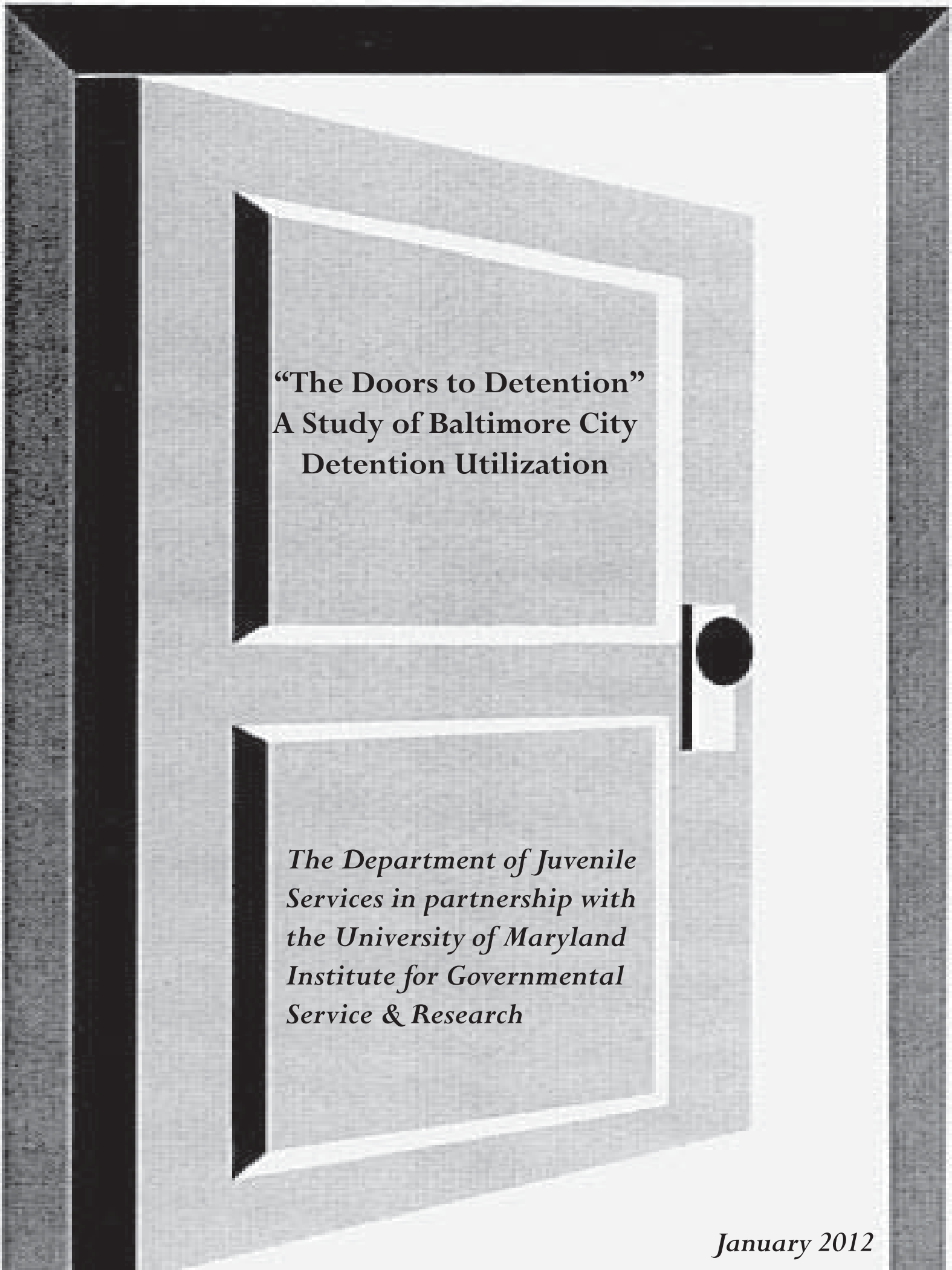


"The Doors to Detention" A Study of Baltimore City Detention Utilization

The Department of Juvenile Services in partnership with the University of Maryland Institute for Governmental Service & Research

January 2012

Doors to Detention

Baltimore City Detention Utilization Study

January 2012

Baltimore City

JDAI

Executive Committee

Collaboration

Data Driven Decisions

Objective Admissions

Alternatives to Detention

Case Processing Reforms

Special Detention Cases

Reducing Racial Disparities

Conditions of Confinement

The Maryland Department of Juvenile Services (DJS), in partnership with the University of Maryland Institute for Governmental Service and Research and the Annie E. Casey Foundation, conducted a study of juvenile detention utilization in Baltimore, Maryland. This project was undertaken to investigate the pathways to and reasons youth from Baltimore City are securely detained.

In This Report...

Executive Summary 2

Introduction 3

Definition of Terms 8

Overview of Study Methodology 9

Analysis of Secure Detention Utilization 12

Doors to Detention Overview 17

- Post-Disposition Pending Placement 20
- New Complaint 22
- ATD Sanctions and Violations 24
- Adult Court Involvement 26
- Other Violations and Sanctions 28
- Other Writs and Warrants 30

Conclusions and Recommendations 32

We would like to thank everyone who contributed to this report. Our appreciation goes to members of the agency who assisted in the preparation of this report including Lisa Garry, Richard Hart, Delmonica Hawkins, Lynette Holmes, John Irvine, Virginia Meyers, Susan M. Nicely, Falguni Patel, and Susan Russell Walters. We would also like to thank Megan McCloskey, Mischelle Van Brakle, and Douglas Young at the University of Maryland Institute for Governmental Service and Research (IGSR), without whom this report would not have been possible. We are especially grateful to Sara Betsinger at the IGSR and Tom Woods at the Annie E. Casey Foundation whose contributions to this study were enormous and invaluable.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative (JDAI) is a project of the Annie E. Casey Foundation through which a team of expert management consultants guided by the Juvenile Justice Strategy Group provides technical assistance to states and local jurisdictions to establish a more effective and efficient juvenile justice system. Baltimore City has participated in the JDAI for more than ten years with important system improvements occurring guided by the JDAI core strategies and principles.

The purpose of this report is to provide a snapshot of detention utilization for Baltimore City youth by means of a retrospective study of secure detention placements occurring between June 1 and July 31, 2011. Data were collected from ASSIST (DJS automated case management system), the DRAI instrument, and review of the individual records for the study sample which was comprised of all youth (n = 514) who were newly detained (either pre- or post-disposition) in the study period. Ways that youth entered detention or "doors" were prioritized yielding six mutually exclusive categories. Demographics, supervision status, average daily population, average length of stay, and offense severity were analyzed for the total group and for each of the doors.

Key Findings

- Baltimore uses detention more heavily than comparable JDAI jurisdictions, and in recent years the use of detention relative to the number of juvenile arrests has actually gone up.
- It remains the case that Baltimore's youth detention population is overwhelmingly black and male.
- Most Baltimore detention resources go to youth who are awaiting adjudication before the juvenile court.
- Most Baltimore youth placed in detention are already under some form of DJS supervision at the time of placement.
- Detention in Baltimore continues to be used disproportionately to hold post-dispositional youth who are awaiting a committed out of home placement.
- Most Baltimore detention placements are based on non-violent offenses.
- The use of detention in Baltimore is driven overwhelmingly by policies and practices, rather than the offenses of or public safety risks posed by youth.
- One of the fundamental challenges to controlling the use of detention in Baltimore is the existence of multiple, sometimes overlapping, pathways ("doors") into secure detention.

Based on these findings, the Department of Juvenile Services outlines ten opportunities to reduce unnecessary detention which exist at one or more of the doors into detention. Additional recommendations to enhance data quality are also put forth.

INTRODUCTION

I. About the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative

The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) is a project of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, which is managed by its Juvenile Justice Strategy Group. The anticipated outcomes of JDAI implementation include the following:

- Decrease in the number of youth unnecessarily or inappropriately detained;
- Reduction in the number of youth who fail to appear in court or re-offend pending adjudication;
- Redirection of public funds towards effective juvenile justice processes and public safety strategies;
- Reduction in the disproportionate representation and disparate treatment of system-involved youth of color across decision making points; and
- Improved juvenile justice system overall.

Since 1992, JDAI sites have demonstrated that jurisdictions can safely reduce reliance on secure detention and generally strengthen their juvenile justice systems through a series of inter-related reform strategies. The eight core strategies include the following:

1. Collaboration: Establishing and maintaining a governance body comprised of key leaders of juvenile justice agencies, community organizations and other government agencies for strategic planning and policy-making;
2. Data-Driven: Use of data to drive policy and case-level decisions and to routinely monitor the impact of implemented policy and practice reforms, as well as identify emerging trends in detention utilization over time;
3. Objective Admissions: Use of tools and instruments to objectively guide secure detention admission decisions and other decisions that potentially deepen youth involvement in the system;
4. Alternatives to Detention: Development and expansion of a continuum of non-secure detention alternatives that provide a wide array of community-based supervision for youth pending adjudication and, if possible, for probation youth who demonstrate non-compliance with terms of supervision;
5. Case Processing Reforms: Expediting case processing in order to reduce lengths of stay in custody and ensure that interventions with youth are timely and appropriate;
6. Reducing Admissions of Special Populations: Reducing the admissions of youth in custody as a result of probation violations, writs and warrants, and those awaiting placement, and thereby ensuring that secure facility resources are better utilized to serve youth who present the highest risk to public safety;
7. Improved Confinement Conditions: Routine self-inspections by a core group of trained individuals from both the system and community to ensure that detention facilities are operated in a manner that protects the health and safety of detained youth and facility staff; and
8. Reducing racial disparities: Application of JDAI core strategies on manner that helps identify race- and ethnicity-driven biases in policy and case-level decision making.

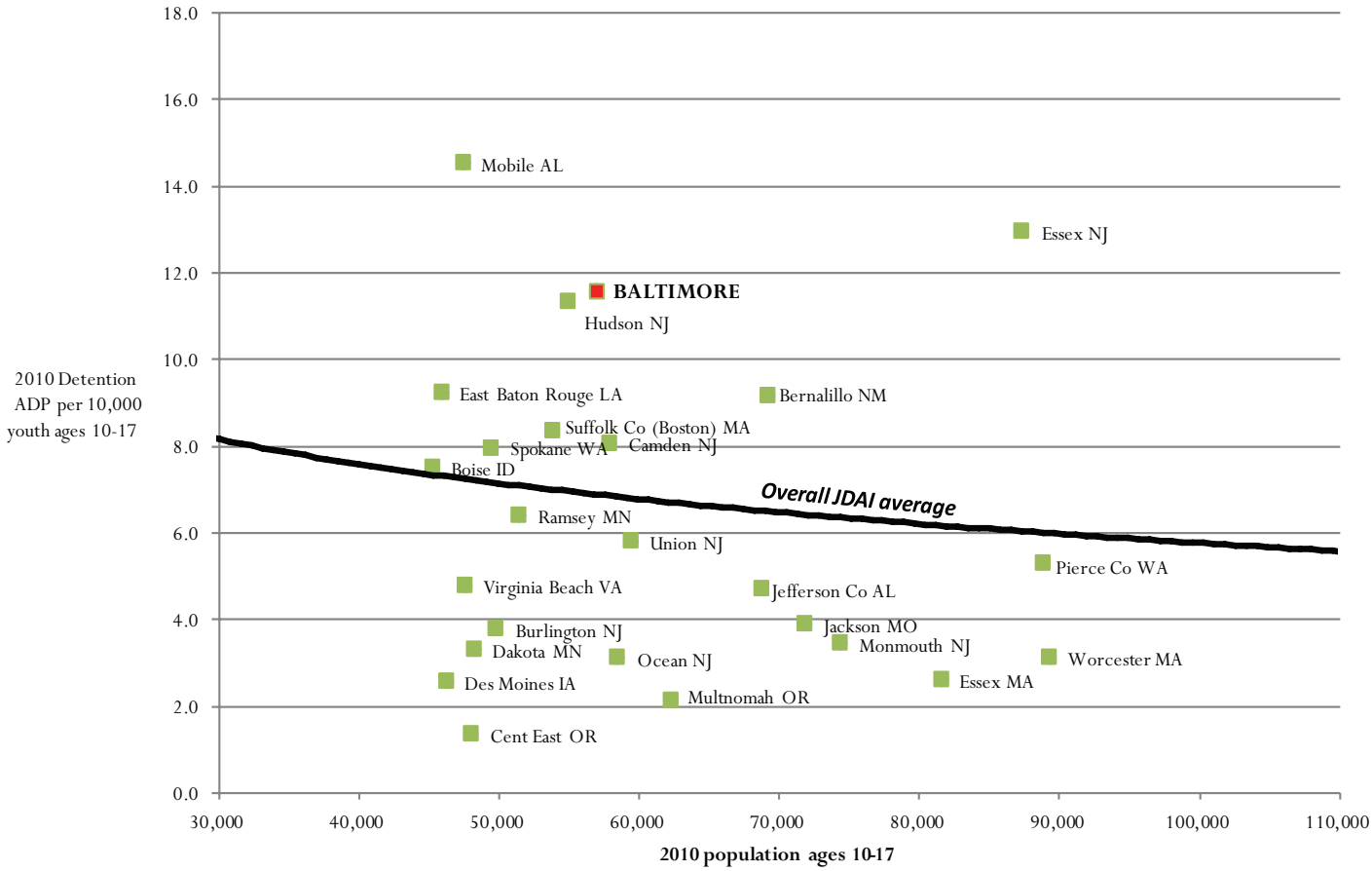
II. History of JDAI in Baltimore City

Baltimore City has been a JDAI site for more than ten years. The work began through a collaborative body of key system decision makers and community leaders who were concerned with excessive lengths of stay of youth in secure detention pending disposition, as well as a rapidly increasing secure detention population at the Baltimore City Juvenile Justice Center (BCJJC). This collaborative body is identified as the Baltimore City JDAI Executive Committee (JEC) and is jointly led by the Chief Presiding Judge of the Baltimore City Juvenile Court and the Secretary of the Department of Juvenile Services. The core function of the JEC is to provide oversight of the JDAI strategic planning and to monitor the impact of implemented policy and practice reforms. The JEC meets monthly and is staffed by DJS representatives from its central office and Region I (Baltimore City).

There have been important system improvements in Baltimore City that were guided by JDAI core strategies, such as design and validation of an objective detention risk assessment instrument (DRAI) and significant reduction in case processing time. The site has also developed and increased utilization of new and expanded alternatives to secure detention to safely supervise a wider range of pre-adjudicated youth in the community. These efforts have helped to reduce length of stay in secure detention custody and increase the range of community supervision options for youth.

Figure 1

Compared with other JDAI sites of similar size, Baltimore's detention rate (measured in ADP per 10,000 youth ages 10-17) is considerably higher than average.



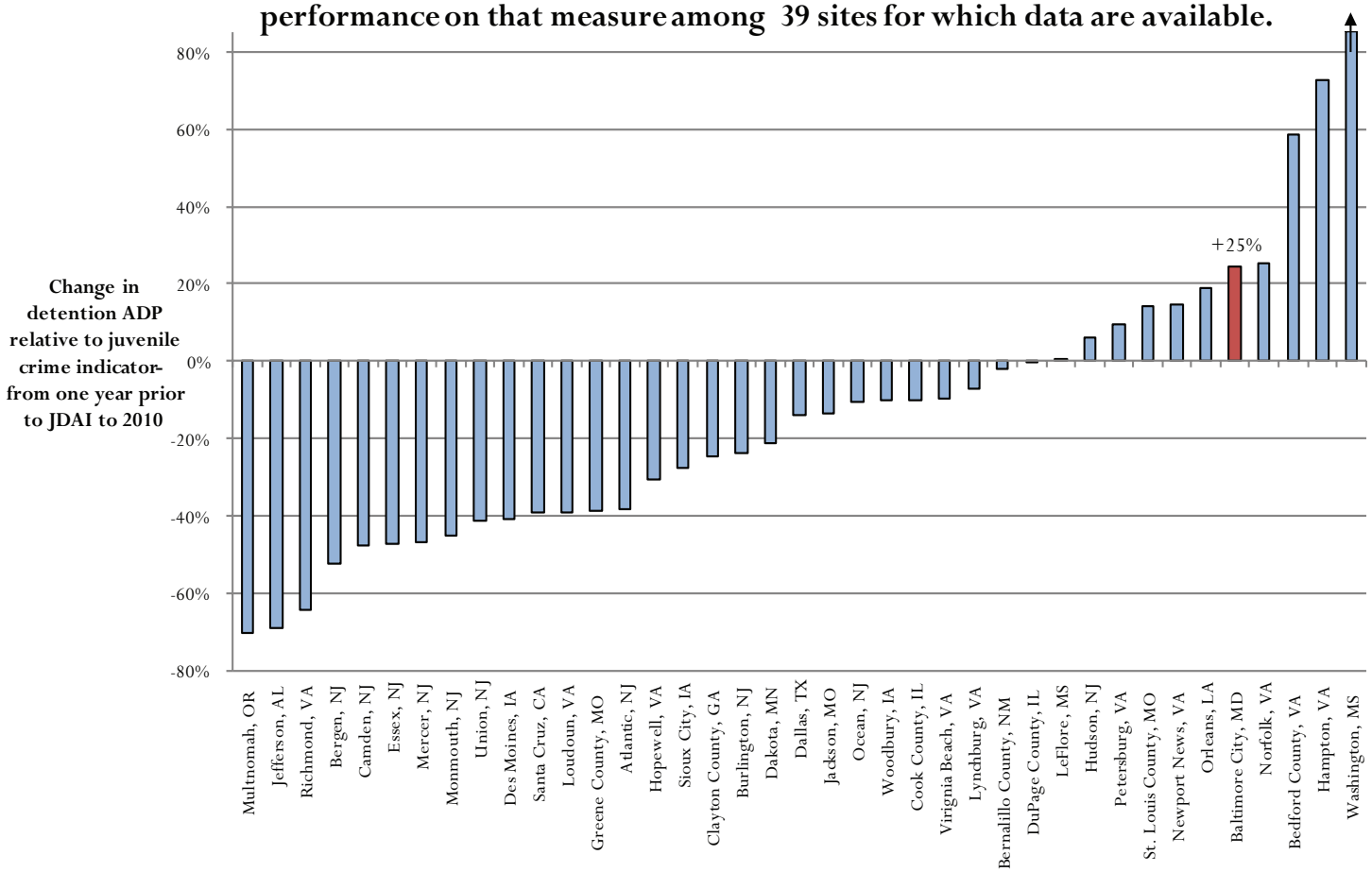
Sources: Population ages 10-17 - Puzzanchera, C., Sladky, A. and Kang, W. (2011). "Easy Access to Juvenile Populations: 1990-2010." Online. Available: http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezapop/. Detention ADP: JDAI Annual Results Reports, compiled by AECF.

Yet much work remains to be done in Baltimore City. In 2010, after a decade of participation in JDAI, Baltimore reported an average daily population (ADP) in detention that corresponded to a rate of 11.6 youth in secure detention for every 10,000 youth in the city aged 10 to 17. Based on the results of the DUS, it is likely that this reported ADP is an undercount, which DJS and JDAI staff are investigating with an eye toward submitting corrected numbers this year; so this estimated detention rate is likely lower than Baltimore's true level of detention utilization. Yet even this rate is well above average among JDAI sites, and one of the highest reported by any JDAI site of comparable size. (Figure 1)

Moreover, Baltimore's use of detention relative to the total number of juvenile complaints actually appears to have increased since joining JDAI. During that time, Baltimore has seen a 32% reduction in juvenile complaints; yet the secure detention of Baltimore City youth has decreased by only 15%. As a result, the rate of detention relative to the number of juvenile complaints is actually 25% higher for Baltimore City youth than it was prior to the implementation of JDAI. This contrasts with the experience of most JDAI sites, which have achieved deeper reductions in detention utilization while also reducing the rate of juvenile arrests. (Figure 2)

Figure 2

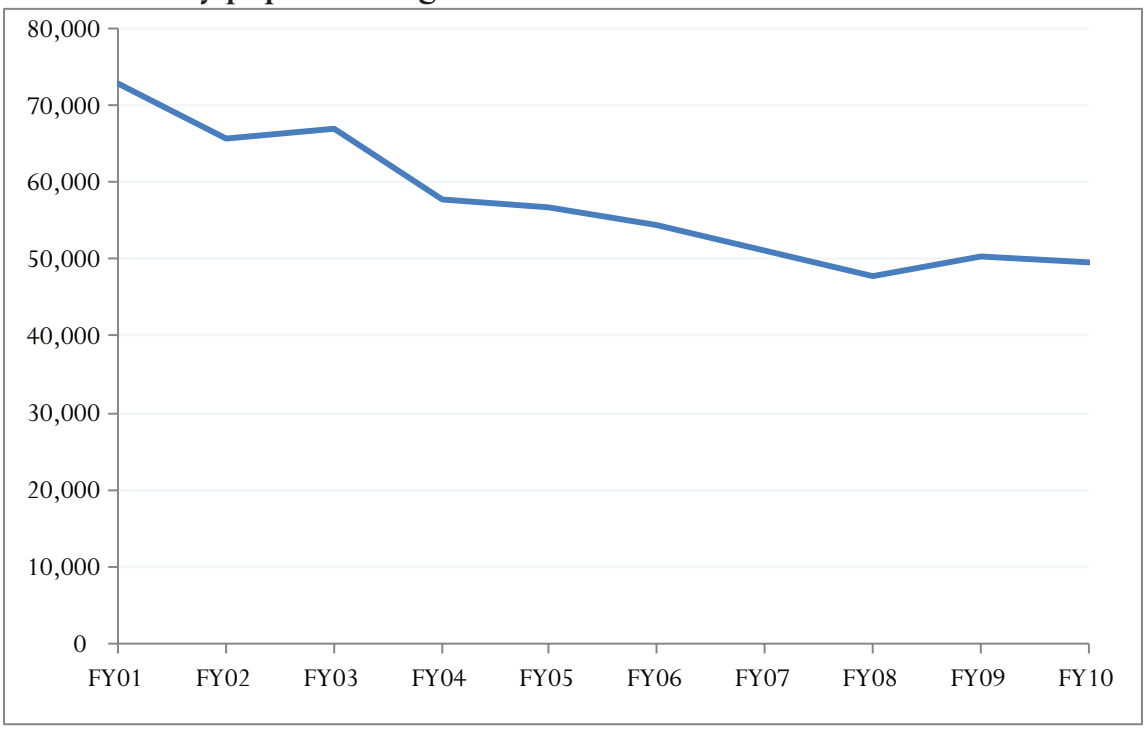
Baltimore's detention ADP relative to the number of juvenile complaints was 25% higher in 2010 than it was prior to joining JDAI- the fifth worst performance on that measure among 39 sites for which data are available.



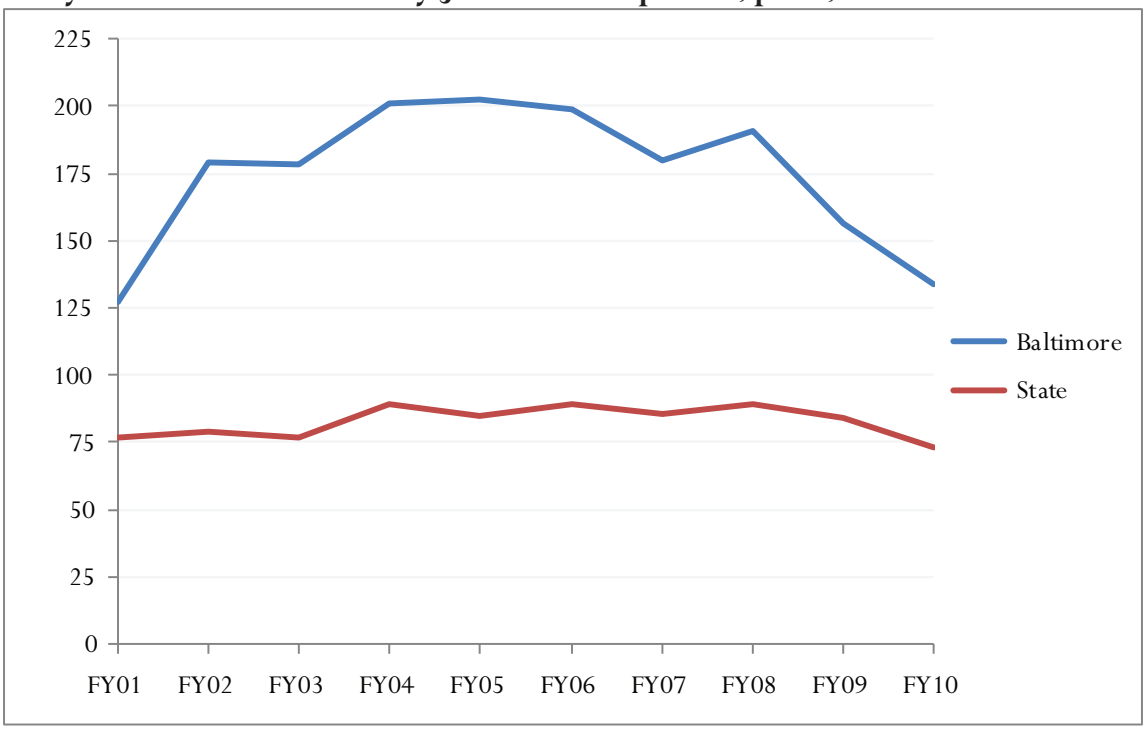
New leadership in the Baltimore City Juvenile Court and the Department of Juvenile Services, with impending new leadership in the Public Defender's Office, creates opportunity for the JEC to reestablish its work priorities and, if necessary, reorganize the infrastructure of the work through formation of new work groups to respond to current trends in over-reliance on secure detention.

The juvenile-age population in Baltimore City has declined significantly in the past decade. The number of 11 to 17 years olds in the general population dropped from over 70,000 in 2001 to just 50,000 in 2010. The offense rate per youth has also dropped - there are fewer youth of juvenile age in the City, and the remaining youth are referred to DJS at a lower rate now than at any time since 2001.

Baltimore City population Ages 11 - 17



Maryland and Baltimore City Juvenile Complaints, per 1,000



These trends are not unique to Maryland. National data demonstrate the same trends with the overall juvenile arrest rate lower in 2008 than in 1980[1].

[1] *Internet Citation: OJJDP Statistical Briefing Book. Online. Available: http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/crime/JAR_Display.asp?ID=qa05200. October 16, 2011.*

III. Purpose of the Detention Utilization Study (DUS)

This report is intended to provide members of the JDAI Executive Committee (JEC) with a snapshot of detention utilization for Baltimore City youth. It is a retrospective Detention Utilization Study of secure detention placements that occurred between June 1, 2011 and July 31, 2011. Data analyses include all Baltimore City youth placed in secure detention programs in multiple state secure detention facilities, though the vast majority of youth were detained at the BCJJC.

The DUS answers the following questions:

- Which youth are being placed in secure detention, by race, age, and offense severity?[1]
- What is the Average Daily Population (ADP) of secure detention youth? What is the proportion of pre-adjudicated youth in ADP? What is the proportion of post-adjudicated youth in ADP?
- What is the Average Length of Stay (ALOS) for secure detention youth? How does this vary by offense severity and adjudication status?
- What are the specific pathways to secure detention (referred to as "doors to detention" throughout this report), and what is the risk profile[2] of youth who enter through each door?

Also identified throughout this report are anecdotes and shared misunderstandings about how any why youth are placed in secure detention; these are identified as "myth busters" in various sections of the report. DUS data is presented to factually counter some of the most common and widespread beliefs held by system stakeholders regarding detention utilization for Baltimore City youth.

---

[1] *While African-American youth continue to represent the highest proportion of Baltimore City youth admitted to secure detention, DJS needs to adopt formal processes to accurately collect and report ethnicity data, and thereby ensure an accurate count of Hispanic youth who come into contact with the juvenile justice system.*

[2] *The work to collect and analyze data for the DUS revealed a critical flaw in DJS Region I operations in which the DRAI was not being applied to all youth placed in secure detention, regardless of door of entry. The DUS data workgroup worked with the DJS Region I Area Director, Intake Staff and members of the JDAI Unit to conduct retrospective application of the DRAI for youth placements in secure detention in order to determine youth risk levels for analysis in this study. The DJS Community Supervision Director has since issued an immediate statewide policy directive in October 2011 to ensure that the DRAI is applied for all youth placed in secure detention. A key work task of the Baltimore City JEC will be to ensure that the DRAI is used to objectively guide decisions regarding placement of youth in secure detention and within the continuum of available detention alternatives when eligible.*

DEFINITION OF TERMS

- **Aftercare:** supervision of a youth in the community post-disposition. This encompasses youth supervised after a release from a committed placement, and also youth committed originally to the community (and not sent to out-of-home committed placement.)
- **Alternatives to Detention (ATD):** residential and non-residential settings or services provided to a youth in lieu of detention that satisfy the detaining court's requirement to keep the youth and the public safe and to ensure the youth appears in court. Alternatives to detention may include: home, home with additional services, home under community detention and/or electronic monitoring, family shelter care, structured shelter care, acute care hospitals, and psychiatric respite care programs.
- **Average Daily Population:** daily population of youth in juvenile detention facilities, averaged over a particular period.
- **Baltimore City Youth:** the scope of this study encompasses youth with home addresses within Baltimore City. Youth from outside the City, who may fall under jurisdiction of the Baltimore City juvenile court, are not included.
- **Detained Pending Placement:** that part of a detention stay spent after court disposition of the current offense, and also including already committed youth detained after being removed from a committed program. Youth who were already under a court ordered probation or commitment who are detained on a new charge or violation are not considered pending placement if there is further court action required prior to a committed placement.
- **Detained Pre-Disposition:** that part of a detention stay spent prior to court disposition of the current offense. This also includes already committed youth detained on a new charge or violation which requires court action.
- **Detention:** temporary, short-term physically secure housing of youth who are awaiting court disposition, or committed placement.
- **Detention Risk Assessment Instrument (DRAI):** an assessment of a youth's risk to the community and of failing to appear for future court dates to determine potential eligibility for placement in a detention alternative.
- **Door to Detention:** the primary reason for a detention placement.
- **Failed Placement:** an incidence of a youth's return to secure detention from an out-of-home placement upon determination that he or she has failed to comply with the rules and conditions of the program.
- **Juvenile Complaint:** a written statement made by any person or agency to a DJS intake officer, which if true would support the allegations of a juvenile petition. For the purposes of this report, only those juvenile complaints that are referred to DJS are included, so youth arrested but diverted to a police diversion program are not included here, unless the youth fails and is subsequently referred.
- **Length of Stay:** the duration in days of a juvenile detention spell. For the purposes of this report, any transfers of youth between detention facilities are ignored.
- **Placement vs. Admission:** a placement is based on a decision made by an intake officer or judge to place a youth into detention. An admission occurs when a youth physically enters a facility either through direct placement or transfer. Therefore, during one placement, a youth may have several admissions and these counts will not match.
- **Sanction:** short-term use of detention used as a graduated response to a youth's failure to comply with ATD program.
- **Violence Prevention Initiative (VPI):** implemented in January 2008, the VPI Unit ensures intensified levels of supervision and targeted services for youth at highest risk of being victims/perpetrators of crimes of violence. This Initiative incorporates a level system and continuum of graduated responses to ensure that immediate and appropriate actions are consistently applied when youth are noncompliant.

OVERVIEW OF STUDY METHODOLOGY

The current study was completed retrospectively and examines new detention placements for Baltimore City youth during the months of June and July, 2011.

The primary source of data is the DJS ASSIST automated case management system, which records all complaints, placements to detention, court actions, and supervision episodes. Information on youth delinquency and supervision history, as well as mitigating and aggravating risk factors, is also provided by the DRAI instrument. Although it was designed to objectively guide secure detention placement decisions, the DRAI, in practice, has not been used to aide decision making. In fact, prior to the study period, DRAI completion rates for youth detained in Baltimore City were typically less than 50%. Accordingly, in order to obtain a more complete profile of youth entering detention, the Detention Utilization Study data workgroup coordinated with Region I Managers and Intake staff to obtain DRAI profiles of the youth in the study. In order to do so, staff completed the DRAI retrospectively, as necessary, for all Baltimore City youth with new complaints or pre-disposition detentions during June and July; staff were not instructed to complete the DRAI for youth detained post-disposition pending placement. It should be stressed that collected data were used solely for the purposes of the present study; whether completed retrospectively or currently, the DRAI remains inert in guiding decision making in Baltimore City. Completion rates are provided in the table below.

	Pre-Disposition Sample (n = 460)	**Post-Dispostion Sample** (n = 54)
DRAI found	186	11
% of sample	40%	20%
DRAI completed retrospectively	236	7
% of sample	51%	13%
Total with DRAI information that could be included in the analysis	422	18
% of sample	92%	33%

Some data elements required for the study, including, most notably, the door leading to detention, are not currently captured in ASSIST or in the DRAI. Accordingly, supplemental data were provided by case notes from DJS field and facility workers, in addition to data collected by ATD programs, police diversion programs, and the E-QUEST court information system[1]. These sources were also used to cross check the data provided in ASSIST. When conflicting stories emerged from different sources of information, in-depth reviews of all relevant data were performed by members of the DUS work group. In order to assemble the complete set of information required for the current study, hundreds of hours of were spent merging, cleaning, and double-checking data, often on a case-by-case basis.

Calculating Average Length of Stay

Youth are included in the study only if their complaint occurred in or detention spell began in June or July. However, the subsequent juvenile involvement of youth represented in those cohorts were also included in order to analyze prior offenses' overall lengths of stay beyond the study period. For example, if a youth was detained pre-disposition from June 8th through July 29th and was released to post-disposition (pending placement) detention on July 29th and stayed through September 8, his length of stay would be calculated as follows:

Pre-Disposition LOS	+ Post-Disposition LOS	=	TOTAL LOS
50 days (Pre-Disposition)	+ 41 days (Post Disposition)	=	Total LOS of 91 days

[1]*None of the youth listed as failing police diversion were detained during the study period.*

Calculating Average Daily Population

This study derives the average daily population (ADP) by simply looking at placements and length of stay. This methodology calculates the ADP as:

$$\frac{\text{Placements x ALOS}}{\text{Days in Study Period}}$$

For example, there were 61 days in June and July, 2011 so the overall ADP calculation of pre-disposition detention is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{460 Placements x 15.9 ALOS Pre-Disposition}}{\text{61 days}} = \text{120 ADP Pre-disposition}$$

It is important to note that this methodology does not calculate the actual ADP for June and July - to do that would require including all youth already detained at the start of June, and would require determining the original door to detention for all those youth as well as those newly detained. Instead, it uses the placements during the study period as a representative sample, and uses their full lengths of stay to estimate an average detained population[2]. The benefit of this methodology is that it limits the (already very extensive) data cleanup process to new placements. The drawback is that it assumes that June and July are representative months. Even if the full information on already detained youth was obtained in order to calculate the actual ADP for the period, the results still would not necessarily be representative of an average month.

Please Note:

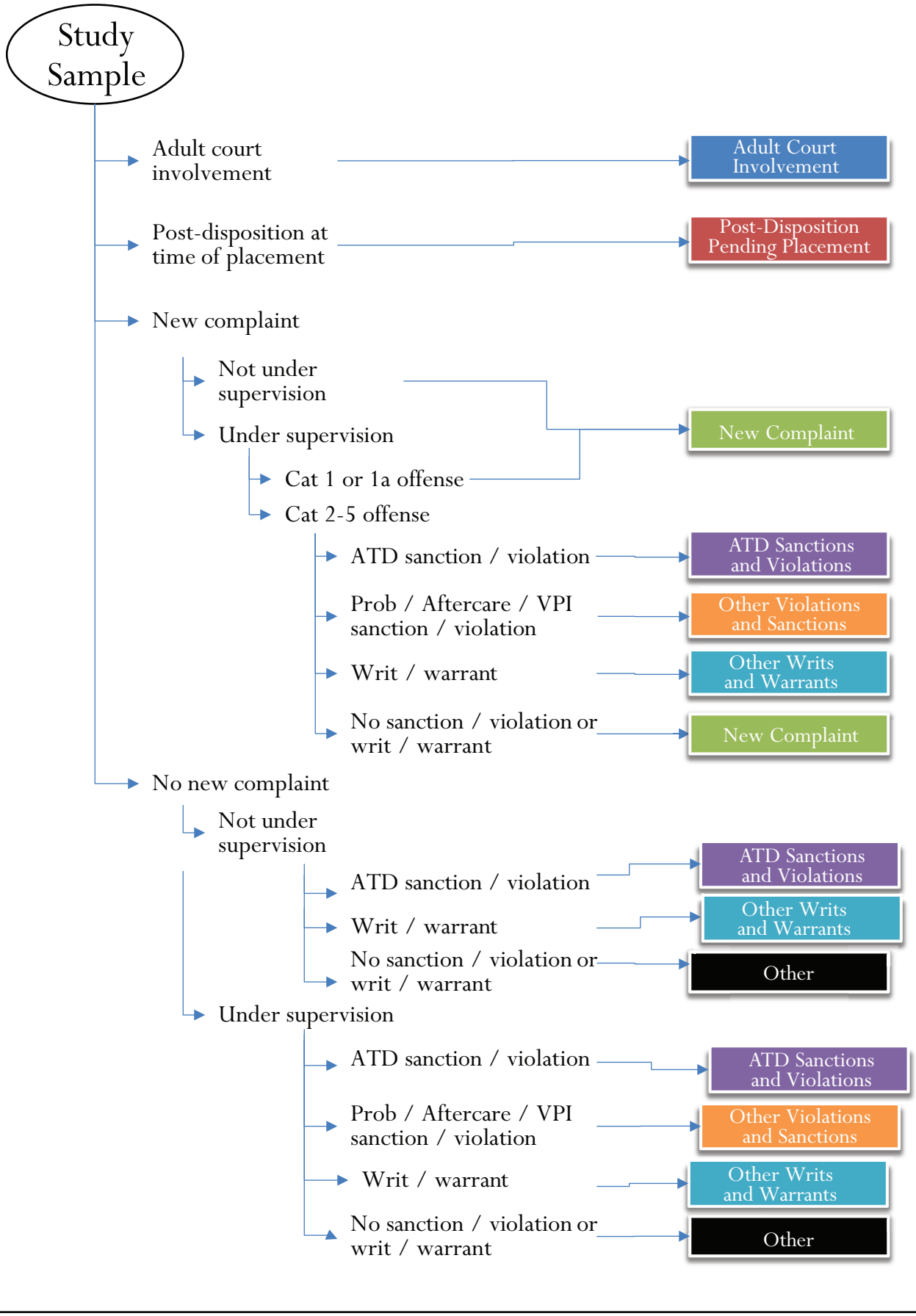
Placements were used as the basis for analysis throughout the report. Please see the Definition of Terms Section for a description of placement vs. admission.

Prioritization of the Doors to Detention

As described in later sections, a primary focus of the current study is on the ways into, or doors leading to, detention for Baltimore City youth. Although youth may enter into detention through more than one door at the same time, one goal of this report was to produce an addressable, or "actionable," set of next steps. In order to do so, the doors to detention were prioritized to produce mutually exclusive categories. This prioritization is illustrated in the decision tree on page 11.

For ease of interpretability, and to better aide in the creation of actionable next steps, these categories were further collapsed into six major doors: Post-Disposition Pending Placement, Adult Court Involvement, New Complaints, ATD Sanctions and Violations, Other Violations and Sanctions, and Other Writs and Warrants. Each is profiled in more detail in later sections. Only a handful of placements fell outside of these six major doors.

[2] *Two youth remained in detention into December. In order to calculate ALOS and ADP, their release dates were artificially entered as December 12th at 12pm.*


Study Sample
Adult court involvement
Adult Court Involvement
Post-disposition at time of placement
Post-Disposition Pending Placement
New complaint
Not under supervision
Under supervision
New Complaint
Cat 1 or 1a offense
Cat 2-5 offense
ATD sanction / violation
ATD Sanctions and Violations
Prob / Aftercare / VPI sanction / violation
Other Violations and Sanctions
Writ / warrant
Other Writs and Warrants
No sanction / violation or writ / warrant
New Complaint
No new complaint
Not under supervision
ATD sanction / violation
ATD Sanctions and Violations
Writ / warrant
Other Writs and Warrants
No sanction / violation or writ / warrant
Other
Under supervision
ATD sanction / violation
ATD Sanctions and Violations
Prob / Aftercare / VPI sanction / violation
Other Violations and Sanctions
Writ / warrant
Other Writs and Warrants
No sanction / violation or writ / warrant
Other

ANALYSIS OF SECURE DETENTION UTILIZATION

During the study period, there were 514 total secure detention placements of Baltimore City youth. Descriptions of these youth, including demographics, average length of stay, supervision status, offense severity information, and DRAI risk profiles are provided in the tables below. Distinctions between pre-disposition and post-disposition groups are made when appropriate.

Demographics and Supervision Status

	Placements	%
Male	478	93%
Female	36	7%
Black	505	98%
White/Other	9	2%
Total	514	100%

- The majority of the youth in the study (93%) are male, and nearly all are African-American.
- The racial and gender disproportionality is consistent across the doors, therefore data will generally not be presented for these demographics for the remainder of the study.

Given Baltimore City's "majority-minority" status, the race distribution of the study sample is unsurprising. It does, however, increase the urgency of policy and practice reforms that will have measurable and sustainable impact to reduce secure detention utilization for target populations of low- and medium-risk Baltimore City youth. The success of such efforts will have far-reaching benefits and improved outcomes for African American youth in general. This finding also suggests that consideration and selection of community-based and out-of-home placement service providers should be prioritized by their capacity to demonstrate competence and success in serving African American youth and families.

Status at Placement	Placements	%	ALOS	ADP	%
Not currently Under Supervision	120	23%	12.7	25	16%
Currently Under Supervision	394	77%	21.1	136	84%
Total	**514**	**100%**	**19.1**	**161**	**100%**

- More than three-quarters of cases (n=394) in the study involve youth who were currently under supervision by a DJS Case Manager at the time of their entry into detention. Supervised cases account for 84% of the total ADP. In other words, supervised youth used 136 of the 161 detention beds during the study period.
- Only 16% of cases admitted involved youth with no active supervision or assigned Case Manager. While the current data do not permit a full evaluation of how DJS supervision contributes to secure detention placements, the current findings suggest the need to examine this relationship and to adopt strategies and efforts that will promote successful completion of community probation and encourage successful transition of youth who are re-entering the community following placement.

Average Length of Stay (ALOS)

Ninety percent (n=460) of the study cases began as pre-disposition cases; only 24 of these cases continued to post-disposition pending placement status. An additional 54 cases were placed into detention with post-disposition pending placement status during the study period.

Status	ALOS-Days	ADP
Pre -Disposition	13.3	100.3
Post -Disposition	47.5	60.7
Overall	19.1	161.0

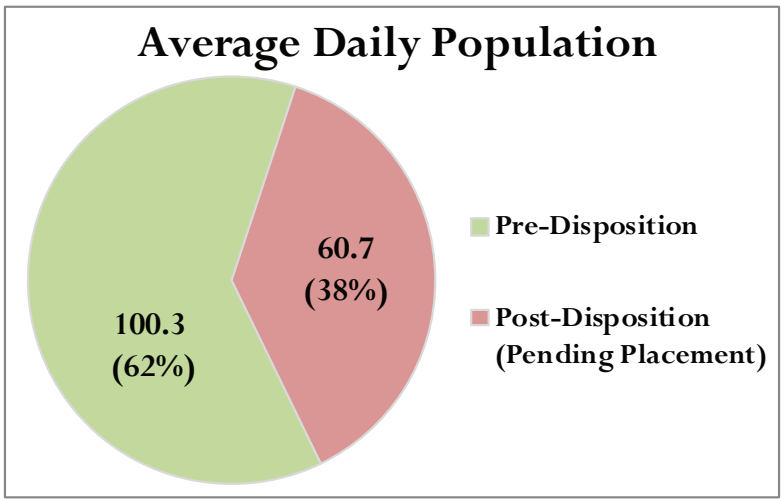
- On average, youth remain in secure detention for 19.1 days once admitted. Time spent in custody is particularly pronounced for post-disposition youth who, on average, remain in secure detention custody more than three times longer than pre-disposition youth.

- As seen in the graph on page 14, approximately 52% of the youth in detention during the study period were detained for less than a week. Indeed, 38% were detained for fewer than three days, a finding deserving of further examination.

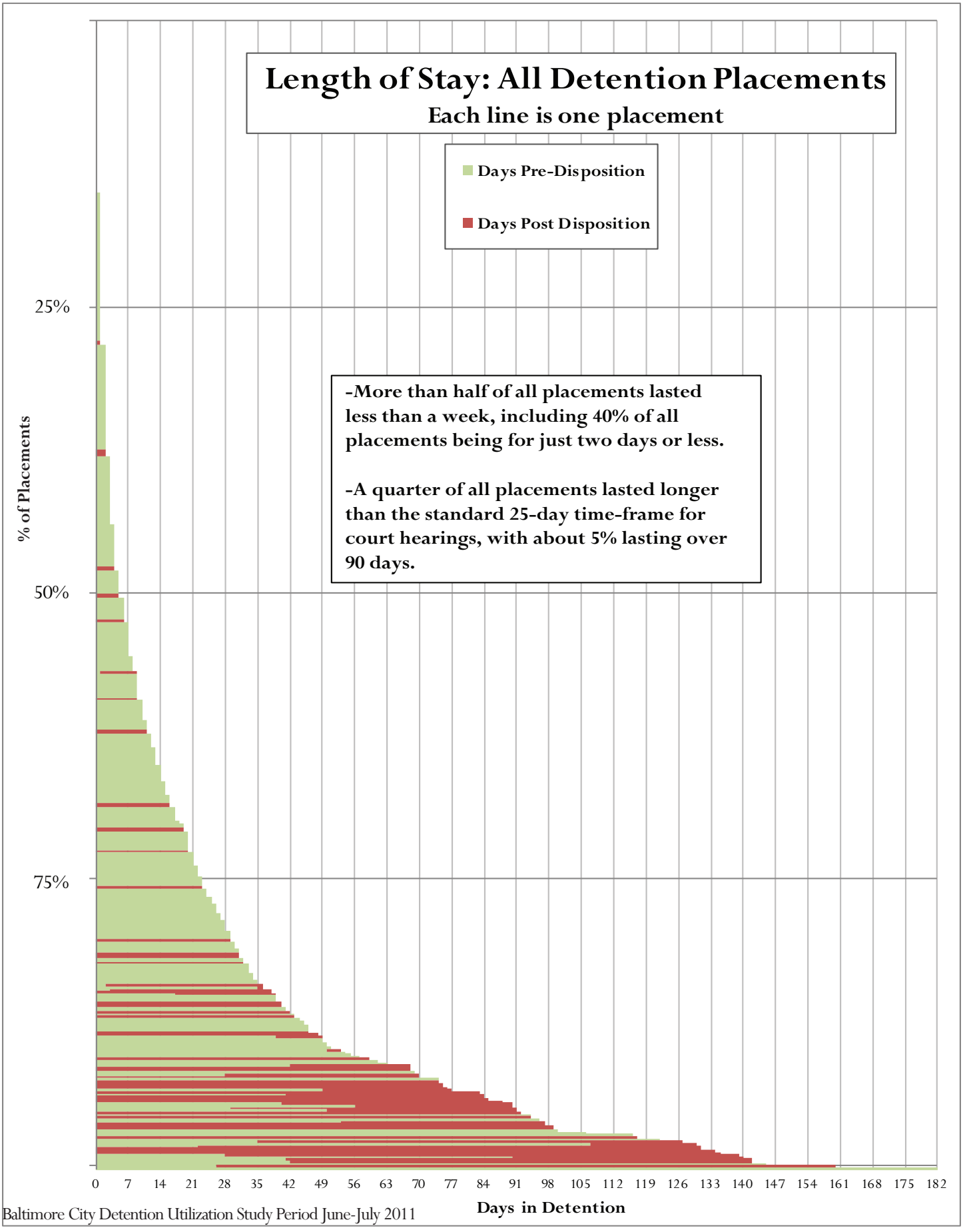
- Nearly a quarter of the youth in the study were detained for more than 25 days, and 5% remained in detention for more than 90 days. ALOS will be examined in more detail in later sections of the study.

Average Daily Population (ADP)

Given that the majority of cases in the study began as pre-disposition cases, it is not surprising that pre-disposition cases represent the predominant portion of total ADP, as illustrated in the pie chart below. The ADP for the entire sample is 161, of which 100.3 is for cases with pre-disposition status (62%). At the same time, the much smaller number of post-disposition pending placement cases (n=78) disproportionately impact the ADP. Data findings for ADP suggest that on any given day, more than one-third (38%) of all youth in secure detention are post-disposition status awaiting placement. The continued rise of placements for cases involving post-disposition youth pending out-of-home placement represent a unique challenge for JDAI efforts in Baltimore City for policy and practice consideration. This population drives high numbers of total youth in ADP in terms of the number of youth placed in detention awaiting placement and their long lengths of stay.



Baltimore City Detention Utilization Study Period June-July 2011


Length of Stay: All Detention Placements
Each line is one placement
Days Pre-Disposition
Days Post Disposition
-More than half of all placements lasted less than a week, including 40% of all placements being for just two days or less.
-A quarter of all placements lasted longer than the standard 25-day time-frame for court hearings, with about 5% lasting over 90 days.
% of Placements
25%
50%
75%
0 7 14 21 28 35 42 49 56 63 70 77 84 91 98 105 112 119 126 133 140 147 154 161 168 175 182
Days in Detention
Baltimore City Detention Utilization Study Period June-July 2011

Offense Severity

The following table shows the offense categories for youth placed in secure detention during the study period. For pre-disposition cases, the offense is determined as the most serious alleged offense at the time of detention placement. For post-disposition detention placements, the offense is determined as the most serious sustained adjudicated offense at the time of the detention placement.

Offense Severity	Pre-Disposition		Post-Disposition	
	n	%	n	%
Crime of Violence	92	20	13	24.1
Non-Violent Person-to-Person Felony	3	0.7	1	1.9
Non-Violent Drug Felony	126	27.4	10	18.5
Non-Violent Property Felony	34	7.4	5	9.3
Non-Violent Unspecified Felony	1	0.2	1	1.9
Non-Violent Person-to-Person Misdemeanor	79	17.2	6	11.1
Non-Violent Handgun Misdemeanor	10	2.2	1	1.9
Non-Violent Drug Misdemeanor	57	12.4	9	16.7
Non-Violent Property Misdemeanor	49	10.7	2	3.7
Non-Violent Unspecified Misdemeanor	3	0.7	1	1.9
Traffic Offense	2	0.4	1	1.9
Status Offense	0	0	0	0
Ordinance Offense	2	0.4	3	5.6
Violation of Probation	0	0	0	0
Missing or Unknown	2	0.4	1	1.9
Total	460	100	54	100

- In general, offense severity profiles for pre- and post-disposition youth look fairly similar.
- Charges for crimes of violence are involved in one of five cases (20%) of pre-disposition youth placed in secure detention, and nearly one of every four cases (24%) involving post-disposition youth. For youth with placement failures, which is the largest portion of post-disposition cases, the adjudication may well be prior to the placement.
- Non-violent drug felonies represent a substantial portion of offenses for both pre-disposition (27.4%) and post-disposition pending placement youth (18.5%) placed in secure detention during the study period. Similarly, non-violent drug misdemeanor offenses represent 12.4% of the alleged offenses for youth detained pre-disposition and 16.7% of the most serious sustained adjudicated offenses for post-disposition pending placement youth.
- Non-violent person-to-person misdemeanor offenses also comprise a significant portion of the offenses for both pre- and post-disposition youth.
- Some differences between the two stages deserve further research attention. Non-violent drug felonies comprise nearly 28% of the alleged offenses for the pre-disposition youth but only 19% of the adjudication offenses for post-disposition youth. Similarly, non-violent person-to-person misdemeanors account for 17% of the alleged offenses for the pre-disposition sample but only 11% of the adjudicated offenses for the post-disposition sample. Although based on only two months of data, these findings suggest that notable differences exist in the types of offenses that result in detention compared to those that result in adjudication.

DRAI Risk Profile

Earlier in this report, it was noted that one of the more significant JDAI achievements in Baltimore City involved design and validation of a detention risk assessment instrument (DRAI) to objectively guide secure detention placement decisions. However, upon conducting this study, the data workgroup discovered critical challenges in developing a risk profile for youth who were placed in secure detention during the study period. The first and most critical challenge that hindered our ability to credibly establish a risk profile of youth involved inconsistent use of the DRAI to guide secure detention decisions. This challenge was further exacerbated by the multiple "back doors" to secure detention that did not involve decision making at the point of intake, such as placement of youth for violations, sanctions, and post-disposition pending placement.

As discussed in the Overview of Study Methodology section, the DUS data workgroup, in coordination with Region I Managers and Intake Staff, had to retrospectively apply the DRAI to nearly 200 youth in the study sample in order to develop a youth risk profile. It is important to note here that DRAI results analyzed and presented in this study are solely for the purposes of establishing a risk profile of youth detained, and do not reflect staff decisions for detention placements.

	n	Mean DRAI Score	% DRAI Low	% DRAI Med	% DRAI High
Pre-Disposition	422	8.3	5.2	36.7	58.1
Post-Disposition (Pending Placement)	18	9.9	0	27.8	72.2
DUS Sample With DRAI	440	8.3	5	36.4	58.6

- DRAIs were completed for 440 of the 514 youth in the sample. Staff members were not instructed to complete DRAIs for youth who were detained post-disposition pending placement. Accordingly, DRAI findings for this group should be viewed with caution.

- DRAI scores of 0 or below are considered low, while scores above 7 are considered high. On average, youth detained during the study period had a risk score of 8.3. However, 5% of the youth detained during the study period were classified as low risk, and more than one-third were classified as medium risk.

DOORS TO DETENTION OVERVIEW

Preliminary data analyses of secure detention utilization for Baltimore City youth uncovered multiple pathways to secure detention, herein described as "doors to detention." As this study is intended to guide the JEC's reorganization and identification of new JDAI work priorities in 2012, this section focuses on the various system policies and practices that influence decision making at each of the doors. The primary focus of this study is to determine the reasons for detention placement that contribute to the largest portion of the average detention population. It is important to note that there is considerable overlap between doors, and that strategic efforts to minimize entry through any one door will need to consider multiple policies and practices across a number of agencies involved in decision-making. For example, a youth may be under probation supervision, fail from an ATD, and show up in detention on a warrant. Case-level reviews conducted by the DUS workgroup for this study demonstrate that this is not an uncommon scenario for Baltimore City youth.

Explaining the Primary Doors to Detention

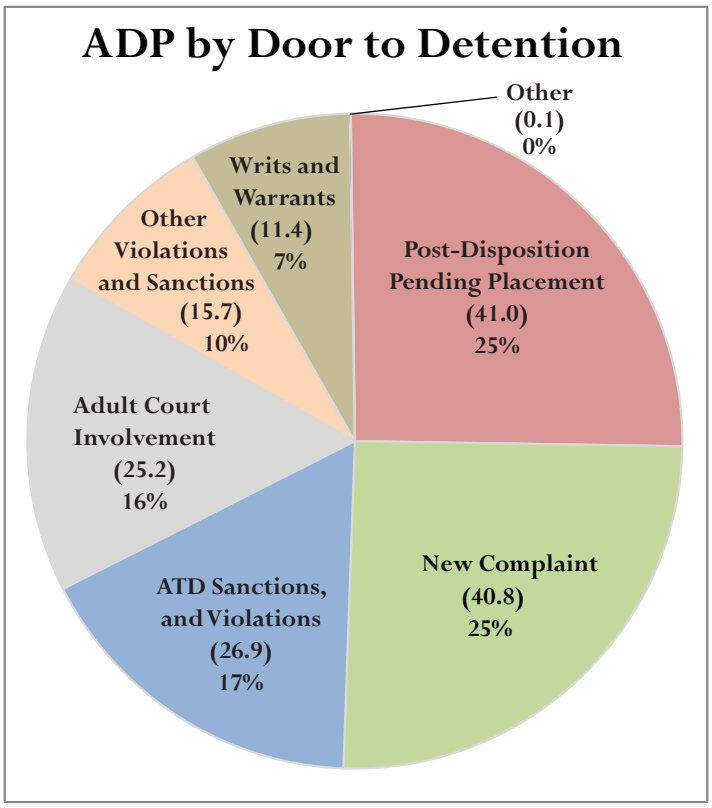
Six primary doors were identified that represent almost all placements into secure detention for Baltimore City youth during the study period. The following table identifies each door and provides information describing the more typical ways in which youth enter secure detention by each door.

Post-Disposition Pending Placement	This door represents youth placed into detention at disposition or post-disposition pending placement and who are immediately waiting for a new placement. These youth were not detained immediately pre-disposition.
New Complaint	Youth who have a new complaint at the time of detention placement.
ATD Sanctions and Violations	Placement in detention following noncompliance with the supervision terms of an ATD: either as a violation (detain until hearing), or as a short term sanction (typically 2-3 days).
Adult Court Involvement	Youth detained in juvenile detention centers who have involvement with the adult court: either after the resolution or waiver down of an adult charge, or as a courtesy hold while the adult charge is dealt with.
Other Violations and Sanctions	Youth already under a supervision order (including probation, aftercare and VPI), who are placed into detention for a violation or sanction not involving a new offense or ATD violation.
Other Writs and Warrants	Youth placed into detention who had a writ or warrant, and no new juvenile or adult complaint, ATD or supervision violation at the time of placement.

A key task of the DUS workgroup was to identify the primary door of a youth's entry into detention. This was accomplished through making determinations about the primary system policies and practices that led to detention utilization during the study period. For the purposes of this study, a placement is counted only once, under the most appropriate door. For example, is a youth detained on a warrant for ATD violation categorized as a placement through the ATD Sanctions and Violations or Other Writs and Warrants door?

The Impact of Doors on Overall ADP

The following analysis sorts each detention placement into one of the mutually exclusive categories according to the primary reason for detention. There were a handful of other reasons for detention (including Drug Court sanctions, and temporary one-day holds of committed youth for hearings), but these contributed well below one percent of admissions and ADP.



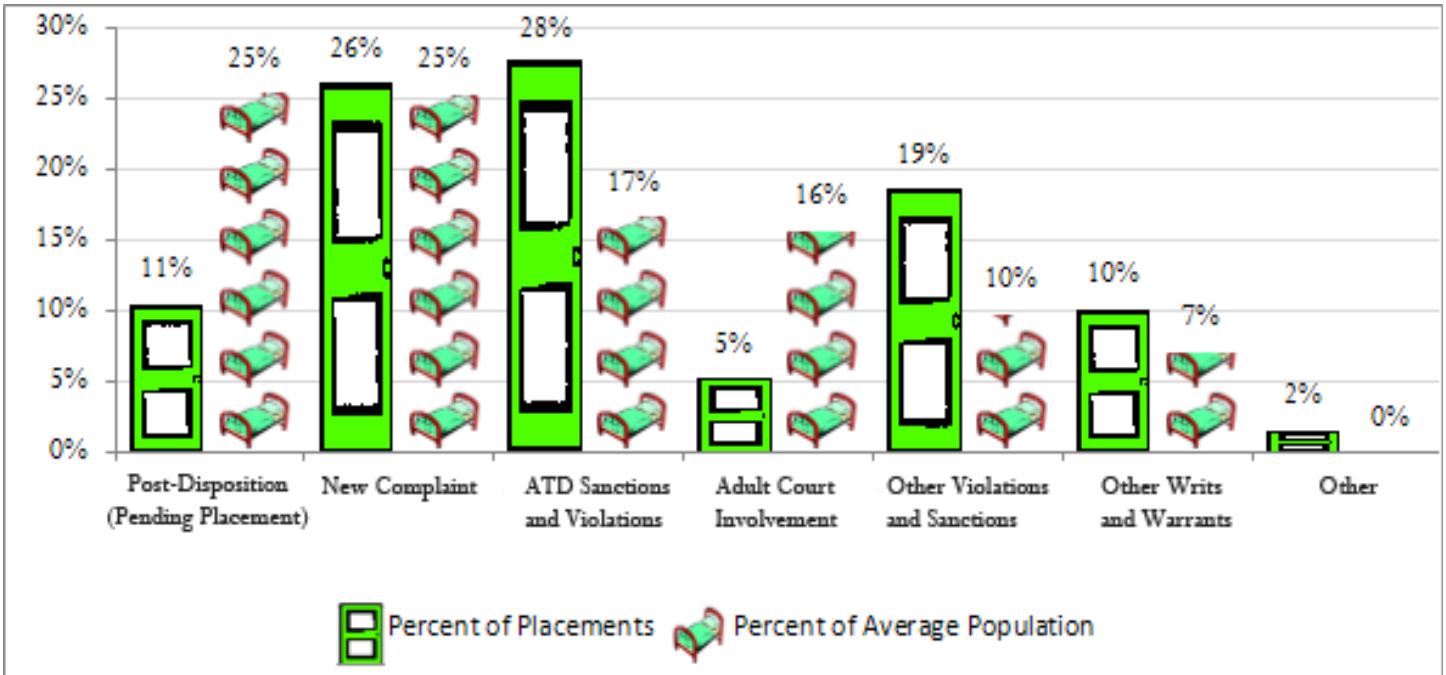
Baltimore City Detention Utilization Study Period June-July 2011

It is important to note that a door may have fewer admissions, but still contribute to a large portion of the ADP due to longer lengths of stay. For example, "New Complaints" and "Post-Disposition Pending Placement" each account for one quarter of total ADP, but there are twice as many placements through the "New Complaints" door. Some doors represent a relatively small and manageable number of cases for which implemented reforms would have immediate impact on the average detained population.

The following table shows the number of placements, average length of stay, and the ADP represented by each door. It is also interesting to note the percentage of youth detained through each detention door who stay for under two days. Almost half of those detained with a new complaint spend under two days. Only one in ten of the post-disposition pending placement admissions stay under two days.

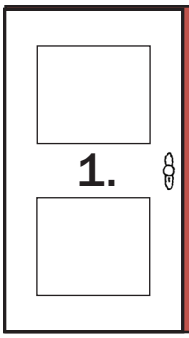
	Placements		Length of Stay		ADP	
Door	n	%	Average	% < 2 days	ADP	%
Post-Disposition Pending Placement	54	11%	46.3	9.3	41	25%
New Complaint	134	26%	18.6	43.3	40.8	25%
ATD Sanctions and Violations	143	28%	11.5	23.1	26.9	17%
Adult Court Involvement	27	5%	56.9	14.8	25.2	16%
Other Violations and Sanctions	96	19%	10	24	15.7	10%
Other Writs and Warrants	52	10%	13.4	28.8	11.4	7%
Other	8	2%	0.6	87.5	0.1	0%
Total	514	100%	19.1	28.2	161	100%

The following graph shows how the differences in lengths of stay can lead to some doors contributing a disproportionately high portion of the ADP, despite fewer overall placements.



Baltimore City Detention Utilization Study Period June-July 2011

The following sections analyze each of the major doors to detention.They are presented in descending order by the portion of the overall population they represent.



Post-Disposition Pending Placement

This door represents youth placed into detention at disposition or post-disposition pending placement and who are immediately waiting for a new placement. These youth were not detained immediately pre-disposition.

- There were 54 placements for youth who were post-disposition pending placement, representing just 11% of all placements.
- The ADP was 41 youth, representing a quarter of the overall average detained population.
- The ALOS was 46.3 days, compared to an average of 19.1 days for all placements.
- Most of these placements stemmed from a failed committed placement, where the youth was returned to detention to await a new committed placement.

This door contributes to the largest portion of the average detained population, not by a large number of placements, but by very long lengths of stay.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Post-Disposition Pending Placement	54	46.3	41

These are not youth who spent time in pre-disposition detention, went to court, were committed, and became post-disposition pending placement youth. Rather, they are youth who either fail from a committed placement and are placed back into a detention facility awaiting a new placement, or they are at home while they await their hearings, possibly supervised in an ATD, then are detained immediately following their hearings to await their committed placement. An additional 11 youth on an average day are also post-disposition pending placement, who did transition from pre-disposition detention to pending placement status after their hearing. These youth are captured under their original pre-dispositional door for this study.

Youth Detained at Disposition

A small number of the youth entering detention through this door were not detained prior to the disposition of their most recent complaint – they were at home, possibly supervised under an ATD; however, at disposition they were detained pending their committed placement.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Detained After Disposition	11	32.4	5.8

These youth were not out of home prior to disposition, yet were committed to an out of home treatment program. Two of the youth included in this category were only detained for a day pending transportation to their committed

Myth Buster:

Myth: Pending Placement youth mostly transition from pre-dispositional detention to pending placement after a court hearing.

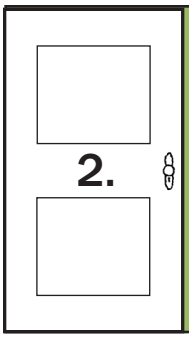
Fact: Most Pending Placement youth come from failed committed placements, or are moved into detention from an ATD at their disposition hearing.

programs. But again, they had been at home prior to being placed into an out of home treatment program. The remaining nine cases spent an average of around 40 days in detention post-disposition pending their eventual committed placement, which is a long time, though not as long as those who were placement failures, or who were detained pre-disposition and continued detention post-disposition.

Youth Detained following a Failed Committed Placement

A far larger group of youth is placed into detention following an unsuccessful release from an out of home committed placement. These placement failures constitute a very large portion of the average detained population: more than one in five (35.1 youth out of 161.) More than one in five detained youth in Baltimore City is a youth that has failed from a committed program.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Detained following a Failed Committed Placement	42	51	35.1



New Complaint

Youth who have a new complaint at the time of detention placement.

- There were 134 placements for youth with a new complaint, representing slightly more than one-quarter of all placements.
- The ADP was 41 youth, representing one-quarter of the overall average detained population.
- The ALOS was 18.6 days, compared to 19.1 days for all placements.
- Most of these placements are a result of policy reasons and discretionary decision making, rather than youth risk score.

This door contributes to the second largest portion of the average detained population due more to the large number of placements than lengths of stay. The average LOS of 18.6 days for youth placed through this door is skewed by the lengths of stay of those who continued in secure detention post-disposition. In fact, 50% of these youth stay 2 or fewer days in detention.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
New Complaint Placements	134	18.6	41

Detained youth in this category may be new to the department, meaning they are unassigned and not currently under an active probation or commitment supervision order. The majority of this population (55%) is already under supervision and assigned a DJS Case Manager. Youth under supervision who are placed as new complaints stay three times longer than their unassigned counterparts.

	n	%	ALOS[1]	ADP	% DRAI low	% DRAI med	% DRAI high	Mean DRAI Score
Total	**134**	**100**	**18.6**	**40.8**	**14.5**	**45**	**40.5**	**6.7**
Not Currently under Supervision	60	44.8	8.2	8.1	31.7	58.3	10	3.7
Currently under Supervision	74	55.2	27	32.7	0	33.8	66.2	9.2

Myth Buster:

Myth: The risk score as determined by the DRAI drives detention for most youth with new complaints.

Fact: Most youth with new complaints are detained for policy reasons, and not the risk score.

The risk level breakdown of placements into detention for a new complaint is as follows:

	Low Risk	Moderate Risk	High Risk	Mean DRAI
Percent of Placements	14.5%	45.0%	40.5%	6.7

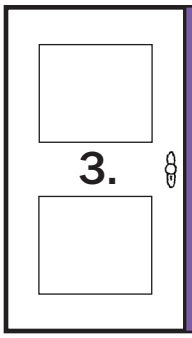
The average DRAI score for youth placed for new complaints was 6.7, with 59.5% of this population identified by the DRAI as low and medium risk youth. As this score is not high enough to meet the criteria for detention based upon the cut-off points of the DRAI, special (policy reasons) and discretionary decisions are the drivers of these youth into secure detention. Retrospective application of the DRAI for youth with new complaints show that on any given day, 30 youth are in detention for reasons other than risk. The policy reasons are more likely due to the large number of youth in this category who are under supervision of court orders that are typically explicit about use of secure detention in the case of new charges.

	Placements	ADP
Special Decision	59	23.9
Discretionary Override	36	6.0
Risk Score	36	7.3
No DRAI information	3	3.6
Total	**134**	**40.8**

The following table shows the offense severity of the alleged offense for youth who were placed through this door.

	n	%
Crime of Violence	36	26.9
Non-Violent Person-to-Person Felony	1	0.7
Non-Violent Drug Felony	39	29.1
Non-Violent Property Felony	13	9.7
Non-Violent Person-to-Person Misdemeanor	14	10.4
Non-Violent Handgun Misdemeanor	4	3
Non-Violent Drug Misdemeanor	13	9.7
Non-Violent Property Misdemeanor	13	9.7
Ordinance Offense	1	0.7
Total	134	100.0

Just over half of all youth placed through this door remain in detention for two or fewer days: 74 out of 143, or 52%. There are about ten percent of these placements that do last over 60 days, and the greatest portion of those longer stays are post-disposition.



ATD Sanctions and Violations

Placement in detention following noncompliance with the supervision terms of an ATD, either as a violation (detain until hearing), or as a short term sanction (typically 2-3 days).

- There were 143 placements for youth with ATD sanctions and violations, representing more than one-quarter of all placements (28%).
- The ADP was 27 youth, representing 17% of the overall average detained population.
- The ALOS was 11.5 days, compared to 19.1 days for all placements.
- 79% of ATD-driven placements in detention are a result of violations, while only 21% are a result of sanctions.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
ATD Sanctions and Violations	143	11.5	26.9

This door contributes the third largest portion of the average detained population. The use of detention as a sanction means that the youth is placed in detention short-term (2-3 days) as a condition of a graduated sanction system, with the expectation that he or she will return to the ATD. A violation means the youth is placed in detention as a result of noncompliance with alternative supervision conditions and remains detained until the hearing. Violations of an alternative program may include scenarios in which the youth does not adhere to curfew, voluntarily removes electronic monitoring equipment, or moves beyond a specified geographic range, etc.

Youth who enter through this door do not stay as long as some other types of secure detention placements, but their volume in the population is concerning. Placements resulting from violations, not sanctions, contribute most to ADP. There are 26 youth in detention for ATD violation on any given day, as compared to only one for ATD sanction. Youth in this category also do not remain in secure custody following hearing. Only two youth placed for ATD violation during the study continued custody as post-disposition status.

	Placements	%	Total ALOS	ADP	% DRAI low	% DRAI med	% DRAI high	Mean DRAI Score
Sanction	**30**	**21**	**2.6**	**1.3**	**0**	**18.5**	**81.5**	**10.3**
Violation	**113**	**79**	**13.9**	**25.7**	**0**	**28.8**	**71.2**	**9.4**
Total	**143**	**100**	**11.5**	**26.9**	**0**	**26.7**	**73.3**	**9.6**

These youth tend to be high risk. When screened retrospectively, nearly three-quarters had DRAI scores that met criteria for secure detention. This is important to note as alternative programs are attempting to serve high risk youth.

The following table shows the specific program from which youth who enter through this door were sanctioned or violated. Again, without looking at the full cohort of youth (including those who remain in ATDs), it is difficult to determine the scope of the youth population that fails. However, the table does illustrate which programs drive the detained population due to sanctions and violations.

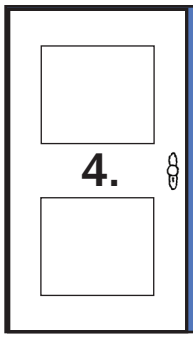
	Placements	%	Total ALOS	ADP
Violation	**113**	**79**	**13.9**	**25.7**
CD	41	28.7	12.2	8.2
CD/EM	63	44.1	15.4	15.9
CD, D/ERC	2	1.4	11	0.4
D/ERC	2	1.4	3	0.1
Shelter	4	2.8	14.5	1
DRAP	1	0.7	11	0.2
Sanction	**30**	**21**	**2.6**	**1.3**
CD	15	10.5	3.3	0.8
CD/EM	13	9.1	1.5	0.3
CD, D/ERC	2	1.4	4	0.1
Total	**143**	**100**	**11.5**	**26.9**

As the largest ATD program operating for Baltimore City youth, with a capacity to provide community supervision to 225 youth per day, the DJS-operated Community Detention (CD) Program is the sole driver of ATD sanctions and violations. The more important finding regarding ATD violations is the distinction between violation outcomes for youth who receive CD supervision with electronic monitoring (EM), as compared to those do not. Youth who violate CD/EM are 44% of total ATD violations in detention, and there are twice as many CD/EM youth in ADP than those with CD supervision only. The sanctioned population is far smaller in total ADP (1.3), and the use of secure detention for ATD sanctions shows little difference between the types of CD supervision.

Myth Buster:

Myth: Detention placements are primarily driven by new offenses, where DJS Intake staff make detention decisions based on risk.

Fact: One quarter of detention placements are of youth failing in alternatives to detention, with decisions being driven by the court and ATD program policies and practices.



4. Adult Court Involvement

Youth detained in juvenile detention centers who have involvement with the adult court: either after the resolution or waiver down of an adult charge, or as a courtesy hold while the adult charge is addressed.

- There were 27 placements for youth with adult court involvement, representing just five percent of all placements.
- The ADP was 25.2 youth, representing 16 percent of the overall average detained population.
- The LOS averaged over two months (longest of all the doors), compared to 19.1 days for all placements.
- Most of these placements began after adult court processing finished, and youth remained in juvenile detention pending a juvenile court action.

Many youth and young adults commit offenses with primary jurisdiction in the adult court. Occasionally the adult court requests that a youth be detained in a juvenile detention center pending their adult court hearing. There may also be cases where there are concurrent juvenile charges, which are generally heard in the juvenile court after the adult charges are addressed, with the youth being physically transferred to juvenile detention pending that hearing. Finally, some charges start under adult court jurisdiction, but are then "reverse waived" down to the juvenile court. The previously addressed situations are combined into a category of youth with adult court involvement. There is a long LOS in juvenile detention for youth in these situations, often, it is presumed, with additional days spent in adult detention centers. Under five percent (27 youth) of all placements were youth who had adult court issues; despite this low percentage of placements, these youth tend to have long lengths of stay (56.9 days on average) and contribute to a disproportionately large percent (sixteen percent) of the average detained population.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Youth with Adult Court Involvement	27	56.9	25.2

Courtesy Holds: Relatively few youth are detained in juvenile facilities while adult court matters are addressed; only six placements of this type occurred during the study period. Of this six, two were in detention for fewer than two days. However, the other four spent 94, 116, 145, and 183 days respectively as the wheels of justice slowly turned. This extremely long length of stay average means that though these cases are few, they do make up a significant part of the detained population well out of proportion to their numbers.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Adult Courtesy Holds	6	90.2	8.9

There are 21 additional youth who were detained awaiting juvenile court action following resolution or reverse waiver of their adult court matter.

Reverse Waivers: Ten cases that had original jurisdiction in the adult court were waived down to the juvenile court. These youth averaged 88 days in juvenile detention, which is in addition to any days they may have spent in adult detention prior to the charge being waived down. Due to the long lengths of stay, these youth represent a large portion - just under 10% - of the average daily detained population.

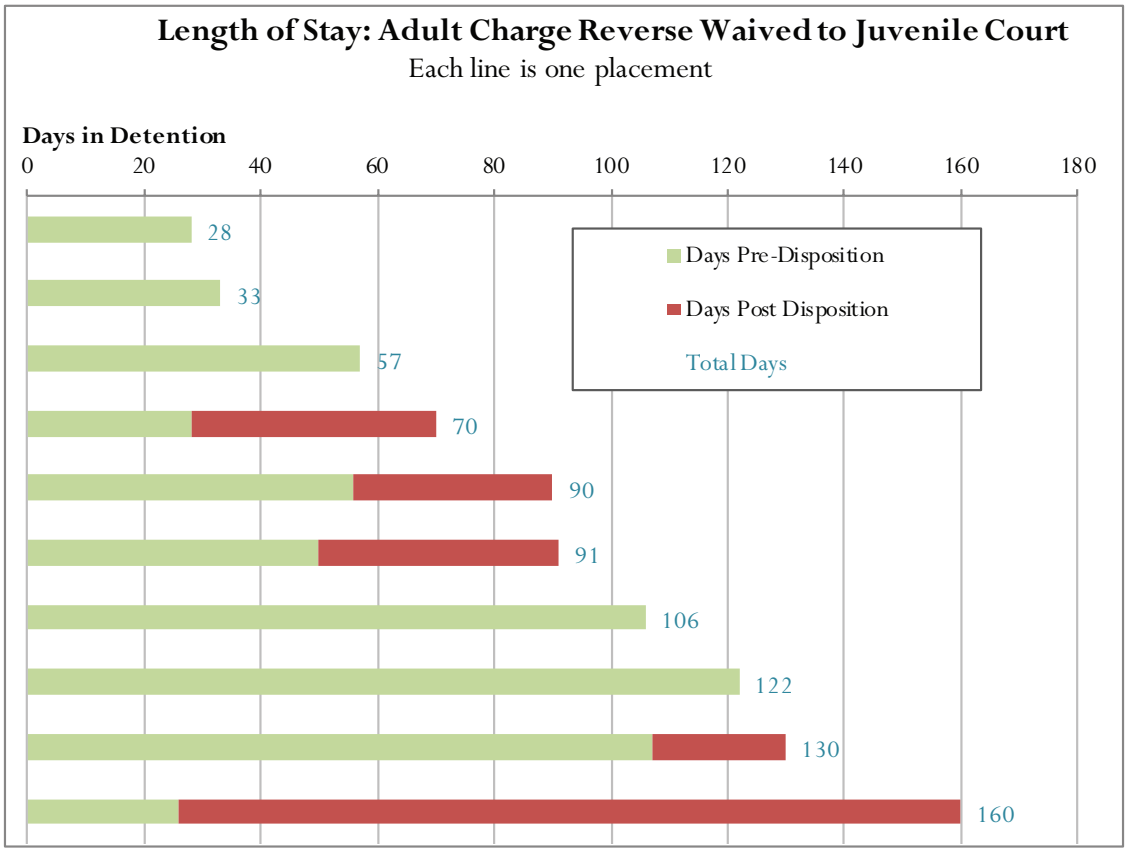
	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Adult Reverse Waivers	10	88.7	14.5

The following chart shows the lengths of stay for these youth, both pre- and post-disposition. All cases took at least 25 days until disposition, with most taking many months to disposition.

Myth Buster:

Myth: Youth in detention with adult court involvement wait long periods of time primarily due to adult court processing delays.

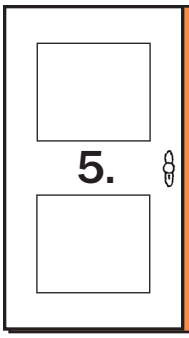
Fact: Most of these kids are in detention awaiting the resolution of a complaint before the juvenile court, not the adult court.



Baltimore City Detention Utilization Study Period June-July 2011

Juvenile Complaint Heard after Resolution of Adult Matter: Finally, eleven youth were placed into juvenile detention for a juvenile court hearing after a concurrent adult matter was resolved. These youth averaged just ten days in juvenile detention; these days are additional to any days spent in adult detention. The entire juvenile detention spell for all of these youth was pre-disposition, and they account for an average daily population of just under two youth in detention.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Concurrent Juvenile Complaint	11	9.9	1.8



Other Violations and Sanctions

Youth already under a supervision order (including probation, aftercare and VPI), who are placed into detention for a violation or sanction not involving a new offense or ATD violation.

- There were 96 placements for youth with other violations and sanctions, representing only 19% of all placements.
- The ADP was 16 youth, representing a quarter of the overall average detained population.
- The ALOS was 10 days, compared to 19.1 days for all placements.
- Placements in this category are driven more by violations than sanctions, with 60% of all placements at this door being made for violation of probation terms.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Other Violations and Sanctions	96	10	16

Similar to the detention utilization trends observed for ATD sanctions and violations, youth under probation or aftercare supervision may be placed in secure detention for violating community supervision terms and held until a review hearing, or youth may be placed short-term as a sanction (consequence), and then returned back to the community.

This population includes youth on probation and youth committed at home, either on aftercare following a committed release, or committed to the community. VPI youth would be a subset of both. There are 16 youth in detention on any given day for probation violations or sanctions.

It is important to note that the number of youth placed as a result of a violation of probation terms may be significantly undercounted due to the way in which placement decisions are made. Youth who obtain new charges while under court-ordered probation supervision are more frequently documented as new complaints, rather than a probation violation incurred by the new charge. A general rule of thumb within the JDAI framework is that if a youth's new charge is not of the severity that qualifies for automatic detention and there are no other community supervision compliance issues, then the placement is a result of probation violation. Additional data analysis may conclude that the use of secure detention for probation violations is much more frequent and that these youth are a larger proportion of total ADP.

Lengths of stay for youth placed through this door vary according to whether it is a violation or sanction and the type of supervision that the youth is under. The table below provides ADP and ALOS for these youth. Youth placed in detention for probation violation stay longer, on average, than youth placed for sanctions, and VPI youth placed for violations stay the longest, nearly two weeks (13 days).

	n	%	Total ALOS	ADP
VPI Violation	48	50	13.4	10.5
VPI Sanction	36	37.5	5.8	3.4
Probation/Aftercare Violation	10	10.4	8.1	1.3
Probation/Aftercare Sanction	2	2.1	12.5	0.4
Total	**96**	**100**	**10**	**15.7**

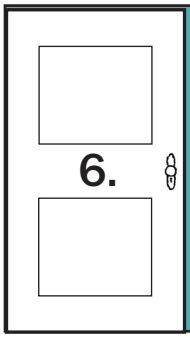
Youth in this category are higher risk, with 61% meeting the criteria for secure detention, on average, upon retrospective application of the DRAI for this study. Two of every three VPI youth placed for violations received high risk scores. This finding was also true for youth placed in detention for violation of non-VPI probation or aftercare supervision. In fact, the non-VPI youth have a higher risk score (10.2) on average.

	% DRAI low	% DRAI med	% DRAI high	Mean DRAI Score
VPI Violation	0	33.3	66.7	8.4
VPI Sanction	0	48.1	51.9	8.1
Probation/Aftercare Violation	0	33.3	66.7	10.2
Probation/Aftercare Sanction	0	50	50	6
Total	0	38.6	61.4	8.5

Myth Buster:

Myth: There is excessive use of secure detention for sanctions or violations of VPI-supervised youth.

Fact: There are only 14 youth VPI youth in detention daily for VPI-related violations or sanctions, which is less than 10% of the total detention population.



6. Other Writs and Warrants

Youth placed into detention who had a writ or warrant, and no new juvenile or adult complaint, ATD or supervision violation at the time of placement.

- There were 52 placements for youth with other writs and warrants, representing just 10% of all placements.
- The ADP was 11.4 youth, representing seven percent of the overall average detained population.
- The ALOS was 13.4 days, compared to 19.1 days for all placements.
- FTAs, runaways, and AWOLs from shelter or placement represent the three most common types of writs and warrants not already captured under other doors.

This door is complex to define, as there is much overlap with the other doors. For the purposes of determining the overall portion of the ADP represented by each door, those writs/warrants that are the result of, for example, an ATD violation, or an AWOL failure from a committed placement, would be counted in the overall analysis as part of that door's ADP. So this door represents those other writs and warrants not already counted under other doors. However, also presented is a table of the full picture of writs and warrants, including those covered by other doors, to show the breakdown by the priority (1-4) of the writ or warrant, and the risk level for the youth detained under them.

Placements for other writs and warrants represent a relatively small portion of the overall detention placements and average detained ADP.

	Placements	ALOS	ADP
Other Writs and Warrants	52	13.4	11.4

The following table shows the breakdown of writ and warrant types captured under this door to detention. The primary types are for runaways, FTA's and AWOLs from shelter or placement. Youth detained after a shelter AWOL tend to stay longer than other youth in this category – just under 25 days.

Type of Writ or Warrant	n	%	Total ALOS	ADP
AWOL from Shelter/Placement	9	17.3	24.2	3.6
County Warrant	1	1.9	1.0	0.0
DSS/CINA Matter	3	5.8	3.7	0.2
FTA	16	30.8	14.9	3.9
Mental Health Risk	1	1.9	5.0	0.1
Runaway	20	38.5	11.0	3.6
SAO Requested	2	3.8	1.0	0.0
Total	52	100.0	13.4	11.4

Overall Writs and Warrants: As mentioned previously, there were additional youth detained with writs or warrants that were captured and analyzed under other doors to detention, where the writ or warrant is not necessarily the primary reason for detention. 67 additional placements from other doors had writs or warrants at the time of placement, representing 35.4 youth in detention by ADP. It is important to caution that the writ or warrant is not necessarily the primary cause for detention in all cases. The data simply shows that there was a writ or warrant open at the time of detention.

Myth Buster:

Myth: Most youth detained on Writs and Warrants are for high priority Warrants

Fact: Most of those detained for a writ or warrant are for Priority 4, which is the lowest priority

The following table includes those additional cases, giving a full picture of detained youth with writs or warrants. The risk level of the youth is fairly high across the board, with no youth scoring "Low" risk according to the DRAI, and more than two thirds scoring "High." (Prior FTA's and runaways themselves do increase the assessed risk level, but only by a few points.)

	n	%	Total ALOS	ADP	% DRAI low	% DRAI med	% DRAI high	Mean DRAI Score
AWOL from Shelter/Placement	9	17.3	24.2	3.6	12.5	0.0	87.5	10.8
County warrant	1	1.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	7.0
DSS/CINA Matter	3	5.8	3.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	11.0
FTA	16	30.8	14.9	3.9	0.0	13.3	86.7	9.8
Mental Health Risk	1	1.9	5.0	0.1	0.0	100.0	0.0	5.0
Runaway	20	38.5	11.0	3.6	0.0	60.0	40.0	8.1
SAO Requested	2	3.8	1.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	5.5
Total	52	100.0	13.4	11.4	2.0	34.7	63.3	9.0

Another way to categorize writs and warrants is according to their priority level. The following table shows the breakdown by level, with Priority 1 being the most serious and 4 the least serious. Interestingly, in terms of both placements and ADP, lower-priority warrants are the most frequently occurring reason for detention, though Priority 1 placements have a much longer ALOS – almost 25 days.

	n	%	Total ALOS	ADP	% DRAI low	% DRAI med	% DRAI high	Mean DRAI Score
Priority 1	8	15.4	25.4	3.3	0.0	12.5	87.5	11.3
Priority 2	4	7.7	1.3	0.1	0.0	25.0	75.0	8.8
Priority 3	17	32.7	18.8	5.2	7.1	28.6	64.3	8.9
Priority 4	22	42.3	7.6	2.7	0.0	45.5	55.5	8.4
County warrant	1	1.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	7.0
Total	52	100.0	13.4	11.4	2.0	34.7	63.3	9.0

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Key Findings

Review of the report yielded the following key findings.

- **Baltimore uses detention more heavily than comparable JDAI jurisdictions, and in recent years the use of detention relative to the number of juvenile arrests has actually gone up.** Among 25 JDAI sites of comparable size, Baltimore had the third highest rate of detention per 10,000 youth in 2010. Since 2001, the number of juvenile arrests in Baltimore has fallen by over 30%, yet the average daily population in detention has fallen by just 15%; as a result the rate of detention per juvenile arrest has actually risen.
- **It remains the case that Baltimore's youth detention population is overwhelmingly black and male.** The city's age 10-17 population in 2010 was about 50% male and 81% African American; yet the detained population in this study was 93% male and 98% African American.
- **Most Baltimore detention resources go to youth who are awaiting adjudication before the juvenile court.** In this study 89% of youth placed in detention were admitted prior to disposition of their current offense or violation, and only 5% of them remained in detention following disposition. Youth placed in detention post-disposition did stay longer on average, but nevertheless over 60% of the days that the study sample spent in detention were spent awaiting disposition before the juvenile court.
- **Most Baltimore youth placed in detention are already under some form of DJS supervision at the time of placement.** 77% of the Baltimore youth placed in detention, and 84% of those in detention on an average day, were under probation or aftercare supervision at the time of placement.
- **Detention in Baltimore continues to be used disproportionately to hold post-dispositional youth who are awaiting a committed out of home placement.** Most such pending placement youth were removed from a previous committed placement, and returned to detention while a new placement was being arranged – and there they waited, for an average of over 50 days. These cases accounted for 8% of detained youth, but more than 20% of all days spent in detention.
- **Most Baltimore detention placements are based on non-violent offenses.** Crimes of violence were alleged against only 20% of youth placed in detention prior to disposition; and were sustained against only 24% of post-disposition youth. The most prevalent offenses (alleged against pre-disposition youth, or sustained against post-disposition youth) were non-violent misdemeanors (44% of pre-disposition and 53% of post-disposition placements) and non-violent drug felonies (27% of pre-disposition and 18% of post-disposition placements).
- **The use of detention in Baltimore is driven overwhelmingly by policies and practices, rather than the offenses of or public safety risks posed by youth.** Only about 8% of youth in detention on a given day in this study appeared to have been placed based on either intake staff discretion or evaluated risk. Most use of detention was determined by policies (e.g. responses to violations of rules in either pre- or post-disposition programs, 'special detention' reasons applied above and beyond the evaluated risk factors on the DRAI) and practices (e.g. delays in processing some cases in juvenile court or in finalizing other placements).
- **One of the fundamental challenges to controlling the use of detention in Baltimore is the existence of multiple, sometimes overlapping, pathways ("doors") into secure detention.** Because youth can be placed in detention for so many different reasons, it proved to be difficult even in retrospect to determine for this study precisely why individual youth were detained. As complicated as this was in the context of a retrospective study, it is even more complicated for staff and decision-makers to sort out these factors in real time. Reconciling and clarifying these policies must be part of any strategy to administer them more consistently and rationally.

Recommendations about Doors Youth Take into Detention

Based on the findings, the Department of Juvenile Services recommends taking the following opportunities to reduce unnecessary detention which exist at each door into detention:

- Post-Disposition Pending Placement Door
    - Youth placed in detention awaiting placement elsewhere – either because they were placed in detention at disposition, or because they had problems in another placement – accounted for just 11% of detention placements, but consumed one quarter of detention resources due to their long average length of stay (ALOS). Expediting placements for these youth would substantially reduce the use of detention.
    - Analyze what drives youth who are at home prior to disposition to be detained post disposition and committed to out of home placement. Consider what in-home treatment alternatives might be made available.
    - Placements to detention through this door could be lowered through both a reduction of the number of failed committed placements, and by increasing the ability of DJS to transfer such youth directly to a new committed placement, without the need for detention between programs.
- New Complaint Door
    - One quarter of detention placements, and the same share of detention resources, were based on new delinquency complaints. Almost three quarters of these complaints were non-violent, and almost 60% of the youth had a risk score on the DRAI that fell below the threshold for secure detention. 44% of youth admitted on new complaints had a 'special detention' reason, which by policy would put them in detention regardless of either their DRAI score or intake staff discretion. Improving the screening process for youth with a new complaint, and basing that decision more on objectively evaluated risk factors, could result in large reductions in unnecessary detention.
- ADT Violations and Sanctions Door
    - More than one quarter of detention admissions, and more than one sixth of detention resources used, were due to technical violations of rules in Alternative to Detention (ATD) programs – programs that exist to reduce unnecessary use of detention. Reducing the prevalence of such rule violations, and developing responses to them that get youth's attention without involving detention when they do occur, could significantly reduce detention placements.
    - Data were not collected about what program(s) the youth had participated in prior to the time they were detained during the study period. Investigation and analysis of the progression and intensity of interventions used prior to detention could provide insight into what happened to these youth prior to the time they were detained. Knowing this could lead to development of interventions not currently employed in ATD that could be added to the pool of strategies used prior to or instead of detention.
- Adult Court Involvement Door
    - Youth with adult court involvement held in juvenile detention – primarily following reverse waiver from the adult court, or after the resolution of adult court matters on a complaint that also includes delinquency charges – were just 5% of detention placements, but consumed 16% of detention resources. These youth have charges pending only before the juvenile court, but wait much longer than other youth to have those charges adjudicated. Expedited processing of those cases could also have a significant impact on the use of detention.

- Investigate the potential for concurrent planning for youth experiencing simultaneous involvement in the juvenile and adult systems.
- Develop mechanism to increase information sharing between juvenile and adult court.

- Other Violations and Sanctions Door
  - 20% of detention placements, and about 10% of detention resources used, were due to technical violations of probation and aftercare rules, especially for youth involved in the Violence Prevention Initiative (VPI). Reducing the prevalence of those violations and the frequency with which they result in detention could substantially reduce placements.

- Other Writs and Warrants Door
  - About 10% of detention placements are due to writs or warrants issued in response to youth running away from placements, absconding, or failing to make required appearances before judges or meetings with probation / aftercare officers. Detention use could be minimized by reducing the prevalence of such failures, and developing responses to them that do not involve detention.

Recommendations about Data Accuracy

This study was a retrospective study, based in large part on data collected by DJS staff during their daily job duties. This data required a massive and multi-pronged effort to increase its accuracy and completeness, without which, the study conclusions would have been highly misleading. Though the current study is accurate, moving forward, there need to be deep changes in how data is entered, reviewed, and audited to insure that management data reports are accurate in the short term, and that future analysis won't require such post-processing to clean up data. The following are the major areas requiring attention.

ASSIST

- The doors to detention are not accurately captured in ASSIST. Existing detention admission reasons do not accurately portray the processes by which youth enter into detention. A majority of the cases in this study required at least some reading of actual case notes and case histories to determine the reason for detention and continued legal status.
- As currently collected, ASSIST data are plagued by contradictory and inaccurate entries. Staff are incorrectly opening detention folders before correctly opening pending placement folders; this means the data are riddled with detention spells lasting 0 minutes. Even more seriously, staff are mis-categorizing pre-disposition youth as post-disposition pending placement and vice versa. In the current study, out of 514 cases, 81 had placements that were incorrectly entered. These mistakes also affected the completion rate for retrospectively applied DRAIs; many of the youth in the pre-disposition detention group who did not get DRAIs were originally mis-categorized as post-disposition pending placement youth.
- Program placement data are similarly filled with inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Efforts should be focused on making sure start and end dates are captured precisely, particularly with respect to the use of shelter. In addition, placement data should be regularly checked against information routinely reported by ATDs, which should also be collected uniformly across programs, to ensure that involvement in ATDs is accurately portrayed.
- Some youth who went through night intake from other jurisdictions were inaccurately captured as Baltimore City residents in the data and had to be deleted from the study.

DRAI

- Prior to the study period, the DRAI was not completed for more than half of the youth detained in Baltimore City. Even when the DRAI was completed, staff members were not using its recommendations to drive detention decision making. Workers were instructed to complete the DRAI retrospectively for youth detained pre-disposition solely so that the current study could provide a more complete description of this group.
- Although recent IT programming efforts have enabled some of the fields of the DRAI to be pre-populated, the offense field is still text-based and is often left blank or filled with non-offense-related information. Efforts should be made to standardize this field and to force staff members to select an override reason when an override is indicated.
- A combination of programming and data entry errors means that DRAI scores are inaccurately calculated for youth indicated as having a prior referral within the past 24 hours. Although DRAI scores were recalculated for youth in the study, this error needs to be addressed so that accurate DRAI scores may be utilized in real time.
- There is currently no field in the DRAI that captures the doors to detention.