"We have to recognize that [inappropriate] incarceration of youth per se is toxic … so we need to reduce the use of incarceration of young people to the very dangerous few. And we've got to recognize that if we lock up a lot of kids, it's going to increase crime" (Dr. Barry Krisberg, former President of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency).

Research has demonstrated negative outcomes from detaining juveniles as the default response to delinquency. Detention interrupts normal adolescent social, psychological and brain development (Bernstein, 2014; Bonnie et al., 2013; Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006; Justice Policy Institute, 2014) and can traumatize troubled youth (many of whom have experienced trauma that leads to their delinquency in the first place). Detention can increase suicidality among youth (Abram et al., 2014) and negatively impacts young people's education and employment prospects (Aizer & Doyle, 2013; Hjalmarsson, 2008; Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006; Mendel, 2011; Western & Beckett, 1999). Detention also increases the odds that youth will commit further crimes (Bonnie et al., 2013; Holman & Ziedenberg, 2006; Lambie & Randall, 2013; Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2005; National Research Council, 2013), and will have contact with the adult criminal justice system. Given the host of negative outcomes associated with detention of juveniles, it is clear that, with the exception of some individual cases, incarceration does not benefit public safety, and, in fact, compromises public safety.

Detaining juvenile offenders is also costly – a study by the Justice Policy Institute estimated that locking up a juvenile costs states an average of $408 per person per day, and close to $150,000 per year. But these costs, while significant, seriously underestimate the total and long-term costs of youth confinement, because they ignore the burdens placed on families, the effects on recidivism, and the negative impacts on young people's transition to adulthood. The Justice Policy Institute report estimates that these long term costs may amount to an additional $8 to $21 billion per year for our country.

Incarceration also disproportionately impacts youth of color (Justice Policy Institute, 2014; W. Haywood Burns Institute, 2016), and because secure confinement can limit a young person's potential, the costs of incarceration have much larger impacts in communities of color (Justice Policy institute, 2014).

Some may believe that employing alternatives to juvenile incarceration is "soft on crime," fails to hold youth accountable, and will lead to more criminal behavior as they become adults – however, the data show otherwise. Reflecting larger state and national trends, the rate of juvenile felony filings in Clark County, Washington decreased from 595/100,000 population (in the 0 to 17 age group) in 2002 to 279/100,000 in 2016. Related to the reduction in felony filings, but also partially due to the implementation of juvenile detention alternatives (JDAI) in 2013, the number of juvenile detention admissions declined by 58% over the 2011 to 2016 period. While the available data do not allow us to establish a causal connection, over the same period during which juvenile felony filings and detention admissions have been declining, the rate of adult felony filings in Clark County decreased from a rate of 678/100,000 in 2002 to 548/100,000 in 2016. It is clear that the reductions in juvenile referrals and the use of detention have **not** been associated with an increase in adult crime at the aggregate level.

Correctional options that keep youth in the community and engaged in school have been proven to produce better outcomes (Bonnie et al., 2014; Fazal, 2014; Greenwood, 2008; Mendel, 2011; Mosher, 2016. Washington State JDAI, 2014) with attendant benefits to public safety. In Clark County, a study of JDAI found that youth sanctioned through a detention alternative were four times less likely to have a new felony referral than youth from a matched comparison group that experienced both an alternative and detention (Mosher, 2016).

While progress in reducing the confinement of juveniles has been made, policy and practice need to continue to promote the most effective ways to hold youth accountable and help them successfully transition to adulthood.

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