INTRODUCTION

The police were called after J.B., age 15, was involved in a minor scuffle at a park. Instead of immediately arresting J.B., who had been in trouble for fighting many times, the police called the local crisis response program, a resource for police and families to address emergent situations without arrest. A counselor came to the park to meet with J.B. and his grandmother, and the police and counselor determined that it was safe for them to leave the scene. Together, the family and counselor decided what J.B. most needed to keep him out of trouble. They created and monitored an action plan that encouraged J.B. to improve his grades, join his school’s ROTC program, start attending a weekly counseling group, and get involved in an extracurricular activity at school—working with student concessions at basketball games. Throughout his time with the program, J.B. not only stayed out of trouble, but also improved his academic and extracurricular connections to his school and established short- and long-term goals for his education and career.

IN an interview, one Oregon police officer stated that a new paradigm for interaction is necessary, where police are able to connect kids with the help they need and avoid negative encounters. “We know that the point of contact between young people and officers is always the most volatile point, where things usually break down—and it usually ends with a loss of respect on both sides.”

Many communities are frustrated with how to respond to youth “acting out”—running away from home, skipping school, violating curfew, or disobeying adults. These behaviors can be part of normal adolescent development, compounded by adolescents’ limited ability to control their impulses and react responsibly to negative peer pressure. They may also be symptoms of greater challenges, like family conflict, childhood trauma, or untreated mental health or educational needs. Communities also struggle with how to respond to young people getting arrested for more serious actions like fighting and other events stemming from family conflict. Youth arrested for these behaviors are frequently referred to juvenile court and subject to punitive interventions far beyond the scope of their behavior. Typical justice system responses, such as detention (short-term custody during juvenile court processing) and placements in locked juvenile facilities, have serious negative impacts on youths’ mental and physical health, education, and employment, and do little to address the family instability or other circumstances connected to the troubling behavior.
Even when not detained, young people who are charged with an offense in juvenile court could end up with a record that can have negative consequences throughout their lives—affecting employment opportunities, applications for public housing, the ability to obtain a driver’s license, access to higher education, and more. Youth who have contact with the justice system—even when not “convicted” for any offense—still experience stigma associated with an arrest or negative police contact.

Further, these types of offenses disproportionately affect youth of color—thereby contributing to the racial disparities in our justice system. The rate of runaway cases for black youth in 2013 was more than three times the rate for white youth. Additionally, the rate of “ungovernability” cases (also known as incorrigibility or being beyond the control of one’s parents) for black youth was more than twice the rate for white youth, more than six times the rate for American Indian youth, and 17 times the rate for Asian youth. These disparities do not reflect real differences in youth behavior, but rather the significant differences in the ways communities respond to that behavior depending on whether the youth involved are white or are youth of color. For example, African American teenagers are far more likely to be arrested than their white counterparts for similar offenses.

Encountering the police directly is not the only way youth get involved with the justice system. In many cases, families dealing with troubling behavior unwittingly send their children into the system by calling the police when they feel they have nowhere to turn for help. This often comes up in the context of fighting within the home—either between youth and adults or between siblings—often resulting in “adolescent domestic battery” charges. Police officers—required to respond and wanting to help—are reluctant to leave a youth or his or her family in a crisis situation. In some jurisdictions, mandatory domestic violence arrest policies, which were designed to address intimate partner violence, leave police with no discretion in how they handle family conflict involving youth. Without other options to ensure everyone’s safety, police officers often arrest and book the youth into custody or must otherwise take time to identify and locate an appropriate guardian or school official to take responsibility for the youth.

These situations take police officers off the streets and away from patrol, sometimes for several hours at a time, which can cause frustration, especially when they have limited access to services beyond arrest or detention to better connect youth to community-based support. In many jurisdictions, such support does not exist.

The traditional strategy of arresting youth, however, as the primary response to such situations is starting to change. We now know that the human brain continues to develop until a person is in their mid-20s and that young people under that age are less able to consider the consequences of their actions, particularly in emotionally charged settings and in the presence of their peers. As our understanding of adolescent development has evolved, along with evidence of effective interventions for youth, communities, including police, are changing how they respond to youth “acting out.” They are increasingly recognizing the cost in human potential of arresting and incarcerating young people for misbehavior, and acknowledging that youth deserve second, third, and even fourth chances.
Informed by interviews with stakeholders in the jurisdictions described below, this brief highlights three types of programs, and examples of each, that respond to misbehavior with early intervention and prevention—giving young people a second chance before they reach the juvenile justice system. They include: (1) juvenile assessment and resource centers; (2) crisis response programs; and (3) Crisis Intervention Team for Youth (CIT-Y) programs. In each example described here, states, cities, and towns across the country have developed strong partnerships among families, schools, social services, community organizations, and law enforcement to identify youth and families who need help and then work together to prevent and de-escalate crises and keep young people at home, connected to their families and support systems. Policymakers in these jurisdictions are developing and implementing these programs to safely and cost-effectively divert youth from the justice system. Funding for most of these programs started with grants or technical assistance from national reform efforts and continued with combinations of city, county, and state support.

**Juvenile Assessment and Resource Centers**

In Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana, a mother met with the assistant principal at her son’s high school, looking for help. He was using substances frequently, leaving home almost every night, and not attending school. The mother was highly concerned for her son’s safety, and visited the school to discuss whether it was possible to have her son picked up by law enforcement and committed to a psychiatric hospital—the only way she could think of to get help. Instead, the principal suggested to the mother that she meet with staff from the local assessment and
resource center. The family came in and, with a therapist’s assessment, discovered that the young man was willing to accept help. The staff found an inpatient facility within an hour of the family’s residence and helped the family form a plan without law enforcement involvement or the need for involuntary commitment.

To provide a better, third option to the limited choices police officers have to either ignore problem behavior or criminalize it, many communities are creating drop-in resource and assessment centers to serve as “diversion hubs” where police officers, families, and school personnel can bring young people who are engaged in low-level misbehavior (such as truancy, curfew violations, running away, minor fighting, or property offenses) or who just need a safe place to go. Typically, these centers employ trained professionals—social workers, mental health clinicians, and others—to assess the problematic behavior and circumstances and then connect youth and their families with services and support to address the issue without involving the police.

When police are already involved, resource centers make it possible for officers to address troubling behavior and return to patrol quickly, feeling confident that they have helped young people and families get support. To that end, stakeholders are focused on opening resource centers in locations that are convenient for law enforcement, but are also welcoming and accessible for families. Additionally, many centers are open around the clock, or at least during the afternoon and evening hours, when youth are out of school.

**THE MULTI-Agency RESOURCE CENTER IN LOUISIANA**

In Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana, the Multi-Agency Resource Center (MARC) was created in 2011 as a drop-in center accessible to officers—encountering youth who need additional support and services—and parents and families of youth at risk of getting arrested. Based on the unique circumstances of each case, some end with a short talk with a counselor, while others involve a full assessment and planning process. The MARC’s initial outreach efforts focused on making police officers aware of the resource, but outreach efforts are now also directed at families. Between 2012 and 2015, the MARC saw a 150 percent increase in the number of family walk-ins without police referral. The MARC’s leadership believes that this increase demonstrates greater community awareness of the center as a resource that families can trust and use to support their children through challenging situations without relying on police intervention.

To provide the best recommendations for services and support, it is important to meet families where they are by understanding their existing capacity and resources.

**THE GRESHAM JUVENILE RECEPTION CENTER IN OREGON**

In the spring of 2015, city and county leaders in Gresham, Oregon, decided to join forces and collaborate on youth development and juvenile justice reform. They saw the value and success of a reception center for youth in crisis in Portland, but because of the distance, Gresham police officers were not finding it an efficient resource for runaways, out-of-school youth, and youth who committed
low-level offenses. They recognized that the success of such a center depends on creating a space that is both welcoming for youth—an issue youth emphasized during a focus group—and accessible for police. While many juvenile resource centers are only open to police officers, this reception center is noteworthy in that it will also be available to families directly.

Stakeholders—including the Gresham mayor’s office, Gresham Police Department, Multnomah County Juvenile Services Division, and community-based providers supported by a technical assistance grant from the National League of Cities—worked together to address these challenges and are in the process of opening a reception center in Gresham.

**An accessible and welcoming location is key.** Youth and families need to feel comfortable in the space for the best chances of successful participation. When families and youth are in crisis, they want to feel safe and know that they are in a place that will help them, not get them into more trouble. The location should also be convenient and the process efficient for police officers, allowing them to transport and sign youth into the center easily, without taking much time away from patrol or other duties. Separate entrances for police and families or community members may also help everyone feel comfortable accessing the center.

**RESOURCE CENTER FOR POLICE AND FAMILIES IN NEVADA**

With support from the National League of Cities, policymakers in Las Vegas, Nevada, have been planning a resource center for law enforcement and families for nearly two years, to open in fall 2016. Challenged by Southern Nevada’s unique overlay of city and county governance structures, a wide range of stakeholders joined forces to develop and fund a local resource and assessment center to provide both diversion and intervention services for youth. The planned center will accept referrals from law enforcement, families, schools, and others. The effort aims to reduce the disproportionate arrest and detention of black youth, a significant local concern, and is chaired by county officials, with support from several other elected officials who are championing this project.

**Crisis Response Services**

The police were contacted to intervene after repeated conflict between a young man and his mother escalated into physical intimidation against her. The police called in a local crisis team to respond. The police and a therapist arrived at the scene to assess the situation. The therapist first met with both mother and son separately, and then together, to talk through what was happening and review some coping strategies. The son admitted that he sometimes used his size to intimidate his mother when he was angry. He reported he was feeling much more calm since talking with the therapist and agreed to use coping skills when feeling angry or overwhelmed. His mother agreed to allow him to use these strategies when needed. The police left the scene, confident the family was safe, and no arrest was needed. The son was quickly connected with a therapist and psychiatrist for regular care. During a follow-up call with the mother, she reported:
“Without all the services the therapist connected us with, it would be tragic. This has been a blessing.” She reported that her son “is doing so much better now.”

A number of jurisdictions throughout the country have developed crisis response systems to respond quickly to law enforcement, schools, families, and other agencies needing immediate help—often by connecting families to behavioral health services instead of emergency rooms and the justice system. Police officers often respond to calls where there is no “arrestable” offense, but there is a clear need for outside help to immediately de-escalate a volatile situation and make connections to other types of support. Crisis response services can also be used to identify and provide treatment for family issues, such as fighting within the home. These services typically utilize trained case workers or therapists to respond quickly to police, family, or school calls, assess the situation, either by phone or in person, and determine the best course of action, usually by connecting youth and their families with community-based supports and case management services.

THE HEARTLAND FAMILY SERVICE CRISIS MEDIATION TEAM IN NEBRASKA

The Heartland Family Service Crisis Mediation Team (CMT) in Sarpy County, Nebraska, began in April 2015 to provide immediate de-escalation and conflict resolution services from licensed mental health therapists around the clock, 365 days a year. Police officers, probation officers, or juvenile detention officers call the hotline when encountering a family confrontation or crisis, or when they have nowhere to bring a youth after detention or a police stop, if home or school is not a viable option. While the police remain on the scene, a licensed therapist responds in person, meets with the youth and his or her family to obtain consent, assesses the situation, recommends potential services or resources, and determines whether it is safe for the youth to remain at home. CMT interventions ensure that youth in crisis are served in the least restrictive, most normative setting possible, and connect the family with community-based services in order to avoid placing the youth in a hospital, protective custody, or detention. The main goal of the program is to keep the family intact with safety measures in place. Case management and follow-up services are provided and families are connected with a statewide post-crisis referral program for ongoing support.

The program carefully tracks data and reports back to all stakeholders on how effective it has been. While the CMT is just under a year old, it has conducted 90 face-to-face assessments, none of which led to juvenile detention. Further, the

Providing outcome data to stakeholders is critical. Sharing the progress and outcomes of program implementation with stakeholders is an important practice to fuel continued dedication and investment in the program. For example, one program was able to demonstrate the amount of time saved per call for police officers using a diversion program, which encouraged the continued commitment and financial support of stakeholders like the police department, district attorneys, and city and county leaders.
Follow-up is essential. The goal of all of these diversion efforts is to provide youth and their families with the services they need in the community. After resolving the initial crisis that led to law enforcement involvement, stakeholders must design a follow-up system that ensures services are being provided and helping to address the underlying issues. Law enforcement can also be part of this follow-up, as evidenced by some police departments that hold “case conferences” involving all affected parties, including youth, to check their current status, improve relationships, and support positive outcomes.

CHANGES IN YOUTH SERVICES AND ASSESSMENT IN ILLINOIS

When stakeholders in Peoria County, Illinois, analyzed their data on youth in detention in 2010, for the Annie E. Casey Foundation’s Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative, they saw that police officers were frequently bringing youth into detention when responding to calls about adolescent domestic battery or other family crises. Police officers were arresting and detaining youth because they saw it as the best way to keep youth and their families safe during a family crisis, even though the county was working to reduce the number of youth in detention. To address these underlying issues at home, county leaders made some changes. First, they decided to utilize the statewide Comprehensive Community-Based Youth Services Program (CCBYS), to prevent young people from entering either the child welfare or juvenile justice systems unnecessarily. (CCBYS provides 24-hour crisis intervention services for youth, ages 10 to 17, who have run away, been locked out by a family member, or who refuse to return home after coming into contact with law enforcement.) Second, stakeholders changed arrest and detention protocols to allow police to make referrals to a community social services provider: the Children’s Home of Illinois. Parents may also refer to this provider youth who have experienced behavioral problems but who have not yet come into contact with law enforcement. Services are available for up to three months and may include crisis counseling; mediation; short-term placement; individual, family, and group counseling; recreation; skill-building; advocacy; and linkage to other services.

In 2015, 80 percent of youth receiving services demonstrated improvement on assessments from the time of intake through program exit. Additionally, 85 percent of youth referred to crisis intervention for Adolescent Domestic Battery (ADB) had no further domestic battery contacts while receiving services. Further, families are increasingly referring siblings and other relatives to the program because of these successful outcomes.
Invest in qualified staff. The Sarpy County, Nebraska crisis response program found that, compared to other response programs that do not use licensed therapists, hiring qualified clinical staff to respond to every call is cost-effective and improves outcomes. The Sarpy County program reported fewer calls ending in arrest when therapists assessed a situation in person and developed a rapport with youth, their families, and police.

Crisis Intervention Teams for Youth (CIT-Y)

“One day, in a high school computer lab, a teenager with autism refused to leave his computer. The aide with him asked us, the school police, to come and remove him forcibly, since she was unable to convince him to leave. Cops get put in these situations where we know it doesn’t make sense and it will provoke a negative reaction. They will get hurt. We will get hurt. Instead of going down that path, I tried something different because of my training and experience with adolescent crisis intervention and mental health. I knew there had to be an adult in the building that this young person has a relationship with who might be able to help. A teacher was identified who came in and convinced him to get up and leave. We all ended up walking away.”

–school resource officer, Connecticut

Originating in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1988, Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT) were designed as a training and collaborative approach for police officers to safely and effectively address the needs of adults with mental illnesses, link them to behavioral health services, and divert them from the criminal justice system when appropriate.¹⁷ The CIT program is heavily focused on partnership and prevention—officers build relationships with people and families in their communities, allowing them to identify and assist individuals before a crisis occurs—and can be helpful in many encounters between civilians and police, even beyond the mental health context. Implementation of these programs varies, but the primary model is focused on training for at least a portion of police officers in each department. While similar to crisis response services, CITs function within police departments, while crisis response services operate as an outside system that works as a resource where police can ultimately hand off individual cases to community-based programs.

Because of the success of CIT for adults, and the high incidence of mental health and behavioral health needs among youth in the juvenile justice system, many communities expanded the CIT program to address the needs of youth.¹⁸ CIT for Youth (CIT-Y) trains police officers to better understand, identify, and react to adolescent development and mental health issues, and helps connect those youth to effective and appropriate services and supports in their community.¹⁹

The CIT-Y model empowers police with the training and knowledge to identify and react safely and effectively to youth in crisis. It also connects them with community resources so that they can decide on appropriate referrals when they encounter youth struggling with family or behavioral health issues. While the goals are to intervene early in emerging mental health issues and behavioral crises and to prevent youth from becoming involved in the juvenile justice system, research
suggests that CIT is associated with improved attitudes and awareness of mental illness among officers, as well as increased confidence in identifying persons with mental illness. Studies have also found that CIT lowers the likelihood that a police officer uses force or arrests a person with mental illness. In the best case scenario, effective implementation of CIT-Y connects youth and their families with the behavioral health services they need, improves mental health partners’ awareness of local youth experiencing difficult situations, and ultimately prevents further involvement with the justice system.

Some communities are going beyond this model, to not only train and connect police officers with community resources, but to also incorporate crisis response programs into the initial response. Recently, the National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice developed an even more comprehensive version of CIT-Y geared toward school resource officers called Adolescent Mental Health Training for School Resource Officers (AMHT-SRO). It is intended to help school resource officers develop the critical skills and capacity to appropriately respond to the typical behavioral issues of adolescents with mental health problems.

CIT-Y IN CONNECTICUT
The CIT-Y program in Connecticut was implemented in 2011 at the request of the Court Support Services Division of the Judicial Branch, which runs the juvenile probation department with the support of the MacArthur Foundation’s Models for Change Initiative. Probation officers saw many youth ending up under probation supervision because of mental health issues or problems in the home. Stakeholders—schools, police, families, child services, and the mental health department—were invited to participate in the development of the program and provide feedback. The program was presented not just as training for police, but as a real shift in the state’s approach to youth. After piloting the program, stakeholders decided that the training could be supplemented to provide immediate support for police officers encountering kids in crisis. They re-worked an existing crisis response program in the state’s mental health department—Emergency Mobile Psychiatric Services (EMPS)—to provide law enforcement, families, and others with quick assessment and response by trained mental health professionals. EMPS is a mobile intervention unit for children and adolescents experiencing a behavioral or mental health crisis, which can be accessed by anyone using a 2-1-1 number. Statewide, the EMPS program received nearly 17,000 calls in 2015, 12,472 (73 percent) of which resulted in EMPS episodes of care. Most children were referred by parents or family members (44.8 percent) and schools (35.8 percent). Only 1.4 percent of youth were arrested during an EMPS episode.

Involve all stakeholders from the beginning. It is critical that all stakeholders are involved, both in developing diversion programs and in regularly evaluating progress and addressing challenges. Soliciting feedback and collectively evaluating outcomes encourages ownership in the program, builds relationships, and improves capacity throughout the community in responding to crises in more collaborative and effective ways.
CIT-Y IN MICHIGAN
After CIT trainings spread to police departments across Michigan, the governor recognized that youth were being overlooked and issued an executive order to expand efforts to address juvenile diversion. Stakeholders decided that the CIT-Y model had significant potential to fill a need across the state, after finding few youth services or programs available for early diversion. Following the recommendations of the model, in 2015, state leaders brought together police officers, mental health clinicians, community-based organizations, and others to participate in the CIT-Y “Train the Trainer” development sessions. Focused on early intervention and training police officers to be change agents, these regional sessions emphasized community collaboration. Participants networked and talked about the services they provide to youth and families and how they could partner with police officers as a resource when they encountered youth in crisis. The program is working with Michigan State University to collect data and evaluate its impact. Although it is fairly new, stakeholders have already seen an increased number of referrals to mental health providers and a decrease in the number of automatic juvenile justice referrals from police officers. They are also measuring police officer and other stakeholder attitudes pre- and post-CIT-Y trainings.

EXAMPLES OF DIVERSION RESOURCES FOR YOUTH IN THE U.S.

2015
Sarpy County, Nebraska:
Heartland Family Service
Crisis Mediation Team

2015
Michigan State

2011
Connecticut State

2011
Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana:
The Multi Agency Resource Center (MARC)

2015
Gresham, Oregon

2015
Sarpy County, Nebraska:
Heartland Family Service
Crisis Mediation Team

2016
Las Vegas, Nevada
Conclusion

The diversion programs described above—juvenile assessment and resource centers, crisis response programs, and the Crisis Intervention Team for Youth programs—are improving communities. By implementing a range of immediate and family-focused alternatives to justice system intervention, and critically examining their own practices on youth arrest and detention, often with the support of key national reform efforts, the cities and towns described above have radically changed their approach to youth misbehavior. These jurisdictions have recognized the benefits—in safety, cost, and human potential—of keeping young people out of the justice system. Using data to inform sometimes difficult conversations among stakeholders, these jurisdictions have created successful partnerships and working relationships among law enforcement, child welfare systems, service providers, health departments, schools, families, and many others to create a true safety net that can keep young people in their communities and connected to their families.

While these efforts are impressive, challenges remain. Many stakeholders acknowledged the tensions that exist in balancing all facets of effective diversion efforts—providing consistent care and treatment for youth across agencies, collecting outcome data, and being careful to restrict information-sharing. In particular, it is essential that diversion programs effectively safeguard information, so that what is learned about a young person and their family does not complicate or exacerbate any future involvement with law enforcement. There are also obvious challenges to reframing the relationships among law enforcement, families, and communities, as a history of mistrust and competing philosophies has created barriers to collaboration.

Despite these challenges, diversion programs have the potential to reorient the juvenile justice system away from punishment and toward prevention—a shift that can have large-scale, sustainable impact as communities develop a shared vision of responding to youth in trouble through services and support instead of arrest and jail. This vision recognizes that youth are different from adults and should be treated differently from adults at all points in our justice system. And if a family does call the police, they should be able to view police contact as an opportunity—as one way to proactively respond to challenging adolescent behavior and family disputes. At its core, this vision acknowledges that everyone—and particularly our youth—deserves a second chance.

“...diversion programs have the potential to reorient the juvenile justice system away from punishment and toward prevention—a shift that can have large-scale, sustainable impact as communities develop a shared vision of responding to youth in trouble through services and support instead of arrest and jail.”
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

For additional information on juvenile diversion efforts:

> Annie E. Casey Foundation’s Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative
  www.aecf.org/work/juvenile-justice/jdai/

> The MacArthur Foundation’s Models for Change
  http://www.modelsforchange.net/index.html

> The National League of Cities

> National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice
  http://www.ncmhjj.com/

> Vera Institute of Justice’s Status Offense Reform Center
  http://www.statusoffensereform.org/

> Vera Institute of Justice’s Center on Youth and Justice
  http://www.vera.org/centers/youth-justice

ENDNOTES


2 “Keeping Kids Out of Court: A Primer on Status Offenses” (New York: Status Offense Reform Center, Vera Institute of Justice, 2015).


5 In juvenile court, youth are not “convicted” of an offense. The legal terms vary across jurisdictions, but in this report, “convicted” refers to the situation where a juvenile is found responsible for a charged offense by a juvenile court. See Akiva Liberman and David Kirk, Labeling Effects of First Juvenile Arrests: Secondary Deviance and Secondary Sanctioning (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Center, Urban Institute, 2014).


For More Information

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