris County reported a total of 366 youths placed in the emergency shelter during the 2009 fiscal year,<sup>56</sup> and 357 during the 2010 fiscal year.<sup>57</sup>

### *Specialized Court Docket for Gang Members*

Youths involved in a gang present unique risks for public safety, and specialized treatment of these youths may present the opportunity to reduce both detention and future gang activity. Harris County implemented a specialized gang member docket, which has jurisdiction over referred youth who admit membership in illegal street gangs.<sup>58</sup> The docket is only available to certain youth, and jurisdiction is tightly screened on the bases of age, offense (for example, those convicted of certain sex offenses), and level of gang involvement.<sup>59</sup> The court orders at least six months of intensive therapy and family counseling to aid in renunciation of the gang affiliation and a reinvigoration of the familial relationship. In addition, the docket coordinates intensive supervision, mentoring, job training, drug treatment, and community activities.<sup>60</sup>

### *Specialized Court Docket for Human Trafficking and Prostitution Cases*

Another class of juvenile offenders is often detained for their own safety rather than due to any risk they pose to the public at large. Juveniles involved in human trafficking and prostitution may be detained to prevent harm to the juvenile, and may be better served in a foster or shelter care environment. By establishing a specialized court docket for these juveniles, especially in urban counties, more tailored care may be provided to reduce the cycles or recidivism inherent in trafficking and prostitution situations.

### ***Electronic Monitoring***

Counties looking to create a range of pre-trial supervision alternatives may consider including electronic monitoring among the alternatives available for pre-adjudication supervision. Certain categories of youth under a risk assessment analysis, such as medium-risk youth, could benefit from electronic monitoring as a slightly heightened supervision alternative to unconditional release, but far less costly than detention.

Electronic monitoring programs have produced positive outcomes in other jurisdictions. For example, Cook County, Illinois realized a 94.4 percent successful completion rate (defined as remaining arrest free during the time of the program) among youth assigned to an electronic monitoring program in the first two years of the program's existence.<sup>61</sup> Research suggests that electronically monitored youth are generally more successful in program completion and avoiding further referrals than those detained.<sup>62</sup> There are three main forms of electronic monitoring: telephone check-in at scheduled times, monitoring via a Global Positioning System device, and monitoring with a basic radio frequency device. The costs of these systems vary, but each would cost a fraction of detention.<sup>63</sup>

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**By reducing detention populations,  
Texas counties can save millions,  
continue to protect public safety,  
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### **Conclusion**

Local juvenile probation boards have a variety of tools to reduce detention rates within their facilities, as this paper details. Further, targeting detention reduction alternatives on lower risk youths does not create additional risks to the public safety, and ensures a more streamlined local budget relating to juvenile detention and probation. By reducing detention populations, Texas counties can save millions, continue to protect public safety, and achieve better outcomes for Texas juveniles. ★



- <sup>1</sup> Barry Holman and Jason Zeidenberg, "The Dangers of Detention: The Impact of Incarcerating Youth in Detention and Other Secure Facilities," *Justice Policy Institute* (Nov. 2006) 5, citing Charles Frazier and John Cochran, "Detention of Juveniles: Its Effects on Subsequent Juvenile Court Processing and Decisions," *Youth and Society* Vol. 17, No. 3 (Mar. 1986) 286-305, and Office of State Courts Administrator, "Florida Juvenile Delinquency Court Assessment," Office of Court Improvements (2003) 21-24.
- <sup>2</sup> Thomas Dishion et al, "When Interventions Harm: Peer Groups and Problem Behavior," *American Psychologist* Vol. 54, No. 9 (1999) 761-62.
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- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> "Detention Reform: An Effective Public Safety Strategy," Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative, The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2.
- <sup>6</sup> Nicole Trojan, Research Analyst, Harris County Juvenile Probation Department, email, 27 Jan. 2012.
- <sup>7</sup> "Making a Difference One Child at a Time: Harris County Juvenile Probation Department 2010 Annual Report," Harris County Juvenile Probation Department (2010) 6; Nicole Trojan, Research Analyst, Harris County Juvenile Probation Department, email, 28 Mar. 2012.
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- <sup>9</sup> "Juvenile Delinquency in Dallas County: Referrals from 1999 to 2009," 2009 Annual Statistics, Dallas County Juvenile Department.
- <sup>10</sup> Pernilla Johansson, Research Manager, Dallas County Juvenile Department, email, 2 Mar. 2012.
- <sup>11</sup> Texas Juvenile Probation Commission, "The State of Juvenile Probation Activity in Texas: Calendar Years 2009 & 2010" (Nov. 2011) 71.
- <sup>12</sup> OJJDP Statistical Briefing Book (Oct. 2011).
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- <sup>16</sup> Juana Moreno, Assistant Deputy Director Budget and Support Services, Harris County Juvenile Probation Department, phone interview, 19 Jan. 2012.
- <sup>17</sup> Texas Juvenile Probation Commission, "The State of Juvenile Probation Activity in Texas: Calendar Years 2009 & 2010" (Nov. 2011) 104.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> "JDAI News: Newsletter of the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative," Annie E. Casey Foundation (Aug. 2009) 10.
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- <sup>21</sup> Richard A. Mendel, "Two Decades of JDAI: From Demonstration Project to National Standard," Annie E. Casey Foundation (2009) 21.
- <sup>22</sup> Harris County Judge Ed Emmett, "The County Judge Report," (Oct. 2010), accessed 2 Jan. 2012.
- <sup>23</sup> "Children Detained by Demographics and Offense Type, 2005-2009," Dallas County Juvenile Department.
- <sup>24</sup> "Making a Difference One Child at a Time: Harris County Juvenile Probation Department 2010 Annual Report," Harris County Juvenile Probation Department (2010) 6.
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- <sup>27</sup> "Making a Difference One Child at a Time: Harris County Juvenile Probation Department 2010 Annual Report," Harris County Juvenile Probation Department (2010) 6.
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- <sup>32</sup> "The Risk and Needs Assessment Tool: What Statewide Data Reveal," Texas Juvenile Probation Commission, Presentation at the 2010 Data Coordinator's Conference (2010) 4.
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- <sup>35</sup> "The Risk and Needs Assessment Tool: What Statewide Data Reveal," Texas Juvenile Probation Commission, Presentation at the 2010 Data Coordinator's Conference (2010) 6-7.
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- <sup>37</sup> "JDAI Site Updates: Harris County Deferred Prosecution Program," Annie E. Casey Foundation (May 2009).
- <sup>38</sup> "Harris County JDAI Newsletter," *Harris County JDAI and Harris County Juvenile Probation*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 2009) 4.
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- <sup>41</sup> Tex. Family Code Ann. §52.031 (2008).
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## About the Author

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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.  
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