

Criminal Justice Coordinating Council

Juvenile Recidivism: A 2015 Cohort Review, and a 2016 Cohort Analysis

Report

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Introduction

In the fall and winter of 2016, members of the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council’s Juvenile Justice Committee (JJC) and the CJCC Principals determined it was important to measure the impact of juvenile justice system interventions through a recidivism study. The CJCC’s Statistical Analysis Center (SAC), in collaboration with the Juvenile Justice Data Committee (JJDC), developed a research plan, which focused on reoffending among juveniles who completed specific juvenile justice system interventions. These interventions include a diversion program, a term of probation, or a term of commitment. Reoffending was measured by the occurrence of new arrests, new case filings, and new adjudications or criminal convictions for an offense that occurred in the year following the completion of the intervention.¹

The baseline analysis of youth completing an intervention in 2015 was presented to the JJDC and to the CJCC Principals in February 2018, and published in March 2018.² It laid the groundwork for the analyses presented here. In the fall of 2018, the JJDC determined it would be useful to continue to conduct the recidivism analysis to help inform additional and more granular questions, such as the impacts of specific services provided to youth. This report takes the foundational study completed in 2018, and repeats that analysis in the interest of revisiting these findings annually and building useful trends. The original study followed youth who completed an intervention in 2015 for twelve months, and this report follows that model and includes:

1. Twelve and 24-month follow-up of recidivism of youth completing an intervention in 2015, and
2. Twelve-month follow-up on recidivism of youth completing an intervention in 2016.

For comparison purposes, in all analyses presented, the 2015 cohort and 2016 cohort 12-month follow-up is presented to examine the trend from one year to the next. Future analyses will allow for the year over year comparisons to continue.

In the interest of addressing the varying definitions and uses of recidivism measures, this study examines the following:

- Arrest for an offense that occurred in the first and second year after the youth finished diversion, probation, or commitment;
- Case filed in court for an offense that occurred in the first or second year after the youth finished diversion, probation, or commitment; and
- Adult conviction or a juvenile adjudication for an offense that occurred in the first or second year after the youth finished diversion, probation, or commitment.³

Measuring Recidivism

The District of Columbia’s interest in recidivism is shared by many jurisdictions across the country, and has been a subject of discussion and research for some time. Currently, experts are establishing best

¹ It is important to note that reoffending for this analysis includes only offending recorded by the District of Columbia; therefore, if a person in the cohort committed a new offense outside of DC, it is not included for consideration in this study.

² The first analysis of this cohort can be found here: <https://cjcc.dc.gov/page/statistical-analysis-center>

³ There are differences in how partners measure or indicate new offending, and those differences are supported by national and local approaches and methodologies. Some indicate that a new arrest indicates system involvement and not necessarily reoffending, while others feel it is important to gauge this point of system contact as an indicator of new offending. Arrest can involve many factors that can lead to a youth having contact with the system, for which petitioning and/or adjudication does not always follow. For this analysis, new offending includes three indicators —new arrests, new filings, and new convictions - to align with partners approaches to measuring recidivism.

practices. In a 2014 study sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) and co-authored by the Council for State Governments (CSG), the Pew Charitable Trusts (Pew), and the Council of Juvenile Correctional Administrators (CJCA),⁴ recommendations were made regarding how to best accomplish juvenile recidivism analyses. According to the study's findings, 39 state-level agencies reported measuring recidivism of juveniles, and their measurements varied from one agency to the next. Their assessment looked at definitions of recidivism, follow-up periods, and a presentation of findings. The findings included a recommendation that all jurisdictions take up the study of recidivism, and specifically offered this guidance: measure re-involvement of various types; consider risk and other key youth variables; regularly collect and report this data; make information about findings available broadly; and finally, use this information to inform how the system operates.

Specifically, the findings highlight the importance of the studies to include various levels of re-involvement, such as re-arrest, re-conviction, and re-incarceration, and to examine adult and juvenile offending. Pew published a related infographic⁵ highlighting the differences in measurement across the country, which indicates that follow-up varied from 6 to 36 months. Their report notes that in some places only re-arrest is gauged, while in others the captured indicator is incarceration. Virginia, for example, measures multiple follow-up periods (6, 12, 24, and 36 months), and includes measures of reoffending indicated by re-arrest, adjudication or conviction, and commitment as an adult or juvenile. And in Maryland, measures are nearly identical to those utilized by DC. Maryland analyzes juvenile and adult reoffending for 12, 24, and 36 month periods, compares year over year rates annually, and also shares their findings with all branches of government and the public to maximize its utility.⁶ Each jurisdiction measuring recidivism has its own methodology, and also its own audience; some agencies that are measuring it share their findings with all three branches of government (for example Utah and Nevada), while others limit the extent to which the information is meaningfully shared across branches (for example New York and Arkansas). Further, just 21 of the 39 agencies that reported for the study used more than one of the standard definitions of recidivism.

North Carolina legislatively mandates bi-annual recidivism analyses. Their 2017 publication⁷ of a fiscal year (FY) 2013 cohort of youth with a case adjudication outlined a three-year follow-up on new arrests and compared re-arrest for youth with a case petitioned in 2013 to youth with a case that was not petitioned in 2013. They also presented a comparison of re-arrests for youth dismissed compared to youth adjudicated for a case in FY2017. This offers a prospective examination, from the point of a case arriving at the juvenile court, rather than from the completion of a resulting intervention. They also examined youth released from a secure youth facility that year, breaking out success rates by offense history, the offense for which they were committed, and risk level.

Georgia's semi-annual recidivism study is a good point of reference. In the 2011 iteration,⁸ their use of the Comprehensive Risk and Needs Assessment across all youth populations allowed them to look at youth outcomes broken out not only by intervention (probation, commitment, etc.), but also allowed for sub-categories to be compared. For example, their probation outcomes are reported in subgroups of

⁴ <https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Measuring-and-Using-Juvenile-Recidivism-Data-to-Inform-Policy-Practice-and-Resource-Allocation.pdf>

⁵ <http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/multimedia/data-visualizations/2014/measuring-juvenile-recidivism>

⁶ Example can be found here: https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/DRG/Recidivism_FY2017_DRG.pdf

⁷ http://www.nccourts.org/Courts/CRS/Councils/spac/Documents/ncspacjuvrecid_2017.pdf

⁸ <http://www.dji.state.ga.us/ResourceLibrary/PDFfiles/RecidivismReportFY2011.pdf>

recidivism by risk level. All analyses also include type of recidivism, looking at new status offenses, new misdemeanors, and new felonies. This and other examples exist to guide effective use of analyses and the work of the District of Columbia juvenile justice partners.

Here in the District of Columbia, CJCC and JJDC efforts are well aligned with the recommendations and examples from around the country. The District of Columbia has laid a strong foundation by measuring various definitions of reoffending, as well as different system interventions from which a youth is released.

DC Adult and Juvenile Arrests, Filings, and Commitments in CY2015 and CY2016

At the system level, there have not been sizable changes from the first examined to the second. The largest changes, as seen in Table 1 below, are the increases in the number of youth referred to, and completing services provided by the Department of Human Services (DHS) through the Alternatives to the Court Experience (ACE) diversion program, which is largely reflective of program policies and capacity increases, rather than any shift in youth behavior. Probation enrollment and completion have seen some decreases over this time as well.

Table 1: Juvenile Justice At-a-Glance for 2015 and 2016⁹

	CY 2015	CY 2016	Percent Change
Juvenile Arrests	3088	3283	+6.3%
Cases No-Papered by OAG	1279	1473	+15.2%
Cases Papered by OAG	1168	1130	-3.2%
Delinquency Cases Filed	1097	1039	-5.3%
ACE New Referrals	441	593	+34.5%
ACE Completions	252	536	+112.7%
CSSD Probation Admissions	444	331	-25.4%
CSSD Probation Releases	509	403	-20.8%
DYRS New Commitments	108	108	No change
DYRS Commitments Completed	209	176	-15.8%

To examine the research question, analysis was conducted of new offending by youth completing the three main types of interventions—diversion, probation and commitment. New offending was indicated by an arrest, a new filing of a delinquency or criminal case, or a new adjudication or conviction. All were measured with incident dates in the 12-month (2016 cohort) and 24-month (2015 cohort) period following the individual’s completion of the intervention.¹⁰

⁹ OAG – Office of the Attorney General; ACE – Alternative to the Court Experience; CSSD – Court Social Services Division; DYRS - Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services

¹⁰ The only exception is for adult filings and convictions, for which no incident date was available, and arrest dates for said cases were utilized as a proxy for incident date.

DHS – ACE Diversion

The ACE diversion program is operated by DHS.¹¹ Youth allegedly involved in delinquency may be referred by the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) prior to an arrest, or pre and post arrest by the Office of the Attorney General (OAG).¹² According to the DHS description of the program, “under appropriate circumstances, the government elects not to prosecute youth who commit status offenses... and/or low-level delinquency offenses.” Program interventions include both youth and their families, and offer varied services determined by individual needs. Throughout this analysis, attention will be paid to “completions.” With respect to the ACE intervention, completion means they participated to the expected level for services that were deemed appropriate and were not terminated due to a new offense or a failure to sustain participation.¹³ Completion is a relative term for ACE, as each youth has a case-specific plan that concludes after a set amount of time. No case looks like the next, and completion is a matter of determination by staff.

During 2015, of the 252 youth who were discharged from ACE, 216 were considered to have completed the program; during 2016, of the 536 youth who were discharged from ACE, 429 completed the program. For the 2015 cohort that completed ACE, juvenile and adult reoffending was tracked during the 24 months following their individual ACE completion dates. For the 2016 cohort that completed ACE, juvenile and adult reoffending was tracked during the 12 months following their individual ACE completion dates. The analysis included offense dates that were in the follow-up time period, even though new arrests, case filings, and case adjudications or dispositions may have occurred subsequent to the follow-up time period.

While most youth complete services with ACE, youth who had prosecution for additional legal involvement or were terminated due to a failure to sustain participation were not followed for reoffending as part of this study. The intent of this analysis is to determine whether the intervention improves public safety – and if one does not complete the intervention, then the outcome should not be attributed to the effectiveness of the case management and services rendered.¹⁴

While the percent of new referrals who either did not attend interventions, or committed a new offense grew from 2015 to 2016, there were also program changes. First, it is important to note that 2015 was the first full year of ACE programming. The 2015 completions included youth referred during 2014, and included 6 months of referred youth. The program initially accepted 5 truant youth per week, where delinquency diversions, including those from both pre-arrest and post-arrest referrals, did not begin until the fall of 2015. The change in the proportion retained in the program should not be interpreted as a change in program effectiveness as this analysis and the work included here does not control for changes in participant composition over time. That composition included a shift in gender, where female participants made up a larger portion of those successfully completing in the second year of the program, though the average age at completion remained steady. Changes in referring offenses are discussed below and are also worthy of consideration.

¹¹ Details of the program are provided on the DHS website: <https://dhs.dc.gov/page/alternatives-court-experience-ace-diversion-program>

¹² The OAG can refer youth at the point of Pre-Petition Custody Order (PPCO), which is considered pre-arrest.

¹³ If a youth in the program has a new arrest, OAG makes a determination as to whether a youth should continue their involvement in ACE, or instead be prosecuted for the new offense.

¹⁴ In addition to being outside of the intent of the analysis, due to data limitations, this study cannot parse out new offenses that resulted in program removal from those offenses that occurred immediately after ejection from the program. Therefore, an analysis reoffending by youth who did not complete is not possible.

Table 2: Characteristics of Completion Cohorts - Diversion

	2015 (n=216)	2016 (n=429)
Percent Completing without Removal	85.7% (216 of 252)	80.0% (429 of 536)
Percent Male	60.2%	51.5%
Percent African American	95.4%	96.5%
Percent Hispanic	4.6%	2.3%
Average Age at Completion	15.7 years	15.6 years
Age Range of Those Completing	9.3-18.5 years	9.2-18.7 years
Most Prominent Wards	7 (26.4%); 8 (41.7%)	7 (22.4%); 8 (32.6%)

While prior youth criminal history was not available for this analysis, ACE has been described as a program for those who have not been deeply involved in the juvenile system at the point of referral. The offenses for youth completing the program changed from the first year to the second. Some offenses have maintained a steady state of representation in referred youth, such as simple assault and disorderly conduct. Other offenses had a smaller representation, such as shoplifting and theft.

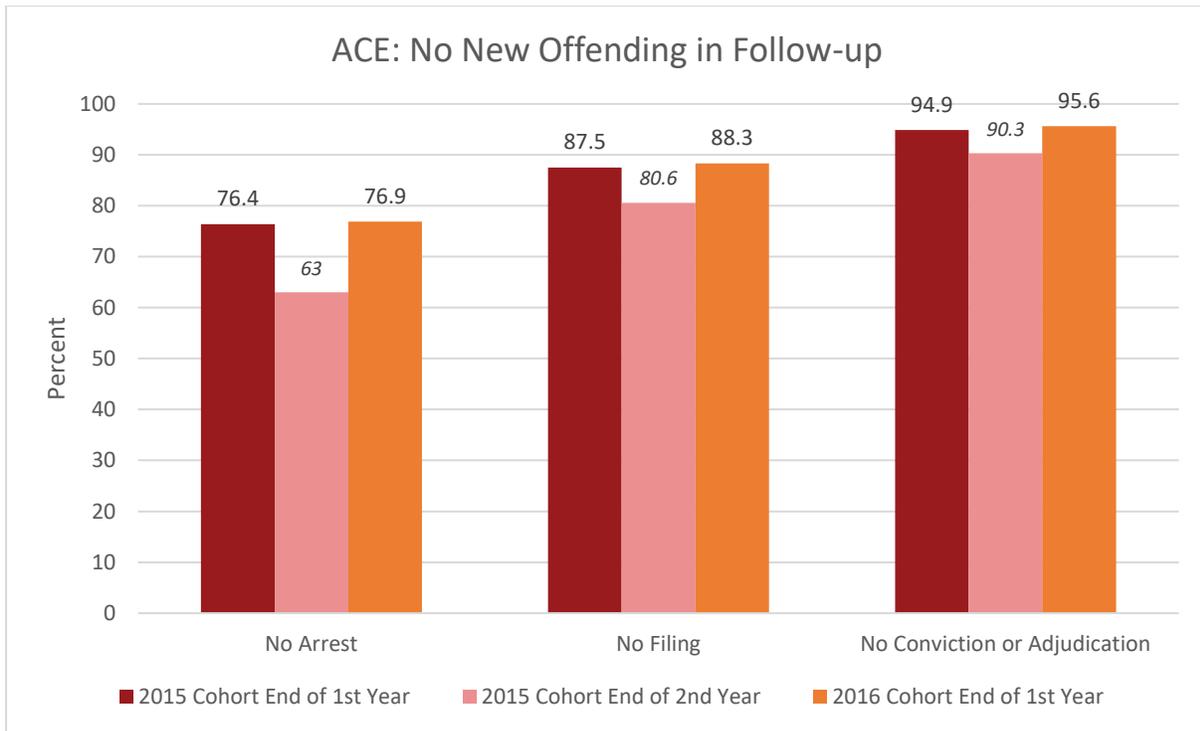
Table 3: Referring Offense for Youth Completing ACE

	CY 2015 (N=216)	CY 2016 (N=429)
Simple Assault	38.0%	39.4%
Fare Evasion/Metro Misconduct	8.3%	5.8%
Shoplifting and Theft	18.1%	13.3%
Weapons Offenses	0.5%	4.0%
Unlawful Entry	8.8%	8.4%
Disorderly Conduct	11.6%	12.1%
Robbery/Attempted Robbery	0.0%	4.7%
All Non-simple assaults	2.3%	4.2%
Unauthorized Use of a Vehicle	0.5%	0.7%

All indicators of new offenses that occurred in the year following involvement in ACE stayed relatively constant from the 2015 cohort to the 2016 one, shown in Figure 1 below. Specifically, 76.4% and 76.9% did not have a new arrest for an offense that occurred in the 12 months after ACE intervention; 87.5% and 88.3% of youth did not have a new case filed for an offense in the 12 months after ACE intervention; and 94.9% and 95.6% of youth did not have an adjudication or conviction for an offense that occurred in the 12 months after ACE intervention. These success rates are lower in the 24-month follow-up for the 2015 youth, as would be expected, with 63% arrest-free, 80.6% without a new filing, and 90.3% not found delinquent or convicted in the 24-month follow-up for this cohort.

Similarly, the 12-month outcomes for the 2015 cohort did not differ significantly from the 12-month outcomes for the 2016 cohort. Specifically, while there are some small differences, indicators of new arrest, new filing, and new conviction or adjudication in the year following the end of services received with the ACE intervention program were not significantly better or worse for either the 2015 cohort or the 2016 cohort.

Figure 1: ACE - Percent of Cohort with No New Offenses



While there was not a difference in likelihood to reoffend within the first 12 months when comparing the 2015 and 2016 cohorts, there was an apparent shift in types of reoffending in the first 12 months after intervention. While rearrests in the first year were largely for simple assaults for both the 2015 and 2016 cohorts, the 2016 cohort also had a large portion of youth with new arrests for violent offenses (other than simple assault), property offenses, and other offenses.

Table 4: Type of Offense for which Youth Were Arrested, Filed, or Convicted/Adjudicated Following ACE Completion (2015 cohort N=216; 2016 cohort N=429)

	Arrested			New Filing			Conviction/Adjudication		
	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)
Drug	2	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Otherⁱ	6	12	28	3	4	9	2	3	2
Property	9	17	21	9	16	18	5	10	9
Simple Assault	18	26	23	13	16	15	6	7	7
Other Violent Offenses	12	17	19	7	12	18	2	7	6
Weapon	4	4	7	3	4	6	2	3	1
Total¹⁵	51 (24%)	80 (37%)	99 (23%)	27 (12%)	42 (19%)	50 (12%)	11 (5%)	21 (10%)	19 (4%)

¹⁵ Numbers in columns do not add up to Total, because some youth may have been arrested, charged, or convicted/found delinquent for more than one offense category when reoffending.

An important area to explore in reoffending is the role of gender and offense category. In the past, it has been apparent that females are anecdotally associated with a higher number of simple assault offenses. In both the 2015 and 2016 cohorts (see Table 5 below), females are represented more in simple assault arrests. However, the narrative on this flips in only the 2015 cohort once progressing beyond arrest – more males have cases filed and adjudications or convictions in incidents with a simple assault.

Table 5: ACE Completion Cohorts with New Simple Assault Offenses by Gender

		New Simple Assault Arrest	New Simple Assault Filing	New Simple Assault Conviction/Adjudication
2015 Cohort in 1-yr follow-up	Male	4	8	5
	Female	14	5	1
<i>2015 Cohort in 2-yr follow-up</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>6</i>
	<i>Female</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>1</i>
2016 Cohort in 2-yr follow-up	Male	7	5	2
	Female	16	10	5

Time from release to failure is an important consideration. The longer one stays away from system involvement, the fewer offenses he or she commits overall. This is widely viewed in the field¹⁶ as a measure of relative success, as a person who takes longer to reoffend is perceived as someone who may at least be attempting to succeed. This also allows partners to understand the timeframe in which resources could be focused to reduce reoffending.

Time to failure for those arrested for an offense in the first year after intervention was two weeks longer in the 2016 cohort (163.9 days), compared to the 2015 cohort (147.5 days). Time to failure for those with a filing for a new offense in the first year after intervention was also longer for the 2016 cohort, but only by 8 days. And finally, time to failure for those convicted or found delinquent for an offense in the first year after intervention was 18.1 days longer for those in the 2016 cohort (155.3 days) compared to those in the 2015 cohort (137.2 days). This indicates that youth in the 2016 cohort took longer to commit a new offense than youth in the 2015 cohort.

¹⁶ For an example see Georgia: <http://www.dji.state.ga.us/ResourceLibrary/PDFfiles/RecidivismReportFY2011.pdf>

Table 6: Time to Failure for Cohorts Completing ACE

		Mean	Median	Range in Days
Time to first offense for those arrested	2015 Arrested for an offense in 12 months (n=51)	147.5 days	134.0 days	3 to 354
	2015 Arrested for an offense in 24 months (n=80)	280.6 days	245.0 days	3 to 721
	2016 Arrested for an offense in 12 months (n=99)	163.9 days	156.0 days	3 to 364
Time to first offense for those with a filing	2015 New Filing for an Offense in 12 months (n=27)	140.6 days	133.0 days	17 to 318
	2015 New Filings for an Offense in 24 months (n=42)	228.3 days	199.0 days	3 to 656
	2016 New Filing for an offense in 12 months (n=50)	149.2 days	128.5 days	3 to 350
Time to first offense for those convicted or adjudicated	2015 New Convicted/Adjudicated for an offense in 12 months (n=11)	137.2 days	126.0 days	17 to 318
	2015 New Convicted/Adjudicated for an Offense in 24 months (n=21)	207.7 days	166.0 days	3 to 532
	2016 New Convicted/Adjudicated for an Offense in 12 months (n=19)	155.3 days	133.0 days	3 to 312

It is important to note that this is the time when the offense occurred, not the time to the arrest, filing, or adjudication.¹⁷ This means, for example, that for those who were convicted or found delinquent for a new offense, the offense occurred, on average, four to five months after completing ACE. The arrest, filing, and conviction are the proxy indicator of that new offense, as these are the only indicators available to us.

¹⁷ Because the research question is around new offending for an offense in the year following intervention, measuring time to failure means measuring time to new offending, not time to system response to that offense. This also reiterates the point that we are calling a new arrest proof of “new offending” having occurred, and so forth.

Outcomes by Age, Gender, Home Ward, Referral Source

Age

In both the 2015 group and the 2016 group, age did not play a role in the likelihood of new offending in the first year after the intervention. Older youth finishing ACE were more likely to be successful in the longer follow-up period. Over the course of the two years following intervention for the 2015 cohort, youth who completed the intervention at an older age were (marginally) significantly less likely to have an arrest ($p=.067$), significantly less likely to have a new filing ($p=.002$), and (marginally) significantly less likely to have a conviction or adjudication ($p=.13$) for an offense that occurred in those two years. This means that age does not impact likelihood of first-year reoffending, but it may play a role in longer term success.

Gender

Looking at outcomes for the first 12 months after intervention, females and males had equivalent chances of a rearrest or a new filing for an offense. Males were more likely than females to have a conviction or an adjudication for an offense that occurred in the first year for the 2015 cohort ($p=.028$). In the 2016 cohort, the finding was only slightly different. Males and females were equally likely to have an arrest for an offense in the first 12 months in the 2016 cohort, but females were less likely to have a new case filed ($p=.021$).

Males and females have more pronounced differences in the indicators of reoffending when we look at two years of follow-up for the 2015 ACE cohort. Males were more likely to be arrested ($p=.105$), more likely to have a new filing ($p=.032$), and more likely to be convicted or found delinquent ($p=.009$) for any offense that occurred in the two years after ACE intervention.

Home Ward

Ward of residence did not have a significant impact on likelihood of new offending in either cohort.

Referral Source

Youth can be referred to ACE pre-arrest by the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), the OAG can refer youth at the point of Pre-Petition Custody Order (PPCO) which is considered pre-arrest as well, or they can be referred after being arrested through mechanisms within the Court Social Services Division (CSSD) and the Office of the Attorney General (OAG). For the 2015 cohort, the majority of youth who completed ACE were referred by MPD, and there was no difference between those referred by MPD compared to those referred by OAG and CSSD in the likelihood of a new arrest in the 12 or 24 months after their release. In the second cohort, this changes. In the 2016 intervention cohort, there is nearly an equal number completing ACE from either referral point (pre-arrest or post-arrest), but youth who were referred there by MPD, rather than by OAG and CSSD, were significantly more likely to stay arrest free in the first year ($p=.000$).

Table 7: Outcome by Referral Source for ACE

	Completing in 2015	Arrest Free After 12 months	Completing in 2016	Arrest Free After 12 months
MPD Referral	134	104 (77.6%)	211	180 (85.3%)
CSSD/OAG Referral	82	61 (74.4%)	218	150 (68.8%)
Total Completions	216	165 (76.4%)	429	330 (76.9%)

These same findings hold when considering new filings and new convictions or adjudications. In the 2016 cohort, youth referred after an arrest (not by MPD) were significantly more likely to have a new filing (chi squared, $p=.007$) and significantly more likely to have a new conviction or adjudication (chi squared, $p=.01$) for an offense that occurred in the 12 months after ACE intervention.

These findings are merely bivariate comparisons and do not control for any potential causes for the differences seen. These findings may be indicative of underlying mechanisms at work. First, the makeup of offense categories likely has shifted from one year to the next, where there are more post-arrest referrals in the second year, with a 172% increase in completers being referred post-arrest. Second, this could be a change in policy for the offense categories that the agencies are willing to divert through the ACE program, which is reflected in the offense categories seen in the ACE referrals in Table 3 above. The program was in its first year for the 2015 cohort, so there are likely programmatic changes from one year to the next that are not accounted for in this analysis.

Probation – CSSD Cohorts

The DC Superior Court’s Court Social Services Division (CSSD) is the District’s juvenile probation agency, responsible for screening, serving and supervising all youth involved in the front end of the juvenile system, including newly arrested youth, newly referred status offenders (truants and runaways) and youth disposed to a term of probation for delinquency matters. Probation is on the continuum of juvenile justice response beyond diversion, though it is still considered in the front end of the system.¹⁸ There were 509 persons who completed a term of probation for a delinquency matter in calendar year 2015, and 403 in calendar year 2016.

Table 8: Probation Status at Finish

	CY2015	CY2016
Administrative Closure	4	5
Successful or marginally successful	381	280
Unsuccessful	121	118
Unclear completion Status	3	0
Total Released	509	403

The two cohorts had similar proportions of youth complete successfully (74.9% and 69.5% respectively), shown in Table 9 below. Most probationers in the completion cohort were male and were African American, with an average age of nearly 17 years old at completion.

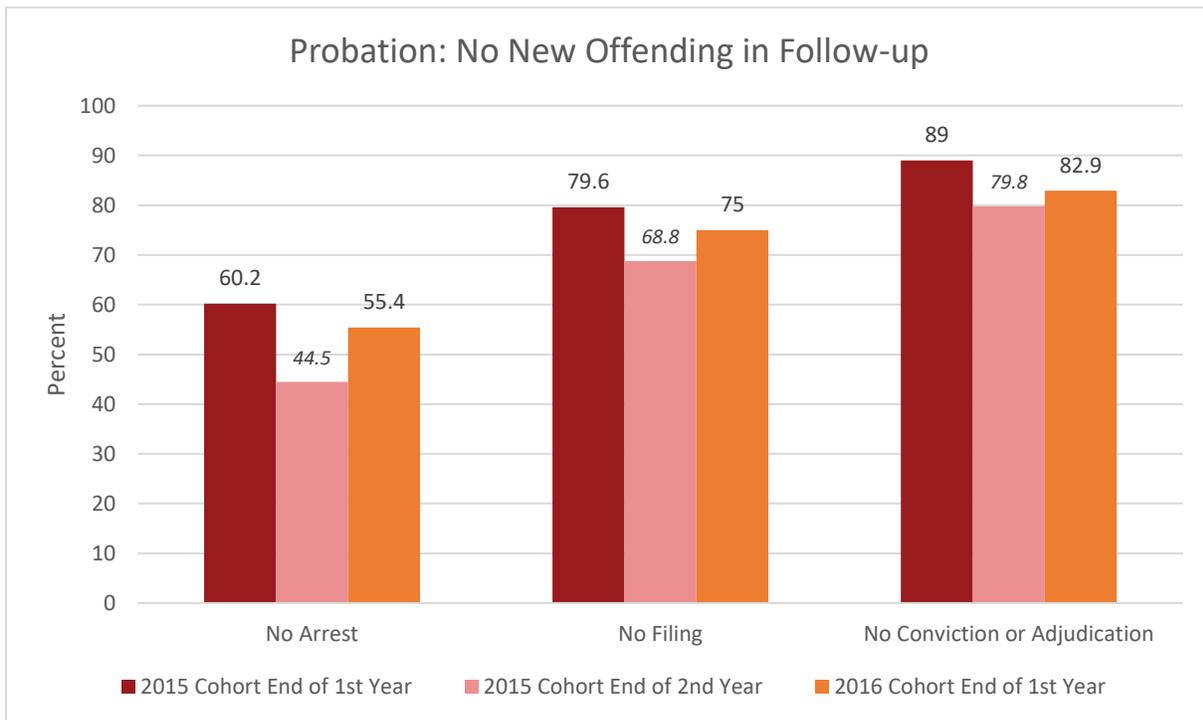
¹⁸ <https://www.dccourts.gov/services/juvenile-matters>

Table 9: Characteristics of Completion Cohorts – Probation

	2015	2016
Percent Completing Probation Successfully	74.9% (382 of 510)	69.5% (280 of 403)
Percent Male ¹⁹	73.8%	76.6%
Percent African American ²⁰	98.0%	96.9%
Percent Hispanic ²¹	1.5%	2.7%
Average Age at Completion	16.8 years	16.9 years
Age range of Those Completing	11.9 to 20.2 years	12.8 to 19.9 years

Sixty percent of those who successfully completed probation in 2015, were not rearrested in the first year, compared to 55.4% of those in the 2016 cohort. A similar pattern emerges for both filings and new conviction or adjudication, when comparing the 12-month follow-up for both the 2015 and 2016 cohorts. Youth were somewhat less successful in the second cohort.

Figure 2: Probation – Percent of Cohort with No New Offenses



The 4.8% difference between the 2015 and 2016 cohorts for new arrests during the first 12 months post completion is considered statistically significant ($p=.004$). Similarly, the 4.6% reduction in being without a new filing was significant ($p=.05$). These findings indicate that youth in the second cohort were more likely

¹⁹ This includes the percentage for those for whom a gender is known. Due to post-hoc matching to determine gender and race, not all cases had a match in existing files.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

to have an arrest or a filing for an offense that occurred in the first year after probation release. The differences in being convicted or found delinquent were not large enough to be considered meaningful.²²

Re-offense Types

While a large segment of youth who were rearrested for a new offense in the first year were arrested for a violent offense, a consistently larger portion were also arrested for property offenses. This is also the case with new filings and new convictions or adjudications. Also of note, drug and weapon offenses are consistently the smallest representation across the three new offense indicators in all follow-up periods.

Table 10: Type of Offense for which Youth Were Arrested, Filed, or Convicted/Adjudicated Following Probation Completion (2015 cohort N=382; 2016 cohort N=280) – Probation

	Arrested			New Filing			Conviction/Adjudication		
	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)
Drug	9	13	7	1	1	3	4	1	2
Other	29	48	31	15	19	5	8	13	4
Property	42	59	32	26	41	27	19	32	21
Simple Assault	19	24	22	12	15	10	6	9	8
Other Violent Offenses	37	45	23	23	33	22	16	23	13
Weapon	15	17	9	9	13	14	5	9	9
Total²³	152 (39.8%)	212 (55.5%)	125 (44.6%)	78 (20.4%)	119 (31.2%)	70 (25.0%)	42 (11%)	77 (20.2%)	48 (17.1%)

Time to failure for those arrested, those with a new filing, and those with a new adjudication or conviction for an offense that occurred following successful completion of probation was more consistent across types of failure than was found in the other intervention cohorts (Table 11). Comparing the 12-month time to failure for the 2015 and 2016 cohorts, we find a one-month difference indicated by arrests – the 2015 cohort members who were arrested in the first year post-release committed the new offense at an average of 163 days after release, while it was 137.7 days for the 2016 cohort. The differences are less pronounced for those with a new filing and a new conviction or adjudication for offenses that occurred in the first year following release. Roughly translated, if arrest is the indicator of new offending, youth in 2016 were quicker to reoffend than the 2015 cohort, with a new offense occurring nearly a month earlier for the 2016 cohort.

²² While the percentage point differences in filings and convictions/adjudications are larger than the percentage point differences in a new arrest, they were not large enough to be significant. This is because the chi-square test for significance is one that determines how much one variable helps us predict the outcome on a second variable. When there is less variation in outcome, there is less predictive value in our base variable, cohort year, so the percentage point difference would need to be much greater to be statistically significant.

²³ Numbers in columns do not add up to Total, because some youth may have been arrested, charged, or convicted/found delinquent for more than one offense category when reoffending.

Table 11: Time to Failure – Probation

		Mean	Median	Range in Days
Time to first offense for those arrested	2015 Arrested in 12 months (n=152)	163.0 days	158.5 days	1 to 363
	2015 Arrested in 24 months (n=212)	262.3 days	247.5 days	1 to 717
	2016 Arrested in 12 months (n=125)	137.7 days	118.0 days	2 to 348
Time to first offense for those with a filing	2015 New Filing in 12 months (n=78)	143.8 days	118.5 days	1 to 358
	2015 New Filings in 24 months (n=119)	213.5 days	207.0 days	1 to 696
	2016 New Filing in 12 months (n=70)	125.1 days	97.5 days	2 to 348
Time to first offense for those convicted or adjudicated	2015 New Convicted/Adjudicated in 12 months (n=42)	125.4 days	90.0 days	1 to 357
	2015 New Convicted/Adjudicated in 24 months (n=77)	205.2 days	179.0 days	1 to 589
	2016 New Convicted/Adjudicated in 12 months (n=48)	122.5 days	95.5 days	3 to 305

Outcomes by Age and Gender

Age

As has been a consistent theme: those who do not have a new offense in their follow-up periods are older at probation release than those who do have a new offense in the follow-up period. Differences in age were not large enough to be significant, with the average age of the 2016 cohort being significantly higher for only those who do not have a new filing compared to those who do have a new case filed ($p=.039$). In this case, youth who did not have a new filing in the first year after completion were on average 17 years old, while those who did have a new filing averaged 16.6 years old when they completed probation. This means that youth with a new filing for an offense in the first year were about 5 months younger than youth who did not have a new filing in the first year.

Gender

For the 2015 cohort, females were significantly more successful than males for all measures of reoffending in both the 12- and 24-month follow-up periods. This was similar in the 2016 cohort, as the females and males did not have significant differences in new arrests, but females were significantly less likely to have a new case filed and significantly less likely to have a new conviction or adjudication for an offense in the 12 months following successful probation completion. For example, 21.6% of males and 6.6% of females had a new conviction or adjudication for an offense that occurred in the 12 months after completing probation successfully in 2016 ($p=.007$).

Commitment – DYRS Cohorts

There were 159 persons who completed a commitment²⁴ for delinquency with DYRS in 2015, and 129 in 2016. This represents youth who were physically released to the community at their completion, or youth who were already in a community placement and were no longer committed. In other cases, youth may have the commitment terminated due to abscondence, and others may complete the commitment only to be held in a secure facility for unrelated reasons, such as a new adult charge. These youth (absconded or continued secure custody) are not included in this analysis.

Both cohorts were predominantly male in both 2015 and 2016 (77.4% and 82.2% respectively), and most were African American. The average age of youth at the end of commitment was consistent both years, at just under 19, and in both cohorts, fewer than a quarter were under 18 at completion.

Table 12: Characteristics of Completion Cohorts – Commitment

	2015 (n=159)	2016 (n=129)
Percent Male	77.4%	82.2%
Percent African American	97.5%	96.1%
Percent Hispanic	2.5%	2.3%
Average Age at Completion	18.8 years	18.7 years
Age Range of Those Completing	14 to 21 years	15 to 21 years

In these completion cohorts, youth were committed to DYRS for various offenses. The offenses are a shift from what is seen above for referrals to ACE, which were primarily for simple assault and other disorder and property offenses. The largest number of youth in both the 2015 and 2016 commitment completion cohorts were committed for a violent offense, with property and simple assault being the other two most prevalent committing offenses for the two cohorts.

Table 13: Committing Offense²⁵

	CY 2015	CY 2016
Drug	5 (3.1%)	2 (1.6%)
Other	1 (0.6%)	3 (2.3%)
Property	43 (27.0%)	26 (20.2%)
SA	31 (19.5%)	29 (22.5%)
Violent	61 (38.4%)	51 (39.5%)
Weapon	14 (8.8%)	11 (8.5%)
PINS	4 (2.5%)	7 (5.4)
Total	159 (100%)	129 (100%)

For the 159 youth who completed commitment in 2015, and the 129 who completed in 2016, measures of reoffending are consistent from one year's cohort to the next. Comparing reoffending in the first year after release, 42.1% of the 2015 cohort was not re-arrested for an offense in the first year after commitment end, and 37.2% of the 2016 cohort was not rearrested in the first year. A secondary measure

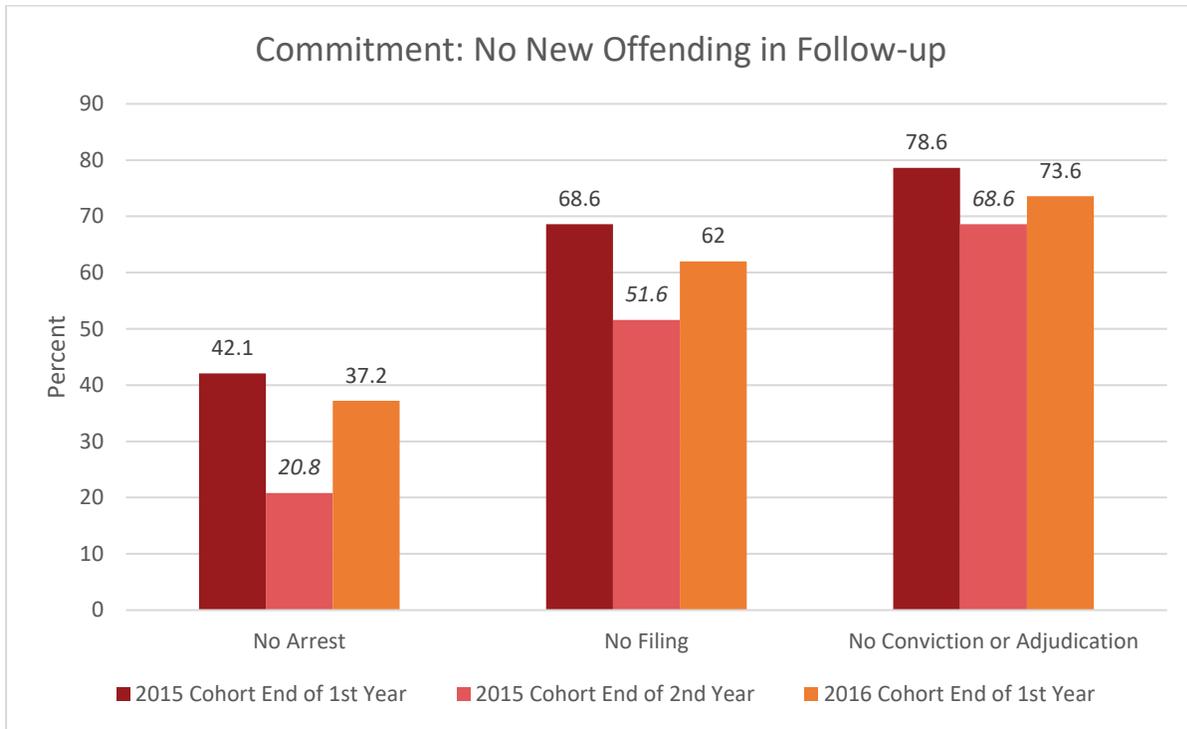
²⁴ As discussed above, this excludes those who were removed from commitment due to abscondence and those who were released from commitment but continued to be retained in a secure facility to serve a term or to await the processing of new charges.

²⁵ Other offenses include contempt, fleeing, and gambling; PINS includes Habitual truancy, child in need of supervision, and habitual running away.

is success for two years of follow-up in the 2015 cohort (Figure 3), showing just 20.8% did not have an arrest for an offense that occurred in the two years following commitment end.

Further examination of the differences in first-year re-offending is key, as it was found to be a significant difference for the probation completion cohorts presented above. In the case of youth completing a commitment, none of the differences seen from 2015 to 2016 are significant, meaning that the change is not large enough to be considered meaningful, and the difference is potentially due to chance.

Figure 3: Commitment – Percent of Cohort with No New Offenses



In Table 14 below, when considering new arrests, the largest category was that of ‘other’ offenses for both the 2015 cohort in 12- and 24-month follow-ups and for the 2016 cohort in the 12-month follow-up, including disorder, gambling, release violations, and traffic. When reviewing new filings as an indicator for new offending, it is noteworthy that the new offenses were predominantly property offenses for each follow-up. Additionally, when reviewing new convictions or adjudications as the indicator of a new offense, the most common offenses were also property offenses. Violent offenses are a large portion of all indicators of new offense but are not the most prominent.

Table 14: Type of Offense for which Youth Were Arrested, Filed, or Convicted/Adjudicated Following Probation Completion (2015 cohort N=173; 2016 cohort N=129) – Commitment

	Arrested			New Filing			Conviction/Adjudication		
	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)	End 1 st Year (2015)	End 2 nd Year (2015)	End 1 st Year (2016)
Drug	10	13	4	2	4	0	2	4	0
Other	24	32	34	13	18	6	11	15	4
Property	20	28	21	17	19	9	13	18	8
Simple Assault	7	7	3	3	3	2	2	2	1
Other Violent Offenses	22	29	12	15	18	6	11	13	5
Weapon	10	17	8	9	12	8	7	10	6
Total*	92 (57.9%)	126 (79.2%)	81 (62.8%)	50 (31.4%)	77 (48.4%)	49 (38.0%)	34 (21.4%)	50 (31.4%)	34 (26.4%)

*Numbers in columns do not add up to Total, because some youth may have been arrested, charged, or convicted/found delinquent for more than one offense category when reoffending.

Time to failure was not much different from one year to the next. This measure indicates how much time passed from the end of the commitment to the date of the offense for which a youth was arrested, had a new filing, or had a conviction or adjudication. The time to failure for youth who failed in the first 12 months stayed constant for the 2015 cohort to the 2016 cohort when an arrest was the indicator (125.5 days in 2015, 120.3 days in 2016 cohort). This was similar for time to failure when the definition of failure was a new filing or when the definition was a new conviction or adjudication.

Table 15: Time to Failure – Commitment

		Mean	Median	Range in Days
Time to first offense for those arrested	2015 Arrested in 12 months (n=92)	125.5	86.5	1 to 365
	2015 Arrested in 24 months (n=126)	233.6	159.0	1 to 729
	2016 Arrested in 12 months (n=81)	120.3	93.0	1 to 352
Time to first offense for those with a filing	2015 New Filing in 12 months (n=50)	110.9	81.0	1 to 352
	2015 New Filings in 24 months (n=77)	210.0	140.0	1 to 689
	2016 New Filing in 12 months (n=49)	99.5	66.0	1 to 352
Time to first offense for those convicted or adjudicated	2015 New Convicted/Adjudicated in 12 months (n=34)	94.6	77.0	1 to 308
	2015 New Convicted/Adjudicated in 24 months (n=50)	169.2	95.0	1 to 607
	2016 New Convicted/Adjudicated in 12 months (n=34)	106.4	80.5	5 to 345

Outcomes by Age, Gender, and Final Placement Type:

Age

Age at the time of commitment completion did not have a significant impact on whether a youth in the 2015 cohort had a new offense in the first 12 or 24 months after completion, including when defined by arrest, new filing, or new conviction or adjudication. The same was found for the first 12 months of follow-up for the 2016 cohort.

Gender

For the 2015 release cohort, females were significantly less likely than males to be arrested for a new offense in the first 12 ($p=.003$) and the first 24 months ($p=.003$) following commitment. Females were also significantly less likely than males to have a new filing for a new offense that occurred in the first 12 months ($p=.022$) and in the first 24 months ($p=.004$) after completion. Similarly, they were significantly less likely to have a new conviction or adjudication for an offense that occurred in the first 12 months ($p=.005$) and the first 24 months ($p=.000$) after completion.

Table 16: Success Following Commitment by Gender

	2015				2016	
	12-month		24-month		12-month	
	Female (36)	Male (123)	Female (36)	Male (123)	Female (23)	Male (106)
No New Arrest	63.9%	35.8%	38.9%	15.4%	65.2%	31.1%
No New Filing	83.3%	64.2%	72.2%	45.5%	82.6%	57.5%
No New Conviction/Adjudication	94.4%	74.0%	91.7%	61.8%	91.3%	69.8%

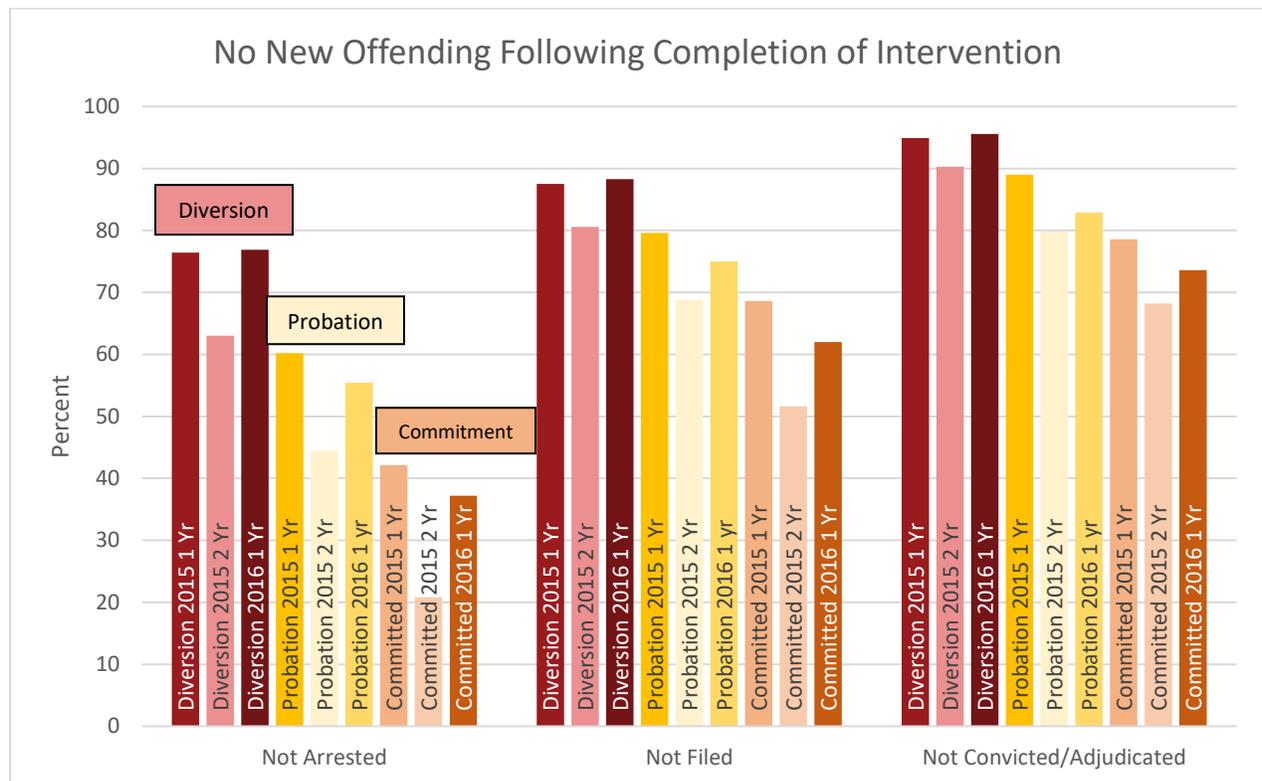
Final Placement Type

The final placement location for a youth prior to release from commitment showed some relationship with outcomes, though this analysis does not control for other factors. There are likely factors that explain both where a youth is placed and also youth outcomes though this study did not include such measures or controls. In the 2015 cohort, final placement did not have an impact on likelihood of new arrest, new filing, or new conviction or adjudication for an offense that occurred in the first 12 months following release. However, in the 2015 cohort, youth who were at home or in a residential placement were less likely to have a new arrest ($p=.020$) and less likely to have a filing ($p=.036$) for an offense that occurred in the two years following release from commitment. There was no effect of placement on new convictions or adjudications. In the 2016 cohort, youth who were at home or in a residential placement were less likely than youth in a secure facility to have a new arrest in the first 12 months following completion of commitment ($p=.043$), though there was no impact for new filings or new convictions or adjudications.

OVERALL FINDINGS – Summary Findings and Aggregated Cohorts

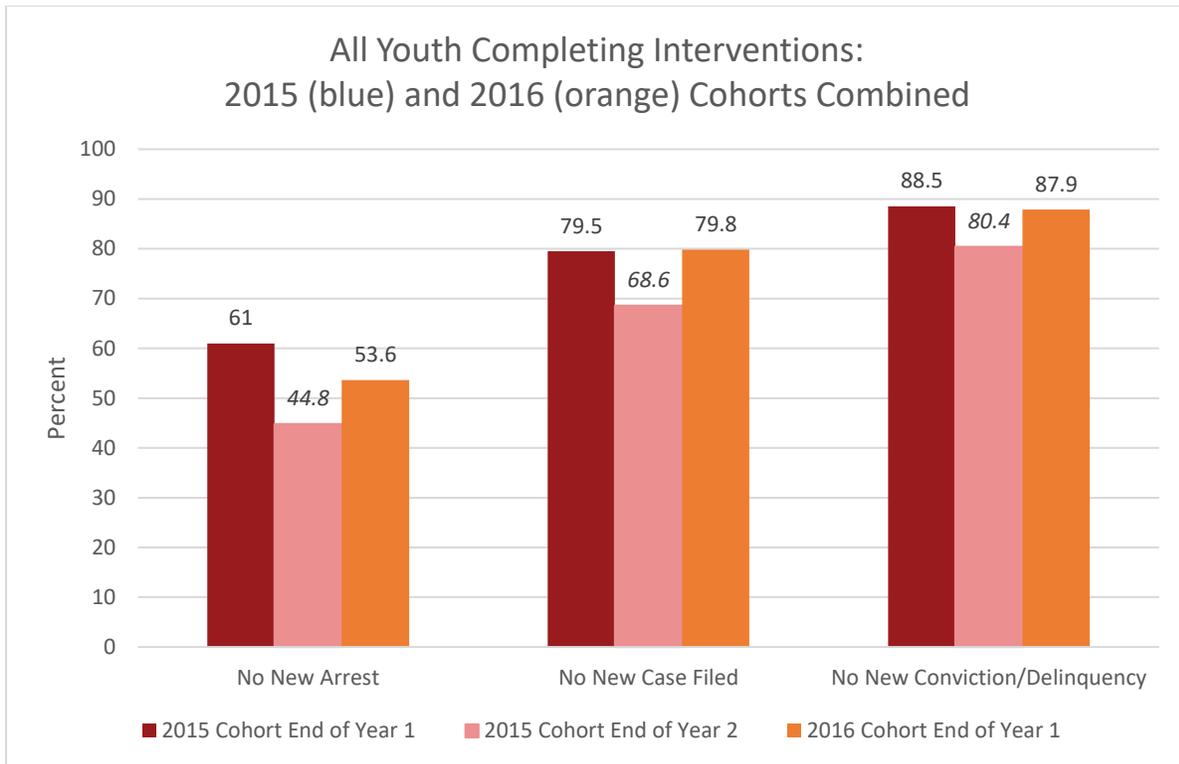
Outcomes during the first year following the three interventions for the 2015 and the 2016 cohorts in the first 12 months following intervention are below in Figure 4. The deeper a youth is involved in the system, the lower the youth’s success rate following intervention completion. This analysis does not make distinctions among those services available or providers utilized within each intervention, and such analysis would be instructive to determine a more in-depth impact of the dosage of youth interventions, as well as thinking more deeply about what works and for whom.

Figure 4: No New Offending in the 12- and 24-Months Following Completion by Diversion, Probation, or Commitment



In examining outcomes for all youth who completed any intervention (shown in Figure 5 below), youth in both the 2015 and 2016 cohorts have only slightly different new arrest rates, and nearly identical new cases filed and new convictions or adjudications. For the 2015 cohort, by the end of the second year (light blue), more than half of youth who finished any intervention in 2015 have a new arrest, about a third have a new filing, and 1 in 5 have a new conviction or adjudication.

Figure 5: Full Cohort Success Rates by Year



Opportunities

The intent of this analysis has been to lay a foundation, beginning with measuring youth success. Beyond the baseline measures presented last year and in the current report, the District’s juvenile justice agencies are interested in addressing questions around characteristics of youth with multiple intakes, violations, or unsuccessful case dispositions; identifying programming and practices that support successful case disposition; and identifying challenges, opportunities and/or gaps in current interventions. Many of these questions have been addressed in other jurisdictions and stand as examples of the utility of potential further exploration. Maryland’s juvenile recidivism analysis,²⁶ mentioned earlier in this report, has been in development over several years. As they work to understand the best practices for Maryland youth, they continue to refine the analysis and add to it. In particular, they examine youth outcomes based on placement and service provider types, providing yearly trends on youth recidivism. Another example is that of Illinois. In their most recent publication on juvenile recidivism issued in 2012,²⁷ analysis included the impact of prior delinquency on recidivism. This provided stakeholders with valuable information to enable an examination of refined interventions. Both provide strong examples of useful information that DC should include in analyses going forward.

1. **Study the impact of delinquency and other related history of youth in each of the interventions.** Youth factors can inform how services are offered, allowing us to refine our approaches to youth. Related, the current analysis is almost entirely descriptive, and an analysis that controls for

²⁶ The 2017 report can be found here: https://djs.maryland.gov/Documents/DRG/Recidivism_FY2017_DRG.pdf

²⁷ The 2012 report can be found here:

http://www.icjia.state.il.us/assets/pdf/ResearchReports/IDJJ_Recidivism_Delinquents_082012.pdf

delinquent behavior and social history could isolate the impacts of types of interventions, as well as within those interventions based on providers or services.

2. **Examine program outcome differences, which can uncover the more effective programs.** For youth who finish assigned interventions, outcomes may, in fact, vary from one service provider to the next, even within the same class of interventions. Analyzing this at a more granular level would allow for a closer examination of program and provider effect on youth outcomes.
3. **Analyze program dosage.** Dosage is an important factor in case outcome that should go beyond a simple completion indicator. This will allow for an examination of those who do not receive the full intervention, as well as variations of such intervention. While there are three main categories of interventions utilized in DC, youth-specific services frequently vary from one youth to the next, making a strict “completion” determination more complicated than it might appear. Looking at types and levels of intervention within these cohorts should be at a more granular level than simply diversion, probation, and commitment. Some program participation, even if incomplete, can lead to positive outcomes. While the current analysis provides a look at the impact of a full dose of intervention, additional or future analysis should consider outcomes for those who failed to complete – whether due to early termination for non-participation or for those who failed due to new involvement in delinquency.
4. **Develop a more seamless process to annually collect and analyze data.** To facilitate a third iteration of this process, it is necessary to not only make use of the first two iterations by digging into more depth as outlined above, but also to plan and execute these measures to act as a baseline for how the juvenile system is serving youth. Agencies providing data and CJCC should spend time planning the data requests and follow-up interpretations so that resources can be appropriately allocated.

ⁱ Other offenses for reoffending categories include any of the following: Affray, bail reform act – felony, bail reform act – misdemeanor, bench warrant, blocking passage, contempt - condition of release violation, contempt - condition of release violation, contempt – felony, contempt – misdemeanor, contempt of CPO/TPO, craps, crossing police line, crowding, obstructing or incommoding, custody order (pre-petition), disorderly (inciting violence), disorderly conduct, disorderly conduct - creating fear (m), disorderly conduct - disrupting a public, disorderly conduct - disrupting use of, disorderly conduct - fighting words (m), disorderly conduct - incite violence, disorderly conduct - inciting violence, disorderly conduct - noise at night, drinking in public, escape from DYRS, escape from institution or officer, fail to identify self-pedestrian, fail to obey officer, failing to obey a police order, failure to appear, failure to appear (OAG), failure to appear (USAO), failure to obey – emergency, false report to police, flee law enforcement officer, fleeing – felony, fleeing – misdemeanor, fleeing from a law enforcement officer, fleeing from a law enforcement officer in a motor vehicle, fugitive from justice, gambling, illegal gambling, illegal presence - vacant building, inauguration - imitation pistol, indecent exposure, indecent exposure – adult, juvenile custody order – absconder, juvenile custody order – FTA, lewd, indecent, or obscene acts, metro - fail to pay fare, metro misconduct-sound, metro misconduct-spit, obstructing justice, obstructing preventing interfering w/report, offenses committed during release, panhandling, panhandling - private property, parole violation, parole violation (warrant), possess implements of crime, possession of an open container of alcohol, prevention of assistance request, prisoner escape, probation violation, probation violation (warrant), resisting arrest, riot act –misdemeanor, tampering of GPS device, tampering with a detection device, tampering with physical evidence, throwing stones or missiles - any person, TPO violation, unlawful possession of contraband, urinating or defecating in public, uttering, vending - vending without a license, vending in an unauthorized geographical, warrant - outside agency arrest, distribution of counterfeit

substance, aggressive panhandling, bribery, disorderly, noise at night, escape, (from officer), fail to make id known – pedestrian, federal warrant, introduce contraband into penal institution, metro misconduct-litter, possession of an open container of alcohol (POCA), possession of open container of alcohol, unlawful assembly-disorderly conduct, violation of TPO - fail to appear to hearing, evidence, protection order, and wearing hoods or masks.