# DEEP END REFORM: The New York City Experience

**Deep End Inter-Site Conference** 

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The Annie E. Casey Foundation

Rachel Gassert, Program Associate
Juvenile Justice Strategy Group

In 2010, NYC embarked on the challenge of designing a system to serve all court-involved youth in the city, instead of in far away, upstate facilities.

#### **GOALS**

- Keep youth closer to home
- Reduced recidivism
- Safer communities
- Increase accountability
- Better long-term outcomes for system-involved youth and families

#### **STRATEGIES**

- Operating placements that are closer to New York City, safer and more humane, with better results
- Increase the array and number of available Alternative to Placement slots and options
- Reduce the overall number of youth receiving dispositions for placement

This presentation will focus on the efforts NYC made to reduce the number of youth disposed to residential facilities

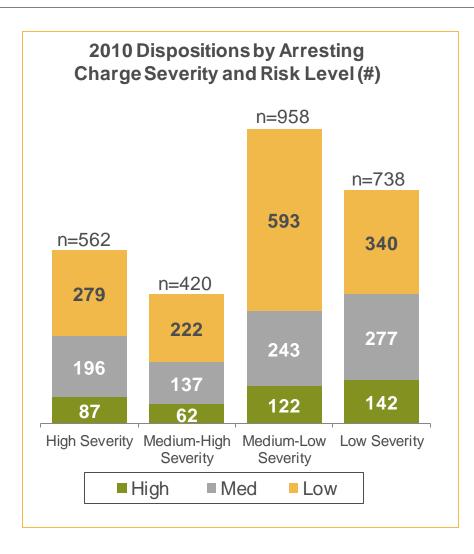


## The first step was to conduct an assessment to identify the factors that resulted in the unnecessary use of confinement.

#### **ASSESSMENT COMPONENTS:**

- Participated in city-wide dispositional reform steering committee and subcommittees:
  - Data
  - Residential
  - Community-Based Interventions
- Interviewed juvenile probation officers and supervisors in three out of five boroughs
- Met with Department of Probation management including the Commissioner, Deputy and Associate Commissioners and Borough Directors.
- Court Observation
- Detailed analysis of data on arrest, probation intake, and dispositions

Data analysis showed that there were far too many low-level youth entering the system, and there was a need to handle more cases informally.

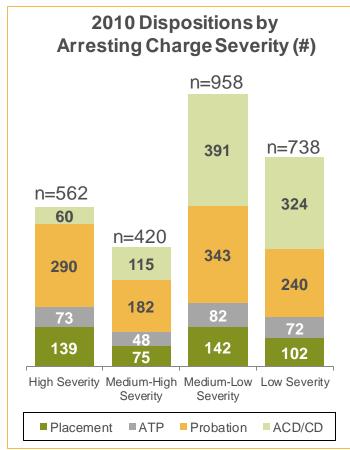


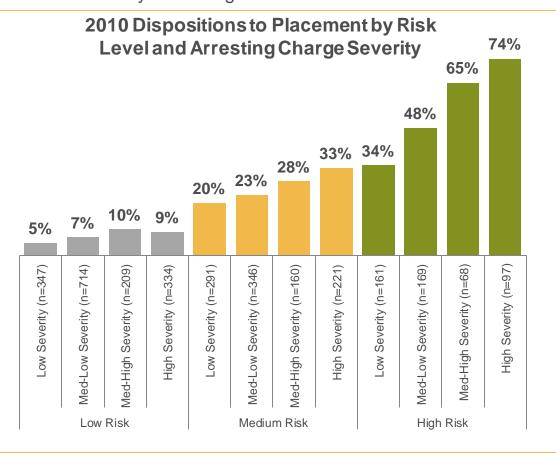
#### ASSESSMENT FINDINGS:

- 28% of all youth who received a disposition in 2010 were arrested for minor misdemeanors, and 45% of those scored low risk on the RAI.
- 53% of all dispositions were for low risk youth.
- Although diversion rates had increased, they were still quite low:
  - 14% of arrests were handled informally in 2003.
  - 26% of arrests were handled informally in 2007.
- Probation administration prioritized reforming diversion practices.

## Dispositional data also revealed that far too many low risk youth and those with minor offenses were sent to out-of-home placement.

Among all dispositions to placement for a new arrest (i.e., not including VOPs), 53% were for arrest charges considered to be low or medium-low in severity. Moreover, high risk youth arrested for low level misdemeanors were almost four times as likely to be placed as low risk youth charged with the most serious offenses.





## Through discussions and interviews with stakeholders, we identified a number of other opportunities to impact the deep end population

#### ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

#### **RISK ASSESSMENT**

- Universal discontent with the dispositional risk assessment instrument used by the Department of Probation (DOP)
  - Lack of transparency
  - Gender bias
  - Very little buy-in within or outside DOP

#### **ARRAY OF ALTERNATIVES**

- Intensive services aimed at placement-bound youth only really addressed one type of need – families
  - Lack of services to address education, positive youth development, attitude/behavior change, etc.

#### **PROBATION**

- Probation not sufficiently individualized or stratified
- Focus on process than behavioral/well-being outcomes
- Inefficient & ineffective supervisory practices
- Low staff morale amid "chain of command" culture

## Based on these findings, the city embarked on a multi-faceted plan to address these problems

#### **DEEP END STRATEGIES:**

Increase diversion at the front end

Systematize dispositional recommendations

Select and implement new dispositional risk assessment tool

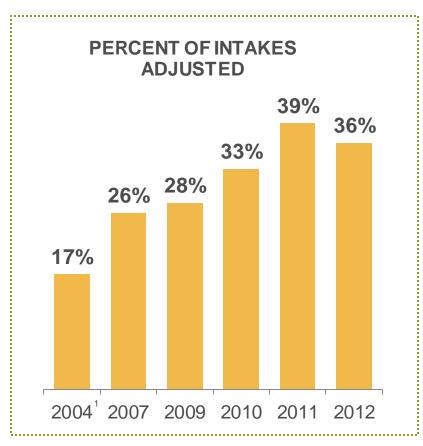
Develop a more robust array of alternatives

Allocate probation resources more effectively

Develop and implement a new case management system for POs

Address DOP management and supervisory concerns

## By 2012, DOP had more than doubled the percentage of referrals to intake that were handled informally



<sup>1</sup> Data from 2004 and 2007 are based on the fiscal year, 2009-2012 is based on the calendar year

- DOP made it a priority to increase the number of youth handled informally, when appropriate by:
  - Revising intake protocols around decision making
  - Training intake officers on restorative practices
  - Giving POs the tools to help complainants and parents better understand what adjustment vs. formal processing means
  - Increasing the array of options available for youth on adjustment

## To reduce the number of youth placed for low-severity offenses, system stakeholders decided to implement Structured Decision Making

- Structured Decision Making (SDM) is a process of dispositional decision making that ensures that the majority of the system's resources are focused on the youth that need them the most
- An SDM grid reflects local values. This one was developed in collaboration with the key agencies invested in the juvenile justice system in NYC
- It achieves fairness: youth with similar behaviors and risk levels will receive similar dispositional recommendations from probation officers
- The grid reduces the use of overly intensive dispositions for low-risk youth,
   which has been shown to increase risk of recidivism
- Recommendations for the level of security in the disposition will not be based on the youth's treatment needs or attitude while in court or with PO¹

Placements can remain low and resources are maximized, without sacrificing appropriate levels of supervision

## The SDM matrix combines offense level with risk of re-arrest to guide the Probation Officer in selecting a dispositional option to recommend in court

MOST SERIOUS CURRENT	LIKELIHOOD OF RE-ARREST				
ARREST CHARGE <sup>2</sup>	HIGH OR VERY HIGH MODERATE		LOW		
CLASS I: A, B felonies (violent & non-violent), violent C felonies	Out of Home Placement (range of security options)	Out of Home Placement or Alternative to Placement	Alternative to Placement or Probation		
CLASS II: Non-violent C felonies, violent D felonies	Out of Home Placement or Alternative to Placement	Alternative to Placement or ESP (Level 3 Probation)	Level 1 or 2 Probation		
CLASS III: Non violent D, All E felonies, misd assault and misd weapons possession	Alternative to Placement or ESP (Level 3 Probation)	Level 1 or 2 Probation	Level 1 Probation or CD		
CLASS IV: A misdemeanors except assault and weapons and all B misdemeanors <sup>3</sup>	Level 1 or 2 Probation	CD or ACD	ACD or short term one time consequence or Dismissal		

#### **MANDATORY OVERRIDES:**

- 1. Must consider CD or ACD for youth with no unsealed priors. Decision is based on the circumstances of the case.
- 2. If case goes to trial, use finding offense

#### **DISCRETIONARY OVERRIDES:**

POs have discretion to recommend either a more or less restrictive option than the grid provides. However, all overrides - up or down - must be submitted with justification for approval by the PO's supervisor and Borough Director

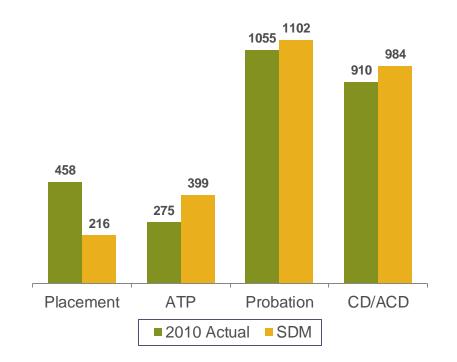
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Arrest charge was selected instead of adjudicated charge due to the idiosyncrasies of New York City's plea bargaining practices. It was determined that using adjudicated charge would drastically impact the number of cases contested in court and would, therefore, reduce the value of the grid as a tool that reflects the consensus of system stakeholders. This was not without much debate, however, and is an issue that may continue to be contested

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Many of these cases should be adjusted at intake

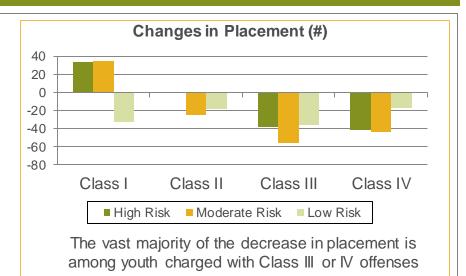
## The grid intended to shift dispositional outcomes for the better, by limiting placement to youth who posed the biggest risk to public safety

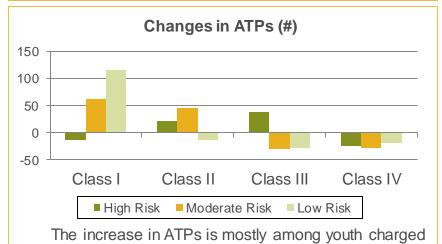
NYC stakeholders do not anticipate perfect adherence to the grid<sup>4</sup>, either due to PO overrides and/or judicial decisions in court. However, if the grid were applied to 2010 original dispositions, 53% fewer youth would have gone to placement.

## 2010 Dispositions vs. Perfect Adherence to the SDM Grid



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Assuming a 50-50 split in boxes with two options





with serious offenses, especially for Class I Low Risk

youth, many of whom were previously placed 11

## NYC implemented the Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI) through a highly transparent process

### SELECTION OF RISK TOOL

#### TRAINING DOP STAFF

## EDUCATING STAKEHOLDERS



- DOP evaluated several researchbased dispositional risk assessment instruments including the YASI, the JAIS, and the YLS/CMI
- Criteria included sufficient inter-rater reliability and a logical risk distribution

- Staged roll out of training and implementation across boroughs
- YLS and the corresponding court reports were reviewed by management before going to court
- Info sessions for judges, defense and prosecuting attorneys, and mental health clinicians in all 5 boroughs
- YLS report is submitted with court reports, unlike the previous risk tool

# With the addition of three new alternatives to placement, a fuller continuum provides a robust array of interventions for youth

								Placement
				Day Program	AIM	ECHOES	JJI	<b>Description:</b> Continuum of non-secure and
ACD/ CD Target Group:	Prob. 1  Target Group: Class I – L Class II – L Class III – L Class IV – H	Prob. 2  Target Group: Class I – L Class II – M  Average Duration: 1 year  Capacity: TBD	Prob. 3  Target Group: Class I – L Class III – H Class III – H  Average Duration: 1 year Capacity: TBD  Description: progra youth discon from so followe level of probati determ assess during transiti plannir prior to comple	Description: Day and/or evening program for youth disconnected from school, followed by level of probation to be determined via assessment	Description: An "advocate" from within the youth's own community who works w/ the youth several times per week. Followed by level of probation to be determined via assessment during transitional planning phase prior to completing AIM	Description: Highly intensive level of probation (5 weekly contacts including Saturday work group; life coaching model) focused on promoting behavioral change so youth can forge a successful transition into adulthood	Description: In home family services followed by level of probation to be determined via assessment during transitional planning phase prior to completion of JJI  Target Group: Class I – L/M Class II – H/M Class III – High	
Class I, II, III, or IV – L Class IV – WH  Average Duration: 6 mos/1 yr  Capacity: N/A	Average Duration: 1 year or less Capacity: TBD			Target Group: Class I – L/M Class II – H/M Class III – H Youth not in school  Average Duration: 4-6 mo.+ probation  Capacity: 45	Target Group: Class I – L/M Class II – H/M Class III – H Youth who are resistant to change  Average Duration: 4-6 months in AlM, 6-18 on probation Average Duration: 1 year  Capacity: 50  Capacity: 70  Class I – L/M Class II – H/M Class III – H Youth with challenging family issue	Youth with challenging family issues  Average Duration: 6 months in JJI, 6-18 months	13	

# With differential levels of probation, PO caseloads are balanced according to amount of supervision necessary per youth

PROBATION LEVEL	CONTACT STANDARDS	APPROXIMATE CASELOAD	
One	LOW INTENSITY	75-80 youth	
Two	MEDIUM INTENSITY	30-35 youth	
Three	HIGH INTENSITY (does not include participation in one of the targeted ATP programs)	15-20 youth	
ATP	Depends on the nature of the ATP, but most include a high level of supervision along with intensive community-based interventions		

- When cases are distributed based on supervision level, the workload of each PO is comparable despite varied caseload sizes
- Supervision may be lessened over time as behavior improves

## In addition to restructuring probation caseloads, DOP engaged staff in the development of new tools to enhance probation practice

#### **INNOVATIONS TEAM**

- Convened a group of staff from each borough of varying roles and levels of seniority
- Intended to address low staff morale stemming from:
  - Years of the "initiative du jour"
  - Top down implementation
  - Lack of ownership due to chain of command culture
- Not a gripe session identify solutions and see through to implementation

#### **FOCUS AREAS**

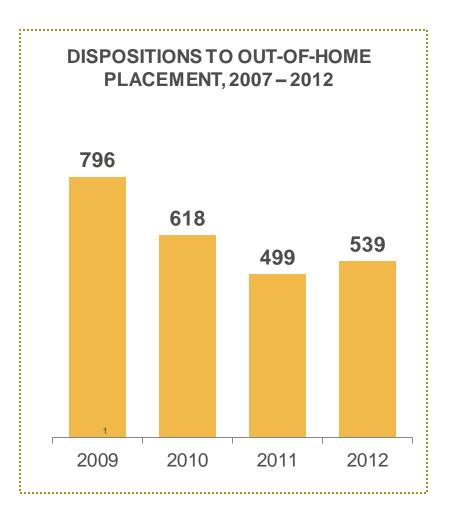
- Case planning
  - Development of the Individual Action Plan (IAP) and protocols
  - Designed and participated in training
  - Champions for reform
  - Sustainability
- Terms & Conditions of probation
- Transition to Advisory Board for DOP administration

## Finally, it was essential to address problematic supervisory practice to ensure effective management of new initiatives

#### SUPERVISORY STRATEGIES

- Training on effective supervisory practice for all Supervising Probation Officers (SPOs)
- Supervisor workgroups
- First ever SPO retreat
- Individualized coaching for Borough Directors
- Development of supervisory standards
- Continued focus on building capacity and support for effective staff supervision

## Despite these efforts, it appears that initial concerns about the appeal of "Close to Home" placements may have been justified



- Dissatisfaction with state facilities had a major impact on the dramatic reductions in placement that occurred in the early 2000s
- Close to Home may have renewed confidence in the use of residential facilities
- It is possible that without reforms like SDM, the increase in placements in 2012 could have been even greater
- Initial data on SDM overrides shows that probation and the judiciary are overriding the grid primarily for youth remaining in detention during the pendency of their cases