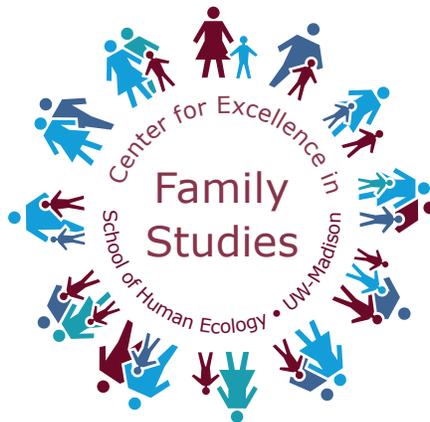

**Wisconsin Family Impact Seminars
Briefing Report**

**Promising Approaches
for Addressing Juvenile Crime**



**University of Wisconsin-Extension
Center for Excellence in Family Studies
School of Human Ecology
University of Wisconsin-Madison**

Promising Approaches For Addressing Juvenile Crime

Second Edition

Wisconsin Family Impact Seminars

Edited by

Karen Bogenschneider

UW-Madison, Child & Family Studies
UW Extension, Family Policy Specialist

Design by

Bonnie Reider

May 1994

**University of Wisconsin-Extension
Center for Excellence in Family Studies
School of Human Ecology
University of Wisconsin-Madison**

We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the:
Helen Bader Foundation, Inc.
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Inc.

Wisconsin Family Impact Seminars

“Promising Approaches for Addressing Juvenile Crime”
is the fourth seminar in a series designed to bring a family focus to policymaking.
This seminar featured the following speakers:

Stephen Blue

Director, Neighborhood Intervention Program
Dane County Department of Social Services
501 E. Badger Road, Madison, WI 53713
(608) 273-6603

Lew Bank

Research Associate, Oregon Social Learning Center
207 E. Fifth Avenue, Suite 202
Eugene, OR 97401
(503) 485-2711

Dennis Maloney

Director, Deschutes County Community Corrections Department
1128 Northwest Harriman
Bend, OR 97701
(503) 385-1720

For further information on the seminar series, contact director, Karen Bogen-schneider, Assistant Professor, UW-Madison/Extension, 120 Human Ecology, 1300 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706; telephone: (608) 262-4070 or 262-8121; email: kpbogens@facstaff.wisc.edu.

Family Impact Seminars have been well-received in Washington, D.C., by federal policymakers, and Wisconsin is one of the first states to sponsor the seminars for state policymakers. Family Impact Seminars provide state-of-the-art research on current family issues for state legislators and their aides, Governor’s Office staff, state agency representatives, educators, and service providers. Based on a growing realization that one of the best ways to help individuals is by strengthening their families, Family Impact Seminars analyze the consequences an issue, policy, or program may have for families.

Each seminar is accompanied by an in-depth briefing report that summarizes the latest research on a topic and identifies policy options from across the political spectrum. Copies are available at Extension Publications, 630 West Mifflin Street, Room 170, Madison, WI 53703, (608) 262-3346 (voice and TDD); (608) 265-8052 (fax).

“Building Policies That Put Families First: A Wisconsin Perspective”	March 1993
“Single Parenthood and Children’s Well-Being”	October 1993
“Can Government Promote Competent Parenting?”	January 1994
“Promising Approaches for Addressing Juvenile Crime”	May 1994

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
Introduction	3
Juvenile Crime in Wisconsin: A Statistical Overview	4
<i>by Linda Hall</i>	
How Many Juveniles are Arrested in Wisconsin and What are the Trends Over Time?	4
What Crimes Do Juveniles Commit?	4
What Changes Have Occurred in Arrest Rates Over the Last Decade?	4
How Many Youth are in Juvenile Correctional Institutions?	7
What Crimes Do Institutionalized Youth Commit?	9
How Much Does Juvenile Institutional Out-of-Home Placement Cost?	9
Conclusion	10
Do We Know Enough to Prevent Juvenile Crime?	11
<i>by Karen Bogenschneider</i>	
Are All Juvenile Delinquents the Same?	11
What Leads to Late-Blooming Delinquency?	12
What Leads to Early-Occurring Delinquency?	13
What Leads to Frequent and Violent Crime?	14
Is Prevention Possible?	16
Is Preventing Late-Blooming Delinquency Possible?	16
Is Preventing Early-Occurring Delinquency Possible?	17
At What Age Should Prevention Programs Begin?	17
Which Prevention Programs Hold the Most Promise?	18
Parent Management Training	19
Early Childhood Intervention and Family Support	19
Functional Family Therapy	22
Teaching Cognitive Problem-Solving	22
Social Perspective-Taking Training	23
Community-Based Programs	23
Broad-Based Interventions	23
What are the Implications of These Findings for Policymakers and Programmers?	23
Conclusion	25
References	26

Clearer by the Day	29
<i>by Dennis Maloney</i>	
Pattern of Successful Intervention Strategies Emerges in the Juvenile Justice System	29
The Evidence on the Effectiveness of Efforts of the Juvenile Justice System in Preventing Repeat Crimes	30
Office Casework Supervision	30
Intensive Office Casework Supervision and Intensive Surveillance Supervision	31
Insight-Oriented Counseling	31
Psycho-Dynamic Counseling	31
Job Placement and Work Experience	32
Out-of-Home Placement	32
Teaching Accountability Through Restitution and Community Service	32
Factors Contributing to Program Failure	33
The Case for Competency Development as a Central Focus for Dispositional Orders	33
Competency Development	33
Principles of Rehabilitation	34
A Comparison of the Standard Treatment Program and the Research Supported Competency-Based Paradigm Intervention Assumptions: Treatment/Services and Competency Development	35
Treatment Services	35
Competency Development	36
A Program Context Warranting Attention	36
Conclusion	37
References	37
Wisconsin and Selected National Resources for Information on Juvenile Justice	38
<i>by Kari Morgan</i>	
Appendix A	
Juvenile Arrests, Arrest Rates and Detentions	41
Appendix B	
Youth Aides and Out-Of-Home Institutional Expenditures	43

Executive Summary

Juvenile arrests increased by almost 40 percent in Wisconsin in the 10-year period between 1984 and 1993. Perhaps more alarming is the sheer size of the juvenile crime problem with over 122,000 arrests in the state in 1993. While violent juvenile arrests increased by almost 60 percent from 1984 to 1993, violent offenses accounted for only 1.9 percent of all juvenile offenses in 1993. In fact, the violent crime rate in Wisconsin represented less than one-half of the corresponding 1992 rate for violent crime in the Midwest and the nation. In Wisconsin, the arrest rates range from a high of 161 for Rock County to a low of 1 for Menominee County. Rock and Menominee Counties also have the high and low rates, respectively for violent crime.

Serious or repeat juvenile offenders are likely to be incarcerated at one of the state's two secure juvenile correctional institutions with an annual cost of approximately \$40,000 per placement. In a four-year period spanning fiscal years beginning in 1988 and ending in 1993, the average daily population increased by about one-third from 530 to 705. Of juveniles in correctional institutions in 1992, nearly 25 percent were convicted of auto theft, 15 percent of battery, followed by unarmed burglary, armed robbery, and weapons offenses; murder and aggravated assault comprise only 1.4 percent of crimes committed. Among girls, who comprise under 10 percent of the total population, more were convicted of battery than auto theft.

Over 80 percent of all adolescents report having committed a chargeable offense at one time or another, but most of these "normal" adolescents do so infrequently. A small proportion of youth, an estimated 5 to 8 percent, are responsible for 40 percent of all police contacts and two-thirds to three-fourths of all offenses. Assuming that all these teenagers who commit crimes are psychologically similar is wrong and can thwart efforts to develop effective policies and programs.

Late bloomers, youth who begin delinquent activity at age 15 or later, are more apt to straighten out their lives after a few petty delinquent acts. Psychologically, late-bloomers appear to be quite normal: socially skilled, popular with peers, and with no history of previous problems. Late blooming delinquency appears to be influenced primarily by factors such as knowledge of their peer's delinquent acts; susceptibility to antisocial peer pressure; poor supervision by parents; and few opportunities, other than delinquency, for youth to demonstrate their maturity.

Early starters, those who begin their criminal career before age 15, are more apt to become frequent offenders, commit violent crimes, and continue their criminal activity as adults. Early starters come from families that are low socioeconomic

status, frequently unemployed, and oftentimes divorced. Early starters are anti-social as preschoolers and 30 to 40 percent of their antisocial behavior can be accounted for by family interaction patterns. Their parents tend to be harsh and inconsistent; they threaten, nag, and scold but seldom follow through. Children are successful in resolving conflict with whining, yelling, temper tantrums or physical attacks; thus, children learn that aggression works. This aggressive behavior also leads to peer rejection, trouble with teachers, and poor school performance.

The best predictors of who will become violent offenders are youth who commit their first crime at an early age and continue their criminal careers. No special explanation for violent crime is needed; if you can determine who starts early, you can predict frequent offenders, and frequency appears to predict violent offenses.

Instead of one grand theory for delinquency, it may be more accurate to think of one explanation for those who begin their criminal careers at a later age and one for those who begin their criminal careers earlier. The causes of these two patterns of delinquency are quite different and require different responses from policymakers and practitioners. Given the two types of juvenile delinquents, one set of prevention programs is needed to head off those children at risk of becoming early starters. Another set needs to begin after the age of 10 or 11 to focus on those children at risk of becoming late bloomers.

For early starters, prevention programs provided early, specifically before school entry, hold the greatest promise. Studies indicate that aggression is quite stable, much like IQ; those children who were most aggressive in third grade went on to commit more crimes as adults. For late bloomers, broad-based programs are needed that help youth resist negative peer pressure, teach parents the importance of supervision, reduce stress on families, and provide opportunities for youth to demonstrate their maturity in ways that benefit society. Seven prevention programs that appear to be promising in preventing antisocial behavior and juvenile crime are described in the report: parent management training; early childhood intervention and family support; functional family therapy; teaching problem-solving skills; social perspective-taking training; community-based programs; and broad-based intervention.

The juvenile court has been searching for effective intervention strategies for nearly a century. Commonly used approaches include office casework supervision; intensive casework supervision and intensive surveillance supervision; insight-oriented counseling; psycho-dynamic counseling; job placement and work experience; out-of-home placement; and teaching accountability through restitution and community service. Unfortunately, most of these approaches had either mixed results or no positive impact on delinquent behavior; in fact, in some instances, these interventions actually increased the likelihood of repeat crimes. One of the most successful intervention strategies that has emerged recently in the juvenile justice system is competency development. Increasingly, the evidence suggests that all forms of treatment should result in youth becoming more competent. Community service and restitution programs offer an excellent mechanism for delivering competency-based programs.

Introduction

Juvenile arrests increased by 40 percent in Wisconsin in the 10-year period between 1984 and 1993 (Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance, 1993; 1994). Perhaps more alarming is the sheer size of the juvenile crime problem with over 122,000 arrests in the state in 1993 (Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance, 1994); yet even this alarming number is vastly understated, since police records may account for as little as 2 percent of the actual juvenile law violations (Dunford & Elliott, 1982 cited in Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989). Curbing the growth in juvenile crime has taken on a new sense of urgency as crime has topped recent public opinion polls as the most important social problem facing the country (Yoshikawa, 1994).

Not only do the victims and perpetrators and their families bear tremendous costs of crime in their personal lives, the costs to society are substantial; considering only the cost of maintaining juvenile correctional facilities, over \$1 billion was spent in 1985 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1986 cited in Reid, 1993). According to recent estimates, the average cost of incarcerating a juvenile for one year is over \$40,000 (Davidson & Redner, 1988). Increasingly, taxpayers are demanding to know whether the programs they support are worthwhile or whether the money could be better spent in other ways.

To address these growing concerns, this report attempts to answer several fundamental questions:

- ❖ How many crimes do juveniles commit in Wisconsin?
- ❖ Are all juvenile delinquents the same? Are youth who commit occasional or nonviolent crimes different from those who commit frequent and violent crimes?
- ❖ Is prevention possible? Which prevention programs hold the most promise?
- ❖ What are the implications of these findings for policymakers and programmers?
- ❖ What efforts of the juvenile justice system have proven most successful in reducing repeat crimes?
- ❖ What resources are available in Wisconsin for further information?

Juvenile Crime in Wisconsin: A Statistical Overview

*Linda Hall, Policy Specialist
Wisconsin Council on Children and Families*

Increases in juvenile crime over the past few years have been of great concern to the public and policymakers. The graphs and charts in this report present a selection of statistics to provide some insights into juvenile crime in Wisconsin and the state's response. Arrest rates, expenditures on juvenile offenders, and average daily populations at the juvenile correctional centers are among the indicators included.

How Many Juveniles are Arrested in Wisconsin and What are the Trends Over Time?

In 1984, juvenile arrests, arrests of all children under age 18, were 87,350. By 1993, arrests had increased to 122,357, a 40 percent increase. Arrest rates, however, provide a better measure of comparison because they adjust the rates to reflect changes in the overall population. Commonly, arrest rates measure one arrest for every 100,000 persons. The juvenile arrest rate in 1984 was 6,430 per 100,000 juveniles. In 1993, the juvenile arrest rate was 9,252, which represented an increase of 44 percent. The arrests and arrest rate information provided in this section is based on the Office of Justice Assistance's "Arrests of Juveniles in Wisconsin 1983-1992," and its preliminary data for 1993.

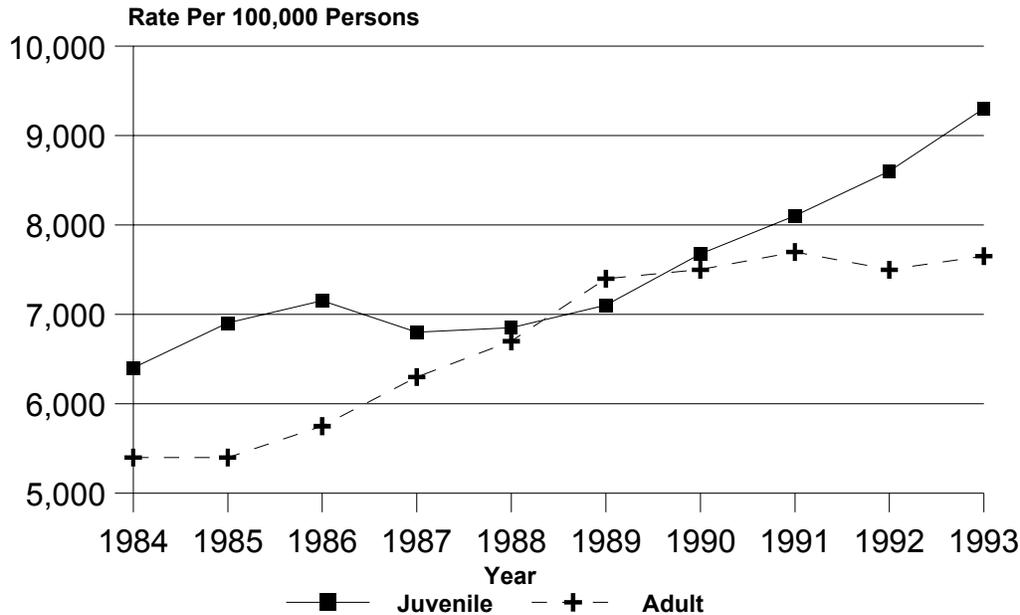
What Crimes Do Juveniles Commit?

To allow more detailed analysis of crime, arrests are also considered in categories. Each of the four categories of juvenile crime include several offenses:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Violent | Murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault; |
| Property | Burglary, theft, motor vehicle~ theft, and arson; |
| Status | Liquor law and curfew violations and runaways, and |
| Other | Negligent manslaughter, operating a motor vehicle while intoxicated, and all crimes excluded from the above categories, except traffic violations. |

Examining the arrest rate for each category and its change over time can provide more insight into the current nature of juvenile crime. Graph 1 shows the arrest rates for all offenses from 1984 through 1993. For comparison purposes, arrest rates for adults for the same period are shown.

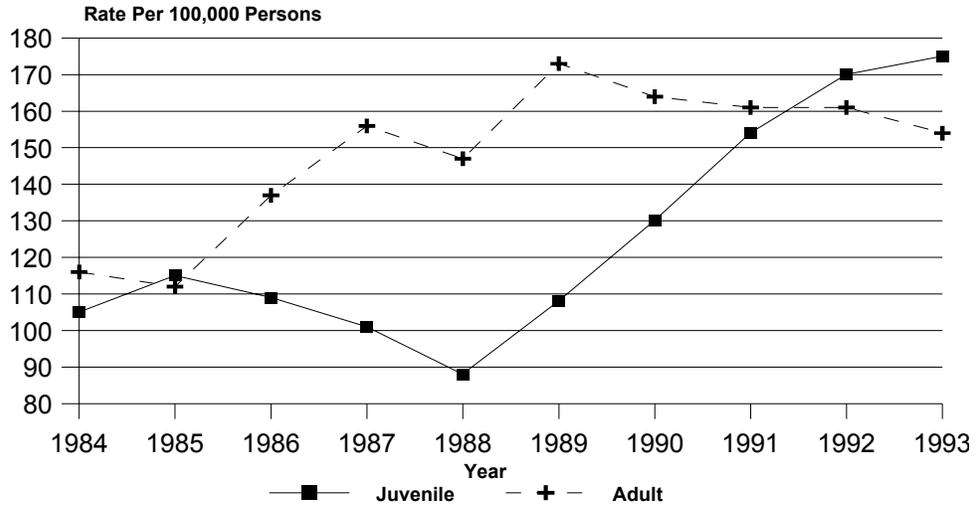
Graph 1
All Crimes Arrest Rate
1984-1994



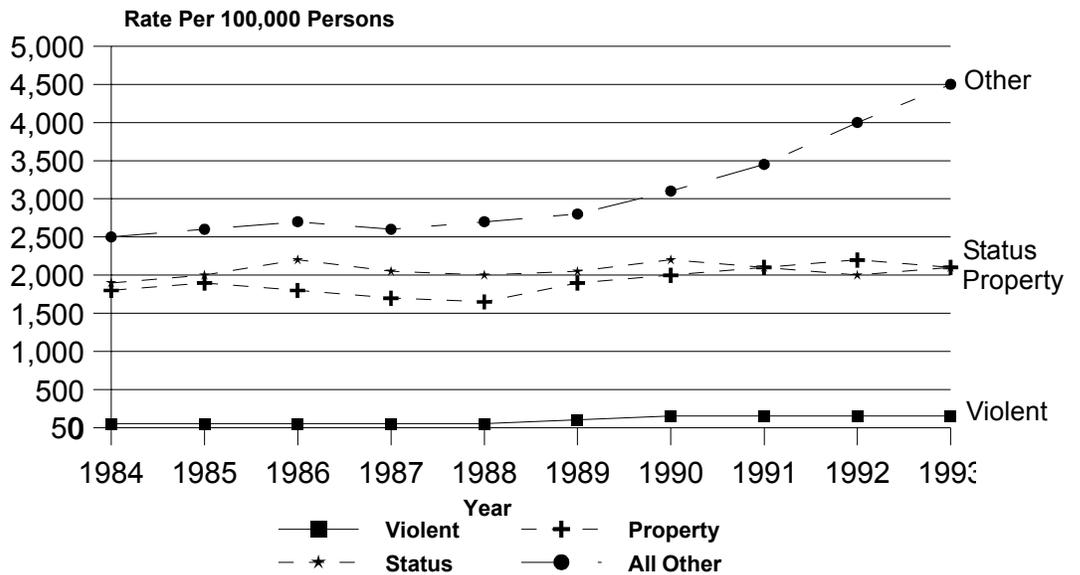
As shown, juvenile arrest rate increases in the early 1980s were followed by decreases through 1988. Since then, the rate has increased each year to a rate of 9,252 per 100,000 adults in 1993. Adult arrest rates increased rather steadily through the 1980s and then began to level off. In 1993, the adult arrest rate was 7,651 per 100,000 adults.

Narrowing the focus to examine arrests for violent crimes only, Graph 2 shows that juvenile arrests for these crimes started out at 105 per 100,000 in 1984, below the adult arrest rate of 116. Juvenile arrests for violent offenses increased in 1985, then decreased in each year through 1988 to a low of 88. However, after 1988, the juvenile arrest rate for violent crimes increased substantially through 1992. Although the 1993 rate of 175 represents another increase, it is smaller than increases in recent years. Over the decade, adult arrest rates for violent crimes fluctuated, peaking in 1989 and declining since then to 154 per 100,000 in 1993.

Graph 2
Violent Crime Arrest Rates
1984-1993



While there has been a significant increase in the juvenile arrest rate for violent crime, an examination of the trends for each type of crime reveals that violent crime as a proportion of the total juvenile crime is very small; 1.9 percent in 1993. Graph 3 shows juvenile arrest rates for all four categories of arrests for the period 1984 through 1993.



What Changes Have Occurred in Arrest Rates Over the Last Decade?

To analyze recent changes in arrest rates compared to those over the last decade, the annual rate of change can be examined. Table 1 shows, for selected arrest rates, annual rates of change over the decade and the last five years. Percent changes from 1991 to 1992 and from 1992 to 1993 are also shown.

The annual rate of change for the juvenile violent arrest rate was 5.8 percent over the period 1984 to 1993. For the latter half of the decade, 1989 to 1993, the rate was higher at 12.6 percent. However, in 1993, the rate grew only 2.8 percent over 1992.

Table 1

Annual Rate of Change for Juvenile and Adult Arrest Rates

	1984 to 1993	1989 to 1993	1991 to 1992	1992 to 1993
Juvenile Arrest Rates				
Violent Crimes	5.8%	12.6%	10.2%	2.8%
Property Crimes	2.1	3.0	2.8	11.1
Status Arrests	1.8	2.1	-3.7	7.9
Other Arrests	6.7	11.7	14.4	12.7
Juvenile Total	4.1%	6.8%	6.3%	7.7%
Adult Arrest Rates				
Violent Crimes	3.2	-2.9	0.0	-4.4
All Other	3.8	1.0	-2.0	2.1
Adult Total	3.8%	0.9%	-2.0%	1.9%

Over the decade, the largest increase in an arrest rate, 6.7 percent, was for “other arrests.” The 1993 rate of increase for these less serious, nonindexed crimes was greatest, 12.7 percent, in that year also. The remaining category of indexed crimes, property crimes, grew at a much smaller rate of 2.1 percent over the decade. This rate declined by 1.1 percent in 1993. The arrest rate for all juvenile crimes increased by 4.1 percent over the entire period and by 7.7 percent in 1993 alone.

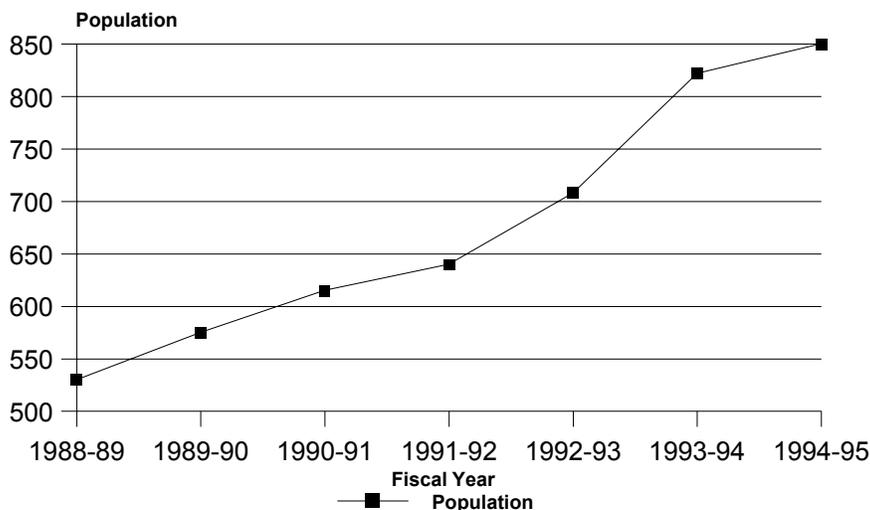
Adult crime over the decade experienced an increase of 3.8 percent annually. Arrests for violent crime grew slightly less at 3.2 percent annually. Examining the 1989 to 1993 period shows smaller overall increases in adult arrest rates, 0.9 percent, and a decline of 2.9 percent in the arrest rate for violent crimes. In 1993, arrests for violent crimes represented 2 percent of total adult crime. According to the Office of Justice Assistance, the violent crime rate in Wisconsin represented less than one-half the corresponding 1992 rate for violent crime in the Midwest and the nation. Adult property crime in Wisconsin was 13 percent lower than the Midwest rate and 23 percent lower than the rate for the entire United States.

Juvenile arrests and arrest rates in 1992, by county, for all crimes and for violent crimes are shown in Appendix A. Arrests include arrests for all crimes and are not limited to indexed crimes. The arrest rates range from a high of 161 for Rock County to a low of 1 for Menominee County. Rock and Menominee Counties also have the high and low rates, respectively, for violent crime. In addition to arrest rates, this chart provides the number of secure detentions, by county, in 1992. As expected, Milwaukee County, with the greatest number of juveniles, had the highest number of detentions, a total of 5,348. Iron County, with one of the smallest juvenile populations, had no detentions.

How Many Youth are in Juvenile Correctional Institutions?

Serious or repeat juvenile offenders are likely to be incarcerated at one of the state's two secure juvenile correctional institutions (JCIs). On average, in state fiscal year 1993-94, the annual cost of one JCI placement is approximately \$40,000. Despite the substantial cost to counties to place juveniles at the correctional institutions, the population at the institutions has been increasing steadily over the last five years. As shown in Graph 4, between fiscal year 1988-89 and 1992-93 the average daily population increased from 530 to 705, an increase of 33 percent. A 16.3 percent increase in the population is expected in 1993-94 followed by a 3.4 percent increase in 1994-95. In 1994-95, the average daily population is projected to reach 848.

Graph 4



In 1993, 53 youth under the age of 18 were housed in adult correctional facilities.

What Crimes Do Institutionalized Youth Commit?

In calendar year 1992, juveniles newly admitted, or returning to a juvenile correctional institution (JCI) from aftercare, were convicted of a total of 36 different crimes. Auto theft was, by far, the most frequently committed crime. Nearly 25 percent of youth in JCIs were committed after conviction of auto theft. Following auto theft, battery was the most frequently committed crime and represented 14.6 percent of all crimes; unarmed burglary, armed robbery, and weapons offenses completed the list of the top five crimes and represented 67 percent of the total. Murder and aggravated assault represented only 1.4 percent of the crimes listed. These are overall figures; among girls, who compose under 10 percent of the total population in JCI's, more were convicted of battery than auto theft.

How Much Does Juvenile Institutional Out-Of-Home Placement Cost?

Youth Aids expenditures for juvenile correctional institutions and child-caring institutions (CCIs) represent the major expenditures for out-of-home placements of juveniles. Although many youth are placed in group homes, foster care or other community placements, the average costs of these noninstitutional placements are much lower than the average annual JCI cost of \$40,000 or the CCI cost of \$51,000. Appendix B lists each county's 1992 Youth Aids allocation, JCI and CCI expenditures, their total and that amount as a percentage of the county's Youth Aids allocation.

Total Youth Aids allocations for 1992 amounted to \$79.5 million. Of that amount, \$27.4 million was spent on JCI placements and \$27.1 million on CCI placements. The \$54.5 million in institutional expenditures represented 68.5 percent of the total Youth Aids allocation for the year. This percentage is somewhat overstated because some counties spent more than 100 percent of their Youth Aids allocation on institutional placements. Counties that exceed their Youth Aids allocations supplement Youth Aids funds with local funds.

The county percentages of Youth Aids funding spent on institutional placements ranged from 0 percent in Iron, Lafayette, and Washburn Counties to a high of 117 percent for Green Lake County. The median percentage for institutional pending was 36.3 percent. For smaller counties, whose allocations are also small, the entire allocation may be expended on one child's placement costs. Other counties may minimize institutional costs by diverting juveniles to community placements or providing more preventive and early intervention services to avoid later incarcerations of youth.

Poverty, previous abuse and neglect, and single parent households are risk factors that predispose youth to becoming juvenile delinquents. An April, 1994 study by the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services showed that of the youth at the juvenile correctional institutions on September 7, 1993, only 13 percent came from two-parent, biological families as compared to 57.7 percent of children in the general population. County-by-county information on the percentage of youth in single parent households, the number of youth ages 12 to 17, the percentage of these youth in poverty, and the number of substantiated abuse and neglect cases is available from Linda Hall at the Wisconsin Council on Children and Families (608) 284-0580.

Conclusion

The increase of juvenile crime, the increasing use of large juvenile correctional facilities for delinquent youth, and the substantial costs of these and child-caring institution placements are issues of major significance and visibility in Wisconsin. Hopefully, the data provide insights into these issues and the nature of juvenile behavior and crime in the state.

Do We Know Enough To Prevent Youth Crime?

*Asst. Professor Karen Bogenschneider
University of Wisconsin-Madison/Extension*

The fundamental question undergirding this section of the report is “Do we know enough to prevent juvenile crime?” The response to this question depends on whether we know what leads to juvenile delinquency and whether all juvenile delinquents are the same. More specifically, are youth who commit occasional or nonviolent crimes different from those who commit frequent and violent crimes? Research in the last three decades has increased our understanding of why youth commit different crimes, which leads to the possibility of prevention. Based on this evidence, several prevention programs have emerged with documented success in reducing antisocial behavior in children and delinquency in adolescents. This section of the report reviews selected prevention programs and draws implications for policymakers and prevention programmers.

To clarify the terms used in this report, antisocial behavior and conduct disorder are psychiatric terms while delinquency is a legal term. Antisocial behavior refers to acts intended to inflict harm on someone else or their property such as stealing, lying, fire setting, breaking into someone’s home or car, physical cruelty, and rape. Antisocial behavior may or may not come to the attention of the juvenile justice or mental health system. In the mental health system, 3 or more antisocial behaviors in a 6-month period is known as a conduct disorder (Yoshikawa, 1994). In the legal system, delinquency is breaking the laws written by state legislatures; thus, laws vary across states and over time. Currently in Wisconsin, juvenile delinquency is linked closely to violations of criminal law (Melli, 1994).

Are All Juvenile Delinquents the Same?

Over 80 percent of all adolescents report having committed a chargeable offense at one time or another, but most of these “normal” adolescents do so infrequently (Moffitt & Harrington, in press; Steinberg, 1989). A small proportion of youth are responsible for most juvenile offenses (Hawkins, Lishner, Jenson, & Catalano, 1987). An estimated 5 to 8 percent of youth are responsible for 40 percent of all police contacts and two-thirds to three-fourths of all offenses (Patterson, 1994; Yoshikawa, 1994).

Assuming that all teenagers who commit crimes are psychologically similar is wrong (Moffitt, 1993), and can thwart efforts to develop effective policies and programs. A growing body of studies by such researchers as Teri Moffitt at UW-Madison and Gerald Patterson, Lew Banks, and their colleagues at the Oregon Center for Social Learning reveal that not all delinquents are the same. Some kids straighten out their lives after a few, petty delinquent acts, while others “spiral downward into serious crime” (Moffitt & Harrington, in press).

Instead of one grand explanation for delinquency, it may be more accurate to think of one explanation for those who begin their criminal careers at a later age and one for those who begin their criminal careers earlier (Patterson & Yoerger, 1993).

Youth who begin delinquent activity at age 15 or later are more apt to stop their delinquent behavior as they mature; in fact, by age 28, almost 85 percent of former delinquents have stopped committing crimes (Moffitt, 1993). These late-blooming delinquents may break the law in some settings (shoplift or use drugs), but not in others (continue to obey rules at school).

Those who begin their criminal careers early get started on the wrong foot and are more likely to become frequent offenders, commit violent crimes, and continue criminal activity as adults. Not only is their antisocial behavior consistent over time, but also across settings; for example, early-occurring delinquents “lie at home, steal from shops, cheat at school, fight in bars, and embezzle at work” (Moffitt & Harrington, in press, p. 8). The causes of these two patterns of delinquency are quite different and require different responses from policymakers and practitioners.

What Leads to Late-Blooming Delinquency?

Late bloomers, adolescents who commit their first offense at age 15 or later, comprise the majority of delinquents. These delinquents engage in few delinquent acts, commit few serious crimes, and stop their criminal careers by the time they reach adulthood. Psychologically, this type of delinquent appears to be quite normal: socially skilled, popular with peers, and with no history of previous problems. Late-blooming adolescents can be found in most communities, their families appear to be less disadvantaged than those of early occurring delinquents, and the parents appear more skillful in family management practices (Steinberg, 1987).

While the evidence is not all in, crime that begins after age 15 may be influenced primarily by factors such as knowledge of their friend’s and peer’s delinquent acts; susceptibility to antisocial peer pressure (Steinberg, 1987); and poor parental monitoring or supervision (Steinberg, 1987). Another explanation revolves around the declining age young people reach physical maturity, as early as 9 for some girls and 10 for some boys. Today’s young people go through puberty earlier and stay in school longer; this has resulted in the largest separation in human history between when adolescents are able to reproduce and when they assume adult roles and responsibilities (i.e. voting, drinking, and getting married) (Steinberg, 1991).

Yet adolescents desperately want to engage in adult activities, be treated as adults, and demonstrate their ability to make their own decisions (Moffitt & Harrington, in press).

Delinquency may be one of the only tastes of adulthood available to young people (Steinberg, 1991). According to Moffitt and Harrington (in press), every curfew broken and car stolen is a statement of independence and maturity. Not surprisingly, delinquency drops off as youth enter work and family commitments (Moffitt, 1993).

What Leads to Early-Occurring Delinquency?

Early starters, youngsters who begin their criminal careers before the age of 15, have many problems that can be detected as early as preschool; they are typically aggressive, impulsive, and lacking in social skills and self-control. Factors such as hyperactivity or genetic influences may predispose these youngsters to delinquency, but they don't tell the whole story (Steinberg, 1989). These early delinquents, typically boys, come from families with neglectful, hostile, and antisocial parents who fail to instill self-control and a healthy conscience. Their families tend to be low socioeconomic status, frequently unemployed, and oftentimes divorced (Patterson & Yoerger, 1993; Steinberg, 1987). Not surprisingly, the siblings of early starters often experience trouble with the law as well. As children, many were uninvolved in school and exhibited low verbal ability, poor academic records, and serious reading problems.

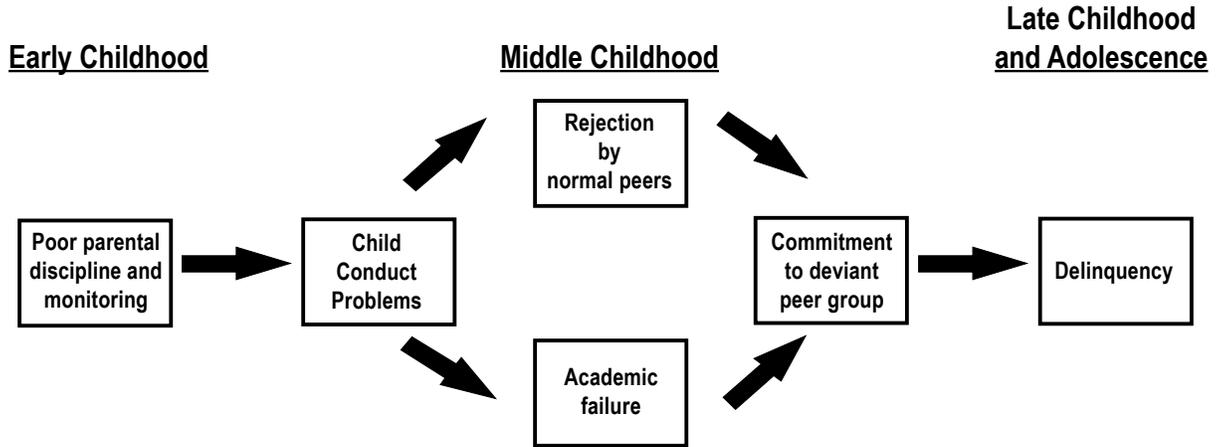
After three decades of research on normal and clinical families, researchers at the Oregon Center for Social Learning have concluded that much of what the child learns about aggressive behavior is acquired in interactions with siblings and parents in the home. According to recent estimates, about 30 to 40 percent of child antisocial behavior can be accounted for by family interaction patterns (Patterson, 1986; Yoshikawa, 1994). In normal families, children use both aggressive and prosocial ways of resolving conflict. In clinical families, conflict occurs more frequently and children are successful in resolving conflict only with whining, yelling, temper tantrums, or physical attacks (Patterson, 1994). Parents of antisocial children threaten, nag, and scold, but seldom follow through (Patterson, 1986). Parents may find themselves giving in to the demands of children rather than setting limits, and withdrawing from their child to limit unpleasant exchanges (Moffitt & Harrington, in press). Thus, the children growing up in these families learn that aggression works. Patterson, Bank, and his colleagues have concluded that a breakdown in parenting practices produces antisocial behavior in children; antisocial behavior, in turn, leads to delinquency in early adolescence (Patterson, 1994).

These antisocial behaviors learned in the family also transfer to the school with teachers and peers responding in much the same way as parents. When faced with troublesome youngsters, teachers respond with negative sanctions about 9 times out of 10 and with support only about 1 time out of 10; in contrast, well-behaved children received support from teachers about 8 times out of 10 and dis-

approval' about 2 times out of 10 (Reid, 1993). School performance also suffers as indicated in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1

A Developmental Progression for Antisocial Behavior



Source: Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989

In a nutshell, these early-occurring delinquents trigger the anger of their parents, alienate peers by their refusal to play by the rules, anger teachers with their disobedient and disruptive behavior, and short-circuit their own ability to master more prosocial skills (Prothrow-Stith & Weissman, 1991). These behaviors appear to be quite stable, beginning during preschool and continuing through old age (Moffitt & Harrington, in press). Overtime, the negative consequences snowball; these early delinquents lack the social skills necessary to find work or marriages that might enable them to drop out of crime (Caspi, Elder, & Bern, 1987; Patterson & Yoerger, 1993). Those who continue to commit crimes at the age of 25 are more apt to become dependent on alcohol and other drugs, abuse their spouse and children, and suffer from psychiatric disorder (Moffit, 1993).

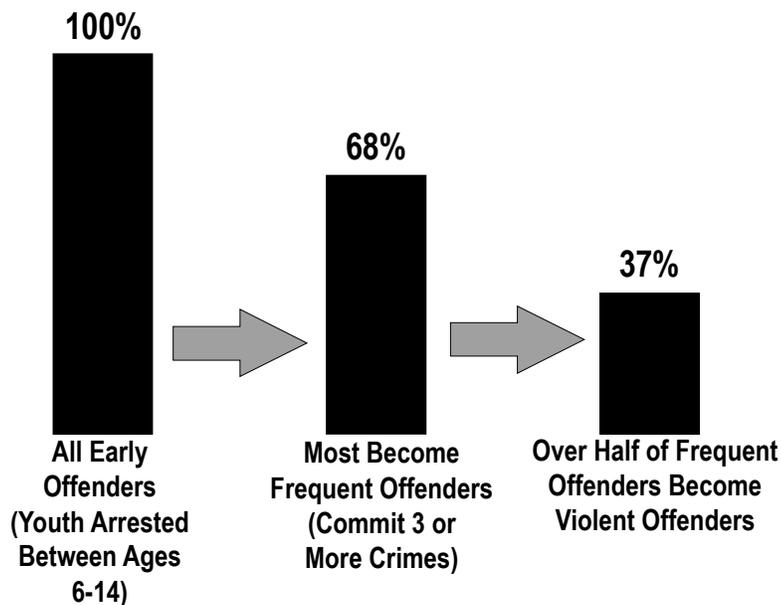
What Leads to Frequent and Violent Crime?

The best predictors of who will become violent offenders are youth who commit their first crime at an early age and continue their criminal careers. Boys arrested between the ages of 6 and 14 are at greater risk of becoming frequent and violent offenders than boys arrested after the age of 14 (Patterson & Yoerger, 1993). When crime begins early, more than two-thirds become frequent offenders (arrested 3 or more times) and only one-third do not continue their criminal careers (See Table 1). Just over half of the boys who are frequent offenders also become

violent offenders. Furthermore, 72 percent of violent offenders were frequent offenders compared with 37 percent of nonviolent offenders as shown in Table 2 (Patterson, 1994).

Table 1

The Development of Frequent and Violent Juvenile Offenders



Source: Patterson, 1994

These findings suggest that no special explanation is needed for how violent crime develops. If you can determine who starts early, you can predict frequent offenders, and frequency appears to predict violent offenses (Patterson, 1994). The sequence of events that lead to violent crime appear to be:

- ❖ Those children who are antisocial at an early age “overwhelm” the tracking efforts of their parents.
- ❖ They are much more likely to be out on the street unsupervised at a much younger age.
- ❖ These early wandering, antisocial boys form a deviant peer group, and are at much greater risk of early police arrest.
- ❖ Those who are arrested early are at much greater risk for repeat offenses.
- ❖ Those who have committed three or more offenses are at much greater risk for committing violent crime (Patterson, 1994).

Is Prevention Possible?

Is Preventing Late-Blooming Delinquency Possible?

The chances for preventing late-blooming delinquency are much better than for early-occurring delinquency, because late-blooming adolescents have stable mental health and well-developed social and intellectual skills. They also have internalized moral standards and see some reason for abiding by the rules and expectations of the family, school, and community. The following prevention strategies appear to have a good chance of success:

- ❖ Helping youth learn to resist negative peer pressure may provide youth with the motivation and the skills to avoid committing crimes simply to go along with the crowd (Steinberg, 1989).
- ❖ Training parents to monitor their children more closely can reduce the number of situations where youth must resist negative peer pressure (Steinberg, 1989).
- ❖ Just as the childrearing ability of parents is related to social support (Yoshikawa, 1994), it is likely that parental monitoring may also be influenced by weak social support and other factors such as family poverty, single parenthood, negative life events, and neighborhood disorganization. Improving the conditions in which families operate and reducing stress on families may strengthen their parenting capacity.
- ❖ Treating delinquency seriously when it occurs and providing definite consequences may deter repeat crimes (Steinberg, 1989). Even though we will never be able to legislate away delinquency, laws are important because they communicate the norms and beliefs of society. These strategies only work, however, for those people who are connected to family, school, and community and who feel they have something to lose if they get caught (Hawkins, undated).
- ❖ Treating adolescents who grew up essentially problem-free as “delinquents” may stigmatize them and hurt their ability to resist crime in the future (Moffitt, 1993). We need to be willing to give youth another chance.
- ❖ Communities may provide avenues for youth to demonstrate their increasing maturity such as opportunities to volunteer in hospitals, nursing homes or child care centers; to tutor or mentor younger children; and to participate in positions of responsibility and decision making in the school and community (Steinberg, 1991).

Is Preventing Early-Occurring Delinquency Possible?

According to Patterson, Bank, and their colleagues at the Oregon Center for Social Learning, prevention is also possible with early starters (Patterson, et al., 1989). To prevent early-occurring juvenile delinquency requires starting early to alter harsh and inconsistent parenting. Waiting until youth commit their first crime may be too late for preventing this type of delinquency (Hueseman & Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1984), since after-the-fact interventions with delinquents, particularly frequent offenders, have largely proven unsuccessful (Rutter & Giller, 1983 cited in Steinberg, 1987).

At What Age Should Prevention Programs Begin?

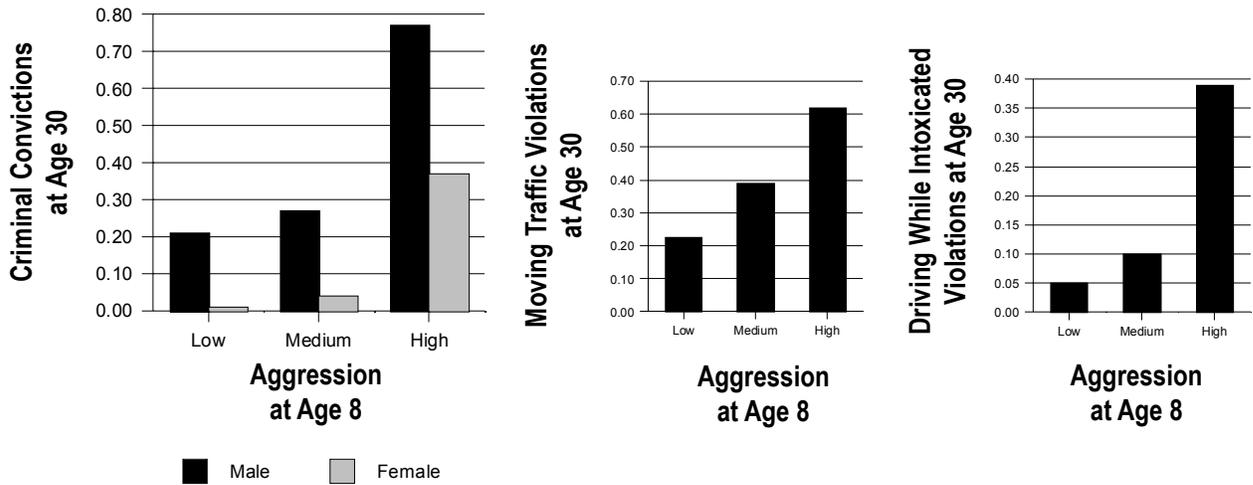
Based on the two types of juvenile delinquency, one set of prevention programs is needed to head off those children at risk of becoming early starters. Another set needs to begin after the age of 10 or 11 to focus on children at risk of becoming late bloomers. Even though many of these late blooming delinquents will stop their offenses over time, they still cause problems for society during their criminal careers; in addition, their delinquency can interfere with their own school performance which has implications throughout their adult lives (Patterson, 1994).

For early starters, programs need to begin early. Aggression appears to be quite stable, much like IQ, and difficult to change by the time it comes to the attention of society (Huesmann, et al., 1984; Patterson, 1986). For example, those children whose classmates said they were the most aggressive in third grade, committed more serious crimes as adults. At age 30, these highly aggressive 8-year-old males were more likely to commit crimes, commit serious crimes, violate traffic laws, drive while drinking, severely punish their children, and view themselves as aggressive. Similarly, females who were highly aggressive at age 8, scored higher at age 30 on criminal convictions, severe punishment of their children, and self-reported aggression (see Table 3). According to recent evidence, there are virtually no antisocial adults who were not antisocial as children (Moffitt & Harrington, in press), yet most antisocial youth do not become antisocial adults (Moffitt, 1993).

Do these findings suggest that aggression is a stable trait that is difficult to budge? Quite to the contrary, these findings suggest that prevention programs provided early, specifically before school entry, hold the greatest promise (Hawkins, et al., 1987; Reid, 1993; Yoshikawa, 1994). For example, studies have shown that parent training reduces child aggression; its success rate, however, is 63 percent for children 3 1/2 to 6 years old and only 27 percent with children 6 1/2 to 12 years-old (Patterson, Dishion, & Chamberlain, 1993). After the child enters school, serious behavior problems become much more difficult to change.

Table 3

**Stability of Aggression
From Childhood to Adulthood**



Source: Huesmann, Lefkowitz, and Walder, 1984.

Prevention efforts that begin before school entry can focus almost exclusively on parents. After school entry, however, prevention strategies must become much more comprehensive, targeting not only parent training and family support, but also academic failure in the school setting, and social skills training with peers; even if a child’s social skills improve, however, it is difficult for prosocial peers to accept a child who was once rejected (Patterson, et al., 1989; Reid, 1993).

Which Prevention Programs Hold the Most Promise?

A wide spectrum of prevention programs have been tried. Strategies range from those that focus on the individual to those that target the family or the community. Seven techniques appear particularly promising: parent management training; early childhood

intervention and family support; functional family therapy, teaching problem solving skills; social perspective-taking training; community-based programs; and broad-based interventions (Kazdin, 1987; Ziglet, Taussig, & Black, 1992). Each will be summarized briefly. While this listing is not intended to be exhaustive, it does suggest the breadth and diversity of prevention programs that address juvenile crime.

Parent Management Training

No other program for antisocial children has been investigated as thoroughly as The Oregon Social Learning Center's Parent Management Training, making it one of the most promising treatments for antisocial children (Kazdin, 1987). Parents receive, on average, 20 hours of training on how to interact differently with their children. The results have been impressive. Whether measured by parent and teacher reports or direct observations of the child, children from program families display less antisocial behavior; the changes are large enough to bring deviant children into the range of normal functioning (Kazdin, 1987; Patterson, 1986; Patterson, 1994).

These results have been repeated in several studies with effects lasting as long as four years. The treatment also benefits other child behaviors, sibling behavior, and maternal depression. Better results are obtained with younger children than older children, with treatments lasting 50 to 60 hours, and with mothers who have positive social support networks (Kazdin, 1987; Patterson, 1986; Patterson, 1994). The program is less costly when implemented with younger children, because the problems are less severe and the treatment is shorter. Interestingly, when foster parents received training and intensive follow-up, placement failures in foster care were significantly reduced; this stopped multiple placements which are all too common in the lives of severely disturbed children and adolescents (Chamberlain, Moreland, & Reid, 1992).

While there is less research on delinquency among girls, treatment approaches that incorporate social support from peers and adults seem more important for positive outcomes in girls than boys. Treatment for boys is more effective when they are isolated from their friends, as friends reinforce their deviant behavior. For girls, however, group treatment appears to work better because of the importance of peer support (Patterson, 1994).

Early Childhood Intervention and Family Support

Three early childhood intervention and family support programs for children in poverty intended to prevent school failure, but ended up preventing more than poor report cards. Longitudinal studies of several early childhood intervention programs document that they are effective in reducing future delinquency. These programs were different in scope and purpose but provided comprehensive services including health care, parent involvement, and counseling to parents.

The **High/Scope Perry Preschool** Program followed the lives of 123 children from low socioeconomic status (SES) families. Only about one-fifth of their parents completed high school and nearly half lived in single parent families. About half of the fathers were unemployed and about half received welfare. The program in-

cluded a daily 2-1/2 hour classroom session for children, a weekly 1 1/2 hour home visit to each mother and child, and monthly parent meetings. Most 3 and 4-year-olds attended the program for two years, with some that attended for only one year (Schweinhart, Barnes, & Weikart, 1993).

As indicated in Table 4, participants in the program have been followed up to age 27. At age 27, preschool participants were less apt to be in trouble with the law, on probation, welfare recipients, or enrolled in a program for the educable mentally impaired; at the same time, they were more apt to be married, a high school graduate, and a home owner.

According to recent estimates, an investment in this preschool program returns an estimated \$7.16 for every dollar spent (see Schweinhart et al., 1993). In 1992 dollars, the Perry Preschool Project had an average cost of around \$7,250 per child. Conceivably, the costs could be reduced without affecting quality by increasing the teacher/child ratio; for example, increasing the ratio from 5.7 to 8 children per staff member would reduce the program costs to about \$5,187 per child.

The federal Cost for Head Start was only \$3,720 per child in 1993; adding the local inkind match required by Head Start brings the annual cost to \$5,000 per child. In comparison to the Perry Preschool project, Head Start keeps costs down by having larger class sizes, lower formal qualifications and salaries, limited home visits, fewer family services, and enrolling some children for one year rather than two (Schweinhart, et al., 1993); Head Start does provide some services, however, that Perry Preschool did not offer such as health screening and referral, mental health services, nutrition education and hot meals, and social services for the child and family.

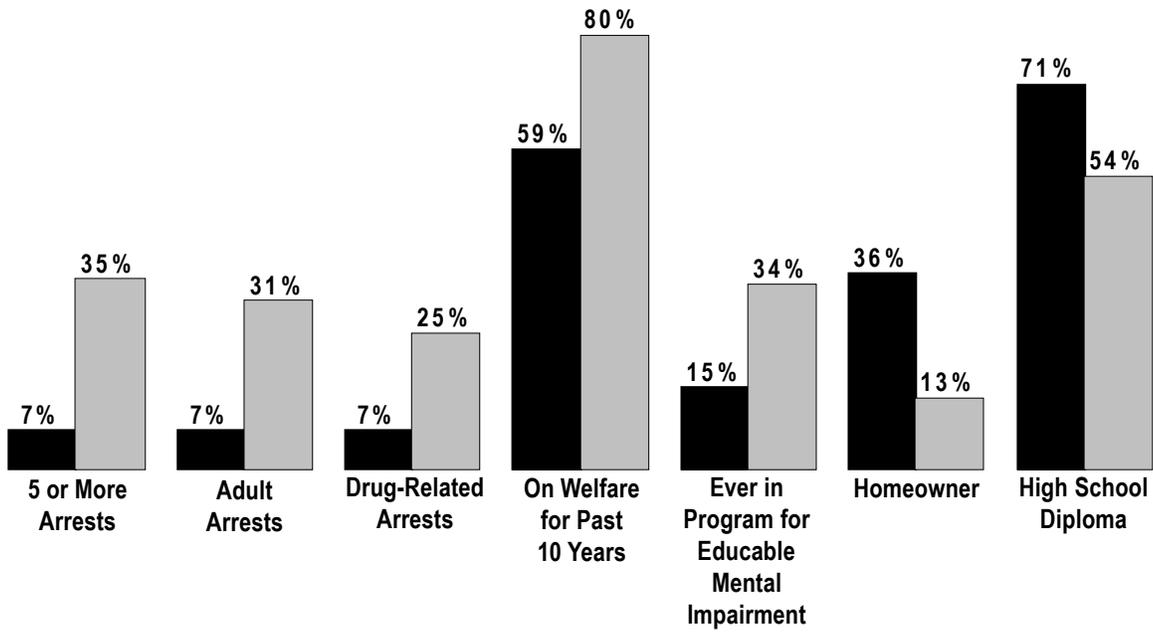
The **Syracuse University Family Development Research Program** attempted to bolster family and child functioning among low SES women, mostly young single parents, with less than a high school education. Many had poor work records and had been in trouble with the law. Children received over 4 years of quality child care and families received weekly home visits which included nutrition and parent education. The home visitors supported the mother, modeled parent and child interaction, and assisted in developing contacts with social service agencies and the school.

Ten years after the completion of the program, when the children were between 13 and 16 years old, only 6 percent had been processed as probation cases compared with 22 percent in the control group. The court costs were \$186 for each child in the program group and \$1,985 for each child in the control group.

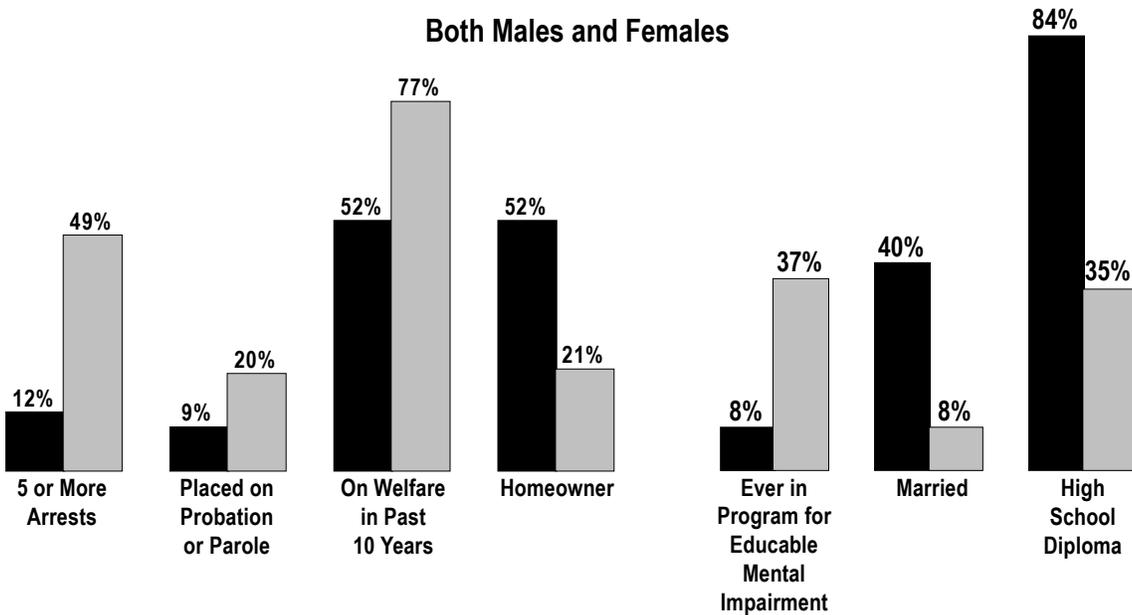
The **Yale Child Welfare Research Program** focused on mothers raising young children in high risk environments. The program aimed to alleviate the stresses of poverty and provide supports so mothers could devote more energy to parenting.

Table 4

Benefits of the Perry Preschool Program at Age 27



Both Males and Females



Males

Females



Services were provided to 17 mothers until 30 months postpartum. Services included pediatric care, child care, and home visits by health professionals which included counseling on food, housing, education, and career plans.

At the 10-year follow-up, the boys who did not receive the program were more likely to show aggressive, acting-out, predelinquent behavior serious enough to require placement in classrooms for emotionally disturbed children. Mothers of these boys were also more likely to report the child's stealing, cruelty to animals, and aggressive behavior toward parents and siblings. The children of program mothers required fewer remedial and supportive services, including court hearings, than did control groups boys; average savings totaled \$1,120 for each child per academic year.

All the mothers in the program group had obtained significantly more education than control mothers and were self supporting by the time their first borns were 12 1/2 years old. Program mothers had fewer children, were more apt to report that they enjoyed their children, and were more involved in their children's education.

These early childhood programs appear to work because they are comprehensive-providing health services, child care, home visits, linkages to community services, and social support networks (Zigler, et al., 1992). The programs are thought to be successful, not only due to the high quality of the preschool component, but also because they enabled parents to function better and, through parents, their children (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Zigler, et al., 1992).

Functional Family Therapy

The main goal of functional family therapy is to increase positive reinforcement among family members and to improve communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In comparison with two other types of therapy, functional family therapy showed greater improvement in family interaction and fewer repeat crimes up to 18 months after the treatment. In follow-up data 2 1/2 years later, siblings in those families who received treatment also showed lower rates of referral to juvenile courts. Functional family therapy shows promise, but needs further study (Kazdin, 1987; Klein, Alexander, & Parsons, 1977).

Teaching Cognitive Problem-Solving Skills

Children are taught to engage in a step-by-step approach to solve interpersonal problems. Children trained for at least a 4-month period were less impulsive; aggressive, impatient, and engaged in fewer temper tantrums. Children also exhibited more concern for each other. These gains were maintained at the one and two year follow-up (Shure & Spivack, 1988).

Gains are small, however, and would not bring children up to normal ranges of functioning (Kazdin, 1987). While the results appear promising, more research is needed.

Social Perspective-Taking Training

In an innovative study by Chandler (1973), serious male offenders met one-half day per week to practice taking the perspective of another person. Compared to two control groups, program youth showed improvements in role-taking ability and reductions in serious delinquent behaviors 18 months later.

Community-Based Programs

In contrast to the above treatments, community-based treatments do not include a specific curriculum. Programs such as Feldman's large scale program in St. Louis, are conducted in the community and use local resources. In a one-year period, antisocial and normal youth attended an average of 22 sessions (1 to 2 hours each) organized around sports, arts, fundraising, and discussion groups. Program youth showed greater reductions in antisocial behavior, but the effects were stronger with trained leaders, mixed groups of antisocial and normal youth, and treatments including behavior modification. Whether such programs better serve high risk or mildly disturbed children is unclear (Kazdin, 1987).

Broad-Based Interventions

A broad-based model for treating juvenile offenders used a family preservation approach that addressed social and cognitive skills of the youth; parent and marital issues; childrearing; and therapy. Treatment was intensive for an average of 13 weeks with 33 hours of direct contact and a therapist available 24 hours-a-day. One year later, program youth had fewer arrests, fewer self-reported offenses, and spent an average of 10 fewer weeks in prison. Program families also reported more closeness and less youth aggression in peer relationships. The cost per client for treatment was \$2,800 in comparison with an average institutional placement of \$16,300 annually in South Carolina (Henggeler, Melton, & Smith, 1992).

What are the Implications of these Findings for Policymakers and Programmers?

- ❖ To do the most good, policies and programs must begin before the youth become involved in the formal criminal justice system, according to the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and its Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency (cited in Hawkins & Weis, 1985).

- ❖ One reason for the success of parent management training is that the program is often initiated before antisocial behavior begins and becomes severe enough to affect behavior in other settings such as the school and the peer group (Patterson, Dishion, & Chamberlain, 1993; Zigler, et al., 1992).
- ❖ One of the hallmarks of the successful early childhood intervention and family support programs is their comprehensiveness. They provided health services, child care, home visits, linkages to community services, and social networks created through formal or informal group meetings (Yoshikawa, 1994; Zigler, et al., 1992). The programs are thought to be successful, not only because of the high quality of the preschool component, but also because they enabled parents to function better and, through parents, their children (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Zigler, et al., 1992).
- ❖ The family support components of Head Start need to be expanded. Currently, service delivery to families is hampered because most family service workers have caseloads almost double that recommended. Given the strength of family interventions in delinquency prevention, this may explain the relatively weaker effects of Head Start on antisocial behavior than demonstrated in other early education programs (Yoshikawa, 1994).
- ❖ For early-occurring delinquency, the first five years may be a “turning point” when change is more likely (Yoshikawa, 1994) and the program less costly. During the preschool years, parents should be taught less harsh and more consistent discipline tactics. Prevention strategies that reduce stress on families (i.e. poverty, low social support, unemployment, frequent moves, divorce, single parenthood, violent media messages, permissive laws and norms) may also put parents in a better position to be effective (Reid, 1993).
- ❖ For late-blooming delinquency, broad-based programs are needed that address the individual, peer group, family, and community. Adolescents should learn how to resist negative peer pressure, and parents should learn the importance of monitoring their children more closely. Communities need to take steps to provide definite consequences for youth misbehavior, but avoid labeling first-time offenders as “delinquent”. Communities can also take steps to support families, alleviate family stress, and provide opportunities for youth to demonstrate their maturity in ways that benefit society.
- ❖ Expecting any short term program to keep children out of trouble is unrealistic. The early preschool education programs with demonstrated effectiveness lasted at least two years (Zigler, et al., 1992); the parent management programs required a minimum of 20 hours of professional time with better results with 50 to 60 hours of training.

Since results of parent management training can be detected up to 4 years later, booster sessions may be needed at critical transitions such as entry into school and transitions into middle and high school (Banks, 1994).

- ❖ Given the success of early childhood education programs, targeting high-risk populations in high-risk areas appears warranted. The most effective early childhood intervention programs have focused on urban low-income families, precisely those populations who face the most risks and have the least access to the early education and family supports available to more advantaged families. Cultural sensitivity was an important element of their success (Zigler, et al., 1992).
- ❖ We need to avoid trying to identify high-risk individuals and label them “predelinquents,” since many high-risk children will not become delinquents. A better strategy may be focusing on high risk neighborhoods, schools, and communities. Instead of targeting delinquency, programs can focus on factors that lead to delinquency (i.e. family management practices and school failure) (Hawkins, undated).
- ❖ Early intervention in the lives of high-risk families may also lower the likelihood that youth will engage in crime as well as other problems (i.e. alcohol and substance abuse, school failure, welfare dependency, low earnings, and single parenthood).

Conclusion

If the public opinion polls are correct, the political will for addressing juvenile crime exists. What a tragic paradox that the public’s confidence in its ability to do anything to help youth-at-risk has hit bottom just when our scientific understanding of these issues has reached an all-time high (Schorr, 1988). Based on the research amassed in this report, the policy responses need to be varied just as juvenile delinquents vary in the crimes they commit, the age they begin their criminal careers, and the factors that underlie their delinquent behavior.

Even though the job won’t be easy, recent advances in identifying the pathways through which youth embark on juvenile crime, and the prevention programs that have successfully diverted youth from these paths bring hope. Though gaps still remain in our scientific understanding of these issues, preventing juvenile crime is in the realm of the possible. The biggest challenge, for policymakers and practitioners alike, is to translate this research into concrete programs and policies that promote youth development into competent, law-abiding adults.

References

- Bank, L. (1994). *Personal communication*.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). *A generation in jeopardy: America's hidden family policy*. Testimony presented at a hearing of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration on a Resolution to establish a Select Committee on Families, Youth, and Children.
- Caspi, A., Eider, G. H., & Bem, D. J. (1987). Moving against the world: Life-course patterns of explosive children. *Developmental Psychology, 23*, 308-313.
- Chamberlain, P., Moreland, S., & Reid, K. (1992). Enhanced services and stipends for foster parents: Effects on retention rates and outcomes for children. *Child Welfare, 5*, 387-401.
- Chandler, M. J. (1973). Egocentricism and antisocial behavior: The assessment and training of social perspective-taking skills. *Developmental Psychology, 9*, 326-332.
- Davidson, W. S., & Redner, R. (1988). The prevention of juvenile delinquency: Diversion from the juvenile justice system. In R. H. Price, E. L. Cowen, R. P. Lottion, & J. Ramos-McKay (Eds.), *14 ounces of prevention: A casebook for practitioners*. Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Hawkins, D. (undated). *Risk-focused prevention: Prospects and strategies*. Invited lecture at the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Hawkins, J. D., Lishner, D. M., Jenson, J. M., & Catalano, R. F. (1987). Delinquents and drugs: What the evidence suggests about prevention and treatment programming. In *Youth at High Risk for Substance Abuse*. [DHHS Publication No. (ADM) 87-1537]. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Hawkins, J. D., & Weis, J. G. (1985). The social development model: An integrated approach to delinquency prevention. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 6*, 73-97.
- Henggeler, S. W., Melton, G. B., & Smith, L. A. (1992). Family preservation using multisystemic therapy: An effective alternative to incarcerating serious juvenile offenders. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 60*, 953-961.
- Huesmann, L. R., Eron, L. D., Lefkowitz, M. M., & Walder, L. O. (1984). Stability of aggression over time and generations. *Developmental Psychology, 20*, 1120-1134.
- Kazdin, A. E. (1987). Treatment of antisocial behavior in children: Current status and future directions. *Psychological Bulletin, 102*, 187-203.
- Klein, N. C., Alexander, J. F., Parsons, B. V. (1977). Impact of family systems intervention on recidivism and sibling delinquency: A model of primary prevention and program evaluation. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 45*, 469-474.

- Melli, M. (1994). *Personal communication*.
- Moffitt, T. E. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. *Psychological Review* 100, 674-701.
- Moffitt, T. E., & Harrington, H. L. (In press). Delinquency across development: The natural history of antisocial behavior in the Dunedin multidisciplinary health and development study. In W. Stanton & P. A. Silva (Eds.), *The Dunedin study: From birth to adulthood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patterson, G. R. (1986). Performance models for antisocial boys. *American Psychologist* 44, 432-444.
- Patterson, G. (1994). *Personal communication*.
- Patterson, G. R., DeBaryshe, B. D., & Ramsey, E. (1989). A developmental perspective on antisocial behavior. *American Psychologist*, 44, 329-335.
- Patterson, G. R., Dishion, T. J., & Chamberlain, P. (1993). Outcomes and methodological issues relating to treatment of antisocial children. In T. R. Giles (Ed.), *Handbook of effective psychotherapy* (pp. 43-88). New York: Plenum Press.
- Patterson, G. R., & Yoerger, K. (1993). *Differentiating outcomes and histories for early and late onset arrests*. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology, Phoenix, AZ.
- Prothrow-Stith, D., & Weissman, D. (1991). *Deadly Consequences*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Reid, J. B. (1993). Prevention of conduct disorder before and after school entry: Relating interventions to developmental findings. *Development and Psychopathology*, 5, 243-262.
- Schorr, L. B. (1988). *Within our reach: Breaking the cycle of disadvantage*. New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday.
- Schweinhart, L. J., Barnes, H. V., Weikart, D. P. (1993). *Significant benefits: The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study through age 27*. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Educational Research Foundation.
- Shure, M. B., & Spivack, G. (1988). Interpersonal cognitive problem solving. In R. H. Price, E. L. Cowen, R. P. Lotion, & J. Ramos-McKay (Eds.), *14 ounces of prevention: A casebook for practitioners*. Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Steinberg, L. (1987). Familial factors in delinquency: A developmental perspective. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 2, 255-268.
- Steinberg, L. (1989). *Adolescence* (2nd ed.). New York: Knopf.
- Steinberg, L. (1991). Adolescent transitions and alcohol and other drug use prevention. *Preventing adolescent drug use: From theory to practice*. Office of Substance Abuse Prevention Monograph 8, (pp. 13-51). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

- Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance. (1993). *Arrests of juveniles in Wisconsin 1983-1992*. Madison, WI: Author.
- Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance. (1994). *Crime and arrests in Wisconsin 1993: Preliminary State Report*. Madison, WI: Author.
- Yoshikawa, H. (1994). Prevention as cumulative protection: Effects of early family support and education on chronic delinquency and its risks. *Psychological Bulletin*, *115*, 28-54.
- Zigler, E., Taussig, C., & Black, K. (1992). Early childhood intervention: A promising preventative for juvenile delinquency. *American Psychologist*, *42*, 997-1006.

Clearer By The Day

Dennis Maloney, Director

Deschutes County Community Corrections Department

Pattern of Successful Intervention Strategies Emerges in the Juvenile Justice System

One must wonder if the 1899 Illinois Legislative Assembly had any inclination of the great search the Assembly would cause by charging America's first juvenile court to dispose of court cases "in the best interest of the child". For during this past century, judges, attorneys, probation officers, corrections officials, and social study experts have experimented with and studied virtually thousands of efforts to curb delinquency. This "best interest" mission raises numerous questions and the questions appear to be timeless. Should the juvenile justice system hold as its primary goal the protection of our citizenry, or should we focus our primary attention upon helping juvenile offenders become competent, law-abiding individuals? In the same vein, should we hold youngsters directly accountable for their delinquent acts, or should we turn our efforts to correcting the social ills that play a substantial role in producing conditions ripe for youth crime and antisocial behavior, thereby excusing delinquents from primary responsibility? Further, does taking a position on these issues necessarily result in a basic, uncompromisable opposition to those persons who have sided somewhat differently in responding to the same questions?

In 1988, a team of authors, with extensive practical, academic and policy experience, stepped forward to reconcile these questions by bringing a definition to the "best interest" mission. The authors, in a journal entitled *Juvenile Probation: The Balanced Approach*, define the best interest disposition as a measure that results in delinquent youth becoming safer, more accountable and more competent. This narrowed definition has allowed practitioners to focus their intervention strategies on risk management and treatment that reduces recidivism (repeat crimes), 'that imposes accountability through community service and restitution, and delivers skill training that boosts offender competence. While corrections officials have made a virtual science of risk management and restitution/community service programs for nearly 30 years, it is the field of competency development that has recently demonstrated the greatest cause for enthusiasm. After nearly 100 years, it is becoming increasingly clear that all forms of treatment should result in youth becoming more competent as a result of the intervention.

The Evidence on the Effectiveness of Efforts of the Juvenile Justice System in Preventing Repeat Crimes

One of the most thorough collections of studies that validated the need to attend to skill development in juvenile dispositions was the work of Dennis Romig. Romig published his findings in *Justice For Our Children* (1978). After reviewing the results of 829 evaluation studies over a five-year period, he isolated a smaller set of 170 studies which he felt were worth citing. The remaining hundreds were dropped from his sample due to their failure to meet experimental design criteria. In his review and analysis of these studies, Romig identified specific program modes which were thought to have an impact on delinquency, presented available research which supported or discredited these assertions, and then selected key ingredients on which to build an ideal program. His program analysis covered findings on:

- ❖ Office casework supervision
- ❖ Intensive office casework supervision and intensive surveillance supervision
- ❖ Insight-oriented counselling
- ❖ Psycho-dynamic counselling
- ❖ Job placement and work experience
- ❖ Out-of-home placement
- ❖ Teaching accountability through restitution and community service

As summarized by Maloney, Romig, and Armstrong (1988), some of probation's past principles and practices have failed to live up to expectations.

Office Casework Supervision

Currently, the most commonly used juvenile probation practice is office/field casework supervision. This typically involves youth coming to the probation counsellor's office once a month for a short supervision visit. Frequently, the counsellor will substitute a telephone call or a home or school visit for the office contact. The number of contacts vary by the counsellor's caseload and the youth's risk level. The contacts generally last from 5 to 20 minutes with the main goal being to check whether the youth is obeying the order of the juvenile court and the probation rules. Probation rules and court orders usually require the youth to attend school, work, or obtain job training; prohibit the use of alcohol or drugs; prohibit any criminal activity; and mandate the youth to follow the super-

vision of parents or legal guardians. When compared to a control group, youth who received office casework supervision, either alone or combined with insight-oriented counseling, did not commit fewer crimes.

Intensive Office Casework Supervision and Intensive Surveillance Supervision

Increased supervision and surveillance is a means of protecting the community; at the same time, it keeps certain youth in the community instead of sending them to juvenile institutions or training schools. By reducing caseloads, intensive probation supervision programs require a minimum of four face-to-face contacts a week, and at least one telephone contact per day with the youth or the youth's family. Juvenile intensive probation also requires the youth to be under house arrest except when the youth is in school, on a job, completing community service or restitution, or at a required treatment program.

Based on several studies in the last three decades, increased office casework and/or intensive supervision did not increase protection of the community or reduce arrest rates or repeat crimes. In fact, it increased the rate of repeat crimes because there was a greater chance for the probation officer to detect youth breaking the law. Intensive supervision did not increase skill or competency programs for youth; the main probation practice was insight-oriented counseling.

A study in Arizona compared two programs of intensive surveillance with a third that combined intensive surveillance with treatment and competency development. The program that included treatment and competency development had lower rates of repeat offenses than the two surveillance only programs. As a result, Arizona mandated in 1986 that all adult and juvenile intensive programs include treatment and competency development.

Insight-Oriented Counseling

Insight-oriented counselors listen to a youth's concerns and problems, and lead him or her to gain insight into the causes of these problems; this insight, in turn, is expected to lead the youth to discontinue delinquent behavior. Sometimes the counselor also works with the youth to generate alternative solutions to the youth's problems. Insight-oriented counseling did not reduce the youth's likelihood of repeating crimes when compared to youth who did not receive this counseling.

Psycho-Dynamic Counseling

Similar to insight-oriented counseling, the counselor works with the youth to achieve insight into the cause of the behavior in an attempt to change attitudes

and personality. The main differences from insight-oriented counseling are the formality of the sessions, the time spent in counseling, and the training of the counselors. Psycho-dynamic counseling has 'not been effective in reducing subsequent crimes.

Job Placement and Work Experience

Job placement programs have failed to decrease youth crime. In addition, youth involved in the programs were unable to keep their jobs and exhibited poor money management practices after they received their first paycheck. Two main problems with job training programs have emerged from the studies: (1) poor interpersonal skills which contribute to problems with supervisors and co-workers; and (2) poor problem solving skills in such areas as work attire, transportation, and punctuality. In one study, job placement alone was compared to job placement accompanied by six to eight months of coaching by a counselor on problem solving, and money management skills; this more intensive approach resulted in better job performance and fewer arrests than job placement alone.

Out-Of-Home Placement

Out-of-home placement is often necessary for youth whose parents model illegal behavior and/or who despite treatment continue to physically or sexually abuse youth. Placing youth out of their homes, either to provide better control and supervision or to enhance emotional support, did not significantly reduce the youths' delinquent behavior compared to youth who remained in their own homes. Out-of-home placement is most often accompanied by insight-oriented counseling which may account, in part, for its lack of success.

Teaching Accountability Through Restitution and Community Service

Holding youth accountable for their actions is popular among 80 to 90 percent of community citizens and victims. To teach accountability, youth are required to pay back restitution and/or complete community service work hours. According to recent studies, 70 to 85 percent of youth complete these requirements. Success stories abound such as the one from the Lucas County Juvenile Court in Toledo, Ohio; youth paid back \$500,000 to victims and contributed over 100,000 hours of community service in the past 10 years.

Two studies were able to reduce repeat crimes with restitution, while two studies with excellent research designs did not. Several practices increase the likelihood that youth will complete restitution. For example, when youth understand that restitution is a consequence of their crime, they are more apt to follow through. Shortening the probation and court processing time to less than four months also helps youth see why they were assigned restitution or community service. Delin-

quent youth who attend school or work full-time are also more apt to complete restitution; in addition, school and work involvement also serve to protect the community and improve youth competence. Attending school or work decreases the amount of unsupervised time available to youth, a major risk factor for juvenile delinquents. When youth attend school or work, their free times decreases, and their criminal activity also decreases.

Factors Contributing to Program Failure

Unfortunately, as Romig showed, most of these commonly used approaches had either mixed results or no positive impact on delinquent behavior. In fact, in some cases, the intervention actually increased the likelihood of repeat crimes. Romig also identified those factors which seemed to be primarily responsible for program failure:

- ❖ The lack of clear goals
- ❖ Lack of specificity in treatment
- ❖ Low-level relevance of treatment to offender's needs for skills
- ❖ Low-skilled and non-empathetic staff
- ❖ Treatment unrelated to real life situations.

The Case for Competency Development as a Central Focus for Dispositional Orders

Competency Development

Most importantly, Romig gleaned out those elements of program design which seemed to produce favorable results. These programs features included: assisting youth in setting specific and measurable goals; objectively diagnosing the youth's skill deficits and concentrating on providing the youth with necessary and practical living, learning, and working skills. Romig who has since increased his study sample to include over 1,000 evaluations concludes;

The rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents should focus upon teaching them skills that have been documented as improving their subsequent community behavior. These skills are listed as: communication skills; daily living and survival skills; educational advancement and study skills to obtain a diploma or certificate that supports career goals,' and career skills, such as career decision making and career advancement. These skills represent general areas of rehabilitation content that can help all youths.

The underlying argument is that youth who have committed offenses are, with rare exception, not socially ill and morally deficient, but simply lack the necessary skills to become viable members of the community. Moreover, there is a growing awareness that probation practices are generally lacking in the area of skill development; adding the elements of skill development increases the effectiveness of probation in both community protection and accountability. Romig then developed principles for rehabilitation based on a skill streaming format; the format is illustrated below.

Principles of Rehabilitation

1. Get the youths' attention
2. Obtain input using staff who have empathy
3. Objectively diagnose
4. Set behavioral goal
5. Teach youths new behaviors using effective teaching methods
 - a. Individualized diagnosis
 - b. Specific learning goal
 - c. Individualized program based upon personally relevant material
 - d. Teach basic academic skills
 - e. Multisensory techniques
 - f. Sequential presentation, breaking complex skills into simple steps
 - g. Initially rewarding youths' attention and persistence
 - h. Differential reinforcement of learning performance
6. Teach skills in the following areas
 - a. Communication skills
 - b. Daily living and survival skills
 - c. Educational advancement and study skills that result in a diploma or certificate that supports career goals
 - d. Career skills, such as career decision making and career advancement
7. Practice skills in problem settings
8. Differentially reinforce
9. Family training in communication, problem-solving, and disciplining skills
10. Follow-up skill training and reinforcement

A Comparison of the Standard Treatment Paradigm and the Research Supported Competency Based Paradigm

Dr. Gordon Bazemore, National Director of The Balanced Approach/Restorative Justice Initiative, has developed the following table to illustrate and articulate the

differences between treatment services and competency training. Bazemore's work clearly differentiates the programmatic features of the two approaches.

Intervention Assumptions: Treatment/Services and Competency Development

Treatment Services

Program and initial focus on identifying deficits and relating ameliorative approaches to correct problems; youth as in need of services

For purposes of intervention, it is best to assume incompetence and disturbance

Remedial and reactive

Role of offender as recipient of treatment or services (passive)

Role of juvenile justice professional as "counselor" of "broker" or services

Emphasis on change in individual youth behavior

Offenders learn best through counseling and remedial training

Counseling as a primary modality

Competency Development

Primary and initial focus on identifying strengths and building on the positive; youth as resources

For purposes of intervention it is best to assume competence and capacity for positive action (active)

Preventive and proactive

Role of juvenile justice professional as developing new roles for young offenders which allow for demonstration of competency

Emphasis on change in community institutions and adult behavior

Offenders learn best by doing

Counseling as support for active engagement

A Program Context Warranting Attention

If it can be concluded that a competency based approach holds great promise as an effective intervention tool, then a thorough search should be undertaken to find a programmatic means to impart competencies as well as achieve other outcomes in the Balanced Approach mission. In this regard, community service and restitution programs warrant careful consideration.

Community service by its very nature offers tremendous potential to fulfill the objectives of the Balanced Approach mission. Considering the community protection benefits of community service, for example, we find that young offenders in community service work crews may be under the supervision of a conventional adult four, five, even six days a week for several hours a day. The adult supervisor not only observes the young person's work, but can detect if the person arrives for work intoxicated or under the influence of drugs. Further, because the young workers are most often working alongside others, staff can observe and monitor disruptive or violent tendencies that warrant more intensive supervision.

As to the accountability goal, it is at the very heart of the community service disposition. While the court may use encouraging, admonishing, or even coercive measures to see to it that offenders comply with orders, ultimately it is up to them to arrive at work sites on time and put in the effort to complete their assigned hours. This is not passive response; it is active response in which offenders are engaged in work that demonstrates at least some level of accountability for their crimes. A basic social contract is at work here:

If you commit a crime against your fellow citizens, you have damaged the peace as well as general quality of life of the community. You can expect to give up time, energy, and sweat by performing work that will provide restoration to the community for this disruption as well as for loss from more tangible damages (e.g., vandalism, police time).

While offenders may not always like being on work detail, those who complete service orders have nonetheless chosen to fulfill an obligation. This demands a more active personal commitment than reporting to a government office monthly to visit with a probation officer.

The potential for competency development is also strong with well run community service programs. The basic skills of reporting to work on time, cooperating with other workers, taking instruction and constructive criticism from supervisors, and finishing the job in a quality manner, can be carried over into life in the community. More sophisticated community service programs even provide vocational training opportunities that complement the basic program. Others reward workers who do a good job with a referral to a public/ private placement agency

for an employment opportunity. When offenders complete their community service hours at a nonprofit agency in the community, it is not uncommon for the agency to embrace these young workers and recognize work with positive reference letters, commendation gatherings, or even permanent employment.

If there is agreement that public safety, accountability, and competency are all important goals to be achieved during the dispositional phase of juvenile proceedings, then we may get results. In fact, it is difficult to find another approach that presents all these benefits in such a tightly organized package. Furthermore, if community service is inherently beneficial for delinquent youth, the added outcomes of achieving genuine gains for communities really set this requirement apart from any approach that simply seeks to control behavior of adjudicated youth.

Interestingly, seasoned community service program operators have learned to give primary emphasis to the nature and quality of the work itself rather than the needs and deficits of offenders; getting the work done well takes precedence over any concern with counseling or individual therapy. The more engaged the youth, the more hope for real behavior change. In this regard, the needs of the community for productive useful work and the needs of the youth are highly compatible.

Conclusion

The juvenile court has been searching for effective intervention strategies for nearly a century. During that search, results have been mixed at best and public concern about the effectiveness of the court has jumped sharply. One intervention strategy that has proven to be successful is comprehensive skill development. Skill development should be one of the outcomes sought by every treatment modality. Furthermore, community service programs offer an excellent mechanism for delivering competency based programs.

References

Bazemore, G. (1992). *Mission statements and reform in juvenile justice: The case of the Balanced Approach*. Federal Probation, September.

Maloney, D., Romig, D., & Armstrong, T. (1988). *Juvenile probation: The balanced approach*. Reno, NV: National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges.

Romig, D. A. (1982). *Justice for our children*. Austin, TX: Human Sciences Press.

Dennis Maloney is the Director of Deschutes County Community Justice. There he has initiated a variety of juvenile and adult corrections' programs that have gained national attention. Dennis has written two books and over a dozen published articles. The book he wrote on Probation is the most widely distributed journal in the history of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. He has been honored with several awards, including the Sam Houston State Award for the Nations Outstanding Publication on Community Corrections. He was selected by former Governor Goldschmidt as one of six citizens in Oregon to receive the Governor's Award for Excellence.

Wisconsin and Selected National Resources for Information on Juvenile Justice

*Kari Morgan, Research Assistant
Wisconsin Family Impact Seminars*

Department of Health and Human Services

The mission of the Division of Youth Services (DYS) is to “change the behavior of the status offender and delinquent youth to prosocial behavior, to protect the public from antisocial delinquent acts, and to help these youth to lead satisfying and well-adjusted lives”. DYS carries out this mission by supporting and assisting public and private agencies in providing treatment, habilitation, and control services for alleged or adjudicated delinquents and status offenders; by providing care and treatment for adjudicated delinquents in secure juvenile correctional institutions; and by providing aftercare services to adjudicated delinquents upon their release from correctional facilities. In addition to the above services, DYS provides statistical data on the numbers of youth in state correctional facilities, recidivism rates for youth in state custody, as well as the numbers of youth involved in state aftercare programs. DYS also publishes an annual report on juvenile delinquency and status offenders in out of home care and Youth Aids expenditures in Wisconsin.

Contact:

Division of Youth Services
1 West Wilson, Box 8930
Madison WI 53708-8930
(608) 266-9342

Office of Justice Assistance

The Office of Justice Assistance, along with the Governor’s Juvenile Justice Commission is responsible for implementing the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act in Wisconsin. Through the funds provided by the act, funding is available for a wide range of local and community juvenile justice programs including prevention and early intervention programming. The office is also responsible for annual crime reports including information on county and state juvenile arrests and county detention placements.

Contact:

Michael Derr, Juvenile Justice Specialist, Office of Justice Assistance
222 State Street, Madison WI 53702
(608) 266-7639

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dr. Temi Moffitt and Dr. Avshalom Caspi are researchers and national experts on the subject of juvenile justice, juvenile crime, and other related topics.

Contact:

University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Psychology
1202 West Johnson Street, Madison WI 53706
(608) 262-7951 (Dr. Moffitt), (608) 262-3166 (Dr. Caspi)

Wisconsin Clearinghouse

The Wisconsin Clearinghouse is a program sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Health Service. The program serves as a state information center on a variety of prevention strategies many of which are related to alcohol and drug abuse. The Wisconsin Clearinghouse provides information including research, funding, and programs. The Wisconsin Clearinghouse also offers free educational materials; a full catalog of health education and prevention literature; information and library searches; training, technical assistance, program and policy research; and leadership and coordination.

Contact:

Wisconsin Clearinghouse
315 N. Henry, Madison WI 53701
(608) 248-9244 or (608) 262-2797

Wisconsin Council on Children and Families

The Wisconsin Council on Children and Families follows current legislative activities that involve or relate to juvenile justice in Wisconsin.

Contact:

Wisconsin Council on Children and Families
16 N. Carroll Street, Madison WI 53703
(608) 284-0580

Wisconsin Juvenile Court Intake Association

The Wisconsin Clearinghouse is a program sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Health Service. The program serves as a state information center on a variety of prevention strategies many of which are related to alcohol and drug abuse. The Wisconsin Clearinghouse provides information including research, funding, and programs. The Wisconsin Clearinghouse also offers free educational materials; a full catalog of health education and prevention literature; information and library searches; training, technical assistance, program and policy research; and leadership and coordination.

Contact:

Rob Fadness, President, WJCIA Board of Directors
c/o Circuit Court, Children's Division Courthouse
721 Oxford Avenue Room A-390, Eau Claire WI 54703
(715) 839-6195

Federal/National Resources

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) is a non-profit organization committed to the development and promotion of fair, humane, effective, and economically sound criminal and juvenile justice strategies. NCCD aims to assist federal and state officials, criminal justice professionals, and community organizations in the implementation of programs that will improve the criminal justice system.

Contact:

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency-Midwest Office
6409 Odana Road
Madison WI 53719
(608) 274-8882

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) provides national leadership, direction, coordination, and resources to prevent, treat and control juvenile delinquency, improve the juvenile justice system, and address the problem of missing and exploited children. OJJDP provides policy and program development; research and statistical studies; information dissemination and training; and technical assistance. OJJDP also provides funding for initiatives related to improving the juvenile justice system.

Contact:

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
U.S. Department of Justice
633 Indiana Avenue NW
Washington DC 20531
(202) 307-5911

Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse

The Wisconsin Clearinghouse is a program sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Health Service. The program serves as a state information center on a variety of prevention strategies many of which are related to alcohol and drug abuse. The Wisconsin Clearinghouse provides information including research, funding, and programs. The Wisconsin Clearinghouse also offers free educational materials; a full catalog of health education and prevention literature; information and library searches; training, technical assistance, program and policy research; and leadership and coordination.

Contact:

Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse
Box 6000
Rockville MD 20850
(800) 638-8736

Appendix A

Juvenile Arrests, Arrest Rates and Detentions

County	Juvneile Arrests (1992)				Detentions (1992)	
	All Crimes	Rate per 1,000		Rate per 1,000		Secure Detentions**
		Youth	Violent Crimes*	Youth	Youth	
Adams	200	59	52	15	22	
Ashland	435	98	125	28	34	
Barron	529	46	188	16	28	
Bayfield	151	40	50	13	14	
Brown	4,735	88	1,369	25	226	
Buffalo	87	24	21	6	12	
Burnett	162	49	65	20	23	
Calumet	481	63	133	17	10	
Chippewa	794	55	215	15	67	
Clark	208	22	74	8	11	
Columbia	548	45	133	11	11	
Crawford	323	70	78	17	19	
Dane	7,081	83	2,314	27	620	
Dodge	1,405	71	384	19	53	
Door	476	71	135	20	26	
Douglas	1,138	106	367	34	60	
Dunn	429	48	103	12	20	
Eau Claire	2,816	130	743	34	170	
Florence	35	28	30	24	1	
Fond du Lac	2,384	99	708	29	256	
Forest	189	79	54	23	9	
Grant	848	64	205	15	14	
Green	400	48	76	9	26	
Green Lake	427	87	74	15	25	
Iowa	201	34	62	11	14	
Iron	95	72	16	12	0	
Jackson	271	59	111	24	9	
Jefferson	2,533	133	732	38	73	
Juneau	251	42	109	18	29	
Kenosha	2,911	83	740	21	328	
Kewaunee	291	55	78	15	5	
La Crosse	2,743	112	831	34	251	
Lafayette	194	42	47	10	4	
Langlade	898	170	196	37	136	
Lincoln	834	113	237	32	54	

County	Rate per		Rate per		Secure Detentions**
	All Crimes	1,000 Youth	Violent Crimes*	1,000 Youth	
Manitowoc	2,468	114	673	31	253
Marathon	1,920	58	638	19	132
Marinette	725	66	202	18	89
Marquette	57	18	25	8	8
Menominee	1	1	0	0	9
Milwaukee	23,197	94	7,049	28	5,348
Monroe	667	61	216	20	61
Oconto	116	14	16	2	31
Oneida	564	74	212	28	59
Outagamie	3,315	77	945	22	203
Ozaukee	1,207	60	286	14	66
Pepin	133	65	15	7	6
Pierce	331	35	61	6	24
Polk	449	45	174	17	8
Portage	1,097	69	490	31	33
Price	309	75	100	24	5
Racine	4,910	99	1,520	31	782
Richland	173	36	51	11	3
Rock	6,168	161	1,543	40	976
Rusk	1,353	32	59	14	26
St. Croix	559	37	179	12	20
Sauk	1,444	111	370	28	74
Sawyer	256	68	74	20	29
Shawano	703	70	282	28	75
Sheboygan	2,983	106	827	29	259
Taylor	250	44	64	11	28
Trempealeau	65	10	26	4	10
Vernon	218	31	40	6	16
Vilas	221	55	55	14	18
Walworth	1,808	95	492	26	22
Washburn	157	43	65	18	12
Washington	2,893	103	657	23	93
Waukesha	7,340	86	1,740	20	412
Waupaca	1,049	81	260	20	90
Waushara	233	48	54	11	22
Winnebago	3,141	74	566	27	31
Wood	1,549	74	566	27	31
TOTALS	110,341	84	31,723	24	12,298

*Violent crime arrests include murder, negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, theft, motor vehicle theft and arson.

**Secure detentions include the number of authorized secure detentions.

Sources: Arrest data are from the Office of Justice Assistance's Crime and Arrests, 1992. Secure detention data are from the same office.

Appendix B

Youth Aids and Out-Of-Home Institutional Expenditures (Juvenile Correctional and Child Caring Institutions)

1992

County	Youth Aids Allocation	Juvenile Correctional Institution Expenditure	Child- Caring Institution Expenditure	Total Institutional Expenditures	Total as a Percent of Youth Aids Allocation
Adams	\$198,343	\$38,498	\$0	\$38,498	19.4%
Ashland	203,749	63,728	90,276	154,004	75.6%
Barron	404,807	27,296	15,388	42,684	10.5%
Bayfield	148,901	9,353	55,045	64,398	43.2%
Brown	1,944,855	582,900	352,930	935,830	48.1%
Buffalo	63,704	10,875	0	10,875	17.1%
Burnett	183,991	19,901	0	19,901	10.8%
Calumet	266,809	5,873	46,606	52,479	19.7%
Chippewa	514,255	161,365	70,266	231,651	45.0%
Clark	431,368	51,439	27,832	327,271	75.9%
Columbia	332,905	40,020	88,868	128,888	38.7%
Crawford	156,157	76,451	14,714	91,165	58.4%
Dane	5,166,138	1,685,625	1,412,332	3,097,957	60.0%
Dodge	633,627	79,388	342,804	422,192	66.6%
Door	190,737	61,770	61,233	123,003	64.5%
Douglas	1,071,311	121,039	141,906	262,945	24.5%
Dunn	204,703	26,861	0	26,861	13.1%
Eau Claire	985,996	307,980	184,641	492,621	50.0%
Florence	63,146	14,790	0	14,790	23.4%
Fond du Lac	1,004,802	222,394	181,954	404,348	40.2%
Forest	88,054	19,575	0	19,575	22.2%
Grant	246,986	0	10,877	10,877	4.4%
Green	240,379	74,929	195,387	270,316	112.5%
Green Lake	140,164	17,944	146,071	164,015	117.0%
Iowa	153,444	0	51,286	51,286	33.4%
Iron	44,346	0	0	0	0.0%
Jackson	176,750	0	50,244	50,244	28.4%
Jefferson	620,954	55,898	68,059	123,957	20.0%
Juneau	206,515	34,909	35,728	70,637	34.2%
Kenosha	2,946,685	918,829	162,907	1,081,736	36.7%
Kewaunee	104,258	15,769	3,491	19,260	18.5%
La Crosse	1,293,655	309,068	257,342	566,410	43.8%
Lafayette	68,395	0	0	0	0.0%
Langlade	382,334	70,470	93,045	163,515	42.8%
Lincoln	390,375	23,599	140,392	163,991	42.0%
Manitowoc	660,278	93,743	321,234	414,977	62.8%

County	Youth Aids Allocation	Juvenile Correctional Institution Expenditure	Child- Caring Institution Expenditure	Total Institutional Expenditures	Total as a Percent of Youth Aids Allocation
Marathon	1,473,650	288,623	241,193	529,816	36.0%
Marinette	444,399	46,763	17,556	64,319	14.5%
Marquette	90,851	39,802	0	39,802	43.8%
Menominee	468,669	46,871	39,844	86,715	18.5%
Milwaukee	29,874,355	16,000,822	15,310,643	31,311,465	104.8%
Monroe	633,094	80,910	102,388	183,298	29.0%
Oconto	317,494	32,081	125,122	157,203	49.5%
Oneida	512,489	74,276	76,176	150,452	29.4%
Outagamie	1,636,321	621,289	816,656	1,437,945	87.9%
Ozaukee	610,166	82,976	50,369	133,345	21.9%
Pepin	90,315	43,717	11,150	54,867	60.8%
Pierce	269,118	10,984	32,173	43,157	16.0%
Polk	373,600	68,077	151,636	219,713	58.8%
Portage	524,079	68,730	20,417	89,147	17.0%
Price	153,624	17,182	32,897	50,079	32.6%
Racine	4,064,277	1,972,725	1,297,450	3,270,175	80.5%
Richland	105,825	20,336	7,710	28,046	26.5%
Rock	3,061,536	887,726	1,183,536	2,071,262	67.7%
Rusk	206,116	32,842	7,779	40,621	19.7%
St. Croix	423,556	110,381	101,498	211,879	50.0%
Sauk	180,136	36,540	45,694	82,234	45.7%
Sawyer	507,246	59,812	34,047	93,859	18.5%
Shawano	1,296,116	355,286	486,357	841,643	64.9%
Sheboygan	536,110	0	44,882	44,882	8.4%
Taylor	186,406	3,806	8,114	11,920	6.4%
Trempealeau	126,413	83,184	9,851	93,045	73.6%
Vernon	179,292	18,596	623	19,219	10.7%
Vilas	312,113	39,367	109,648	149,015	47.7%
Walworth	774,698	80,910	402,655	483,565	62.4%
Washburn	165,209	0	0	0	0.0%
Washington	1,188,089	92,655	355,894	448,549	37.8%
Waukesha	3,338,129	202,384	282,459	484,843	14.5%
Waupaca	488,825	108,750	107,338	216,088	44.2%
Waushara	242,585	117,232	81,228	198,460	81.8%
Winnebago	1,445,154	306,784	390,877	697,661	48.3%
Wood	1,284,356	131,370	203,273	334,643	26.1%
TOTALS	\$79,518,237	\$27,426,098	\$27,059,991	\$54,486,089	68.5%
Median Percentage					36.3%

Source: Division of Youth Services in the Department of Health and Social Services.

©1994 by the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System doing business as the division of Cooperative Extension of the University of Wisconsin-Extension. Send inquiries about copyright permission to: Cooperative Extension Publications Operations, 103 Extension Bldg., 432 North Lake St., Madison, WI 53706.

Editors: Karen Bogenschneider, Director, Wisconsin Family Impact Seminars, Professor, Human Development & Family Studies, UW-Madison, and Family Policy Specialist, Cooperative Extension, UW-Extension. Authors: Tom Corbett, Associate Director of the Institute for Research on Poverty, UW-Madison Department of Social Work; Rebecca Maynard, Senior Fellow at Mathematica Policy Research Inc., and Trustee Professor of Education, Social Policy, and Communication at the University of Pennsylvania; and Karen Bogenschneider, Professor, Human Development & Family Studies, UW-Madison, and Family Policy Specialist, Cooperative Extension, UW-Extension. Produced by the Center for Excellence in Family Studies, School of Human Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Bonnie Rieder, designer.

University of Wisconsin-Extension, Cooperative Extension, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and Wisconsin counties, publishes this information to further the purpose of the May 8 and June 30, 1914, Acts of Congress. UW-Extension provides equal opportunities and affirmative action in employment and programming, including Title IX requirements. If you need this material in an alternative format, contact Cooperative Extension Publishing Operations at (608) 262-2655 (Voice & TDD), or the UW-Extension Office of Equal Opportunity and Diversity Programs.

This publication is available from your Wisconsin county UW Extension office or:

Cooperative Extension Publishing Operations
103 Extension Building
432 North Lake St., Madison, WI 53706
Toll-free: (877) 947-7827 (877-WIS-PUBS)
Madison: (608) 262-3346; FAX (608) 265-8052
Internet: <http://learningstore.uwex.edu>

BFI#4 Promising Approaches for Addressing Juvenile Crime (1994)