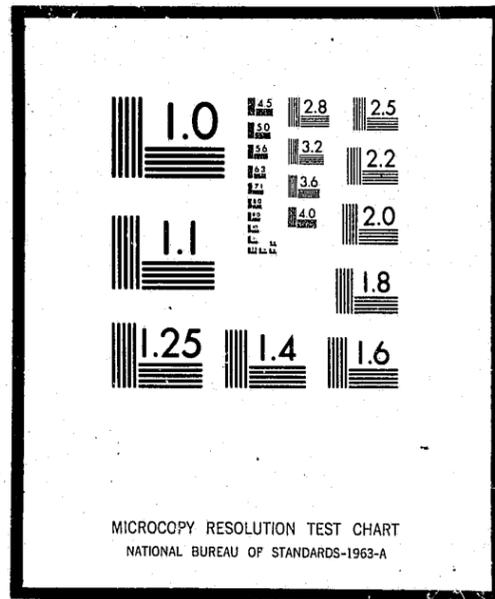


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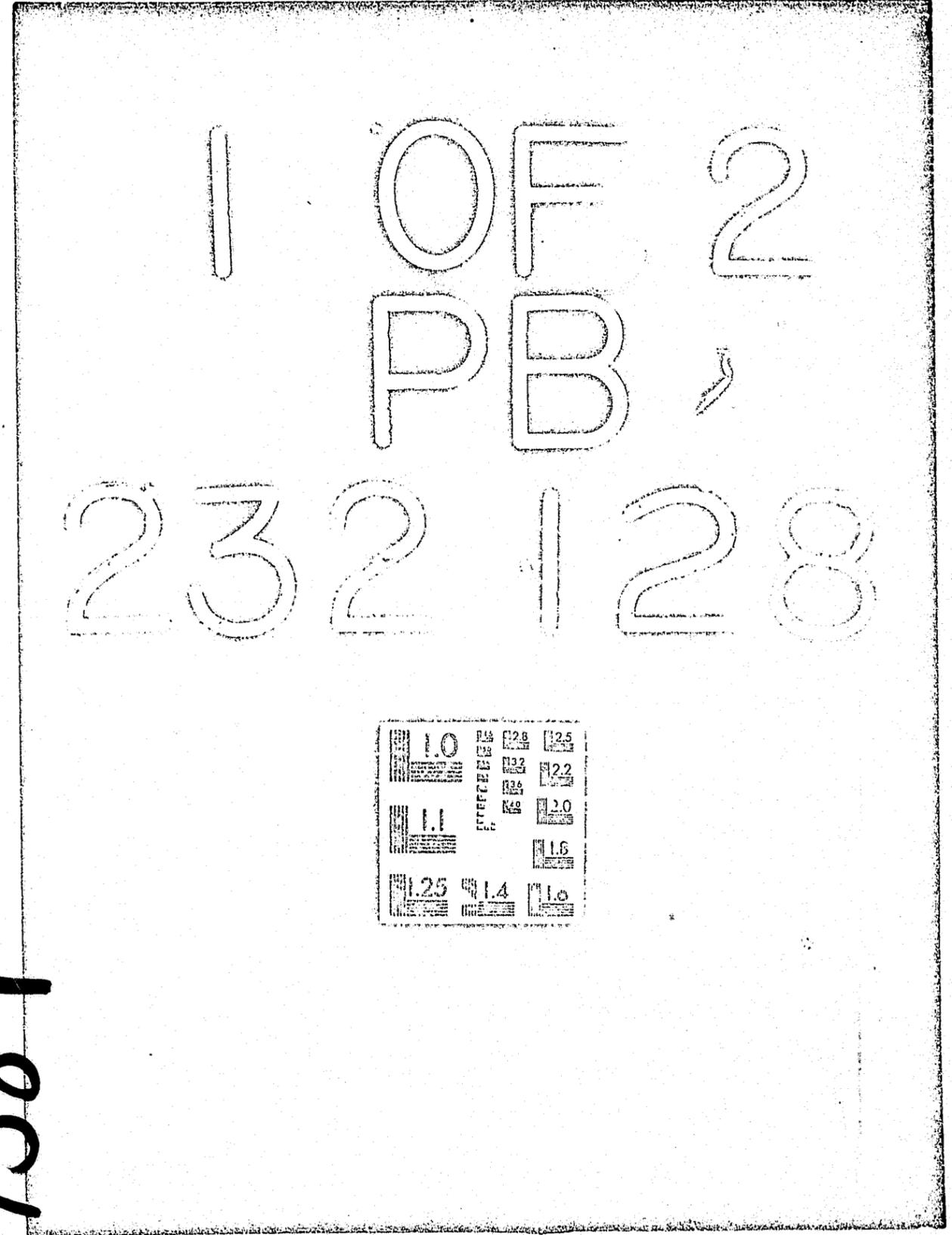
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**THE FIRST OFFENDER IN JUVENILE COURT:
A STUDY OF THE MILWAUKEE COUNTY
CHILDREN'S COURT CENTER**

William E. Berg

Milwaukee Urban Observatory
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

1974

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CHILDREN'S COURT CENTER

by

William E. Berg

The analysis underlying this publication was supported by funds from the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice, through University of Wisconsin-Extension, for programs or projects pursuant to Part C, Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. The School of Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, supplied the matching funds. The substance of the research is dedicated to the public. The author is solely responsible for the accuracy of statement or interpretations contained therein.

Milwaukee Urban Observatory

Winter 1973-74

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PREFACE

The First Offender in Juvenile Court: A Study of the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center is submitted by the Milwaukee Urban Observatory to the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice, the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center, and the Milwaukee Board of Fire and Police Commissioners in fulfillment of Grant 72-10-01-05 from the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice through University of Wisconsin-Extension for programs or projects pursuant to Part C, Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, dated June 21, 1972.

The need for a study of first offenders was initially suggested to the Urban Observatory by the 1971 Law Enforcement Plan of the City of Milwaukee, prepared by the Milwaukee Board of Fire and Police Commissioners acting in the capacity of Regional Criminal Justice Planning Committee. We are grateful to Charles W. Mentkowski, Assistant Dean, Marquette University Law School, and Chairman of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, and James Blumenberg, Grants Coordinator and Analyst for the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, for their generous assistance in initiating the study.

Discussions were subsequently held with William H. Hewitt, formerly Coordinator of the Criminal Justice Program, School of Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and Robert L. Stonek, also of the School of Social Welfare, now Executive Director of the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice. Messrs. Hewitt and Stonek identified Professor William E. Berg as a highly qualified project director. Their judgment was excellent. Professor Berg proved to be not only a competent scholar, but a person deeply sensitive to the values and interests of the people and organizations whom he investigated. Assisting him in this endeavor was another qualified scholar, Assistant Professor Richard Theado, also from the School

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of Social Welfare.

Because the Milwaukee Urban Observatory is part of a state institution, the University of Wisconsin, application for study funds was submitted to the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice in March, 1972. In June, 1972, a grant of \$21,257 was received from the Council, which was matched by \$7,240 from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

William P. Irwin
Director
March 1974

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INTRODUCTION

This project deals with a number of issues that are involved in the problem of juvenile delinquency and in the more specific problem of how juvenile delinquents are handled within the juvenile justice system. It focusses on the first offender and, in part at least, it tests the assumption that the first offender is different from those offenders who have been involved in the juvenile justice system for previous offenses.¹ Such differences involve not only the lack of a prior juvenile record but include such things as the socio-economic background of the offender, the way that he or she is treated within the court system, and the relative impact of these treatments on subsequent delinquent behaviors. The goals of the project are to test some of these assumptions within a single court system, that is, within the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center.

The framework within which we have approached the juvenile court system assumes that these courts are social organizations.² They are neither isolated from their community and their society, nor are they immune from the complexities and the problems that arise within any bureaucratic organization. At every point in their operations they are influenced by the values and the texture of the larger society. All of the presumptions about delinquents or delinquency which are present in the society are, in one degree or another, reflected in the court system. Thus each of the actions taken by the representatives of this system need to be evaluated in terms of the values and beliefs of the larger community.

1. See Appendix A for a specification of the Goals and the design of the project.

2. Aaron V. Cicourel, The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice, J. Wiley and Sons, N. Y., 1968.

This report is divided into two parts. Part I provides a brief summary of the project and of the findings. It also includes (see Section 6, Part I) some of the recommendations that have been made as a result of the project and our association with the Court Center. Part II examines the findings of the project in more detail and provides the appropriate data. Finally, there are a number of appendices which deal with specific areas of interest or concern that are related to the project or that have emerged in the course of the project.

The project has been completed with the cooperation and the efforts of a number of individuals and groups. Our own staff has included research and project assistants who have been able to grasp some of the complexities inherent both in the project and in the system that the project focusses on. In a very real sense, therefore, the project could not have been completed without the able assistance of Natalie Mitz (now Palay), Maria Quiroga, and Judy Martin. Mary Prawdzik has handled almost all of the problems of data gathering in a consistent and an unusually skillful manner. And the staff of the Milwaukee Urban Observatory has provided all the administrative support necessary to the project.

The project owes a special debt to the administration and the staff of the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center. The patience and the persistence of the staff has been one of the notable contributions to the project and the cooperation of the administration and the judges - including the current and the previous ones - has insured the successful completion of the work.

PART ONE
PROJECT SUMMARY

Section 1, Project Design¹

Although the project deals specifically with the first offender, the questions that are raised have necessitated a much broader view of the Center's operations. When we ask, for example, "What are the characteristics of those first offenders who are referred to the Center?" we must assume that the answer invites a comparison with those offenders who are not first offenders. To answer this type of question in any other manner - to simply define the first offender in relationship to a given range of variables and behaviors - would not provide a basis for understanding what these figures might mean. Thus the study includes both the first offenders and those who have been referred to this Center, or to some other juvenile court, for a previous offense.

There are three essential questions raised by the project:

- (1) Who are the first offenders that are referred to the Center,
- (2) How are they handled within the Center, and
- (3) What kinds of treatment services do they receive

either in the Center or through the intervention of the Center?

Since the study involves both first offenders and repeaters, each of these questions must be asked about the latter group as well.

The dimensions of these questions become the operational concerns of the project. Once we have specified, in other words, the critical social and economic dimensions of the first offender then the problem becomes one of obtaining valid and reliable measures of these dimensions. In defining these dimensions we have been able to rely upon a number of earlier studies done in juvenile courts.² Obviously not all of the information that we might like to have has been available, and in many instances the attempt to obtain such data would involve very

1. See Appendix A.
2. See References.

real questions of individual rights and privacy. Such limitations are perhaps inevitable and they do not, in our opinion, significantly limit the findings of the project.

The operational goals and objectives of the project serve as the framework for data collection and analysis. These include:

- (1) The identification of the offender in terms of:
 - (a) His or her social and economic background,
 - (b) The nature of the offense that precipitated the referral,
 - (c) The circumstances that were involved in this offense.
- (2) The identification and specification of the decisions made in the Court Center:
 - (a) Decisions made at Intake by the Probation staff,
 - (b) Decisions made by the District Attorney's office,
 - (c) Decisions made by the Court itself.
- (3) The identification and specification of the treatment services provided within the center and through community agencies or other groups that may have become involved with the offender as a result of these decisions.

Section 2, Data Collection

The relevant data were gathered on a random sample of referrals made to the Court Center during the six month period from May through October of 1972. A total of 357 cases are included in the sample; 155 first offenders and 202 multiple or repeater offenders.

The initial data relating to objective 1 (above) and to question 1 (p.5) were gathered during the intake process. Data were gathered through interviews with the probation officers and through the examination of court records.

Each of the 357 cases were followed up on a monthly basis. The data obtained through these follow-ups includes information relating

to the decisions that were made at each point during the processing of the case, the referrals that may have been made to community agencies, patterns of contacts with the probation officer and types of services provided, subsequent offenses that may have been committed by the offender, and general estimates of adjustment during the period in question.

In cases where community agencies became involved with the offender, these agencies were contacted and relevant data were gathered. A similar procedure was followed on those cases where the offender was placed with either the State Department of Health and Social Services or the Milwaukee County Department of Public Welfare.

All of the data were analyzed through the use of a variety of statistical techniques. This analysis was conducted within the framework specified by the goals and objectives of the project. Thus the findings reflect those concerns enunciated in Section 1 above.

Section 3, Summary of Findings - Characteristics of the Offenders

The data indicate that there are some distinct differences between first offenders and repeaters. This is true in terms of their socioeconomic background. It is not true in relationship to the type of offense committed and the circumstances surrounding these offenses.

The comparison between first offenders and repeaters reveals that first offenders are more likely to be Caucasian, that they tend to come from intact rather than broken homes, that the educational level of the parents is higher, and that there is less reliance upon public assistance funds. There are also more females among the first offenders than the repeaters, and there are fewer siblings who have previously been referred to the Court Center.

When we examine the nature of the offense and the circumstances

surrounding this offense we find, on the other hand, that there are relatively few differences between these two groups. In both instances the number of misdemeanor offenses exceeds any of the other categories, and in both instances the distribution of offenses between felonies and child-only offenses is approximately the same. Both the first offenders and the repeaters tend to be involved in offenses that are related to peer group activities, rather than in solitary acts, and in both groups the precipitating referral was made by the local law enforcement agency. The most noticeable difference in this area involves the use of detention facilities at the time of the referral. Among the repeaters the use of detention is a fairly common occurrence (40.6%), while among the first offenders it is a rather rare event (17.4%).

Section 4, Summary of Findings - Court Center Decisions

The first offender is generally treated differently than the repeater at intake. Cases that involve first offenders are more likely to be closed at intake than those involving repeaters. Among the cases that are closed, however, the first offender is less likely to be referred to community agencies for services or treatment.

It is apparent that these initial decisions are based upon a complex interaction among a number of different factors. In most of the cases, official court policies - or the probation officers' interpretation of these policies - is offered as the primary reason for the decision. This holds, moreover, for both the first offenders and for the repeaters. If we incorporate the other reasons that are given for the decisions, it becomes clear that there are differences between the decision-making routines used for first offenders and for repeaters.

The fact that the first offender has no prior record obviously plays a part in these decisions. The worker's interpretation of the

home situation is also a factor, and in these cases the workers are more likely to view the home situation of the first offender in favorable terms. First offenders are also less likely to deny the charges than repeaters, and thus the repeaters are more likely to be referred for official court disposition. Repeaters are also more likely to have been involved with community agencies at some point prior to the referral, a factor which undoubtedly plays a part in the higher incidence of community agency referrals among repeaters at intake (see above). Finally, there is also some indication that the probation officers are more apt to rely upon their impressions of the offender (e.g., his or her attitudes, and his or her susceptibility to intake counselling as the primary treatment) among the first offenders than they are among the repeaters.

In both absolute and in relative terms there are more repeaters referred to the District Attorney's office than first offenders. Over one-half of the total sample is referred to the District Attorney's office (55.5%). Of this total, approximately one-third of the cases are first offenders while two thirds are repeaters. Thus less than one-half of the original first offenders are dealt with through the District Attorney's office, while almost two-thirds of the repeaters are involved in this decision-making process.

The decisions made by the District Attorney's office indicate that more than two-thirds of the cases referred by the probation staff are ultimately prosecuted in the Court itself. Among the first offenders, 65.3% of those referred to the District Attorney are found to have prosecutive merit, while 72.2% of the repeaters are placed in the same category.

A total of 138 cases ultimately reach the Court itself (38.7% of the total sample). Approximately one-third of these cases involved first offenders, slightly more than two-thirds of the cases repeaters.

In its decision-making the Court clearly makes a number of

distinctions between first offenders and repeaters. First offenders are, for example, characteristically placed on a "hold open" status by the Court. In contrast, the primary method of dealing with the repeaters is to transfer custody to either the State or the County. Thus first offenders are generally kept within the Center (almost 75% of the first offender dispositions involve Court Center supervision) while repeaters are more likely to be removed from the Court.

In most cases the first offenders who ultimately reach the Court are charged with child-only offenses. One-half of the first offenders cases that are heard in the Court involve such offenses as runaway, uncontrollable behavior, or truancy. This contrasts with the situation at intake where over half the offenses involved misdemeanors and less than one-fourth were child-only offenses. One of the conclusions that can be drawn is that those first offenders who are removed from the Court system prior to court appearance have been involved in misdemeanor and/or felony offenses. The bias of the system, including that of the law itself, tends to be against those who are referred for problems of behavior and adaptation. That is, these offenders are obviously more likely to be continued within the system beyond the intake point than are those offenders who are referred for crimes against persons or property.

The final distinction between first offenders and repeaters is in reference to the transfer of custody cases. The first offenders who are involved in transfer of custody are much more likely to be placed with the County (66.6%) than are the repeaters (35.3%). If repeaters are more apt to be placed with the State, this implies that they are also more likely to be placed in one of the state institutions (e.g., Kettle Moraine, Wales, Oregon). For the first offender who is placed with the County, on the other hand, the placement is more likely to involve a residential treatment setting.

Section 5, Summary of Findings - Services and Recidivism

A range of services were provided for these offenders. Most of these services involved the Court Center and its staff directly in the treatment, while others were provided through a number of community agencies that became involved with the individual cases through the efforts of the probation staff.

In general, the services provided by the probation staff tended to concentrate on those offenders who were maintained within the system. That is, those offenders who were referred to the District Attorney's office and to the Court received the major share of the services.

The primary method of providing services involved counselling with the offender. Most of the services involved direct contact with the offender (counselling, home visits, telephone contacts). Services that grew out of the administrative functions of the probation officer role (e.g., court appearances or preparation) were considerably below the rate of direct contact services, as were services involving inter-agency relationships around the specific needs of the offender.

The recidivism rate for the total sample is high (45.9%). This means that within the year following the initial referral almost one-half of the original 357 cases became involved in further delinquencies that were referred to the Court Center. The recidivism rate for first offenders is considerably lower than that of the repeaters (one-third versus one-half of each group). Moreover, the recidivism rate for those offenders who were referred for community agency treatment or for placement is substantially below that of the recidivists as a group and approximates that of the total sample. Thus one may assume that those offenders who were involved with community agencies or with placement agencies tended to fare somewhat better than those who did not receive this treatment.

Section 6, Recommendations

In making these recommendations the project recognizes that it is approaching the operations of the Court Center and the larger juvenile justice system from within a rather narrow and specialized framework. What appears as obvious to us may be, for certain practical considerations, an unnecessarily clumsy method for approaching the problems of the whole system.

In spite of this we feel that these recommendations may be useful as considerations for planning in this area and, more importantly perhaps, as the basis for that ongoing dialogue that is the necessary prelude to this planning.

The recommendations are not listed by any priority of importance or impact. If anything, the order of presentation simply reflects the temporal order of the project itself and the kinds of considerations that arose as we moved through the various phases of the study.

(1) Case Records

The record-keeping system employed within the Center needs to be subject to intensive re-assessment and reform. The existing records contribute very little information about the offenders and consist, almost entirely, of the subjective impressions of the staff. It is difficult to determine what precise function these records play in the ongoing activities of the Center, but it is clear that they do not provide the information necessary to an understanding of the individual offender. Indeed, the tendency to cross-list cases and family members may have a detrimental impact for the offender.

(2) Specialized Intake

The project notes with approval the recent implementation of a specialized intake unit within the Center. Such a unit should provide a greater amount of control over intake decisions and should remove these decisions from some of the problems that were inherent in the

previous system (e.g., variations in supervision, pressures from an ongoing caseload, etc.). The operations of this unit should be subject to periodic evaluation and assessment with the long-range goal of obtaining more awareness of the relevant variables that are involved in the decision-making process. Once these variables have been identified it may be possible to achieve a greater uniformity and equality in the intake process.

(3) Inter-Agency Relations

It is apparent that the Center does not make effective use of the existing community agencies either at the intake point or during the succeeding phases. The growing pressures towards community treatment of all offenders indicates a need to re-examine these relationships between the Center and community agencies that are capable of accepting fundamental responsibilities for these offenders. This may mean that community agencies should be involved in the handling of the case at the point of intake with all cases, or with selected types of cases (e.g., child-only crimes). It may mean that community agencies should be involved more consistently and more thoroughly in the treatment of these offenders. In any case, these relationships should be accompanied by an ongoing evaluation process that includes the assessment of the relative costs and benefits that are involved in community-based treatment.

(4) Goals and Objectives

The interaction within the Center between the legal concerns involved in any court system and those social concerns that have traditionally been a part of the juvenile court has not resulted in any clear specification of goals and objectives of each area within the Center need to be re-examined and specified in terms that lend themselves to operationalization. Following this, the problem of the interplay between these areas should be examined and potential or real problem areas should be corrected. Finally, the fundamental goals and

objectives of the entire Center need to be re-examined in a manner which insures, insofar as it is possible, that the proper legal framework and the necessary social concerns are both accounted for in a consistent and equitable manner. Such a re-examination would require the active cooperation and participation of each of the professional groups located within the Center and all of the administrative levels. It should be conducted, moreover, from the perspective of the needs of the total community, including the needs of the offenders, rather than from any parochial or sectarian point of view.

(5) Treatment Models and Contexts

If treatment of the offender is a viable objective, then it may be necessary to re-examine the reliance upon individual counselling or casework as the primary treatment method. The validity of the casework model has been subject to a number of evaluative studies with results which are generally negative. The Center should be prepared, therefore, to offer a variety of different treatment services to all of the offenders rather than just to those who are selected for treatment in community agencies. Group work models should be employed within the Center, family therapy should be tested, and various conditioning or behavioral therapies should be examined for their potential input into the treatment process. Furthermore, the Center might also establish different treatment regimens for different types of offenders. Offenders who are more likely to become involved in further delinquencies may be treated differently, for example, than those who are unlikely to engage in these acts.

Finally, the Center should consider the degree to which the current physical plant is the proper context within which the functions of the Center can or should be performed. In many cases it may be beneficial to have the probation staff housed closer to the area in which the highest rates of delinquency occur. The opportunity to become

immediately involved with the offender would presumably be much greater if the Center were centrally located, and the opportunity to undertake a wider range of treatment techniques might also be enhanced.

PART TWO PROJECT FINDINGS

Section 1, Social and Economic Characteristics of the Offenders

The Total Sample (see Table 1)

Adolescents who are referred to the Court Center form an identifiable and, to some extent, a distinct population within the universe of adolescents found in Milwaukee County. They are, for example, generally males (77.9%) who are 15 years old (mean=15.2). In absolute terms, they are more often Caucasian (58.3%), although the percentage of Blacks found in the sample (35.6%) clearly exceeds that found in the general population (10.1%).¹ To this extent, at least, Blacks and other minority group members are over-represented in the offender population.

Most of the offenders were born in the City of Milwaukee (71.7%). Those who were not born in Milwaukee or in the State of Wisconsin (22.4%) tend to come from a variety of areas, with no single region - the South, for example - accounting for more than 7.3% of the total. One must assume, therefore, that the Center is not dealing with the problems of other regions or states, but that it is, by and large, reacting to a purely local problem.

Although these offenders reside in almost every area of the County, it is apparent that a disproportionately high number of them come from a relatively small geographical region.² The most intense area of activity occurs within a district which is bounded by Locust Street on the south, Capitol Drive on the north, 35th Street to the west, and Holten Street on the east. This area includes a

1. Cf., F. Beverstock and R. Stuckert, Metropolitan Milwaukee Fact Book: 1970. Milwaukee Urban Observatory, 1972.

2. See Appendix B.

TABLE 1, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders:
Referrals to the Children's Court Center

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Type of Offender:		
First Offender	155	43.47
Repeater	202	56.6
2. Sex:		
Male	278	77.9
Female	79	22.1
3. Race:		
Caucasian	208	58.3
Oriental	2	.6
Black	127	35.6
American Indian	5	1.4
Latin	15	4.2
4. Age (Years):		
18	21	5.9
17	62	17.4
16	76	21.3
15	90	25.2
14	56	15.7
13	29	8.1
12	14	3.9
11	7	2.0
10	0	0
9	1	.3
8	1	.3
5. Place of Birth:		
Wisconsin - Total	277	77.6
(Milwaukee)	(256)	(71.7)
Other Midwestern States	18	5.0
North-East	0	.8
Mid-Atlantic	7	2.0
South	26	7.3
Southwest	5	1.4
Far West	3	.8
Not Ascertained	13	3.6
Other	5	1.4
6. Family Status:		
Intact	185	51.8
Broken	172	48.2
7. If Broken, Which Parent Absent:		
Father	140	81.4
Mother	20	11.6
Both	12	7.0

TABLE 1, continued

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
8. Number of Children in Family:		
One	9	2.5
Two	29	8.1
Three	59	16.5
Four	64	17.9
Five	51	14.3
Six	51	14.3
Seven	34	9.5
Eight	14	3.9
Nine	21	5.9
Ten or More	25	7.0
9. Number of Siblings in Family Referred to Court Center:		
None	144	41.4
One	93	26.7
Two	54	15.5
Three	28	8.0
Four	15	4.3
Five, or More	14	4.0
10. School of Referred Offender:		
None (High School Graduate)	12	3.4
Public Elementary		
Milwaukee - Northside	23	6.4
Milwaukee - Southside	5	1.4
Suburban	1	.3
Private Elementary	10	2.8
Public Junior High		
Milwaukee - Northside	83	23.2
Milwaukee - Southside	44	12.3
Suburban	0	0
Public High School		
Milwaukee - Northside	77	21.6
Milwaukee - Southside	25	7.0
Suburban	44	12.3
Private High School	13	3.6
Institutions	12	3.4
Other	8	2.2
Totals:		
Milwaukee - Northside	183	51.3
Milwaukee - Southside	74	20.7
Suburban	45	12.6
Private	23	6.4
Other	20	5.6

TABLE 1, continued

Variable	Number	Percent
11. Occupation of Father:		
Professional, Technical, etc.	10	2.8
Managers, Officials, Proprietors	15	4.2
Sales	14	3.9
Clerical and Kindred	16	4.5
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred	41	11.5
Operatives	104	29.1
Laborers	62	17.4
Service	22	6.2
Unemployed	27	7.6
Retired	4	1.1
Other	12	3.4
Unknown	30	8.4
12. Occupation of Mother:		
Professional, Technical, etc	5	1.4
Managers, Officials, etc.	2	.7
Sales	11	3.1
Clerical	35	9.8
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred	4	1.1
Operatives	34	9.5
Laborers	8	2.2
Service	64	17.9
Housewife	181	50.7
Unemployed	2	.7
Student	2	.7
Other	9	2.5
13. Education of Father:		
Grade School or Less	63	17.6
Some High School	112	31.4
High School Graduate	120	33.6
Some College	12	3.4
College Graduate	5	1.4
Graduate Studies	6	1.7
Technical	1	.3
Other	1	.3
Unknown	37	10.4
14. Education of Mother:		
Grade School or Less	61	17.1
Some High School	116	32.5
High School Graduate	124	34.7
Some College	14	3.9
College Graduate	5	1.4
Graduate Studies	0	0
Technical	5	1.4
Other	6	1.7
Unknown	26	7.3
15. Family Receives Public Aid:		
Yes	119	33.3
No	238	66.7
16. Family has Received Public Aid in Past:		
Yes	157	66.0
No	81	34.0

total of 22 census tracts and lies to the north and west of the so-called inner city. Almost one-third of all of the offenders referred to the Center reside within this area.

The families of these offenders are frequently one-parent households (48.2%) maintained by the mother (40.9%). In general, the families are considerably larger than the norm for Milwaukee County (mean number of children = 5.3).³

The data indicate that these families tend to produce referrals to the Center. That is, in most cases (51.1%), the referred offender comes from a family in which at least one other sibling has been referred to the Center. In almost one-third of the cases there is more than one sibling who has been referred. Since the referred offender also tends to be either the eldest or the second eldest child in the family (46.2%), it may be reasonable to assume that this developing pattern of delinquency may insure that the family will be in contact with the Center for some time to come.

The fathers of these offenders tend to work in manual labor or blue collar occupations rather than in the so-called white collar occupations. Almost one-half the fathers (46.2%) are employed as operatives or as unskilled laborers, while relatively few of the fathers are employed in the professions (2.8%), in managerial positions (4.2%), or in sales (3.8%). This contrasts with the general population in which 11.5% of the male work force was employed in the professions, 6.7% in managerial posts, and 31.4% as operatives or unskilled laborers in 1970.⁴

In most cases, the mothers of these offenders were employed as housewives (50.7%). Mothers who were employed outside the home

3. Median persons per household in Milwaukee County was 2.4 in 1970. Cf. Beverstock and Stuckert, *op. cit.*

4. *Ibid.*

worked in service occupations (36.4%), as clerical workers (20.0%), and in blue collar occupations (26.1%). Only 1.5% of the mothers were employed as professionals. This distribution contrasts with the general population, of which 12.3% of the employed female work force worked in the professions, 34.5% in clerical position, 22.9% in blue collar occupations, and 17.3% in service occupations in 1970.⁵

It is apparent that in many cases the parents of the offenders are employed in occupations that require fewer skills and less education. This is reflected in the educational background of the parents. One-third of the fathers had completed high school, another third some high school, and approximately one-fifth only grade school or less. A similar pattern is found among the mothers, with a slightly higher percentage of them completing high school. Among both sets of parents, however, the proportion who have attended or completed college level institutions is substantially lower than that of the general population (2.8% versus 7.4%).⁶ Moreover, since these figures are based upon self-reported claims, they may be unreliable and should be interpreted with some degree of caution.

These families also show a pattern of dependency upon public assistance funds. In one-third of the cases, the family is currently receiving some type of public welfare, and in two-thirds of the cases they are either receiving these funds at the present time or they have received them in the past. It is apparent, therefore, that in many instances these families occupy a marginal economic position.

The data on the families, taken as a whole, indicate that many of the offenders come from families that are unstable and deprived. In many cases they lack the stability of an intact marriage with two parents in the home, and also lack the economic resources necessary

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

for self-maintenance over a long period of time. The level of economic demands made upon these families is, given their size, presumably higher than the norm. Thus we must assume that, in one degree or another, many of them are unable to meet the demands with any degree of consistency or order.

The data on the current school of the referred offender reinforce the geographical context of these referrals and suggest that what we may be dealing with is a group rather than an individual phenomenon. Slightly more than one-third of the offenders attend 10 schools within the City of Milwaukee (Fulton, Parkman, Steuben, Wells, and Walker Junior High Schools; Riverside, Rufus King, Washington, West, and South Senior High Schools). Moreover, six of these schools account for almost one-fourth of all referrals (Fulton, Parkman, Wells, and Walker Junior High Schools; Rufus King and South High Schools). Thus only 6.0% of the schools contained within the sample contribute approximately 25.0% of all referrals, and 10.0% of the schools include over one-third of the total.

First Offenders vs. Repeaters (see Table 2)

When we compare the data on first offenders and repeaters, the results indicate that there are significant differences between them. While the ages of the two groups are roughly comparable, for example, it is apparent that the repeaters are somewhat older as a group than the first offenders. The mean age of the first offenders is 14.8 years, while the mean for the repeaters is 15.5 years (the median for repeaters is 16 years as opposed to 15.3 for the first offenders).

Similarly, the percentage of males among the first offenders (72.3%) is below that found among the repeaters (82.2%). We may assume, therefore, that females are less likely to become involved in patterns of delinquency that we associate with the recidivist offender. The majority of the offenders in both groups are Caucasian, but the percentage of minority group offenders increases among the repeaters.

TABLE 2, Social and Economic Characteristics:
First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Sex:				
Male	112	72.3%	166	82.2%
Female	45	27.7	36	17.8
2. Race:				
Caucasian	97	62.6	111	55.0
Oriental	1	.6	1	.5
Black	52	33.5	75	37.1
American Indian	2	1.3	3	1.5
Latin	3	1.9	12	5.9
3. Age:				
18	8	5.2	13	6.4
17	18	11.6	44	21.8
16	32	20.6	44	21.8
15	40	25.8	50	24.8
14	22	14.2	34	16.8
13	18	11.6	11	5.4
12	11	7.1	3	1.5
11	4	2.6	3	1.5
10	0	0	0	0
9	1	.6	0	0
8	1	.6	0	0
4. Place of Birth:				
Wisconsin	118	76.1	159	78.7
(Milwaukee)	(107)	(69.0)	(149)	(73.8)
Other Midwest	8	5.1	10	4.9
Northeast	2	1.2	1	.5
Mid-Atlantic	3	1.9	4	1.9
South	12	10.0	14	6.9
Southwest	3	1.9	2	1.0
Far West	1	.6	2	1.0
Not Ascertained	7	4.5	6	2.9
Other	1	.6	4	1.9
5. Family Status:				
Intact	92	59.4	93	46.0
Broken	63	40.6	109	54.0
6. If Broken, Which Parent Absent:				
Father	49	77.7	85	77.9
Mother	8	12.6	12	11.0
Both	6	9.5	6	5.5
7. Number of Children in Family:				
One	2	1.3	7	3.5
Two	14	9.0	15	7.4
Three	34	21.9	25	12.4
Four	27	17.4	37	18.3
Five	21	13.5	30	14.9
Six	23	14.8	28	13.9
Seven	13	8.4	21	10.4
Eight	5	3.2	9	4.5
Nine	5	3.2	16	7.9
Ten or More	11	7.1	14	6.9

TABLE 2, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
8. Number of Children in Family Referred to Center:				
None	80	51.6	73	36.1
One	37	23.9	56	27.7
Two	19	12.3	35	17.3
Three	11	7.1	17	8.4
Four	4	2.6	11	5.4
Five, or More	4	2.6	10	4.9
9. School Attended:				
None (High School Graduates)	5	3.2	7	3.5
Public Elementary				
Milwaukee - Northside	18	9.6	5	2.5
Milwaukee - Southside	1	.6	4	1.9
Suburban	1	.6	0	0
Private Elementary	6	3.8	4	1.9
Public Junior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	33	21.2	50	24.8
Milwaukee - Southside	18	11.6	26	12.9
Public High School				
Milwaukee - Northside	29	18.7	48	23.8
Milwaukee - Southside	10	6.4	15	7.4
Suburban	18	16.6	26	12.9
Private High School	10	6.4	3	1.5
Institutions	0	0	12	5.9
Other	6	3.8	2	1.0
TOTALS:				
Milwaukee - North	80	51.6	103	50.9
Milwaukee - South	29	18.8	45	22.3
Suburban	19	12.3	26	12.9
Private	16	10.3	7	3.5
Other	6	3.8	14	6.9
10. Occupation of Father:				
Professional	3	1.9	7	3.5
Managers, etc.	9	5.7	6	3.0
Sales	8	5.2	6	3.0
Clerical and Kindred	7	4.5	9	4.5
Craftsmen	20	12.9	21	10.4
Operatives	47	30.4	56	27.7
Laborers	23	14.8	39	19.3
Service	9	5.7	13	6.4
Unemployed	7	4.5	15	7.4
Retired	2	1.3	2	1.0
Other	7	4.5	7	3.5
Unknown	13	8.4	17	8.4

TABLE 2, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
11. Occupation of Mother:				
Professional	1	.6	4	2.0
Manager	2	1.3	0	0
Sales	6	3.9	5	2.5
Clerical	18	11.6	17	8.4
Craftsmen	2	1.3	2	1.0
Operatives	17	10.9	17	8.4
Laborers	3	1.9	5	2.5
Service	28	18.1	36	17.8
Housewife	73	47.1	108	53.5
Unemployed	1	.6	1	.5
Student	0	0	2	1.0
Other	4	2.6	5	2.5
12. Education of Father:				
Grade School or Less	19	12.5	44	21.8
Some High School	49	31.6	63	31.2
High School Graduate	59	38.1	61	30.2
Some College	5	3.2	7	3.5
College Graduate	2	1.3	3	1.5
Graduate School	2	1.3	4	2.0
Technical	0	0	1	.5
Other	0	0	1	.5
Unknown	19	12.5	18	8.9
13. Education of Mother:				
Grade School or Less	21	13.5	40	19.8
Some High School	45	29.0	71	35.1
High School Graduate	66	42.6	58	28.7
Some College	8	5.2	6	3.0
College Graduate	1	.6	4	2.0
Graduate School	0	0	0	0
Technical	3	1.9	2	1.0
Other	0	0	6	3.0
Unknown	11	7.1	15	7.4
14. Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	37	23.9	82	40.6
No	118	76.1	120	59.4
15. Family has Received Public Aid in Past:				
Yes	71	60.2	82	68.3
No	47	39.8	38	31.7

Thus 37.4% of the first offenders are non-white as compared with 45.0% of the repeaters.

Further differences between these groups can be found relative to the structure and composition of the family. A majority of the first offenders come from families that are intact (59.4%), while a majority of the repeaters come from broken homes (54.0%). In both groups family size is relatively large, although there is some indication that the families of repeaters are somewhat larger (mean number of children in families of repeaters is 5.4 versus 5.1 for those of first offenders).

In both groups there is also a tendency for siblings to have had prior contacts with the Center. Almost one-half the first offenders have had at least one sibling referred to the Center, and in almost one-fourth of these cases there have been two or more siblings referred. With the repeaters the relationships between the family and the Center become even more pronounced. In approximately two-thirds of the cases the repeaters have had at least one sibling who was referred to the Center, and in more than one-third of the cases there have been two or more siblings referred.

The employment data on the fathers of offenders reveal relatively few differences between the first offenders and the repeaters. In both instances, the fathers are employed primarily as operatives or unskilled laborers, and the proportion employed in the professions or in managerial positions is relatively low.

The mothers of repeaters are more likely to be housewives (54.8%) than the mothers of first offenders (48.3%). In both groups, the major occupation of the working mothers is in the service occupations, and in both there is a relatively high proportion of mothers employed in traditional blue-collar fields.

Given the differences of family status of these two groups, one might expect to find similar differences in the reliance upon

public funds. Slightly less than one-fourth of the families of first offenders are currently receiving public funds, while 40.6% of the families of repeaters are presently dependent upon public aid.

The first offender is, therefore, different from the repeater in his personal characteristics (sex, race, age), and in terms of certain dimensions of the family (status, dependency, siblings).

The Nature of the Offense (see Tables 3 and 4)

Almost half the referrals were for misdemeanor offenses. The proportion of misdemeanor offenses is higher for the first offenders than the repeaters, but in both groups these offenses form the largest single category.

The second largest group of referrals was for child-only offenses (26.3%). These include such things as uncontrollable school behavior, running away and truancy. The rate of child-only offenses among the repeaters was considerably higher than among the first offenders (29.7% versus 21.9%). This may indicate one of the effects of the labelling that is associated with the juvenile justice process; that is, the repeater may be subject to closer scrutiny than the individual who has never been officially labelled as a delinquent, and thus any misbehavior on his part is more likely to come to the attention of the authorities.

Approximately one-fifth of the referrals involved felony offenses. The percentage is slightly higher for first offenders than for repeaters (23.9% versus 19.3%).

The ten most frequent offenses involved in these referrals include six misdemeanors: theft involving less than \$100.00, battery, disorderly conduct, shoplifting, loitering, and criminal damage to property. Two on felonies, theft of more than \$100 and burglary; and the remaining two are child-only offenses, uncontrollable behavior and school behavior problems. Although the list includes the most frequent offenses for both first offenders and repeaters, the order or ranking differs. In

TABLE 3, Characteristics of Offense Which Precipitated Referral

Variable	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Nature of Offense:						
Misdemeanor	176	49.3%	82	52.9%	94	46.5%
Ordinance Violation	5	1.4	2	1.3	3	1.5
Felony	76	21.3	37	23.9	39	19.3
Child-Only Offense	94	26.3	34	21.9	60	29.7
Other	6	1.7	0	0	6	3.0
2. Source of Referral:						
Police Department	329	92.2	143	92.3	186	92.1
Public Welfare Department	1	.2	0	0	1	.5
Family	5	1.4	3	1.9	2	1.0
School	8	2.2	3	1.9	5	2.5
Other	5	1.4	3	1.9	2	1.0
Unknown	9	2.5	3	1.9	6	3.0
3. Child Acted Alone or With Others in Commission of Offense:						
Alone	113	31.7	54	34.8	69	34.2
With One Other	75	21.0	37	23.9	38	18.8
With Two or More	141	39.5	58	37.4	83	41.1
Unknown	18	5.0	6	3.9	12	5.9
4. Child Detained at the Time of Referral:						
Yes	109	30.5	27	17.4	82	40.6
No	248	69.5	128	82.6	120	59.4

TABLE 4, Most Frequent Offenses

Offense - Rank Order	Total		First Offenders*		Repeaters**	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Theft (Less than \$100)	53	14.8%	23	14.8%	30	14.9%
2. School Behavior Problems	44	12.3	16	10.3	28	13.9
3. Uncontrollable	40	11.2	18	11.6	22	10.9
4. Theft (More than \$100)	36	10.1	19	12.3	17	8.4
5. Disorderly Conduct	24	6.7	10	6.5	14	6.9
6. Burglary	23	6.4	9	5.8	14	6.9
7. Battery	20	5.6	10	6.5	10	4.9
8. Shoplifting	17	4.8	9	5.8	8	3.9
9. Loitering	16	4.5	7	4.5	9	4.5
10. Criminal Damage to Property	12	3.4	4	2.6	8	3.9
TOTAL	285	79.8	125	80.6	160	79.2

* Refers to Percent of Total Referrals

** Refers to Percent of Total First Offender Referrals

+ Refers to Percent of Total Repeater Referrals

both groups, theft of less than \$100 is the most prevalent offense. However, for the first offenders the second most prevalent offense is theft of more than \$100, followed by uncontrollable and school behavior problems. Among the repeaters, school behavior problems are the second most frequent offense, followed by uncontrollable behavior and theft of more than \$100.

These ten offenses account for 79.6% of all of the offenses involved in the referrals. They include 80.6% of all first offender referrals, and 78.7% for repeaters.

Circumstances Involved in the Offense (see Table 3)

It is apparent that the Court Center functions in large part as a subsystem of the larger criminal justice system. The Center interfaces rather closely with local law enforcement agencies, and it relies upon these agencies as the primary source for clients. Thus 92.2% of all referrals come from these agencies, a figure that is consistent for both the first offender and the repeater.

It is also apparent that most of the offenders commit the offense as a part of a social ritual or relationship. In two-thirds of the cases the offenses were committed in the company of at least one other adolescent, and in almost 40% the offense was committed along with two or more associates. Thus the question of the influence of the group on delinquent behavior becomes a real issue.

The only highly significant statistical difference between the first offender and repeater groups is in the use of detention at the time of the referral. Detention is used rather frequently for repeaters (40.6%), but infrequently for first offenders (17.4%). A part of the reason for this may be found in the greater proportion of repeater offenses that involve child-only crimes, and particularly the uncontrollable offense. In such cases the only available recourse for the Center may be detention. The fact that repeaters have committed

prior offenses may also indicate to the Center that they represent a potential danger, either to themselves or the community, and thus some type of restraint is necessary.

Summary and Conclusions

What emerges from this brief review of the characteristics of the offenders is a picture that is consistent with most of our preconceptions of the juvenile offender. The over-representation of Blacks and other minority groups is a part of this collage, as is the concentration of delinquency in certain areas of the City and certain schools within these areas. The data on the families of these offenders appears to present an inescapable link in the process. The relatively high rates of broken homes, the single-parent families that are headed by females, the larger number of children in the family, and the high rate of prior contact with the Center all combine to yield an almost classic picture of the delinquency-prone family. When we add to this the economic factors - the employment profiles of the parents and the incidence of families which are dependent upon public assistance - the stereotype becomes virtually complete.

The statistical picture that emerges from this data is quite clear in its implications for the work of the Center. That is, delinquency becomes identified as a lower-class phenomenon in which the problems that exist in the home and in the neighborhood are presumably related to the problems that initiated the referral. But this is not necessarily an accurate picture of the total range of delinquent behavior occurring in Milwaukee County. The discretionary activities of law enforcement agencies may in part produce this bias, and the interaction between law enforcement and other institutions in the community (e.g., schools) may reinforce it.

Thus while there is ample reason to believe that delinquency may be just as common among suburban middle-class youth, the

structure of the juvenile justice system is such that it creates a lower-class bias. This produces a number of problems for the Center, both in its decision-making processes (see Section 2) and in the types of treatment that it employs.

Section 2, Decision Making at the Court Center

Intake Decisions (see Tables 5 - 9)

Intake decisions are presumably derived from three areas of concern or consideration. They include:

- (1) The characteristics of the offender,
- (2) The characteristics of the offense, and
- (3) The priorities of the probation staff.

We have discussed the process of decision-making at some length in a separate paper that is attached to this report.¹ In this section we will provide an over-view of these decisions and their impact on the offenders.

For the offender, the intake decision represents the most important decision made in the Center. Essentially the probation officer has three alternatives available to him: he or she may close the case at intake, refer it to the District Attorney for a determination of the prosecutive merits of the case, or hold the case open on supervision without involving either the District Attorney or the Court.

For the present project, this process raises three interrelated questions:

- (1) What are the decisions made at intake,
- (2) What differences, if any, exist between decisions about the first offender and the repeater, and
- (3) What is the basis for these decisions?

As Table 5 indicates, the majority of these cases are referred to the District Attorney (55.5%). Approximately one-third of the cases are closed at intake, and only 5.9% are closed with a referral to a community agency. The remainder of the cases are held on informal supervision or are continued on supervision without a referral to the Court.

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TABLE 5, Probation Officer's Decisions at Intake

Decision	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Case Closed	103	28.9%	62	40.0%	41	20.3%
2. Case Closed with Referral to Community Agency	21	5.9	7	4.5	14	6.9
3. Informal Supervision	16	4.5	10	6.5	6	3.0
4. Refer to the District Attorney's Office	198	55.5	72	46.5	126	62.4
5. Continue Supervision Without Court	12	3.5	0		12	5.9
6. Other	7	2.0	4	2.6	3	1.5
TOTALS	357		155		202	

TABLE 6, Reasons for Probation Officers' Decisions at Intake

Reason	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Court Policy	97	27.2	44	28.4	53	26.2
2. Denied Charges	34	9.5	8	5.2	26	12.9
3. Minor Offense	15	4.2	5	3.2	10	5.0
4. Serious Offense	9	2.5	4	2.6	5	2.5
5. First Offense	17	4.8	17	11.0	0	
6. Admits Charges	23	6.4	8	5.2	15	7.4
7. Previous Similar Offenses	15	4.2	1	.6	14	6.9
8. Conflicting Stories	4	1.1	3	1.9	1	.5
9. Active with Another Agency	13	3.6	0		13	6.4
10. Unfavorable Home Situation	23	6.4	9	5.8	14	6.9
11. Favorable Home Situation	19	5.3	16	10.3	3	1.5
12. Parental Reaction to Court	3	.8	1	.6	2	1.0
13. Good Attitude	28	7.8	14	9.0	14	6.9
14. P.O. Felt Counseling was Enough	27	7.7	15	9.7	12	5.9
15. Other Reasons	30	8.4	10	6.5	20	9.9

TABLE 7, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders:
Diverted and Continued Cases

Variable	Diverted		Continued	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Prior Record:				
First Offender	69	55.6	86	36.9 **
Previously Referred	55	44.4	147	63.1
Sex:				
Male	86	69.4	192	82.4 **
Female	38	30.6	41	17.6
Race:				
White	78	62.9	130	55.8
Black	38	30.6	89	38.2
American Indian	1	.8	4	1.7
Latin	6	4.8	9	3.9
Oriental	1	.8	1	.4
Age:				
8-9 years	1	.8	1	.4
10-11 years	3	2.4	4	1.7
12-13 years	16	12.9	27	11.9
14-15 years	47	37.9	99	42.5
16-17 years	52	41.9	86	36.9
18 + years	5	4.0	16	6.7
Family Status:				
Parents Living Together	69	55.6	116	49.8
Parents Separated/Divorced	55	44.4	117	50.2
Number of Children in Family:				
1-2	13	10.5	25	10.7
3-4	49	39.5	74	31.8
5-6	30	24.2	72	30.9
7-8	12	9.7	36	15.5
9-10	9	7.3	14	6.0
11-12	7	5.6	11	4.7
13 +	4	3.2	1	.4
Number of Siblings Referred to Center:				
None	47	37.9	106	45.5
One	40	32.3	53	22.7
Two	21	16.9	33	14.2
Three	6	4.8	22	9.4
Four	4	3.2	11	4.7
Five	0		5	2.1
Six	1	.8	3	1.3
Seven	5	4.0	0	
Grade in School:				
K-6	13	10.5	21	9.0
7-8	31	25.0	48	20.6
9-12	60	48.4	118	50.6
Other	20	16.1	45	14.3

TABLE 7, continued

Variable	Diverted		Continued	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Occupation of Father:				
Professional/Technical	3	2.4	7	3.0
Manager/Official	3	2.4	12	5.2
Sales	6	4.8	8	3.4
Clerical	6	4.8	10	4.3
Craftsman/Foreman	9	7.3	32	13.7
Farmer	0		1	.4
Operatives-Factory	43	34.7	60	25.8
Laborers	21	16.9	41	17.6
Services	3	2.4	15	6.4
Unemployed	7	5.6	12	5.2
Other/Unknown	13	10.5	35	15.0
Occupation of Mother:				
Professional/Technical	2	1.6	3	1.3
Manager/Official	0		2	.9
Sales	4	3.2	7	3.0
Clerical	17	13.7	18	7.8
Craftsman/Foreman	2	1.6	2	.9
Operatives-Factory	12	9.7	22	9.5
Laborers	2	1.6	6	2.6
Services	21	16.9	43	18.5
Housewife	60	48.4	120	51.7
Unemployed	2	1.6	2	.9
Other/Unknown	2	1.6	7	3.0
Education of Father:				
Grade School Graduate	20	16.1	43	18.5
Some High School	46	37.1	65	28.0
High School Graduate	39	31.5	81	34.9
Some College	5	4.0	7	3.0
College Graduate	3	2.4	3	1.3
Graduate School	1	.8	4	1.7
Technical Training	0		1	.4
Other/Unknown	11	8.9	28	12.1
Education of Mother:				
Grade School	17	13.7	44	18.9
Some High School	41	33.1	74	31.9
High School Graduate	45	36.3	79	35.1
Some College	6	4.8	8	3.4
College Graduate	3	2.4	2	.9
Technical Training	1	.8	4	1.7
Other/Unknown	11	8.9	21	9.1
Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	35	28.2	83	35.8
No	89	71.8	149	64.2

* sig, .001
 ** sig, .005

TABLE 8, Social and Economic Characteristics in Closed Cases:
First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Sex:				
Male	48	57.8%	63	82.9%
Female	35	42.2	13	17.1
Race:				
Caucasian	46	55.4	52	68.4
Black	33	39.8	19	25.0
Oriental	1	1.2	1	1.3
American Indian	1	1.2	0	-
Latin	2	2.4	4	5.3
Age:				
16-18	31	37.3	41	53.9
13-15	43	51.8	33	43.4
10-12	9	10.8	2	2.0
Place of Birth:				
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	63 (58)	75.9 (69.9)	63 (56)	82.9 (73.7)
Other Midwest	6	7.2	3	3.9
Northeast	1	1.2	1	1.3
Mid-Atlantic	1	1.2	2	2.6
South	8	9.6	6	7.9
Southwest	2	2.4	1	1.3
West	0	-	0	-
Other/Unknown	2	2.4	0	-
Family Status:				
Intact	49	59.0	40	52.6
Broken	34	40.9	36	47.4
No. of Children in Family:				
1-2	10	12.0	8	10.5
3-4	33	39.8	24	44.7
5 or More	40	48.2	44	57.9
No. of Siblings Referred to Center:				
None	35	42.2	27	35.5
One	24	28.9	22	28.9
Two	13	15.7	12	15.8
Three or More	11	13.3	15	19.7

TABLE 8, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Current School:				
None	1	1.2	2	2.6
Elementary				
Milwaukee - Northside	12	14.5	1	1.3
Milwaukee - Southside	0	-	2	2.6
Private	2	2.4	3	3.9
Suburban	1	1.2	0	-
Junior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	17	20.5	17	22.4
Milwaukee - Southside	10	12.0	10	13.2
Senior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	19	22.9	10	13.2
Milwaukee - Southside	0	-	3	3.9
Private	4	4.8	1	1.3
Suburban	15	18.1	22	28.9
Institutions	0	-	5	6.6
Other	2	2.4	0	-
Occupation of Father:				
Blue Collar	31	61.4	52	68.4
White Collar	14	16.7	9	11.8
Unemployed	6	7.2	5	6.6
Other	12	14.5	9	11.8
Occupation of Mother:				
Blue Collar	12	14.5	10	13.2
White Collar	13	15.7	12	15.8
Service	15	18.1	13	17.1
Housewife	41	49.4	37	48.7
Other	2	2.4	4	5.3
Education of Father:				
Grade School or Less	9	10.8	16	21.1
Some High School	27	32.5	29	38.2
High School Graduate	29	34.9	22	28.9
College	5	6.0	3	3.9
Graduate Work	2	2.4	1	1.3
Technical/Other	0	-	0	-
Unknown	11	13.3	5	6.6
Education of Mother:				
Grade School or Less	12	14.5	10	13.2
Some High School	22	26.5	33	43.4
High School Graduate	36	43.4	20	26.3
College	7	8.4	5	6.6
Graduate Work	0	-	0	-
Technical	1	1.2	0	-
Unknown	5	6.0	8	10.5
Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	25	30.1	25	32.9
No	58	69.9	51	67.1

TABLE 9, Nature and Circumstances of the Offense:
Diverted and Continued Cases

Variable	Diverted		Continued	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Nature of Offense:				
Misdemeanor	80	64.5	96	41.4
Felony	8	6.5	92	39.7
Child-Only	33	26.6	35	15.1
Violation of Ordinance	3	2.4	2	.9
Other	0	-	7	3.0
Child Acted Alone or With Others:				
Alone	57	46.0	65	28.0
With One Other	31	25.0	44	19.0
With Two or More	33	26.6	108	46.6
Other	3	2.4	15	6.5
Child Placed in Detention:				
Yes	31	25.0	77	33.2
No	93	75.0	155	66.8

There are differences between the decisions made about first offenders and those pertaining to repeaters. There are significantly more first offender cases closed at intake than repeater cases (44.5% versus 27.2%), and significantly fewer referred to the District Attorney's office (46.5% versus 62.4%).

To this degree, at least, we must assume that the status of the first offender plays a role in the decision-making process. However, as Table 6 indicates, the most important reason offered by probation officers in accounting for these decisions is that of "court policy" (27.2%). The repeater is more likely to deny the charges (12.9%), a position that will insure that a referral to the District Attorney is made, but the fact that he or she has committed previous offenses of the same nature accounts for only 6.9% of the variance in these decisions. The first offender is more likely to be considered amenable to counselling (9.7%) or as having a "good attitude" (9.0%). The home situation of the first offender is more often viewed as favorable (10.3%) than is true of the repeater (1.5%).

When we examine the cases that were closed at intake (Table 7), we find that they are more likely to involve first offenders, and Caucasians who come from intact families which are smaller, have had fewer previous contacts with the Center, and are less dependent upon public assistance funds. If we analyze the data in terms of first offender versus repeater (Table 8), we find some rather interesting differences. Among the first offenders, for example, cases involving Blacks are much more likely to be closed at intake than those that involve Caucasians. While 47.4% of the latter are closed at intake, almost two-thirds (63.5%) involving Blacks are closed. The circumstances are reversed, however, for repeaters. Thus 46.8% of the repeater cases involving Caucasians are closed, but only 25.3% of those involving Blacks. In both groups, offenders who come from intact families and from families in which the father works in a

white-collar occupation are more likely to have their cases closed.

Community Agency Referrals at Intake (see Table 10)

The decisions made at intake can provide an indication of the degree to which the Center utilizes the resources contained in the network of agencies located in the community. In part, this reflects an inter-organizational problem among the elements of the social welfare system who are, directly or indirectly, involved in the treatment of juvenile offenders. At the more immediate level, the patterns of referrals reflect the attempts that the Center has made to provide treatment to these particular offenders.

In analyzing the data, we have made a distinction between cases that are closed without referrals and those that are closed with recommendation for treatment through a community agency. Certain cases are closed, in other words, with referral to community agencies, while others are closed without referral.

Referrals can be made in a structured and formal manner or casually and informally. The former mode characteristically involves a direct contact with the agency by the probation officer, a contact that involves information on the offender, the reasons for the referral, and other materials that may be of concern to the agency. An informal referral, on the other hand, may involve nothing more than the probation officer's suggestion that the offender might receive services from a given agency or, in some cases, from a general class of agencies. In our contacts with the agencies, we obtained some data relating to the types of referrals made in these cases. Although the data refer to all offenders who received treatment during the entire year of the project, we may assume that the percentages hold for the cases referred at intake. Moreover, since the data relate to offenders who actually appear at the agency, one may assume that they represent a lower figure than those who were actually referred from the Center. Given

TABLE 10, Social and Economic Characteristics of Diverted Offenders:
Referred and Terminated Cases

Variable	Referred		Terminated	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Prior Record:				
First Offender	7	33.3%	62	60.2%
Previously Referred	14	66.7	41	39.8 *
Sex:				
Male	17	81.0	69	67.0
Female	4	19.0	34	33.0
Race:				
White	15	71.4	63	61.2
Black	4	19.0	34	33.0
American Indian	0		1	1.0
Latin	2	9.5	4	3.9
Oriental	0		1	1.0
Age:				
8-9 years	0		1	1.0
10-11 years	1	4.8	2	1.9
12-13 years	3	14.3	13	12.6
14-15 years	11	52.4	36	34.9
16-17 years	5	23.8	47	45.6
18 + years	1	4.8	4	3.9
Family Status:				
Parents Together	11	52.4	58	56.3
Parents Separated/Divorced	10	47.6	45	43.7
Number of Children in Family:				
1-2	0		13	12.6
3-4	9	42.9	40	38.8
5-6	6	28.6	24	23.3
7-8	2	9.5	10	9.7
9-10	2	9.5	7	6.8
11-12	0		7	6.8
13 +	2	9.5	2	1.9
Number of Siblings Referred to Center:				
None	5	23.8	42	40.8
One	10	47.6	30	29.1
Two	4	19.0	17	16.5
Three	1	4.8	5	4.9
Four	0		4	3.9
Five	0		0	
Six	0		1	1.0
Seven	1	4.8	4	3.9

TABLE 10, continued

Variable	Referred		Terminated	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grade in School:				
K-6	2	9.5	6	5.8
7-8	8	38.1	23	22.3
9-12	5	23.8	55	53.4
Other	6	28.6	19	18.4
Occupation of Father:				
Professional/Technical	1	4.8	2	1.9
Manager/Official	0		3	2.9
Sales	0		6	5.8
Clerical	1	4.8	5	4.9
Craftsman/Foreman	1	4.8	8	7.8
Factory Operative	7	33.3	36	34.9
Laborers	5	23.8	16	15.5
Service	0		3	2.9
Unemployed	4	19.0	12	11.7
Unknown	2	9.5	12	11.7
Occupation of Mother:				
Professional/Technical	1	4.8	1	1.0
Sales	1	4.8	3	2.9
Clerical	2	9.6	15	14.6
Craftsman/Foreman	0		2	1.9
Factory Operative	2	9.6	10	9.7
Laborers	1	4.8	1	1.0
Service	2	9.6	19	18.4
Housewife	11	52.4	49	47.6
Unemployed	0		2	1.9
Unknown	1	4.8	1	1.0
Education of Father:				
Grade School Graduate	5	23.8	15	14.7
Some High School	7	33.3	39	36.9
High School Graduate	5	23.8	34	33.0
Some College	1	4.8	4	3.9
College Graduate	1	4.8	2	1.9
Graduate School	0		1	1.0
Other/Unknown	2	9.6	8	7.8
Education of Mother:				
Grade School Graduate	4	19.0	13	12.6
Some High School	5	23.8	36	34.9
High School Graduate	10	47.6	35	33.9
Some College	0		6	5.8
College Graduate	1	4.8	2	1.9
Technical School	0		1	1.0
Other/Unknown	1	4.8	10	9.7

TABLE 10, continued

Variable	Referred		Terminated		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Family Receives Public Aid:					
Yes	7	33.3	28	27.2	
No	14	66.7	75	72.8	
Nature of Offense:					
Misdemeanor	7	33.3	73	70.9	
Violation of Local Ordinance	0		3	2.9	
Child-Only Offenses	13	61.9	20	19.4	**
Felony	1	4.8	7	6.8	
Offender Acted Alone or With Others:					
Alone	16	76.2	41	39.8	
With One Other	1	4.8	30	29.1	**
With Two or More	2	9.6	31	30.1	
Other	2	9.6	1	1.0	
Offender Placed in Detention:					
Yes	12	57.1	19	18.4	
No	9	42.9	84	81.6	***
Probation Officers' Reasons for Action:					
Nature of the Offense	2	9.6	30	29.1	
Child's Attitudes and Attributes	1	4.8	47	45.6	
Offenders' Home Situation	4	19.0	17	16.5	***
Community Resources	10	47.6	3	2.9	
Court Policy	1	4.8	0		
Other	3	14.3	6	5.8	

* sig., .025
 ** sig., .005
 *** sig., .001

these restrictions, we may assume, nevertheless, that approximately one-half of these referrals were made on an informal basis.

The data indicate (Table 10) that relatively few cases were closed with a referral - formal or informal - to an outside agency. Of the 124 cases that were closed at intake, only 21 (5.9%) were referred. Among the first offenders, 10.1% of the cases that were closed at intake involved a referral for community services, and among the repeaters, 25.5% included referrals.

The differences between first offenders and repeaters may be explained, in part, by the fact that the repeaters were more likely to have had prior contacts with community agencies. Thus the referral in these cases simply represents an official acknowledgement of a pre-existing relationship.

These data clearly suggest that there has been little attempt to establish a coordinated pattern of referrals with community agencies. It is evident that the probation officers tend to rely upon their perceptions of the offender in making such decisions (45.6% of the reasons for terminating without referrals involve offender attitudes and attributes), and that the referrals which are made often involve nothing more than a re-affirmation of the prior relationship between the offender and the community agency (47.6%).

Decisions by the District Attorney (see Tables 9-14)

Of the 198 cases referred to the District Attorney's office, 135 were acted upon by filing a petition with the Court (37.8% of the total sample). In 16.7% of these cases, the District Attorney's decision was that there was no prosecutive merit, and thus the case was closed with or without continuing supervision (Tables 9 and 10).

Decisions made at the District Attorney's office are made primarily upon legal grounds. As we noted in the discussion of intake decisions (see also Appendix C), decision-making by the probation staff frequently involves variables that go beyond the immediate legal

TABLE 11, Decisions by The District Attorney's Office

Decision	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Has Prosecutive Merit	138	69.7%	47	65.3%	91	72.2%
2. Lacks Prosecutive Merit - Closed	30	15.2	16	22.2	14	11.1
3. Lacks Prosecutive Merit - Continued Supervision	3	1.5	0	-	3	2.4
4. Other	27	13.6	9	12.5	18	14.3

TABLE 12, Was Petition Filed?

Decision	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Yes	135	97.8%	46	97.9%	89	97.8%
2. No	3	2.2	1	2.1	2	2.2

concerns of the case to include a range of social and behavioral concerns. Since this is not generally the case in the District Attorney's office, the process of decision-making becomes less variable.

When we analyze the decisions made at this level in terms of the distinction between first offenders and repeaters (Table 11), we find certain differences. Somewhat fewer first offender cases are determined to have prosecutive merit (65.3% of those referred) and twice as many first offenders are closed without continued supervision (22.2% versus 11.1% for repeaters). If the parameters of decision-making at this level involve primarily or exclusively legal concerns, these differences suggest that the legal 'case' against the first offender may be less clear than is the case of the repeaters.

There are, moreover, a number of social and economic differences which can be found between these groups (Table 13). The first offenders who are referred to the District Attorney are more likely to be Caucasian (70.8%), with relatively few Blacks or other minority

TABLE 13, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders Referred to District Attorney: First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Sex:				
Male	64	88.9%	103	81.7%
Female	8	11.1	23	18.3
2. Race:				
Caucasian	51	70.8	59	46.8
Black	19	26.4	56	44.4
American Indian	1	1.4	3	2.4
Latin	1	1.4	8	6.3
3. Age:				
18	6	8.3	9	7.1
17	7	9.7	25	19.8
16	14	19.4	26	20.6
15	19	26.4	32	25.4
14	10	13.9	23	18.3
13	8	11.1	7	5.6
12	5	6.9	2	1.6
11	2	2.8	2	1.6
10	0	-	0	-
9	0	-	0	-
8	1	1.4	0	-
4. Place of Birth:				
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	55 (49)	76.4 (68.1)	96 (93)	76.2 (73.8)
Other Midwest	2	2.8	6	4.8
Northeast	1	1.4	0	-
Mid-Atlantic	2	2.8	1	.8
South	4	5.6	7	5.6
Southwest	0	-	1	.8
West	3	4.2	1	.8
Other/Unknown	5	6.9	12	9.3
5. Family Status:				
Intact	43	59.7	53	42.1
Broken	29	40.3	73	57.9
6. If Broken, Which Parent Absent:				
Father	23	79.3	59	80.8
Mother	5	17.2	6	8.2
Both	1	3.4	5	6.8
Other/Unknown	0	-	3	4.4
7. Number of Children in Family:				
One	0	-	6	4.8
Two	6	8.3	8	6.3
Three	18	25.0	18	14.3
Four	10	13.9	20	15.9
Five	10	13.9	19	15.1
Six	14	19.4	16	12.7
Seven	5	6.9	14	11.1
Eight	3	4.2	6	4.8
Nine	1	1.4	10	7.9
Ten or More	5	6.9	9	7.1

TABLE 13, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
8. Number of Siblings Referred to Center:				
None	45	62.5	46	36.5
One	13	18.1	34	27.0
Two	6	8.3	23	18.3
Three	6	8.3	10	7.9
Four	1	1.4	7	5.6
Five or More	1	1.4	6	4.8
9. Current School:				
None	4	5.6	5	6.3
Public Elementary				
Milwaukee - North	6	8.3	4	3.2
Milwaukee - South	1	1.4	2	1.6
Suburban	0	-	0	-
Private Elementary	4	5.6	1	.8
Public Junior High				
Milwaukee - North	16	22.2	33	26.2
Milwaukee - South	8	11.1	16	12.7
Public High School				
Milwaukee - North	10	13.9	37	29.3
Milwaukee - South	10	13.9	11	8.7
Suburban	3	4.2	4	3.2
Private High School	6	8.3	2	1.6
Institutions	0	-	7	5.6
Other	4	5.6	4	3.2
TOTALS:				
Milwaukee - Northside	32	44.4	74	58.7
Milwaukee - Southside	19	26.4	29	23.0
Suburban	3	4.1	4	3.2
Private	10	13.8	3	2.4
Institutions	0	-	7	5.6
Other	4	5.6	4	3.2
10. Occupation of Father:				
Professional	0	-	5	4.0
Manager	5	6.9	5	4.0
Sales	3	4.2	5	4.0
Clerical	5	6.9	4	3.2
Craftsman	11	15.3	17	13.5
Operative	21	29.2	32	25.4
Laborers	12	16.7	19	15.1
Service	4	5.6	11	8.7
Unemployed	1	1.4	10	7.9
Retired	2	2.8	1	.8
Other	3	4.2	8	6.3
Unknown	5	6.9	8	6.3

TABLE 13, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
11. Occupation of Mother:				
Professional	1	1.4	2	1.6
Manager	2	2.8	0	-
Sales	3	4.2	4	3.2
Clerical	8	11.1	8	6.3
Craftsman	0	-	2	1.6
Operative	8	11.1	8	6.3
Laborers	2	2.8	4	3.2
Service	13	18.1	23	18.3
Housewife	32	44.4	71	56.2
Unemployed	0	-	1	.8
Other	3	4.2	3	2.4
12. Education of Father:				
Grade School or Less	10	13.9	28	21.9
Some High School	22	30.6	34	27.0
High School Graduate	30	41.7	39	31.0
Some College	2	2.8	5	4.0
College Graduate	0	-	2	1.6
Graduate Work	0	-	3	2.4
Technical	0	-	1	.8
Other	2	2.8	1	.8
Unknown	6	8.3	13	10.3
13. Education of Mother:				
Grade School or Less	9	12.5	30	23.2
Some High School	23	31.9	38	30.2
High School Graduate	30	41.7	38	30.2
Some College	2	2.8	3	2.4
College Graduate	0	-	2	1.6
Graduate School	0	-	0	-
Technical	2	2.8	2	1.6
Other	0	-	3	2.4
Unknown	6	8.3	10	7.9
14. Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	12	16.7	57	45.2
No	60	83.3	69	54.8
15. Family has Received Public Aid in the Past:				
Yes	26	43.3	10	14.5
No	34	56.7	59	85.5

group members included. The repeaters, on the other hand, are less often Caucasian (46.8%) and more frequently Black (44.4%) or members of other minority groups.

First offenders are also more likely to come from intact homes than repeaters (59.7% versus 42.1%), and there is little indication of prior referrals from other siblings in the family. Both parents of the first offenders are better educated than those of the repeaters, and the families of first offenders are less dependent upon public funds (16.7% versus 45.2%).

When we examine the nature of the offenses, however, we note few differences between these groups (Table 14). In both groups, child-only offenses account for the largest proportion, and in both groups misdemeanors and felonies rank second and third, respectively. Both the first offenders and the repeaters were involved in offenses with other adolescents, and in almost one-half of both groups there were two or more other adolescents involved in the precipitating offense. The only variable which reveals significant differences is the use of detention, the repeaters clearly more often placed in detention (45.2%) than the first offenders (15.3%).

When we analyzed the data within a regression framework, the results indicated that no single variable was significantly associated with the decision outcomes (see Appendix C, Table 5). Relatively high associations were found, however, on the variables of prior record, race, and the occupation of the father.

This suggests that the decisions made by the District Attorney may not be made exclusively in terms of legal criteria. The fact that the repeater has a prior record may influence the decision and contribute to the differences that we find in the outcomes of the first offenders and the repeaters.

Court Decisions (see Tables 15-19)

The Court represents the final decision-making level within the Center. In a given case, the Court has a number of decision options (Table 15) available to it. For purposes of analysis, however, we may group these options into three alternatives, each one of which results in a different outcome for the offender. Thus the Court may close the case, it may continue supervision within the Center, or it may seek treatment or rehabilitation through the transfer of custody to an outside agency.²

In most of these cases the Court may choose to retain supervision within the Center (44.4%). Relatively few cases were closed at this point (6.5%), although a number were either held open or held as pending. In one-fourth of the cases the Court transferred custody, and in almost half the transfer was made to the State Department of Health and Social Services (Table 16).

The data indicate (Table 15) that there are differences between the decisions toward first offenders and repeaters. In almost two-thirds of the first offender cases, the Court decided to continue supervision within the Center, and in 44.7% of the cases this supervision was based upon a 'held open' decision. The first offenders were seldom placed, or were rarely subject to a transfer of custody decision (6.4%), and their cases were rarely closed without any form of supervision (4.3%).

The repeaters, on the other hand, were much more likely to be involved in a transfer of custody decision (37.4%). The use of supervision within the Center was considerably lower than for first offenders (37.4%), and in most cases the supervision was provided within the framework of a 'formal supervision' decision.

The groups referred to the Court display social and economic

2. The Court may, of course, decide not to make a decision but to hold a case as 'pending'. At some point, however, such cases will presumably be heard and subject to one of these decision outcomes.

TABLE 14, Factors relating to the Precipitating Offense:
First Offenders and Repeaters Referred to District Attorney

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Source of Referral:	66	91.7%	118	93.7%
Police Department	0	-	0	-
Public Welfare Department	3	4.2	1	.8
Family	2	2.8	5	4.0
School	3	4.2	2	1.6
Other			43	34.1
2. Nature of Offense:	27	37.5	1	.8
Misdemeanor	1	1.4	23	18.3
Ordinance Violation	11	15.3	55	43.7
Felony	32	44.4	4	3.2
Child-Only	1	1.4		
Other			33	26.2
3. Child Acted Alone or with Others:	18	25.0	23	18.3
Alone	15	20.8	60	47.6
With One Other	35	48.6	10	7.9
With Two or More	4	5.6		
Unknown			57	45.2
4. Child Held in Detention:	11	15.3	69	54.8
Yes	61	84.7		
No				

TABLE 15, Court Disposition of Cases

	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Closed	9	6.5%	2	4.3%	7	7.7%
2. Held Open	26	18.8	21	44.7	5	5.5
3. CHINS	11	7.9	4	8.5	7	7.7
4. Formal Supervision	33	23.9	11	23.4	22	24.2
5. Transfer of Custody	37	26.8	3	6.4	34	37.4
6. Pending	22	15.9	6	12.8	16	17.6

TABLE 16, Agencies Involved in Custody Transfers

	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Milwaukee Co. DFW	14	37.8%	2	66.6%	12	35.3%
2. State DHSS	18	48.6	1	33.3	17	50.0
3. Both	5	13.5	0	-	5	14.7

TABLE 17, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders Referred to Court: First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Sex:				
Male	41	89.1%	69	77.5%
Female	5	10.9	20	22.5
2. Race:				
Caucasian	29	63.0	44	49.4
Oriental	0	-	0	-
Black	15	32.6	39	43.8
American Indian	1	2.2	2	2.2
Latin	1	2.2	4	4.5
3. Age:				
18	2	4.3	8	9.0
17	4	8.7	19	21.3
16	10	21.7	20	22.5
15	16	34.8	20	22.5
14	6	13.0	17	19.1
13	5	10.9	3	3.4
12	2	4.3	1	1.1
11	1	2.2	1	1.1
10	0	-	0	-
4. Place of Birth:				
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	34	73.9	69	77.5
Other Midwest	(28)	(60.9)	(68)	(76.4)
Northeast	2	4.3	7	7.9
Mid-Atlantic	0	-	0	-
South	1	2.2	0	-
Southwest	2	4.3	6	6.7
West	1	2.2	1	1.1
Other	1	2.2	0	-
Other	3	6.5	6	6.7
5. Family Status:				
Intact	26	56.5	38	42.7
Broken	20	43.5	51	57.3
6. If Broken, Which Parent Absent:				
Father	17	85.0	42	82.4
Mother	3	15.0	5	9.8
Both	0	-	2	3.9
Unknown	0	-	2	3.9
7. Number of Children in Family, Excluding Offender:				
One	0	-	4	4.5
Two	4	8.7	7	7.9
Three	12	26.1	11	12.4
Four	6	13.0	14	15.7
Five	7	15.2	16	18.0
Six	7	15.2	10	11.2
Seven	3	6.5	10	11.2
Eight	2	4.3	3	3.4
Nine	1	2.2	5	5.6
Ten or More	4	8.7	9	10.1

TABLE 17, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
8. Number of Siblings Referred to Center:				
None	27	58.7	37	41.6
One	9	19.6	20	22.5
Two	3	6.5	16	18.0
Three	6	13.0	4	4.5
Four	1	2.2	6	6.7
Five or More	0	-	6	6.7
9. Current School:				
None (High School Graduate)	0	-	5	5.6
Public Elementary				
Milwaukee - Northside	5	10.9	3	3.4
Milwaukee - Southside	1	2.2	0	-
Suburban	0	-	0	-
Private Elementary	0	-	0	-
Public Junior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	10	21.7	20	22.5
Milwaukee - Southside	7	15.2	11	12.4
Public Senior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	8	17.4	23	25.8
Milwaukee - Southside	4	8.7	8	8.9
Suburban	6	13.0	7	7.9
Private High School	2	4.3	1	1.1
Institutions	0	-	7	7.9
Other	0	-	2	2.2
Unknown	2	4.3	2	2.2
TOTALS				
Milwaukee - North	23	50.0	46	51.7
Milwaukee - South	12	26.1	19	21.3
Suburban	6	13.0	7	7.9
Private	2	4.3	1	1.1
10. Occupation of Father:				
Professional	0	-	3	3.4
Manager	2	4.3	1	1.1
Sales	2	4.3	1	1.1
Clerical	3	6.5	3	3.4
Craftsman	8	17.4	13	14.6
Operatives	15	32.6	24	26.9
Laborers	7	15.2	16	17.9
Service	2	4.3	8	8.9
Unemployed	2	4.3	6	6.7
Retired	1	2.2	1	1.1
Other	4	8.7	7	7.9
Unknown	0	-	4	4.5

TABLE 17, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
11. Occupation of Mother:				
Professional	1	2.2	1	1.1
Manager	1	2.2	0	-
Sales	2	4.3	0	-
Clerical	5	10.9	1	1.1
Craftsman	0	-	2	2.2
Operatives	7	15.2	8	8.9
Laborers	1	2.2	3	3.4
Service	6	13.0	15	16.9
Housewife	21	45.7	50	56.2
Other	2	4.3	2	2.2
12. Education of Father:				
Grade School or Less	8	17.4	19	21.3
Some High School	16	34.8	26	29.2
High School Graduate	16	34.8	28	31.5
Some College	0	-	2	2.2
College Graduate	0	-	2	2.2
Graduate Work	0	-	1	1.1
Technical	0	-	1	1.1
Other	1	2.2	1	1.1
Unknown	5	10.9	9	10.1
13. Education of Mother:				
Grade School or Less	8	17.4	23	25.8
Some High School	15	32.6	28	31.5
High School Graduate	17	37.0	24	27.0
Some College	1	2.2	2	2.2
College Graduate	0	-	1	1.1
Graduate Work	0	-	0	-
Technical	0	-	2	2.2
Other	0	-	2	2.2
Unknown	5	10.9	7	7.9
14. Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	10	21.7	41	46.1
No	36	78.6	48	53.9
15. Family has Received Public Aid:				
Yes	23	63.9	35	72.9
No	13	36.1	13	27.1

TABLE 18, Factors Relating to Precipitating Offense:
First Offenders and Repeaters Referred to Court

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Source of Referral:				
Police Department	42	91.3%	80	89.9%
Public Welfare	0	-	0	-
Family	0	-	1	1.1
School	3	6.5	5	5.6
Other	1	2.2	3	3.3
2. Nature of Offense:				
Misdemeanor	16	34.8	29	32.6
Ordinance Violation	0	-	1	1.1
Felony	7	15.2	21	23.6
Child-Only	23	50.0	37	41.6
Other	0	-	1	1.1
3. Child Acted Alone or With Others:				
Alone	13	28.3	27	30.3
With One Other	6	13.0	17	19.1
With Two or More	26	56.5	38	42.7
Other	1	2.2	7	7.8
4. At Time of Offense, Child Placed in Detention:				
Yes	8	17.4	49	55.1
No	38	82.6	40	44.9

TABLE 19, Referral Rates between Decision-Making Points within the Court Center, by Type of Offense

Offense	Percent Referred From:							
	(1) Intake		(2) Intake to DA		(3) DA to Court		(4) Intake to Court	
	First Offend.	Repeaters	First Offend.	Repeaters	First Offend.	Repeaters	First Offend.	Repeaters
1. Misdemeanor	52.9%	46.5%	32.9%	45.7%	59.3%	67.4%	19.5%	30.9%
2. Felony	23.9	19.3	29.7	58.9	63.7	91.3	18.9	53.8
3. Child-Only	21.9	29.7	94.1	91.7	71.9	67.3	67.6	61.7

characteristics that are, for the most part, consistent with the findings relevant to the earlier decision points in the Center. That is, the first offenders are more likely to be Caucasian, they are somewhat younger, they come from intact families, they have fewer siblings who have been referred to the Court, and their families are less apt to be dependent upon public assistance funds. Nevertheless, when we compare the group of first offenders with those who were referred to the District Attorney (Table 15), it is evident that the process of selection involved in this series of decisions tends to produce a group of first offenders who resemble the repeaters. The initial differences between the first offenders and the repeaters has, by this time, narrowed to the point where there are a number of similarities between them.

One possible explanation is that the selection process weeds out offenders who do not resemble the repeaters and refers those who are most like them. Of the first offenders who were referred to the District Attorney, for example, 58.8% of the Caucasians are in turn referred to the Court, versus 78.9% of the Blacks; similarly, 60.5% of those from intact families are referred to the Court versus 68.9% of those from broken homes; and, while 60.0% of those from families who do not receive public funds are referred, 83.3% whose families do receive such funds are referred to the Court.

When we examine the nature of the offense and the circumstances surrounding it we find few differences between these two groups. Relatively more first offenders are referred on child-only offenses, and fewer are referred on felony charges. In most of these cases the offender acted in concert with two or more accomplices. The use of detention at the time of the initial referral does differ, once again, with more than one-half of the repeaters involved in detention as opposed to just 17.4% of the first offenders. The issue of the type of offense and its possible relationship to these decision-making processes will be

explored in greater detail in the following sub-section.

Summary and Conclusions

The data indicate that initial differences between the first offenders and the repeaters are maintained throughout the decision-making processes associated with the Court Center. It is also suggested, however, that the distance between these two groups becomes narrower as the cases move through each of the levels associated with the decision processes. At the final decision-making point, therefore, the first offenders begin to resemble the repeaters even though clear differences remain.

One of the things that this implies is that, while the first offenders are a distinct population within the total universe served by the Center, they are not necessarily a single or a unitary population. Within the population of first offenders there are relatively distinct sub-groups. One of these sub-groups tends to resemble the population of repeaters, and it is precisely this sub-group that becomes involved in the process of referrals from intake to the District Attorney and thence to the Court.

A second trend that is evident in the data relates to the types of offenses that are involved in the internal referral process. As Table 19 indicates, first offenders who are confronted with a Court appearance heavily tend to be those who were initially referred on child-only offenses. Two-thirds of those who were initially referred on child-only offenses remain within the system throughout the referral process and ultimately reach the Court. On the other hand, only 19.5% of the misdemeanor offenses and 18.9% of the original felony offenses are subject to this process. A similar trend is evident among the repeaters, although in this case both felony offenses and child-only offenses are subject to the full referral process, i.e., subject to Court appearance.

One of the reasons for this may be that child-only offenses are unique to the juvenile justice system. The standards for proof may not be as rigorous and are more consistent with the traditional moral climate that has pervaded such institutions.³

3. Cf. Anthony Platt, *The Child Savers - The Invention of Delinquency*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1969.

Section 3, Patterns of Service in the Center and In The Community

Services by Probation Officers (see Tables 20-24, Figure 1)

The probation staff provides a variety of services for the offender.

We have analyzed these services in terms of eleven different and presumably distinct types of contacts:

- a. Individual counselling
- b. Referrals
- c. Home visits
- d. School contacts
- e. Phone contacts with the offender or his family
- f. Court appearance
- g. Court preparation
- h. Placement planning
- i. Arranging psychological evaluation
- j. Liaison with the state or county
- k. Detention visits

These services are also analyzed in three general categories, the distinctions based on the objectives of the particular service and the person or persons involved. Thus we may refer to services that involve direct contact with the offender, those that focus on the operations and administrative procedures related to the Center, and those that involve contact with community agencies or institutions.

Almost half the offenders included in the sample received one or more services from the probation staff during the course of the project. In general, repeaters were more likely to receive these services, but the differences may be accounted for, in part at least, by the larger number of repeaters who were included in the sample. In the same sense, males were more likely to receive services than females, and younger offenders were more likely to receive them than older offenders.

TABLE 20, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders:
Received and did not Receive Services from Court Probation Staff

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Received Services (Percent)</u>	<u>Did Not Receive Services (Percent)</u>
1. Type of Offender:		
First Offenders	40.1%	46.8%
Repeaters	59.9	53.2
2. Sex:		
Male	81.2	75.0
Female	18.8	25.0
3. Race:		
Caucasian	57.8	59.3
Oriental	.6	.5
Black	36.5	34.0
American Indian	1.8	1.1
Latin	3.3	5.1
4. Age:		
16-18	38.9	49.0
13-15	55.3	43.3
12 and Younger	5.8	7.5
5. Place of Birth:		
Wisconsin	80.2	76.1
(Milwaukee)	72.9	71.3
Other Midwest	5.2	2.9
East and Northeast	1.5	2.4
South	5.2	6.9
West and Southwest	1.5	1.9
Other	6.4	9.8
6. Family Status:		
Intact	50.2	53.5
Broken	49.8	46.5
7. Number of Children in Family, Excluding Offender:		
1	27.7	26.3
4-6	45.2	50.5
6-9	20.4	18.1
10 or More	6.7	5.1
8. Number of Siblings Referred to Center:		
None	39.5	44.1
One	27.1	25.5
Two	12.8	17.0
Three	13.7	5.3
Four or More	6.9	7.9
9. Family Currently Receives Public Aid:		
Yes	36.2	30.3
No	63.8	69.7

TABLE 20, continued

Variable	Received Services (Percent)	Did Not Receive Services (Percent)
10. Current School:		
None	2.1	4.5
Elementary		
Milwaukee - Northside	6.4	7.2
Milwaukee - Southside	1.5	1.1
Private/Parochial	1.2	3.9
Junior High School		
Milwaukee - Northside	24.9	20.7
Milwaukee - Southside	16.7	8.2
High School		
Milwaukee - Northside	23.1	23.7
Milwaukee - Southside	8.8	9.8
Private/Parochial	2.4	4.8
Suburban	4.6	8.5
Institutions	3.3	4.5
Other	2.0	3.2
Unknown	1.5	.5
11. Occupation of Father:		
White Collar	12.9	18.1
Blue Collar	70.9	59.0
Unemployed	7.9	7.2
Retired	.9	1.3
Other	8.3	14.4
12. Occupation of Mother:		
White Collar	11.2	18.6
Blue Collar	16.1	7.9
Service	14.9	21.3
Housewife	55.3	48.7
Other	2.4	3.5
13. Education of Father:		
Grade School or Less	17.9	17.0
High School	64.1	66.2
College	4.6	8.2
Other	13.4	8.5
14. Education of Mother:		
Grade School or Less	18.8	17.0
High School	65.3	67.3
College	5.7	5.1
Other	10.3	10.6

TABLE 21, Offense-Related Characteristics of Offenders:
Received and did not Receive Services from Court Probation Staff

Variable	Received Services (Percent)	Did Not Receive Services (Percent)
1. Source of Original Referral:		
Police Department	91.5%	92.6%
Public Welfare	-	.5
Family	1.8	1.1
School	3.9	.8
Other	2.7	5.0
2. Nature of Precipitating Offense:		
Misdemeanor	40.1	57.4
Ordinance Violation	.9	1.9
Felony	21.6	22.1
Child-Only	33.7	18.1
Other	3.6	.5
3. Child Acted Alone or With Others:		
Alone	31.3	37.8
With One Other Child	20.7	21.0
With Two or More	43.2	36.2
Other	4.9	5.1
4. Child Placed in Detention:		
Yes	29.8	30.2
No	70.2	69.8

There is some indication that offenders from families in which the father is employed in blue-collar occupations were more likely to receive services than those from white-collar families. Finally, offenders who were referred on child-only offenses were more likely to receive services than those referred for misdemeanors.

What this suggests -- and the data tends to support the interpretation -- is that the offenders who received services were those whose cases were not closed at intake. The cases that were referred, in other words, to the District Attorney and to the Court would presumably require more services because of the administrative work associated with them, and because they were maintained within the system for a longer period of time.

There were a total of 994 service contacts made during the months following the initial intake contacts, that is, between the second and the

TABLE 22, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders Who Received Services from Probation Staff: First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Sex:				
Male	54	77.1%	89	84.8%
Female	16	22.9	16	15.2
2. Race:				
Caucasian	47	67.1	55	52.4
Oriental	0	-	1	1.0
Black	22	31.4	40	38.1
American Indian	1	1.4	2	1.9
Latin	0	-	7	6.7
3. Age:				
18	1	1.4	4	3.8
17	7	10.0	20	19.0
16	15	21.4	23	21.9
15	23	32.9	29	27.6
14	11	15.7	20	19.0
13	8	11.4	6	5.7
12	3	4.3	2	1.9
11	1	1.4	1	1.0
10	0	-	0	-
9	1	1.4	0	-
4. Place of Birth:				
Wisconsin	55	78.6	83	79.0
(Milwaukee)	(48)	(68.6)	(78)	(74.3)
Other Midwest	3	4.3	6	5.7
Northeast	0	-	1	1.0
Mid-Atlantic	2	2.9	1	1.0
South	2	2.9	5	4.8
Southwest	0	-	1	1.0
West	1	1.4	1	1.0
Other	6	8.6	7	6.7
5. Family Status:				
Intact	42	60.0	47	44.8
Broken	28	40.0	58	55.2
6. Number of Children in Family, Excluding Offender:				
One	2	2.9	4	3.8
Two	4	5.7	11	10.5
Three	18	25.7	13	12.4
Four	13	18.6	17	16.2
Five	9	12.9	16	15.2
Six	10	14.3	14	13.3
Seven	2	2.9	7	6.7
Eight	4	5.7	8	7.6
Nine	3	4.3	8	7.6
Ten or More	5	7.1	7	6.7

TABLE 22, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
7. Number of Siblings Referred:				
None	34	48.6	38	36.2
One	21	30.0	29	27.6
Two	6	8.6	14	13.3
Three	6	8.6	11	10.5
Four	2	2.9	6	5.7
Five or More	1	1.4	7	6.7
8. Current School:				
None	0	-	5	4.8
Public Elementary				
Milwaukee - Northside	8	11.4	2	1.9
Milwaukee - Southside	1	1.4	1	1.0
Suburban	0	-	0	-
Private Elementary	0	-	2	1.9
Public Junior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	18	25.7	26	24.8
Milwaukee - Southside	10	14.3	19	18.1
Public High School				
Milwaukee - Northside	10	14.3	27	25.7
Milwaukee - Southside	7	10.0	9	8.6
Suburban	8	11.4	2	1.9
Private High School	4	5.7	1	1.0
Institution	0	-	6	5.7
Other	0	-	2	1.9
Unknown	3	4.3	3	2.9
9. Occupation of Father:				
Professional	2	2.9	3	2.9
Manager	1	1.4	4	3.8
Sales	4	5.7	2	1.9
Clerical	2	2.9	6	5.7
Craftsman	10	14.3	12	11.4
Operatives	25	35.7	29	27.6
Laborers	12	17.1	24	22.9
Service	3	4.3	8	7.6
Unemployed	4	5.7	7	6.7
Retired	1	1.4	0	-
Other	4	5.7	4	3.8
Unknown	2	2.9	6	5.7
10. Occupation of Mother:				
Professional	1	1.4	3	2.9
Manager	1	1.4	0	-
Sales	4	5.7	3	2.9
Clerical	5	7.1	3	2.9
Craftsman	1	1.4	2	1.9
Operative	12	17.1	9	8.6
Laborers	1	1.4	3	2.9
Service	10	14.3	17	16.2
Housewife	32	45.7	61	58.1
Other	3	4.3	4	3.8

TABLE 22, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
11. Education of Father:				
Grade School or Less	9	12.9	23	21.9
Some High School	26	37.1	33	31.4
High School Graduate	22	31.4	29	27.6
Some College	1	1.4	3	2.9
College Graduate	1	1.4	2	1.9
Graduate Work	1	1.4	1	1.0
Technical	0	-	1	1.0
Other	2	2.8	2	1.9
Unknown	8	11.4	11	10.5
12. Education of Mother:				
Grade School or Less	8	11.4	21	20.0
Some High School	23	32.9	36	34.3
High School Graduate	29	41.4	28	26.7
Some College	3	4.3	4	3.8
College Graduate	0	-	2	1.9
Graduate Work	0	-	0	-
Technical	1	1.4	1	1.0
Other	0	-	3	2.9
Unknown	6	8.6	10	9.5
13. Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	16	22.9	45	42.9
No	54	77.1	60	57.1

twelfth month of the project (Table 24). Of these, 963 (96.9%) were made with cases that were open after the intake decision. The bulk of these services involved direct contact with the offender (80.9%), and the most frequent contact involved individual counselling (59.5%). In 9.6% of these contacts the purpose was court appearance or preparation for such appearance, and in 9.4% the contacts involved community agencies and the search for resources.

The mean number of contacts per case for the total sample is 2.78 (Table 24). Among cases that are referred to the District Attorney or the Court, the mean number of contacts increases proportionately, 4.86 for cases referred to the District Attorney and 6.98 for those referred to the Court. The apparent differences between first offender

TABLE 23, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders Who Received No Services: First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Sex:				
Male	58	68.2	74	79.6
Female	27	31.8	19	20.4
2. Race:				
Caucasian	50	58.8	54	58.1
Oriental	1	1.2	0	-
Black	30	35.3	33	35.5
American Indian	1	1.2	1	1.1
Latin	3	3.5	5	5.4
3. Age:				
18	7	8.2	9	9.7
17	11	12.9	22	23.7
16	17	20.0	20	21.5
15	17	20.0	20	21.5
14	11	12.9	14	15.1
13	10	11.8	5	5.4
12	8	9.4	1	1.1
11	3	3.5	2	2.2
10	0	-	0	-
9	0	-	0	-
8	1	1.2	0	-
4. Place of Birth:				
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	63	74.1	74	79.3
Other Midwest	(59)	(69.4)	(70)	(75.3)
Northeast	2	2.4	3	3.2
Mid-Atlantic	1	1.2	0	-
South	1	1.2	1	1.1
Southwest	6	7.1	7	7.5
West	0	-	1	1.1
Other	2	2.4	0	-
Other	9	10.6	5	5.4
5. Family Status:				
Intact	50	58.8	44	47.3
Broken	35	41.2	49	52.7
6. Number of Children in Family, Excluding Offender:				
One	0	-	2	2.2
Two	10	11.8	4	4.3
Three	16	18.8	12	12.9
Four	14	16.5	20	21.5
Five	12	14.1	14	15.1
Six	13	15.3	13	14.0
Seven	11	12.9	14	15.1
Eight	1	1.2	1	1.1
Nine	2	2.4	8	8.6
Ten or More	6	7.1	5	5.4

TABLE 23, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
7. Number of Siblings Referred:				
None	46	54.1	33	35.5
One	16	18.8	27	29.0
Two	13	15.3	20	21.5
Three	5	5.9	6	6.5
Four	2	2.4	4	4.3
Five or More	5	5.9	3	3.2
8. Present School:				
None	5	5.9	2	2.2
Public Elementary				
Milwaukee - Northside	9	10.6	5	5.4
Milwaukee - Southside	1	1.2	2	2.2
Suburban	0	-	0	-
Private Elementary	5	5.8	2	2.2
Public Junior High				
Milwaukee - Northside	14	16.5	23	24.7
Milwaukee - Southside	9	10.6	4	4.3
Public High School				
Milwaukee - Northside	17	20.0	23	24.7
Milwaukee - Southside	7	8.2	11	11.8
Suburban	8	9.4	8	8.6
Private High School	6	7.1	2	2.2
Institution	0	-	8	8.6
Other	4	4.7	3	3.2
9. Occupation of Father:				
Professional	1	1.2	4	4.3
Manager	8	9.4	2	2.2
Sales	4	4.7	4	4.3
Clerical	5	5.9	3	3.2
Craftsman	10	11.8	7	7.5
Operatives	22	25.9	27	29.0
Laborers	11	12.9	18	19.3
Service	3	3.5	3	3.2
Unemployed	5	5.9	10	10.7
Retired	1	1.2	2	2.2
Other	6	7.1	8	8.6
Unknown	9	10.6	5	5.4
10. Occupation of Mother:				
Professional	0	-	1	1.1
Manager	1	1.2	0	-
Sales	2	2.4	2	2.2
Clerical	13	15.3	14	15.1
Craftsman	1	1.2	0	-
Operatives	5	5.9	8	8.6
Laborers	2	2.4	2	2.2
Service	18	21.2	19	20.4
Housewife	41	48.2	43	46.2
Unemployed	1	1.2	1	1.1
Student	0	-	1	1.1
Other	1	1.2	1	1.1

TABLE 23, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
11. Education of Father:				
Grade School or Less	10	11.8	19	20.4
Some High School	23	27.1	30	32.3
High School Graduate	37	43.5	30	32.5
Some College	4	4.7	4	4.3
College Graduate	1	1.2	1	1.1
Graduate School	1	1.2	3	3.2
Technical	0	-	0	-
Other	3	3.5	1	1.1
Unknown	6	7.1	5	5.4
12. Education of Mother:				
Grade School or Less	13	15.3	18	19.3
Some High School	22	25.9	33	35.5
High School Graduate	37	43.5	29	31.2
Some College	5	5.9	2	2.2
College Graduate	1	1.2	2	2.2
Graduate School	0	-	0	-
Technical	2	2.4	1	1.1
Other	0	-	3	3.2
Unknown	5	5.9	5	5.4
13. Family Receives Public Aid:				
Yes	21	24.7	35	37.6
No	64	75.3	58	62.4

and repeater cases are primarily a function of size of sample; for both groups the means are similar at each of these case levels.

First offenders, however, are more likely to be the recipients of services that involve direct contact (86.3%) than the repeaters (77.9%). On the other hand, the latter group is more often involved in services relating to community contacts than the first offenders (12.7% versus 3.7%).

The offenders who received services resemble those referred to the District Attorney or the Court. That is, more males than females are involved in services, younger offenders tend to receive services more frequently than older ones, offenders from families in which the father and mother are employed in blue-collar occupations receive

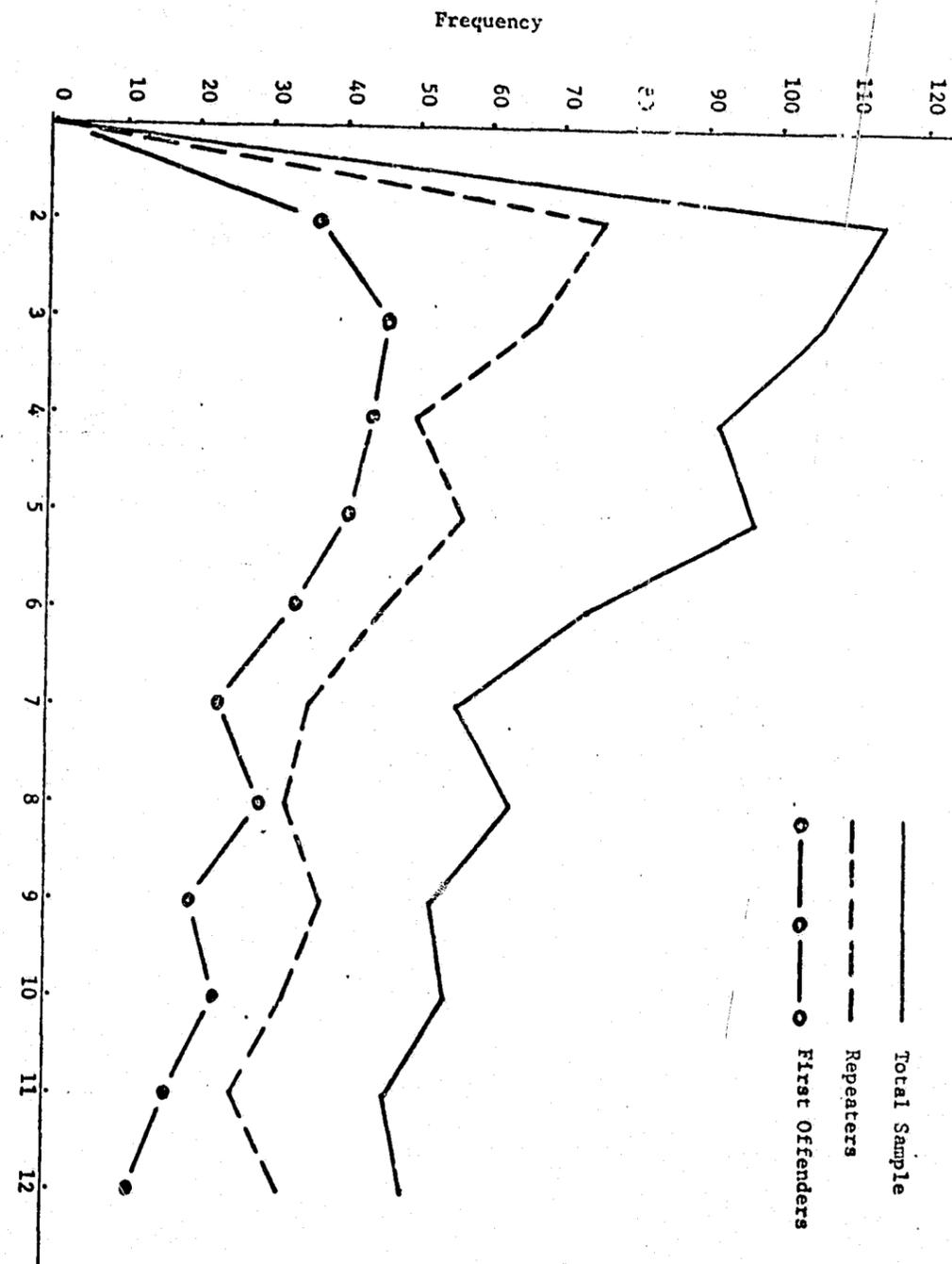
TABLE 24, Probation Officer Services: Total, First Offender, and Repeater Cases

	Total	First Offenders	Repeaters
Closed Cases:			
No Services	2,392	1,206	1,185
Counselling	26	10	16
Referrals	3	2	1
Liaison	1	-	1
Detention Visits	1	1	-
Open Cases:			
Counselling	565	208	357
Referrals	24	3	21
Home Visits	180	71	109
Contacts with Schools	4	4	-
Phone Contacts	35	23	12
Court Appearances	69	25	44
Court Preparation	23	10	13
Placement Planning	2	-	2
Arranging Psychological Evaluation	16	3	13
Liaison with WDHSS, MCDPW	45	3	42
None	570	133	437
TOTAL	994	363	631
Total (Open Cases)	963	350	613
Mean (Total Sample)	2.78	2.34	3.12
Mean (Cases to DA)	4.86	4.86	4.87
Mean (Cases to Court)	6.98	7.45	6.74
Mean (Per Month)	90.36	33.00	57.36

more services than those from professional families, and offenders whose initial offense involved a child-only crime are more likely to receive services.

These same distinctions hold when we control for the initial status of the offender. Thus among the first offenders (Tables 22 and 23), proportionately more males receive services, more Caucasians, more offenders from families where siblings have had prior contact with the Center, and more offenders from families which are blue-collar in occupational status. Similar differences exist between the repeaters

FIGURE 1, Services Involving Direct Client Contacts by Probation Staff: Total, First Offender and Repeater Cases



who receive services and those who do not receive them.

As one might expect, there is a correlation between periods of intense services and the progression of the offender through the various levels associated with the Court Center. As Figure 1 indicates, the most intense period of service contacts occurs during the first six months of contact with the Center. This holds, moreover, for both first offenders and repeaters. The pattern is undoubtedly connected with the decisions that are made about these cases during this initial period. It is also related, as we will discuss in the following section, to the rates of recidivism found among these offenders.

Community Agency and Placement Services (see Tables 25-30)

A total of 98 cases, 27.5% of the sample, were referred to various community agencies for services. More than half these cases were either not accepted or not seen at the agency. In 12.2% of the cases the agency had no record of the referral or the offender; in 10.2% the offender never appeared for treatment; and in 8.2% the offender terminated treatment after the initial contacts with the agency.

Of the 44 cases that received services from these agencies, most of the referrals were made for school or school-related problems (41.2%). In 29.5% of the cases the referral was initiated in order to obtain particular types of treatment or of therapists, and in 22.7% the referral was made because of the offenders' delinquent behaviors.

Eighty cases among the sample were involved with placement services and treatment (22.4%). In 28.8% of these cases, the placement was made for child-only offenses and the behaviors associated with such offenses. In 8.8%, the placement was made because the home situation was considered inadequate. The majority of placements were made for either current or prior delinquency (63.8%).

In general, these placements were made in residential treatment centers (30.0%). Institutional placements were made in 27.5% of the

TABLE 25, Patterns of Service from Community Agencies:
First Offenders and Repeaters

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Referred by Court Center	23	14.8%*	75	37.2%*
1. Interview Status				
A. Completed Interviews	9	39.1	35	46.7
B. Incomplete: Reasons				
1. No Agency record of a referral	5	21.7	7	9.3
2. Client did not show	1	4.3	9	12.1
3. Client Terminated	2	8.7	6	8.0
4. Non-cooperation	1	4.3	3	4.0
5. Non-response	5	21.7	12	16.0
6. Pending	0	-	3	4.0
2. Type of Referral				
A. Court Ordered	3	33.3	22	52.4 +
B. Voluntary	6	66.7	19	45.2
C. Other	0	-	1	2.4
3. Reasons for Referral				
A. School Behavior or Truancy	1	9.1	20	50.0
B. History of Delinquency	3	27.3	6	15.0
C. Needed Specific Treatment	3	27.3	4	10.0
D. Needed Specific Therapist	1	9.1	5	12.5
E. Prior Contacts	1	9.1	3	7.5
F. Specific Offense	0	-	1	2.5
G. Parents Request	1	9.1	1	2.5
H. P.O. Decision	1	9.1	0	-
4. Reasons for Agency Accepting Case				
A. Inapplicable, Not Accepted	14	60.9	33	44.0
B. Court Order	0	-	5	6.7
C. Identified Problem Child	2	8.7	9	12.0
D. Needs of the School	1	4.3	7	9.3
E. Agency Policy	1	4.3	14	18.7
F. Special Case	4	17.4	5	6.7
G. Felt Client was Receptive	1	4.3	2	2.7
5. Case Still Active				
A. Yes	4	44.4	24	57.1
B. No	5	55.6	18	42.3

* Percent of Total Referrals.

+ Since the available data varies, percentages are computed in relationship to the variable under consideration.

TABLE 25, continued

Variable	First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
5. Length of Contact				
A. Inapplicable, No Contact	15	65.2	40	53.3
B. One Month or Less	1	4.3	2	2.7
C. Two through Four Months	4	17.4	10	13.3
D. Five through Seven Months	2	8.7	13	17.3
E. Eight Months or Longer	1	4.3	10	13.3
7. Number of Contact Hours per Week				
A. Inapplicable, No Contacts	16	69.7	43	57.3
B. One or Two Hours	5	21.7	12	16.0
C. Three or Four Hours	0	-	0	-
D. Five or More Hours	2	8.7	20	26.7
8. Treatment Objectives				
A. Employment/Employability	1	4.3	8	10.7
B. Behavior Change	1	4.3	9	12.0
C. Improved Self-Image	3	13.0	11	14.7
D. Academic Skills and Resources	1	4.3	13	17.3
E. Adjustment to School	1	4.3	11	14.7
F. Adjustment to Family	3	13.0	3	4.0
G. No Specified Objectives	2	8.7	6	8.0
H. Inapplicable, No Treatment	11	47.8	14	18.7
9. Primary Treatment Methods				
A. Job Training	1	4.3	8	10.7
B. Group Treatment	1	4.3	8	10.7
C. Individual Treatment	4	17.4	19	25.3
D. Academic Preparation	1	4.3	14	18.7
E. Family Treatment	1	4.3	4	5.3
F. Work with the P.O.	1	4.3	3	4.0
G. Inapplicable, No Treatment	14	60.9	19	25.3
10. Level of Rapport with Client				
A. High	3	13.0	18	24.0
B. Medium	2	8.7	12	16.0
C. Low	1	4.3	3	4.0
D. Unknown/Inapplicable	17	73.9	42	56.0
11. Likelihood of Further Trouble				
A. High	1	4.3	15	20.0
B. Unlikely	0	-	5	6.7
C. Depends on the Circumstances	5	21.7	12	16.0
D. Unknown/Inapplicable	17	73.9	43	57.3
12. Contacts with the P.O.				
A. Yes	4	17.4	33	44.0
B. No	4	17.4	2	2.7
C. Inapplicable	15	65.2	40	53.3

TABLE 26, Patterns of Service Through Placement: Total

Variable	Number	Percent
Total Offenders Placed	80	22.4%*
1. Reason for Placement		
A. Delinquent Behavior	48	60.0
B. Prior Offenses	3	3.8
C. Runaway	6	7.5
D. Truancies	4	5.0
E. Uncontrollable	13	16.3
F. Poor Home Conditions	7	8.8
G. Custody Extended	4	5.0
H. Unknown, Records not Available at Department of Public Welfare	12	15.0
2. Custody Transferred		
A. Department of Public Welfare	25	31.3
B. State Department of Health and Social Services	30	37.5
C. Both	9	11.3
D. Transfer of Custody	4	5.0
E. Unknown, Records not Available	12	15.0
3. Type of Placement		
A. Foster Home	4	5.0
B. Group Foster Home	3	3.8
C. Residential Treatment	24	30.0
D. State Institution	22	27.5
E. Placed in Own Home	10	12.5
F. Placement Pending	2	2.5
G. Other	3	3.8
H. Unknown, Records not Available	12	15.0
4. Treatment Methods		
A. Individual Treatment	25	31.3
B. Group Treatment	4	5.0
C. Psychotherapy	2	2.5
D. Other Therapies	4	5.0
E. Vocational Guidance	11	13.8
F. Medical Care	4	5.0
G. Family Therapy	8	10.0
H. Other	8	10.0
I. Unknown, Records not Available	12	15.0

* Refers to the Percent of Total Referrals.

TABLE 26, continued

Variable	Number	Percent
5. Goals of Placement		
A. Personality Changes	17 ⁺	20.7
B. Behavior Adjustment	15	18.3
C. Improve Relationships with Others	12	14.6
D. Increase Academic Skills	22	26.8
E. Other	4	4.9
F. Unknown, Records not Available	12	14.6
6. Likelihood of Further Trouble		
A. High	19	23.8
B. Unlikely	24	30.0
C. Depends upon Specific Circumstances	15	18.8
D. Uncertain	10	12.5
E. Unknown, Records not Available	12	15.0

+ Since the agency may have more than one primary treatment goal, this figure exceeds the total.

cases and foster home placements account for 8.8%. In 12.5% of the cases the placements were made in the offender's home, either through the Early Release program or through direct placement in the home.

The primary goal in placement involved either personality or behavioral changes in the offender (39.0%). Improvement in basic academic skills was the primary goal in 26.8% of the placements, and improvement in the offenders' ability to relate effectively with other persons was cited as the primary goal in 14.6%.

In terms of their social and economic characteristics, the offenders who were referred to community agencies or for placement tend to resemble offenders who were originally referred to the Court (Table 17). Placement was more likely to occur among repeaters than first offenders, and the incidence of placement among female was higher than referrals to community agencies. There is some indication that misdemeanor offenses were handled through community agency services,

TABLE 27, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders Who Received Services from Community Agencies

Variable	Number	Percent
1. Type of Offender:		
First	21	26.6%
Repeater	58	73.4
2. Sex:		
Male	68	86.1
Female	11	13.9
3. Race:		
Caucasian	39	49.4
Oriental	1	1.3
Black	33	41.8
American Indian	3	3.8
Latin	3	3.8
4. Age:		
16-18	31	39.2
13-15	42	53.2
12 and Younger	6	7.6
5. Place of Birth:		
Wisconsin	59	74.7
(Milwaukee)	(54)	(68.4)
Other Midwest	5	6.3
East and Northeast	0	-
South	9	11.4
Southwest and West	0	-
Other	6	7.6
6. Family Status:		
Intact	37	46.8
Broken	42	53.2
7. Number of Children in the Family, Excluding Offender:		
1-3	21	26.6
4-6	26	32.9
7-9	19	24.1
10 and More	9	11.4
8. Number of Siblings Referred:		
None	28	35.4
One	23	29.1
Two	13	16.5
Three	7	8.9
Four or More	8	10.1
9. Family Receives Public Aid:		
Yes	37	46.8
No	42	53.2

TABLE 27, continued

Variable	Number	Percent
10. Current School:		
None	2	2.5
Elementary		
Milwaukee - Northside	8	10.1
Milwaukee - Southside	2	2.5
Private/Parochial	1	1.3
Junior High School		
Milwaukee - Northside	19	24.1
Milwaukee - Southside	7	8.9
High School		
Milwaukee - Northside	22	27.8
Milwaukee - Southside	6	7.6
Private/Parochial	1	1.3
Suburban	4	5.1
Institutions	4	5.1
Other	1	1.3
Unknown	2	2.5
11. Occupation of Father:		
White Collar	10	12.7
Blue Collar	55	69.6
Unemployed	6	7.6
Retired	0	-
Other	8	10.1
12. Occupation of Mother:		
White Collar	9	11.4
Blue Collar	11	16.5
Service	15	18.9
Housewife	41	51.9
Other	1	1.3
13. Education of Father:		
Grade School or Less	17	21.5
High School	46	58.2
College	4	5.1
Other	12	15.2
14. Education of Mother:		
Grade School or Less	23	29.1
High School	42	53.2
College	3	3.8
Other	11	13.9

TABLE 28, Offense-Related Characteristics of Offenders Who Received Services through Community Agencies

Variable	Number	Percent
1. Source of Original Referral:		
Police Department	70	88.6%
Public Welfare	0	-
Family	2	2.5
School	4	5.1
Other	3	3.8
2. Nature of Precipitating Offense:		
Misdemeanor	32	40.5
Ordinance Violation	1	1.3
Felony	17	21.5
Child-Only Offense	26	32.9
Other	3	3.8
3. Child Acted Alone or With Others:		
Alone	28	35.4
With One Other Child	17	21.5
With Two or More Children	29	36.7
Other	5	6.3
4. Child Held in Detention:		
Yes	26	32.9
No	53	67.1

while felonies were treated through placements. The offenders who were more likely to have committed the precipitating offenses by themselves were placed, while those who committed offenses with others were more likely to receive community treatment. Finally, there is a direct relationship between the use of detention at intake and the ultimate mode of treatment. Offenders who were placed were more likely to have been held in detention (66.7%) than those who were treated through community agencies (32.9%).

What the data may suggest is that placements are utilized in cases where the behavior of the offender is viewed as abnormal or threatening. Such offenders are held in detention at intake and, after the Court processes, are placed in institutions that are geared toward providing personality change therapies. Community treatment, on the other hand, is apparently used in cases where the offender has

TABLE 29, Social and Economic Characteristics of Offenders
Placed with State or County

Variable	Number	Percent
1. Type of Offender:		
First	9	12.0%
Repeater	66	88.0
2. Sex:		
Male	57	76.0
Female	18	24.0
3. Race:		
Caucasian	42	56.0
Oriental	0	-
Black	30	40.0
American Indian	1	1.3
Latin	2	2.7
4. Age:		
16-18	32	42.7
13-15	38	50.6
12 and Younger	5	6.7
5. Place of Birth:		
Wisconsin	57	76.0
(Milwaukee)	(55)	(73.3)
Other Midwest	6	8.0
East and Northeast	0	-
South	4	5.3
Southwest and West	0	-
Other	7	9.3
6. Family Status:		
Intact	30	40.0
Broken	45	60.0
7. Number of Children in Family, Excluding Offender:		
1-3	14	18.7
4-6	42	56.0
7-9	14	18.7
10 or More	5	6.7
8. Number of Siblings Referred to Center:		
None	29	38.7
One	21	28.0
Two	11	14.7
Three	4	5.3
Four or More	10	13.3
9. Family Receives Public Aid:		
Yes	31	41.3
No	44	58.7

TABLE 29, continued

Variable	Number	Percent
10. Current School:		
None	5	5.7
Elementary		
Milwaukee - Northside	5	6.7
Milwaukee - Southside	3	4.0
Private/Parochial	2	2.7
Junior High		
Milwaukee - Northside	19	25.3
Milwaukee - Southside	7	9.3
High School		
Milwaukee - Northside	17	22.7
Milwaukee - Southside	3	4.0
Private/Parochial	0	-
Suburban	3	4.0
Institution	7	9.3
Other	1	1.3
Unknown	2	2.7
11. Occupation of Father:		
White Collar	13	17.3
Blue Collar	45	60.0
Unemployed	5	6.7
Retired	2	2.7
Other	10	13.3
12. Occupation of Mother:		
White Collar	9	12.0
Blue Collar	17	22.7
Service	10	13.3
Housewife	37	49.3
Other	2	2.7
13. Education of Father:		
Grade School or Less	19	25.3
High School	40	53.3
College	7	9.3
Other	9	12.0
14. Education of Mother:		
Grade School or Less	14	18.7
High School	45	60.0
College	4	5.3
Other	12	16.0

TABLE 30, Offense-Related Characteristics of Offenders Placed with State or County

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Source of Referral:		
Police Department	65	86.7%
Public Welfare	0	-
Family	2	2.7
School	3	4.0
Other	5	6.3
2. Nature of Offense:		
Misdemeanor	23	30.1
Ordinance Violation	1	1.3
Felony	26	34.7
Child-Only	24	32.0
Other	1	1.3
3. Child Acted Alone or With Others:		
Alone	33	44.0
With One Other	11	14.7
With Two or More	27	36.0
Other	4	5.3
4. Child Placed in Detention:		
Yes	50	66.7
No	25	33.3

specific problems in adaptation - and particularly in adapting to the school system.

Section 4, Recidivism Rates

Rates and Types of Offenses (see Table 31 and Figure 2)

One of the goals of the services offered at or through the Center is the prevention of further delinquency. Indeed, one might reasonably assume that one of the goals of all of the operations conducted within the Center is, directly or indirectly, to prevent these offenders from engaging in behaviors associated with delinquency. This is not the only goal of the Center, but clearly it is an important one which underlies all of its other functions.

During the year in which the cases were followed, a total of 164 offenders were involved in subsequent delinquent offenses. The recidivism rate for the sample is, therefore, a rather high 45.9%. The recidivism rate for repeaters (Table 31) was considerably higher than for first offenders, 56.4% versus 32.3%; thus, while the repeaters account for 56.6% of the total sample, they include 69.5% of the recidivists found in this sample. Moreover, when we take into account the number of offenses committed by the recidivists (291), we find that repeaters account for 72.5% of them, compared with 27.5% for the first offenders.

The offenses that were committed during this period range from the most innocuous of misdemeanors (e.g., loitering) to the most severe felonies (e.g., murder). The most prevalent offenses were misdemeanors (36.4%), with child-only offenses (31.6%) and felonies (26.5%) ranked somewhat lower in their relative incidence.

The major offenses committed by first offenders were child-only crimes (45.0%) with misdemeanors (28.8%) and felonies (23.8%) ranked in succeeding order. For the repeaters, on the other hand, misdemeanors form the largest group of recidivist offenses (39.6%), with felonies (27.5%) and child-only offenses (26.5%) following in

TABLE 31, Recidivism Rates by Type of Offense:
Total, First Offender and Repeater Cases

Type	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Misdemeanor	106	36.4%	23	28.8%	83	39.3%
2. Felony	77	26.5	19	23.8	58	27.5
3. Child-Only	92	31.6	36	45.0	56	26.5
4. Ordinance Violation	4	1.4	0	-	4	1.9
5. Other	10	4.1	2	2.5	10	4.7
TOTAL	291		80		211	
Mean (Total Sample)	.82					
Mean (Recidivists)	1.77					
Mean (Repeaters-Recidivists)	1.65					
Mean (First Offender-Recidivists)	1.60					

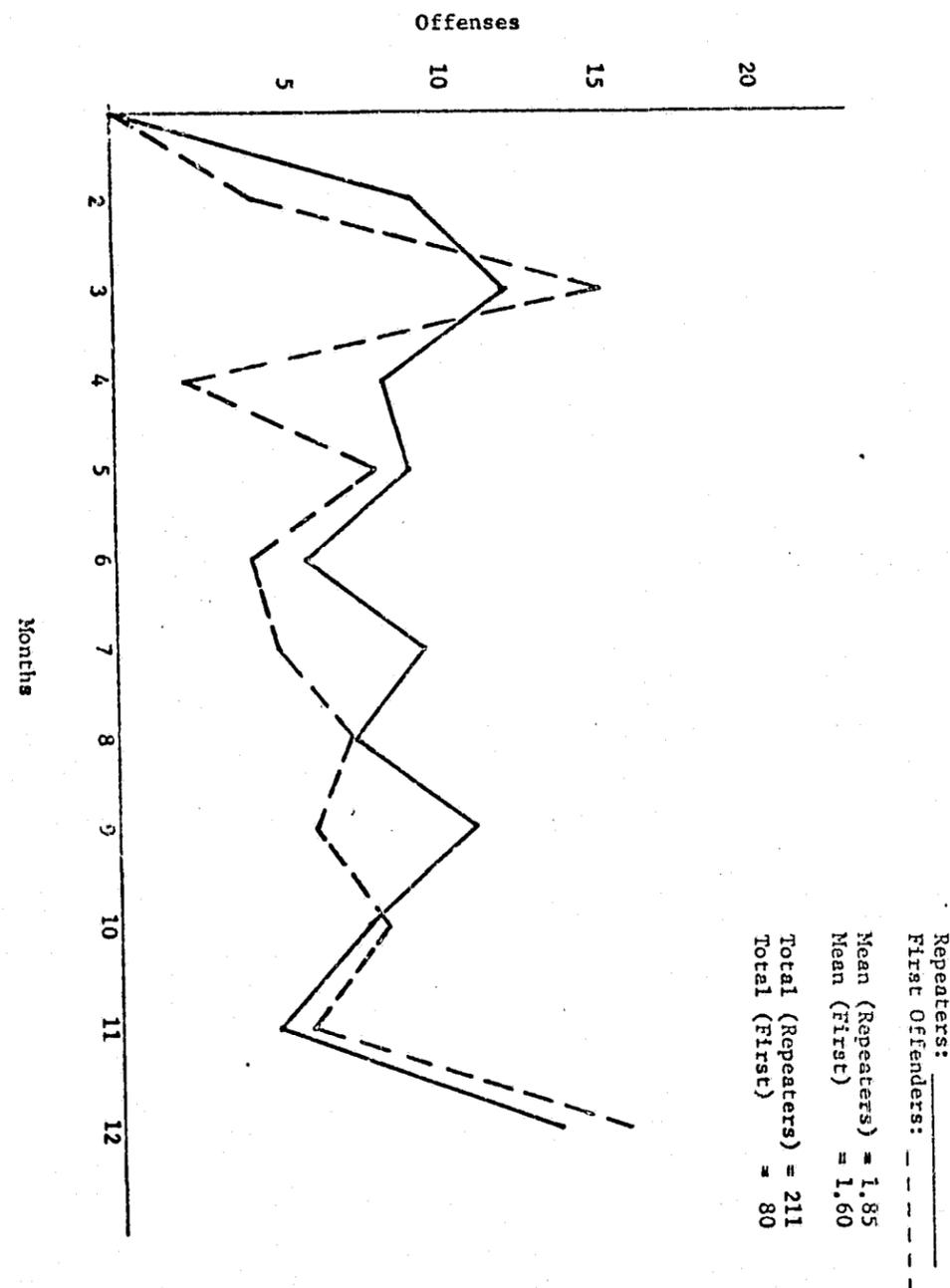
decreasing order. The most common offense committed by both groups is that of having been "uncontrollable"; one-fourth of all recidivism offenses committed by first offenders are included in this category.

As Figure 2 indicates, there is a relationship between the annual recidivism rates of the first offenders and the repeaters. Both groups tend to begin the year with an initial burst of recidivist behavior, followed by a period of lower rates that remain somewhat stable up to the last month of the study.¹ In both groups the last month represents a period of sudden activity and a marked increase in recidivism rates.

There is no apparent explanation for this pattern. One might assume that, for the first offenders, the initial burst of recidivism represents an immediate reaction to the label and the role of delinquent -- a kind of testing-out phase in which they explore some of the boundaries of a new role. For the repeaters, on the other hand, this initial recidivism may represent a re-affirmation of the label,

1. This is not, of course, a single twelve-month period. In each case the year is measured from the point of referral and thus covers approximately eighteen months in time.

FIGURE 2, Recidivism Rates: First Offenders and Repeaters
(Adjusted for Sample Size)



a deliberate attempt to establish the validity of the label and the role. In both cases the levelling off in delinquent behaviors may represent a reaction to the services that are provided during the period of initial recidivism, or it may be a spontaneous remission which bears no relationship to these services.

Social and Economic Characteristics of the Recidivists (see (see Tables 32 and 33))

Generally the social and economic characteristics of the recidivists do not differ significantly from those of the total sample (Table 32). However, what this implies is that, since the total sample differs from those who were referred to the District Attorney and/or the Court, the recidivists are also different from those referred to the District Attorney and/or the Court. This similarity holds, moreover, for both the first offenders and the repeaters.

The only differences which occur between the total sample and the recidivists are found in certain dimensions of the family. Among the first offenders, for example, the recidivists are more likely to come from broken families than is true of the total sample. The educational levels of both parents of both types of offenders are lower among the recidivists than among the total sample. Finally, there is evidence to suggest that the families of recidivist first offenders are more dependent upon public assistance funds than the total sample.

When we examine the initial offense and the circumstances surrounding it (Table 33), we do find certain differences both between the recidivists and the total sample and between first offenders and repeaters. Recidivists are, for example, more likely to be among those who have committed misdemeanors at the intake point. Given the fact that, among the first offenders, at least, the recidivist offenses are primarily child-only crimes, we must assume that there is no

TABLE 32, Social and Economic Characteristics of Recidivists: Total, First Offenders, and Repeaters

Variable	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Type of Offender:						
First	50	30.5%				
Repeater	114	69.5				
2. Sex:						
Male	129	78.7	35	70.0%	94	82.5%
Female	35	21.3	15	30.0	20	17.5
3. Race:						
Caucasian	88	53.7	29	58.0	59	51.8
Oriental	1	.6	0	-	1	.9
Black	65	39.6	20	40.0	45	39.5
American Indian	3	1.8	0	-	3	2.6
Latin	7	4.3	1	2.0	6	5.3
4. Age:						
16-18 years	61	37.2	16	32.0	45	39.5
13-15 years	95	57.9	29	58.0	66	57.9
12 and younger	8	4.9	5	10.0	3	2.6
5. Place of Birth:						
Wisconsin (Milwaukee)	120 (111)	73.3 (67.7)	34 (30)	68.0 (60.0)	86 (81)	75.4 (71.1)
Other Midwest	6	3.7	1	2.0	5	4.4
Northeast	1	.6	0	-	1	.9
Mid-Atlantic	4	2.4	2	4.0	2	1.8
South	15	9.1	7	14.0	8	7.0
Southwest	0	-	0	-	0	-
West	3	1.8	2	4.0	1	.9
Other	4	2.4	0	-	4	3.5
Unknown	11	6.7	4	8.0	7	6.1
6. Family Status:						
Intact	79	48.2	27	54.0	52	45.6
Broken	85	51.8	23	46.0	62	54.4
7. Number of Children in Family, Excluding Offender:						
1-3	39	23.8	14	28.0	25	21.9
4-6	75	45.7	21	42.0	54	47.4
7-9	39	23.8	11	22.0	28	24.6
10 or more	11	6.7	4	8.0	7	6.1
8. Number of Siblings Referred to Center:						
None	64	39.0	25	50.0	39	34.2
One	43	26.2	14	28.0	29	25.4
Two	29	17.7	6	12.0	23	20.2
Three	14	8.5	2	4.0	12	10.5
Four or more	14	8.5	3	6.0	11	9.7

TABLE 32, continued

Variable	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
9. Current School:						
None	2	1.2			2	1.8
Elementary						
Milwaukee - Northside	9	5.5	5	10.0	4	3.5
Milwaukee - Southside	5	3.0	2	4.0	3	2.6
Private/Parochial	4	2.4	4	3.5	0	-
Junior High School						
Milwaukee - Northside	42	25.6	11	22.0	31	27.2
Milwaukee - Southside	28	17.1	10	20.0	18	15.8
Senior High School						
Milwaukee - Northside	44	26.8	15	30.0	29	25.4
Milwaukee - Southside	3	4.9	2	6.0	5	4.4
Private/Parochial	3	1.8	1	.9	2	1.8
Suburban	5	3.0	3	3.0	3	2.6
Institutions	9	5.5	0	-	9	7.9
Other	2	1.2	2	4.0	0	-
Not Ascertained	3	1.8	1	.9	2	1.8
10. Occupation of Father:						
White Collar	21	12.8	5	10.0	16	14.0
Blue Collar	108	65.9	34	68.0	84	73.7
Unemployed/Retired	15	30.0	3	6.0	12	10.5
Other	20	40.0	8	16.0	12	10.5
11. Occupation of Mother:						
White Collar	18	10.9	5	10.0	13	11.4
Blue Collar	20	12.2	7	14.0	13	11.4
Service	21	12.8	7	14.0	14	12.3
Housewife	97	59.1	29	58.0	68	59.6
Other	8	4.9	2	4.0	6	5.3
12. Family Receives Public Aid:						
Yes	67	40.9	18	36.0	49	43.0
No	97	59.1	32	64.0	65	57.0
13. Education of Father:						
Grade School or Less	31	18.9	7	14.0	24	21.1
Some High School	60	36.6	20	40.0	40	35.1
High School Graduate	42	25.2	13	26.0	29	25.4
Some College	5	3.0	1	2.0	4	3.5
College Graduate	3	1.8	1	2.0	2	1.8
Graduate Work	2	1.2	0	-	2	1.8
Technical	1	.6	0	-	1	.9
Other	20	12.2	8	16.0	12	10.5
14. Education of Mother:						
Grade School or Less	31	18.9	6	12.0	25	22.0
Some High School	59	35.9	18	36.0	41	36.0
High School Graduate	49	29.9	19	38.0	30	26.3
Some College	8	4.9	5	10.0	3	2.6
College Graduate	3	1.8	0	-	3	2.6
Graduate Work	0	-	0	-	0	-
Technical	1	.6	0	-	1	.9
Other	13	7.9	2	4.0	11	9.7

TABLE 33, Offense-Related Characteristics of Recidivists:
Total, First Offenders, and Repeaters

Variable	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Source of Referral:						
Police Departments	150	91.5%	45	90.0%	105	92.1%
Public Welfare	0	-	0	-	0	-
Family	3	1.8	2	4.0	1	.9
School	5	3.0	1	2.0	4	3.5
Other	6	3.7	2	4.0	4	3.5
2. Nature of Offense:						
Misdemeanor	78	47.6	23	46.0	55	48.2
Ordinance Violation	2	1.2	0	-	2	1.8
Felony	40	24.4	19	38.0	21	18.4
Child-Only Offense	39	23.8	8	16.0	31	27.2
Other	5	3.0	0	-	5	4.4
3. In Committing Offense, Child Acted Alone or With Others:						
Alone	59	35.9	18	36.0	41	36.0
With One Other	30	18.3	11	22.0	19	16.7
With Two or More	65	39.6	17	34.0	48	42.1
Other	10	6.1	4	8.0	6	5.3
4. Child Placed in Detention:						
Yes	58	35.4	14	28.0	44	38.6
No	106	64.6	36	72.0	70	61.4

consistent pattern in the delinquencies committed by this group.

The initial referral may, in itself, create a climate which leads to the offender being suspect and subject to closer supervision than if he were not referred. In this case, acts that may have been overlooked or treated as normal adolescent behaviors may be viewed as offenses that need to be brought to the attention of the authorities.² Thus the child-only offenses that predominate among recidivist first offenders may be swollen, possibly even generated, by the fact that the Center has had contact with the offender.

2. The fact that the offender has a probation officer may, in itself, provide families or schools with a convenient resource that they would not have had if the offender had not been in contact with the Center. Thus they may call upon the probation officer for acts that would have been dealt with in other ways prior to the initial referral.

Services and Recidivism (see Table 24, Figures 2 and 3)

There are at least two frameworks for analyzing the relationship between recidivism and services. On one hand, we may begin with the assumption that these services are designed as preventive measures. Any recidivism that occurs subsequent to these services would be evaluated, therefore, as indicators of the failure of the services. On the other hand, we may begin with the assumption that services are designed to be provided after the recidivism and that they represent, therefore, corrective rather than preventive interventions.

There are a number of problems associated with both of these perspectives, problems which involve factors that lie beyond the defined boundaries of the current project. In the main, however, we may assume that the latter, rather than the former, is the more realistic framework for the analysis of this relationship. The preventive approach suggests, among other things, that it is possible to identify offenders who are likely to become recidivists at some point prior to the fact. Our evidence indicates, however, that this is an unrealistic expectation and that the recidivists are, in fact, similar to the total population of offenders at intake. Regardless of the arguments that may be made for reversal of this priority, therefore, the facts of the matter indicate that the relationship between recidivism and services must be approached within a corrective rather than a preventive framework.

If this is the case, then we should expect to find that the recidivists are provided more services and that these services occur after the initial burst of recidivist activity. As Table 34 indicates, at least one-half this expectation is met. While recidivists account for less than half the total sample, they received almost two-thirds the services provided through the probation staff. If we compare Figures 2 and 3, however, it becomes evident that in many cases these services are

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE 34, Probation Officer Services to Recidivists:
Total, First Offender, and Repeater Cases

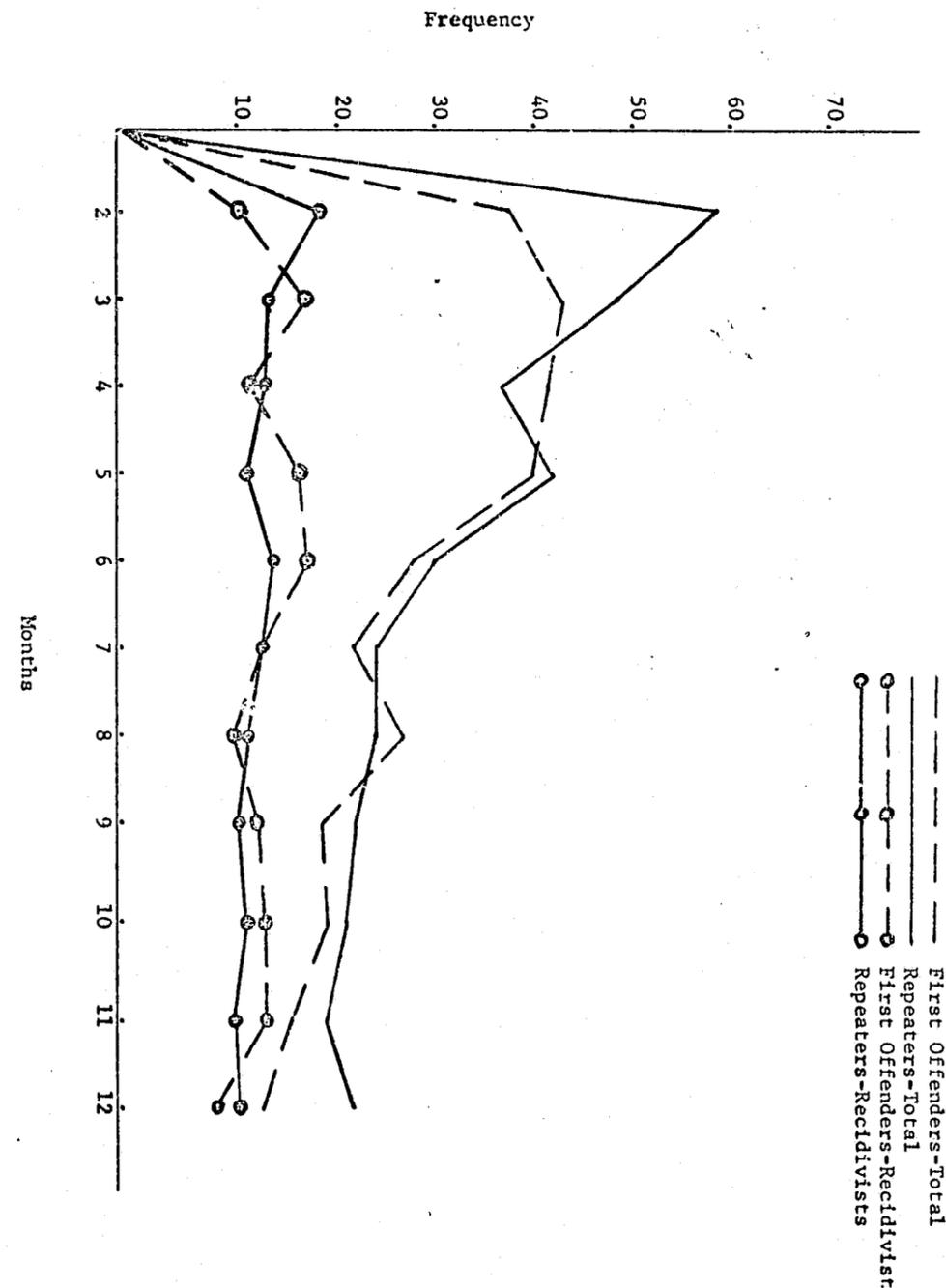
	Total		First Offenders		Repeaters	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Closed Cases:						
No Services	820	(34.3)*	281	(23.3)	539	(45.5)
Counselling	25	(96.2)	10	(100)	15	(93.8)
Referrals	3	(100)	2	(100)	1	(100)
Liaison	1	(100)	-	-	1	(100)
Detention Visits	0	-	-	-	-	-
Open Cases:						
Counselling	352	(62.3)	102	(49.0)	250	(70.0)
Referrals	14	(58.3)	0	-	14	(66.7)
Home Visits	99	(55.0)	32	(45.1)	67	(61.5)
Contacts with Schools	1	(25.0)	1	(25.0)	0	-
Phone Contacts	12	(34.3)	3	(13.0)	9	(75.0)
Court Appearances	48	(69.6)	16	(64.0)	32	(72.7)
Court Preparation	15	(65.2)	6	(60.0)	9	(75.0)
Placement Planning	1	(50.0)	0	-	1	(50.0)
Arranging Psychological Evaluation	13	(81.3)	2	(66.7)	11	(84.6)
Liaison with WSDHSS/MCDEW	42	(93.3)	3	(100)	39	(92.9)
TOTAL	626	(62.9)	177	(48.8)	449	(71.2)
Total - Open Cases	597	(61.9)	165	(47.1)	432	(70.5)
Mean - Total	3.32		3.54		3.94	

* Indicates percent of total services offered to total sample. See Table 24, Section 3 above.

provided prior to the initial outbreak of recidivism and that, in general, they bear little relationship to the subsequent recidivist activity.

The other element in the data which bears a relationship to this expectation is found in the nature of the services. One might expect that the services provided to recidivists, if they are to be corrective, would emphasize either direct contact with the offender or a search for community treatment and resources on his behalf. What we find, however, is that many of the services to the recidivists involve administrative concerns. While most of the services do involve direct contacts with

FIGURE 3, Services Involving Direct Client Contacts by Probation Staff:
First Offenders and Repeaters (Adjusted for Sample Differences)



the offender (77.9%), the number is less than that for the total sample, in which 81.2% of the services involved direct contacts.

Finally, we should note that the recidivism rate for offenders who were referred to community agencies is considerably lower than that found in other segments of the sample, e.g., those referred to the District Attorney or the Court. The mean recidivism rate for this group is .84, which is comparable, as Table 31 indicates, to that of the total sample. The recidivism rate for those in placement during this period is similar (.93), and is also substantially lower than the other portions of the sample.

This does not suggest, of course, that the services provided through these agencies or institutions are necessarily more effective than those provided through the probation staff. Undoubtedly there is a selection process involved which may, in part at least, account for the differences.

APPENDICES

93. A

APPENDIX A

A Proposed Study

The First Offender in the Juvenile Court:

An Exploratory Study of Court Processes and Treatment Programs

Milwaukee Urban Observatory
(January, 1972)

(Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets
Act of 1968 - as amended by the Omnibus
Crime Control Act of 1970)

Project Director
William E. Berg, Assistant Professor,
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Richard Thedo, Assistant Professor,
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of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

I. The Problem

In the literature dealing with the treatment of juvenile delinquents and in the "practice wisdom" which serves as the basis for much of this work, it is rather common to find a distinction made between the first offender and those who may be considered as repeated or multiple offenders. Generally the distinction is made on the basis of certain qualitative rather than quantitative differences: that is, the first offender is not necessarily thought to be different in terms of the nature of the offense that he or she may have committed or the circumstances involved in the apprehension of the referral, but they are instead considered to be more susceptible to change, more amenable to treatment and intervention.

The logic behind this kind of distinction is rather straightforward. A first offender can be treated because he or she is less apt to be firmly committed to the delinquent role. They are generally less likely to view themselves as delinquents and, at the same time, they are less likely to be viewed as delinquents by their parents, peer groups, and those who are in positions of control or authority.

If these assumptions are true, if the first offender is actually different from the multiple offender and if he is different because he can be treated in a way which leads to changes in his behavior, then it is obvious that this should have some rather important implications for ongoing juvenile delinquency programs and for program planning and development. In a situation, for example, in which the available funds for such programs are limited, it may be that an investment in those programs which are aimed exclusively at the first offender will provide substantially greater returns than programs which deal with the multiple offender, or even programs which attempt to include both of these groups. Or, in an ongoing program where the number of treatment personnel is limited, it may be that greater benefits would derive from an investment in these first offenders, rather than attempting to handle all types of offenders in a uniform manner.

The problem that we are dealing with, in other words, is essentially a problem involving the assessment of a typology which has, at one level or another, been used in the treatment of juvenile offenders. This typology has assumed that not all offenders are the same, that they differ according to certain critical dimensions, and that one of these dimensions is contained in the comparison between first and multiple offenders.

2. Inadequacy of Local Resources

This study is dependent upon the cooperation of certain state and local bodies. It proposes to make its findings available to state and local agencies to assist them in program planning and development. Local funds are not available for a project such as this. The Milwaukee Criminal Justice Plan for 1970 contained a provision for such a study, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee represents a statewide agency which has the capacity to undertake such a study and, therefore, to do so. The University resources include, in addition to personnel who have the necessary knowledge of resource techniques and of the substantive area of concern, a computer facility with the capacity to analyze any data associated with the study. Cooperation of the Milwaukee County Children's Court will also be established and the findings of the study will provide this institution with an opportunity to review and evaluate its processes and its programs. Finally, other private and public agencies may be involved in certain phases of the study. They represent additional local resources which can supply other necessary data for the study, and which may also benefit from the findings of the study through the assessment of their treatment programs and through the recognition of some of the larger implications of juvenile delinquency treatment programs.

3. Project Objectives

The population included in this study are those juveniles who have been referred to the Milwaukee County Children's Court on an original referral. The control group which will be used includes the juveniles who have been referred to this Court on the re-opening of an earlier case.

The population and the control group will be studied in order to determine the following:

- 1) To identify the first offender in terms of a number of personal and/or demographic variables, e.g., age, race, sex, educational performance, place of residence, family composition, etc.
- 2) To identify the first offender in terms of those events which have led to his or her referral to the Court, e.g., the type of offense committed, the referral source or sources, the circumstances surrounding the referral.
- 3) To delineate the way in which the first offender is handled within the Court, e.g., formal court hearings versus informal supervision, placement at Wales or other residential institutions, etc.

4) To explore the degree to which outside agencies and institutions are involved in the treatment of the first offender.

5) To assess the relative success or failure of these activities.

6) To make the findings available to proper state and local agencies to assist them in program planning and development.

4. Project Methodology

The first offender is defined as any juvenile who is referred to the Court without having any prior record of a referral to this Court, or to any other such court. The multiple or repeated offender is, on the other hand, any juvenile who has been referred to a juvenile court for an earlier offense or offenses.

These definitions assume that the act of referral is meaningful and that the ultimate guilt or innocence of the individual is less germane in terms of the activities of the Court. The question of guilt or innocence is, in adult as well as in juvenile courts, a matter which is dealt with only after a whole series of decisions have been made by various people at various stages within the larger court routines. The impact of the court upon the individual cannot, therefore, be measured solely in terms of guilt or innocence, but must be viewed from within the contexts of the total activities of the court.

The study will run for eighteen months from the date of approval and the release of the necessary funds. It will involve two principal investigators on a one-sixth time basis, a project assistant on a one-third time basis, and a half-time graduate research assistant (resumes are attached).

The study will be divided into four relatively distinct phases:

- 1) Phase one will involve the identification of a sample of the first offender population and an equal sample of the multiple or repeated offender control group. These samples will be drawn on a random basis from those cases which are referred to the Court during a three-month period. The total size of each of the samples will be approximately 250 cases, or a sum total of approximately 500 first and multiple offenders.

On each of the identified cases, the probation worker who has been assigned to the case will be asked to complete a form which contains the data necessary to identify the first offender. The information that is

gathered on the control group will be used in order to compare these two groups at the point of intake into the court system. A preliminary copy of the form which will be used is attached; the final version of the form will be constructed after consultation with computer personnel and with the staff of the Milwaukee County Childrens' Court.

2) Phase two of the study will consist of two separate activities. The initial data gathered on both the first and the multiple offenders will be analyzed in order to make the necessary comparisons. This analysis will be conducted through the facilities of the Social Science Research Facility which is located on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. (See attached qualifications).

At the same time, those cases which are included in the samples will be followed as they progress through the court system. The disposition on each case will be noted, the level of activity on each case will be measured, and referrals to outside agencies or institutions will be recorded.

3) Phase three of the study will begin at the end of the full twelve-month period. The first case involved in the sample will, in other words, have had twelve full months of exposure either to the Court itself, or to any secondary agencies or institutions that may have become involved as a result of the initial referral to the Court.

During the third phase, data will be gathered relating to the status of the case and the relative success or failure of the programs utilized in working with the offender. Success or failure will be measured in terms of the following criteria.

- a. Recidivism - subsequent referrals to the court or to other law enforcement agencies.
- b. Treatment Progress - the assessment of progress made by those individuals who have assumed the primary responsibility for working with the individual case.
- c. Adjustment to School and/or to Work Situations - the progress and the performance of the individual either in school and/or on his or her job. (The latter will be available only in those cases where prior permission has been obtained from the individual, and where the inquiry would not adversely affect the individual's status on the job.)

4) Phase four of the study will include the analysis of the data obtained during phase three and the completion of a final written report on the study. This report will be treated as a confidential document and made available only to those parties who are immediately involved with the study. Any publications which might accrue from the study will be subject to prior approval by these agencies.

5. Project Evaluation

Ideally, a study of this nature should be evaluated through both internal and external criteria. The present study, however, can be evaluated only in terms of internal criteria since we cannot, at this time, supplement these with comparisons to other studies; an exhaustive study of the literature has failed to uncover any comparable work.

The internal criteria include such things as: Does the study accomplish what it proposed to do? Does it meet its objectives? Does it meet these objectives through the use of techniques which are valid and may be used in other studies in the same area?

Project personnel will submit a report, separate from their findings report, that will answer these kinds of questions. The report will include their own evaluation and those of cooperating staff persons in the Milwaukee County Childrens' Court Center and the Milwaukee Urban Observatory. Preliminary findings accompanied by supportive data will be forwarded to these persons for review and comment that can be included in the evaluation report.

6. Fiscal Administration

Fiscal administration will be the responsibility of the Fiscal Officer of the University of Wisconsin system. The administration of the budget will be conducted through the Milwaukee Urban Observatory. University of Wisconsin procedures for budget control will be used to maintain the fiscal integrity of the program. The Fiscal Officer of the University of Wisconsin is bonded in accordance with General Condition stipulations.

7. Compatibility with Program Guidelines

Every effort has been made to conform with all requirements that pertain to the eligibility of this project application as described in the "Guidelines for Requesting Federal Assistance Under the Omnibus Crime Control Act."

Appendix A:

Intake Information Form - Preliminary Version

1. Case Number _____
2. Sex _____
3. Age _____
4. Race _____
5. Address _____
 - 5a. Length of residence at the above _____
 - 5b. If less than one year, prior address _____
6. Place of birth _____
7. Family Composition:
 - 7a. Are both the father and mother living in the home? _____
 - 7b. If either father or mother are not in the home, indicate which and the length of time they have been absent _____
 - 7c. Identify any other adults living in the home, including their relationship to the case _____
 - 7d. List the age and sex of any siblings living in the home _____
 - 7e. List the age and sex of siblings living outside the home _____
8. Have any other members of the family been referred to the Court?
List the sex, age, and the nature of the offense _____

9. Current School _____
 - 9a. School attended prior to this _____
 - 9b. Grade _____
10. Occupation of father _____
11. Occupation of mother _____
12. Does the family receive public assistance, or has it in the past received such assistance? _____
13. Source of court referral _____
14. Reason for the referral (specify) _____
15. If an offense was committed, was it a solo operation, or were others involved? _____
16. Has the juvenile ever been in trouble before which was not referred to the court? _____
Specify the nature of the earlier trouble _____
17. Educational level of father (highest grade) _____
18. Educational level of mother _____



CHILDREN'S COURT CENTER

Milwaukee County

GEORGE T. FROHMADER - Director

January 24, 1972

William Berg, Ph. D.
School of Social Welfare
University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 53201

Dear Dr. Berg:

At Mr. Theado's request, I am writing to let you know that we can furnish you the use of desks here at our facility in connection with your proposed research project for which you are seeking Safe Streets Act funding.

You may expect cooperation from our agency, providing, of course, that there is no violation of confidentiality regarding our records, providing that you share with us the results of your research, and providing that it does not interfere with the everyday operation of our agency.

We will cooperate in making available to you whatever resources we have available.

Sincerely,

George T. Frohmader
Director of Children's Court Center
vf

cc: file

10201 WATERTOWN PLANK ROAD • MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53226 • TELEPHONE 258-9910

EDWIN A. MUNDY, Director
Institutions & Departments

BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
WILLIAM F. O'DONNELL, Chairman • WILLIS A. ERASMUS
EDWARD SCHROEDER • ERWIN A. GRICHTA • JOHN A. HEIDENREICH

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

(First Offender in the Juvenile Court)

Project Director and Co-Director

The project director and co-director will, together, have primary responsibility for the conduct of the study and will provide the necessary liaison between project staff, the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center and the Milwaukee Urban Observatory. They will more explicitly detail the project design and supervise it through its four distinct phases. They will supervise and coordinate the work of the research assistants and insure the cooperation of assistance necessary to the project from the Milwaukee County Children's Court Center. They will be responsible for interim reports and the completion and submission of both an evaluation and final report to the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice. They will be responsible for the distribution of both reports to private and public agencies in the Milwaukee community that are directly involved in programs concerning juvenile offenders.

Persons with advanced degrees in the social sciences and previous research experience will be considered for the positions.

Research Assistants

Research Assistants will work with the project director and co-director to collect and process data necessary to the project and ready it for analysis and review. They will also assist in the preparation of interim working papers and the final reports, as well.

Graduate students in social welfare or an associated field will be considered for the positions.

FACULTY VITA

Name and Title:

William E. Berg
Assistant Professor

Education:

B.S. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin - American History
and Economics, June 1955
M.S.S.W. University of Wisconsin-Madison, June 1967
Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Madison, January 1972

Professional Work Experience:

Assistant Professor, School of Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin-
Milwaukee, September 1970 to present (Also Director, Research
Center, September 1971 to present)
Research Associate, University of Wisconsin, Behavioral Disabilities
Center, September 1969 to January 1970
Teaching Assistant, University of Wisconsin, School of Social Work
Academic Year, 1968-69
Project Assistant, University of Wisconsin, School of Social Work,
January 1968 to January 1969
Psychiatric Social Worker, Dane County Mental Health Center, Madison,
Wisconsin, January 1967 to September 1967, part-time
Research Assistant, University of Wisconsin, School of Social Work,
Academic year 1966-67
Senior Social Worker, San Francisco County Department of Social
Services, November 1963 to September 1965
Senior Social Worker, San Francisco County Department of Public
Welfare, April 1961 to December 1962
Social Worker, Milwaukee County Department of Public Welfare,
September 1959 to April 1961

Professional Memberships and Activities:

American Political Science Association
American Sociological Association
National Association of Social Workers
Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
Society for the Study of Social Problems

Research, Publications and Professional Papers:

Loeb, Martin and William Berg, "Social Structure, Socialization, and
Personality," Encyclopedia of Social Work, New York, 1971

"Community and Organizational Variables in Interorganizational Relations:
A Comparative Study of Social Welfare Agencies in Four Wisconsin
Communities," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation

"Working with Child Abuse: A Comparative Study of Social Work Practice
in Seven Wisconsin Counties," Prepared for the State Department of
Health and Social Services.

Papers Circulating for Publication:

"A Research Note: Responses of Schools of Social Work to a Mailed
Questionnaire -- Some Implications for Professionalism and Social
Work Education," Submitted for publication, September 1971

"Families Under Stress: A Study of Parental Reactions to the Birth of
a Child With Cleft Palate," Submitted for publication, November 1971

FACULTY VITA

Name and Title:

Richard J. Theado
Assistant Professor

Education:

B.A. Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1964
M.S. W. Loyola of Chicago, 1966

Professional Work Experience:

Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, University of Wisconsin-
Milwaukee, 1970 to present
Case Work Supervisor, Milwaukee County, July 1969 to September 1970
Juvenile Social Worker, Milwaukee County, June 1966 to June 1969

Professional Memberships and Activities:

Board Member and Board President of the Milwaukee Enforcers, Inc.
(a not-for-profit private, non-sectarian, interracial organization,
established to provide counseling and direct service to youths and
their families)
Leadership and Supervision Seminar, Milwaukee County, January 1969-
April 1969
Midwest Conference on School Social Work
"Youth Advocacy" Seminar - Guadalupe Center

Budget (April 15, 1972 - June 30, 1973)

First Offender Project

	<u>LEAA</u>	<u>Local March UWM</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Salaries (Inc. Fringe Benefits)</u>	<u>\$14,613</u>	<u>\$5,489</u>	<u>\$20,102</u>
<u>Project Director</u>			
1/6 of \$1,488.89/mo. for 1 1/2 mos.	-	372	372
2 mos. (Summer, 1972) @\$1,488.89/mo.	2,978	-	2,978
1/6 of \$1,563.33 for 9 mos.	-	2,345	2,345
1 mos. (Summer, 1973) @\$1,563.33/mo.	1,563	-	1,563
Fringe Benefits @13.1% of salary	595	346	951
<u>Co-Director</u>			
1/6 of \$1,169.83 for 1 1/2 mos.	-	293	293
1/6 of \$1,228 for 9 mos.	-	1,843	1,843
Fringe Benefits @13.1% of salary	-	280	280
<u>Research Assistants (2)</u>			
13 1/2 mos. @ 1/2 of \$655.20/mo.	8,845	-	8,845
<u>Secretary (U. O.)</u>			
6 mos. @ 1/6 of \$542/mo.	542	-	542
Fringe Benefits @16.5% of salary	90	-	90
<u>Supplies</u>	<u>105</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>105</u>
General (Incl. computer tapes)	105	-	105
<u>Travel (3,000 mi. @10¢/mi.)</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>300</u>
<u>Consultants and Service Contracts</u>	<u>6,239</u>	<u>1,751</u>	<u>7,990</u>
Consultation: Computer Programming Social Science Research Facility 40 hrs. @ avg. \$10/hr.	400	-	400
UWM Computer Center Computer Time (1/2 hr. @ \$650/hr.)	325	-	325
Key Punching	200	-	200
Duplicating and Printing	300	-	300
UW Overhead (Services include accounting, equipment, administration, @36% of salaries only-off campus rate)	5,014	1,751	6,761
<u>Total Project Costs</u>	<u>\$21,257</u>	<u>\$7,240</u>	<u>\$28,497</u>

Applicant:

Name: Regents of the University of Wisconsin System
 Address: University of Wisconsin - 1866 Van Hise Hall
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Telephone Number: 262-2324

Project Supervisor:

Name: William P. Irwin, Director
 Address: Milwaukee Urban Observatory, 600 W. Kilbourn Ave., Milw. 53203

Telephone Number: 963-4271

1) Project Period: Beginning Date April 15, 1972
 Ending Date June 30, 1973

2) Expenditures for Criminal Justice Services

Current Fiscal Year (Budgeted)	\$	<u> </u>
Two Previous Years (Actual)		<u> </u>
Fiscal 19 <u> </u> :		<u> </u>
Fiscal 19 <u> </u> :		<u> </u>
Three Year Average:		<u> </u>

3) Budget Summary: (From Supplementary Schedules)

A. Personnel:	1) Regular Law Enforcement	\$	<u> </u>
	2) Other		<u>20,102</u>
B. Equipment			<u> </u>
C. Travel			<u>105</u>
D. Supplies and Operating Expenses			<u>300</u>
E. Consultants & Service Contracts			<u>7,990</u>

TOTAL PROJECT COST	\$	<u>28,497</u>
less MATCHING SHARE		<u>7,240</u>
FEDERAL ASSISTANCE REQUESTED		<u>21,257</u>

4) Program Number Under Which Funds are Being Requested: 55

5) Terms and Conditions:

A. General Conditions

It is understood and agreed by the undersigned that (1) funds granted as a result of this request are to be expended for the purposes set forth in this application and in accordance with all applicable laws, regulations, policies and procedures of the State of Wisconsin and the U. S. Department of Justice; (2) no expenditures will be eligible for inclusion if occurring prior to the effective date of the grant; and (3) funds awarded by the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice may be terminated at any time for violations of any terms and requirements of this agreement.

B. Certification not to Supplant

The applicant for Federal assistance under the provisions of Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, hereby certifies that funds or other resources of the applicant normally devoted to programs and activities designed to meet the needs of criminal justice will not be diminished in any way as a result of a grant award of Federal funds.

The applicant further certifies that the project for which assistance is being requested will be in addition to, and not a substitute for, criminal justice services previously provided without Federal assistance.

C. Assurance Not to Discriminate

The applicant for Federal assistance under the provisions of Title I of the Omnibus Crime Control Act, hereby extends assurance that he does not discriminate in his employment practices against employees or applicants for employment because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

6) Name and Title of Individual Legally Empowered to Commit Applicant to this Agreement:

Name: _____ Title: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Form ACT-2

Wisconsin Council on
Criminal Justice

Local Matching Share Summary

1. <u>Name, Address and Telephone of Fiscal Officer for the Project:</u>	
Name:	<u>Robert W. Erickson, Director, Research and Administration</u>
Address:	<u>University of Wisconsin, 446 Peterson, Madison, Wis.</u>
Telephone:	<u>(608) 262-3822</u>
2. <u>Cash Contribution:</u>	
(a) <u>Name and Address of Agency Providing Cash Contribution:</u>	
Name:	_____
Address:	_____
(attach schedule listing additional agencies, if applicable)	
(b) Amount of Local Share to be Contributed in Cash:	\$ <u> -- </u>
3. <u>In-Kind Contribution: (Attach Substantiating Statements)</u>	
(a) Amount of Local Share to be Contributed In-Kind:	\$ <u>7,990</u>
4. <u>Total Local Matching Share to be Contributed:</u>	
(a) Amount (Add 2(b) and 3(a))	\$ <u>7,990</u>
(b) <u>Percentage of Total Project Cost to be Provided by Local Share: (Divide Total Local Matching Share by Total Project Cost)</u>	<u>28</u> %
5. <u>Notes:</u>	
(a) Substantiating statements fully describing in-kind contribution and method of arriving at its cost value must be attached to Form ACT-2.	

The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53201

228-4851

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WELFARE

February 18, 1972

Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice
State Capitol
Madison, Wisconsin 53702

Gentlemen:

The School of Social Welfare of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee will provide the in-kind matching funds stipulated for the proposed study, "The First Offender in the Juvenile Court." The School of Social Welfare will continue to pay full salaries to both the Project Director and the Co-Director while each is using one sixth of his usual University time for project purposes, for ten and one-half months of project duration. (See budget attached to Form ACT-1 for method of arriving at cost value.)

Very truly yours,

Fred Delliquadri
P. Fred Delliquadri
Dean

FD:wb

NOT APPLICABLE

Form ACT-3

Wisconsin Council on
Criminal Justice

Local Government Concurrence

The undersigned _____, serving
(Name)

in the capacity of _____
(Mayor, County Board Chairman, etc.)

and representing the _____ concurs
(County, City, Village, Town)

that the attached project application by _____
(Name of

_____ is of direct benefit to the community
Applicant)

represented and authorizes the Wisconsin Council on Criminal

Justice to extend assistance to the project applicant from

that share of available Federal assistance funds that are

normally available to units of general local government of

Wisconsin.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B

First Offenders Project: Characteristics of High Density Census Tracts

In looking at the data that has been gathered for the First Offender study it is apparent that certain areas of the City are overrepresented in our sample of 357 first and multiple offenders. In terms of census tracts this means that approximately 11.7% of the 188 census tracts represented in this sample contain approximately 30.5% of the offenders. (See attached map for the location of these 22 high density tracts).

These tracts are located in an area that forms a semi-circle around the inner core of the central city. They do not include those tracts that are within the inner core, but in demographic terms they appear to represent those areas of transition that have recently shifted from predominately white working class districts to a mixture of white and black working class homes.

Characteristic	Total Sample		High Density Tracts	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
SEX: Males	278	77.9	87	79.8
Females	79	22.1	22	20.2
RACE: Caucasian	205	57.4	27	24.8
Black	127	35.6	71	65.1
Latin	15	4.2	5	4.6
American Indian	5	1.4	3	2.8
Other	5	4.2	3	2.8
AGE: (In Years)				
18	21	5.9	5	4.6
17	62	17.4	9	8.3
16	76	21.3	25	22.9
15	90	25.2	29	26.6
14	56	15.7	18	16.5
13	29	8.1	13	11.9
12	14	3.9	6	5.5
11	7	2.0	4	3.7
10	0	0	0	0
9	1	.3	0	0
8	1	.3	0	0
PLACE OF BIRTH:				
Milwaukee	256	71.6	71	65.1
Other Wisconsin	20	6.0	3	2.8
Other Midwest	18	5.4	6	5.6
South	14	4.2	9	8.3
West	4	1.2	2	1.8
East	4	1.2	2	1.8
Other/Unknown	41	12.3	16	14.7

	Total		High Density	
FAMILY STATUS:				
Intact	184	51.5	44	40.4
Broken	171	47.9	64	58.7
NUMBER OF CHILDREN:				
one	9	2.5	2	1.8
two	29	8.1	7	6.4
three	58	16.2	18	16.5
four	62	17.4	15	13.8
five	51	14.3	20	18.3
six	51	14.3	15	13.8
seven	34	9.5	13	11.9
eight	14	3.9	3	2.8
nine	21	5.9	8	7.3
ten	2	.6	0	0
eleven	12	3.4	4	3.7
twelve	6	1.7	2	1.8
thirteen	5	1.4	2	1.8
NO. OF SIBLINGS REFERRED TO CHILDREN'S COURT:				
None	148	41.5	39	35.8
one	90	25.2	35	32.1
two	52	14.6	20	18.3
three	27	7.6	7	6.4
four	14	3.9	4	3.7
five	5	1.4	2	1.8
six	4	1.1	2	1.8
seven	5	1.4	0	0
GRADE IN SCHOOL:				
None	12	3.4	5	4.6
two	1	.3	0	0
three	1	.3	0	0
four	3	.8	2	1.8
five	5	1.4	1	.9
six	12	3.4	6	5.5
seven	29	8.1	11	10.1
eight	50	14.0	18	16.5
nine	64	17.9	15	13.8
ten	56	15.7	15	13.8
eleven	45	12.6	8	7.3
twelve	43	3.6	2	1.8
other/ not applicable	66	18.5		
DOES THE FAMILY RECEIVE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE:				
Yes	111	31.1	46	42.2
no	222	62.2	59	54.1
Inapplicable	23	6.4	4	3.7

OCCUPATION OF FATHER:

Not Applicable	12	3.4	6	5.5
Professional	10	2.8	1	.9
Manager	11	3.1	4	3.7
Sales	12	3.3	1	.9
Clerical	11	3.1	2	1.8
Craftsman	34	9.5	9	8.3
Farmer	1	.3	1	.9
Operatives	84	23.5	24	23.0
Unskilled Laborer	50	14.0	15	13.8
Service worker	15	4.2	3	2.8
Imprisoned	4	1.1	1	.9
Unemployed	18	5.0	3	2.7
Unknwon	18	5.0	8	7.3
Not ascertained	68	19.0	30	27.5

EDUCATION OF FATHER

Grade School only	44	12.3	16	14.7
Some High School	81	22.7	27	24.8
U.S. Grad	88	24.6	35	14.7
Some College	9	2.5	1	.9
College Grad	4	1.1	0	0
Some Graduate work	1	.3	0	0
Graduate Degree	5	1.4	0	0
Other Technical Training	1	.3	0	0
Don't Know	20	5.6	12	11.0
Not Ascertained	102	28.6	37	33.9

NATURE OF THE OFFENSE:

Misdemeanors:				
Theft under \$100	45	12.6	17	15.6
Battery	18	5.0	6	5.5
Shoplifting	14	3.9	4	3.7
Disorderly	17	4.8	6	5.5
Lewd and Lascivious	1	.3	0	0
Vagrancy	0	0	0	0
Drunk	4	1.1	2	1.8
Possession/ use of drugs	9	2.5	1	.9
Fornication	2	.6	0	0
Loitering	4	1.1	0	0
Criminal damage to property	11	3.1	5	4.6
Entry into locked vehicle	4	1.1	1	.9
Receiving stolen property	1	.3	1	.9
Trespass	2	.6	2	1.8
Prowling	1	.3	0	0
Possession of Liquor	5	1.4	0	0
Operating auto without license	2	.6	1	.9
Ordinance Violations:				
Curfew Violation	1	.3	0	0
Obstructing and Officer	3	.8	2	1.8

Felonies:				
Arson	1	.3	1	.9
Theft \$100 +	3	.8	1	.9
Burglary	34	9.5	14	12.8
Armed Robbery	5	1.4	3	2.8
Operating WO Consent	37	10.4	15	13.8
Concealed Weapon	1	.3	1	.9
Rape	1	.3	0	0
Sex Perversions	1	.3	0	0
Fraud	3	.8	0	0
Children Only Crimes:				
Truancy	8	2.2	2	1.8
Runaway	28	7.8	4	3.7
Uncontrollable	21	5.9	4	3.7
School Behavior	1	.3	0	0
Others:				
Reckless Use of Weapon	1	.3	0	0
Contempt of Court	1	.3	1	.9
Molesting	2	.6	0	0
Other	66	16.8	14	12.8
Not Ascertained	3	.8	1	.9
NATURE OF OFFENSE:				
Against Persons	74	20.7	25	22.9
Against Property	150	42.0	49	45.0
Persons and Property	3	.8	0	0
Property and Self	3	.8	0	0
Persons and Self	4	1.1	2	1.8
Other	20	5.6	4	3.7
Not Ascertained	19	5.3	13	11.9
Self	84	23.5	16	14.7
DETAINED AT TIME OF REFERRAL:				
yes	109	30.5	34	31.2
no	248	69.5	75	68.8
IN COMMITTING THE OFFENSE DID THE CHILD ACT:				
Alone	123	34.5	33	30.3
With one other child	75	21.0	16	14.7
with two or more	141	39.5	48	44.9
Not Ascertained	16	4.5	11	10.1

These figures indicate that the children referred from the high density tracts differ from the total sample in certain characteristics of the family - in the intact families, the number of children in the family, the number of siblings referred to the Court, the number receiving public aid, the occupation and education of the father. There are also some differences in the nature of the offense that precipitates the referral - that is, the high density tracts contain more referrals for felonies and fewer for children's only crimes, and they tend to act with others in the commission of these offenses.

These differences may indicate that the relatively high rates of referrals found in this area are the product of culture which sanctions those acts which are nominally delinquent. It would be difficult, however, to place over reliance upon this interpretation since the areas which adjoin these tracts are, in many instances, more deprived and more likely to be associated with this type of deviant culture. In terms of individual behaviors one might postulate that this represents a classic anomic situation and that the high levels found in these areas reflects the transient nature of the residents. Any interpretation is, however, purely conjectural at this point.

II. When we look at what happens to these children within the Court system our primary concern is with the decisions made by probation officers and the bases for these decisions.

Characteristic	Number	Total Percent	High Density	
			Number	Percent
P.O. INTAKE DECISION:				
Closed - No action	103	28.9	20	18.3
Closed - referred to outside agency	21	5.9	5	4.6
Informal Supervision	16	4.5	2	1.8
Referred to D.A.	198	55.5	75	68.8
Supervision without Court	12	3.4	5	4.6
Other	7	2.0	2	1.8
STATED REASON FOR P.O. DECISION:				
Court Policy	97	27.2	35	32.1
Denied Charges	34	9.5	18	16.5
Minor Offense	15	4.2	4	3.7
First Offense	17	4.8	5	4.6
Unfavorable Home Situation	23	6.4	6	5.5
Favorable Home	19	5.3	3	2.8
Parents Didn't want Court	3	.8	2	1.8
Severity of Offense	9	2.5	4	3.7
active with other agency	13	3.6	1	.9

Conflicting Stories	4	1.1	1	.9
PO felt Counseling was				
Sufficient	27	7.6	3	2.8
Good Attitude	28	7.8	7	6.4
Previous Similar Offenses	15	4.2	3	2.8
Admits the charges	23	6.4	5	4.6
Other	26	7.3	11	10.1
Not Ascertained	4	1.1	1	.9

DECISION OF THE D.A.:

Not Referred	156	43.7	33	30.3
Has Prosecutive Merit	138	38.7	52	47.7
Lacks Merit - closed	30	8.4	6	5.5
Lacks Merit - supervision	3	.8	1	.9
Other	13	3.6	6	5.5
Not Ascertained	37	4.8	11	10.1

PETITION FILED:

Inapplicable	199	55.7	44	40.4
Yes	135	37.8	51	46.8
No	4	1.1	3	2.8
Not Ascertained	19	5.3	11	10.1

COURT DECISION:

Inapplicable	197	55.2	43	39.4
Case Closed	9	2.5	6	5.5
Held Open	26	7.3	3	2.8
CHINS	11	3.1	3	2.8
Formal Supervision	33	9.2	10	9.2
Transfer of Custody	37	10.4	17	15.6
Pending	22	6.2	15	13.8
Other	17	4.8	9	8.3
Not Ascertained	5	1.4	3	2.8

ADJUSTMENT OF CHILD:

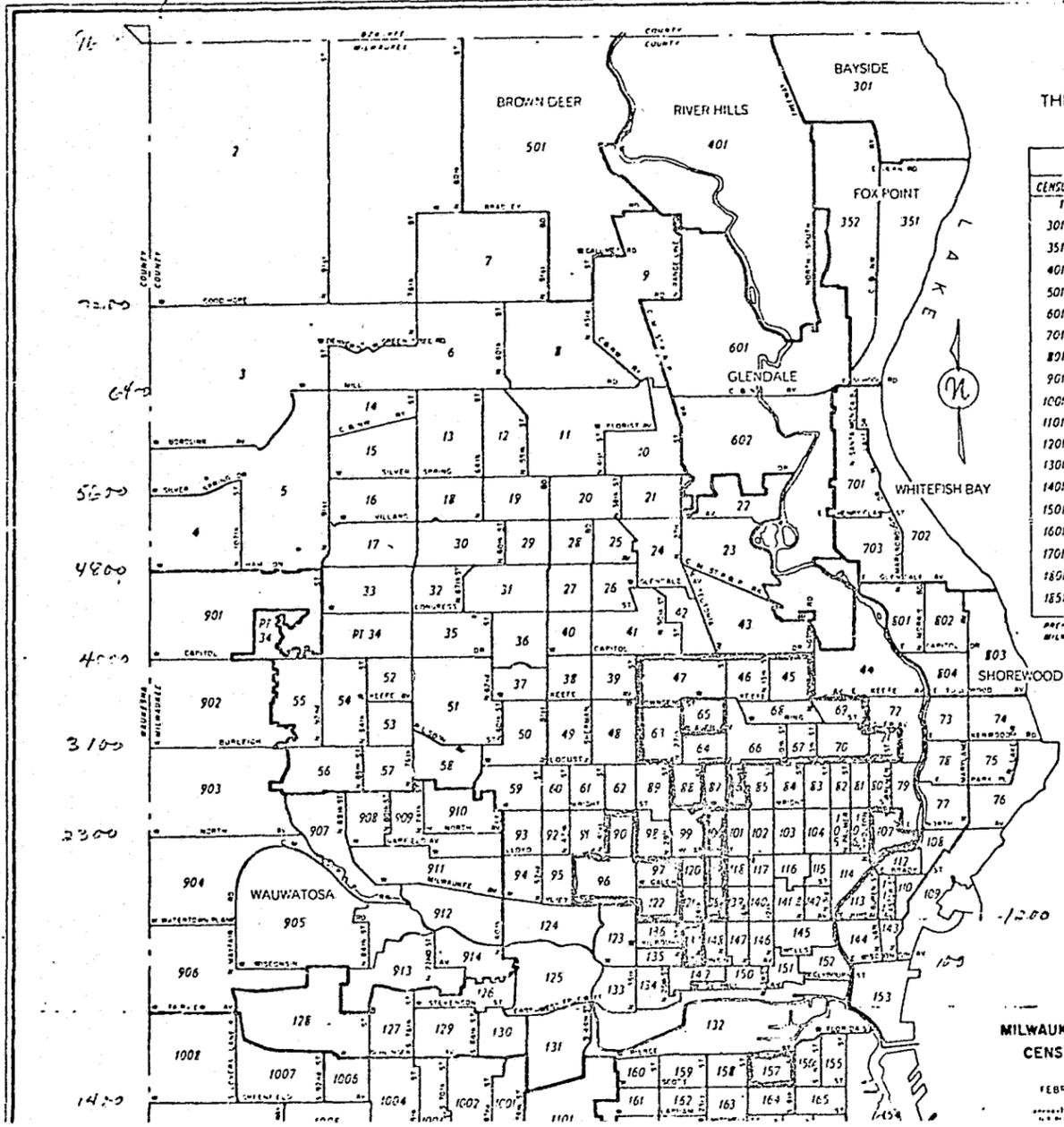
Referred again	23	6.4	8	7.3
Behavior Problems	7	2.0	2	1.8
No Change	44	12.3	23	21.1
Improving	74	20.7	21	19.3
Marked Improvement	9	2.5	2	1.8
Poor	14	3.9	9	8.3
No Contact	174	48.7	41	37.6
Not Ascertained	12	3.4	3	2.8

The information indicates that there is considerable difference in the way in which the referrals from the high density tracts are treated within the Court. Proportionately more cases are, for example, referred to the D.A. by the intake worker and fewer are closed at this point; the D.A., in turn, is more likely to refer these cases to the Court and more likely to file a petition of delinquency in the case; the Court is, finally, more likely to transfer custody in these cases. When we look for reasons what we find is that, at the point of Intake, the worker relies upon court policy and a denial of charges. The evidence also indicates that in the worker's perceptions children from these areas are seen more often and show less change than those from other tracts.

One of the explanations for this differential may be the fact that more children from this area were referred for more serious crimes (see above). At this point it is difficult to assess any other cause and the only probable ones would, by their very nature, demand a more thorough analysis (e.g., it will be useful to control for the seriousness of the offense).

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THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL



LEGEND

CENSUS TRACT	CITY OR VILLAGE
1 - 300	CITY OF MILWAUKEE
301 - 350	VILLAGE OF BAYSIDE
351 - 400	VILLAGE OF FOX POINT
401 - 500	VILLAGE OF RIVER HILLS
501 - 600	VILLAGE OF BROWN DEER
601 - 700	CITY OF GLENDALE
701 - 800	VILLAGE OF WHITEFISH BAY
801 - 900	VILLAGE OF SHOREWOOD
901 - 1000	CITY OF WAUWATOSA
1001 - 1100	CITY OF WEST ALLIS
1101 - 1200	VILLAGE OF WEST MILWAUKEE
1201 - 1300	CITY OF GREENFIELD
1301 - 1400	VILLAGE OF HALES CORNERS
1401 - 1500	VILLAGE OF GLENDALE
1501 - 1600	CITY OF FRANKLIN
1601 - 1700	CITY OF OAK CREEK
1701 - 1800	CITY OF SOUTH MILWAUKEE
1801 - 1850	CITY OF EUDAHY
1851 - 1900	CITY OF ST FRANCIS

1970
MILWAUKEE COUNTY
CENSUS TRACT
MAP
FEBRUARY, 1970

-120-

APPENDIX C

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DIVERSION
IN THE JUVENILE COURT

[A paper presented at the Annual Meeting,
Society for the Study of Social Problems,
New York, August 1973]

William E. Berg
School of Social Welfare
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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Diversion is frequently viewed as a formal process which involves substantial planning and which requires, in many instances, a supportive administrative structure.¹ This view has characterized much of the literature on Youth Service Bureaus where the problems of selection and treatment planning have produced a highly structured approach to the diversion process.²

It is also possible, however, to maintain a somewhat broader and less formal view of diversion. If we reduce the process to its essential dimensions, diversion simply becomes the deliberate removal of a delinquent or a predelinquent from actual or potential involvement with the juvenile justice system. In this sense diversion is a specific decision which can be made at several points within the juvenile justice process. Law enforcement officers routinely divert offenders when they decide not to pursue an investigation or not to make an arrest in a particular case. In the same sense probation officers may divert at intake by closing the case on substantive or other grounds, and the District Attorney may divert by deciding that the case does not merit prosecution. In each of these cases the impact is, from the point of view of the juvenile justice system itself, the same; that is, the offender or the potential offender has been removed from involvement with the system as a result of a decision made by the agents of this system.

What this view of diversion suggests is simply that the decision to divert is one of the alternatives that is available to those who make decisions within the juvenile justice system. However, one of the things

that we know about this process of decision-making is that it customarily involves a considerable amount of discretion.³ Historically, the juvenile court as an institution was founded on the idea that discretionary justice is a necessary part of working with delinquent youth,⁴ and more recently a number of studies have indicated that decisions are frequently based upon such things as the social and economic background of the offender,⁵ on the characteristics of his or her family life,⁶ and on the attitudes or the demeanor which the offender exhibits towards the representatives of this system.⁷ Thus if we view diversion as one of the alternatives in this decision-making process then presumably we would expect to find that diversion becomes subject to the same discretionary activities which characterize the other decisions made within this system.

This study represents an attempt to analyze some of the factors that are involved in diversion decisions. It focuses on the decisions that are made by the probation officers during the intake process of the juvenile court, and it assumes a general rather than a specific view of diversion. That is, it analyzes these decisions in terms of two mutually exclusive types or classes of diversion. One of these includes diversions that are accompanied by a referral to community-based agencies, while the other involves cases where diversion is accomplished by simply terminating the case. From the court's perspective both of these diversions produce the same effect - that is, they both terminate the offender's relationship with the court system - however, from the point of view of the offender these differences may be important and they may have certain implications for future behavior and adjustment. These implications are beyond the scope of the present report; the larger study of which this report is a part deals at some length with the question of the relative

impacts of different decisions, not only in relationship to those offenders who have been diverted but with all types of offenders.⁸

If diversion is a general rather than a specific process then it may occur at several points during the court process. We may find diversion at intake, or when the district attorney decides on the merits of the case, or when the court makes its ultimate decision on the case. Since the bases for making each of these diversion decisions may vary, the distinctions between diversions that lead to referrals and diversions that are simply terminations become important considerations in any analysis of these decisions.

One of the distinctions that appears in much of the literature associated with the Youth Service Bureau model of diversion concerns the nature of the offense.⁹ As Baron and his associates have recently indicated, the class of offenses that diversion projects customarily deal with involve non-criminal offenses.¹⁰ These include such things as truancy and runaway and, as a class of offenses, they may be included within the general category of "children-only" crimes. In the operations of the Sacramento project, moreover, considerable stress is placed upon the role of the family in providing an alternative to detention.¹¹ Similar emphasis can be found in the San Diego Youth Service Bureau program and in other Youth Service Bureaus.¹² To this extent at least we must assume that the role of the family in diversion decisions is critical and that such decisions may, in fact, be influenced by the courts' perceptions of the strengths or weaknesses of the family. Finally, much of this literature and most of the Youth Service Bureau projects focus on the neighborhood or the immediate community of the offender as the environment for treatment.¹³ Thus we might expect to find that where the offender lives might become an important variable in the diversion process.

These variables have also been utilized in studies which have analyzed the decision-making processes within juvenile courts.¹⁴ To some extent, therefore, this suggests that the variables used as a part of the normal decision-making routines of the court are also involved in this specialized type of decision-making. If this is the case then we will need to include such variables as the sex of the offender,¹⁵ his or her race,¹⁶ the socio-economic background of the offender,¹⁷ and the probation officers' perceptions of the offenders' attitudes and demeanor.¹⁸

Finally, since we are dealing with a process which aims at preventing further involvement with the juvenile justice system-or subsequent delinquent behaviors- there are certain variables that one would logically expect to find in the decision to divert. That is, one might assume that those offenders who are diverted might be younger than the other groups. And we may anticipate that the first offender is more likely to be diverted than those who have been referred to the court for earlier offenses.

Each of these variables focuses upon the characteristics of the offender and his or her offense in order to explain diversion decisions. It would, of course, be naive to assume that these are the only variables which enter into this decision-making process. The court is, after all, a legal institution and, as such, it is subject to all of the procedures and the restrictions that apply to such agencies. To some extent this may not have been the case prior to the Gault decision, but since this decision it is apparent that juvenile courts have moved in a direction that has given legal considerations a much higher priority in the decision-making process.¹⁹ Thus we might expect to find that court policies, or the local judges' interpretations of these legal restrictions, will play

a critical role in determining the nature of decision-making in general, and diversion decisions in particular.

In addition to being a legal institution most large city juvenile courts are bureaucratic organizations that employ a range of different professional groups.²⁰ The constraints of organizational structures and expectations - e.g., administrative demands, peer group pressures, supervisory controls over such things as caseload size or composition, etc. - may be viewed as a variable that influences these decision-making processes. This may be particularly true in the case of those organizations that are composed of different professional groups where, in addition to the demands of the organizations itself, we find that the oftentimes competing claims of the professional group will influence the way in which these groups react to particular situations.²¹

Since diversion assumes that some level of meaningful coordination must exist between the juvenile court and the community-based treatment agencies, we should also expect to find that the relationships between the court and its environment will represent a constraint on the decision to divert.²² In those cases where the court has close relationships with other agencies, and where these relationships have existed for some time, it may be easier to establish diversion as a meaningful alternative. On the other hand, in those instances where the court has remained relatively isolated from the environment there may be significant problems involved in initiating an effective diversion system.

The problem that we are attempting to deal with here is obviously a complex one. We have attempted to deal with some of this complexity by restricting our focus to the activities of the probation staff and, further, by viewing the decision to divert in terms of those variables

which relate to the characteristics of the offender and his or her offense. In later work we hope to deal with the impact of those variables that focus on the court as a legal and as a bureaucratic institution, and on those that emphasize the role played by the relationships between the court and those other organizations found in its task environment.

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted at the Milwaukee County Childrens' Court Center. This Center represents an integrated service and court facility that includes two full time judges, a district attorney and a public defenders staff, a detention center, and a probation staff of approximately forty-five bachelor and master level social workers. The Center serves Milwaukee County, a governmental unit which contains the City of Milwaukee and its contiguous suturbs. The 1970 population of Milwaukee County was slightly over one-million. The City of Milwaukee itself has around 720,000 population.

The Center receives referrals from individual citizens, from public and private social agencies, and from local law enforcement agencies. During 1971 the Center received approximately 12,000 delinquency referrals, the great majority of which came from law enforcement sources.

The population of the study includes all delinquency referrals made during the period from May through October of 1972. The sample was drawn through a stratified random designed with controls implemented for geographical variations in referals, and for variations that occur throughout the weekly calender of the Center. The final sample includes 357 cases which were found, after preliminary analyses, to be representative of the population.

Data has been gathered at intake and during each month following intake. Additional data has been gathered from those agencies that were involved in the referrals that were generated by the activities of the Center, and from the institutional placements that were a result of Court activities and decisions. Data has also been gathered from the probation staff. This data involves both their perceptions of the Center, and their perceptions of delinquency and the delinquent offender.²³

Diversion in the general sense of the term is a rather common occurrence. Of the 357 cases included in the sample a total of 176 (49.3%) were diverted at some point during the court process. The majority of these diversions occur at the point of intake (72.2%); substantially fewer cases are diverted by the District Attorney's office (21.6%); and relatively few cases are diverted by the Court itself (6.2%). These figures also suggest that formal diversion - or diversion that is accompanied by a referral to a community-based agency - is a rather uncommon occurrence. Only 21 cases were diverted in this manner (5.9%), and all of these diversions occurred at the point of intake.

FINDINGS

In analyzing this data our basic objective is to delineate the relative importance of those factors or variables that are associated with the decision to divert. Before we can identify which variables should be included in this process, however, it is necessary to make certain comparisons between those who are diverted versus those who are continued as active cases within the court center, and between those who are diverted through termination versus those who are diverted with a referral to a community-based treatment agency. In making these comparisons

our goal is to identify which of the background variables may be used in order to describe the parameters of those populations that are involved in these three groups (i.e., continued offenders, terminated, and terminated with a formal referral).

The first comparison (see Table 1) reveals that those offenders who are diverted are more likely to be first offenders, females, who were involved in misdemeanor or child-only offenses, and who tended to act alone rather than in a group in the commission of the offense. There is also some indication that the diverted offenders are more likely to be white, to come from intact families, and that they come from families that are less dependent upon public assistance funds. Thus the cases that are continued tend to involve males who have been referred to the court on at least one prior offense. They are more likely to be involved in a felony offense, and they were more likely to have committed the offense in company with several associates.

If we use these same variables in order to make the second comparison - the comparison of terminated versus referred offenders - the results are somewhat different (see Table 2). Significant differences between these two groups of diverted offenders can be found only in terms of the prior record of the offender, the nature of the offense, and the degree to which the offense was committed as an independent versus a group activity. Those cases that are formally referred to community agencies, in other words, involve offenders who have been referred to the court for previous offenses, they are offenders whose current offense is more likely to be a child-only crime (e.g., runaway, truancy), and these offenses are more likely to have been committed as an independent rather than a group act. The emphasis on child-only crimes is consistent with the objectives of

formal diversion projects, and with the goals and objectives of the Youth Service Bureau. ²⁴ That is, the offender who is formally diverted tends to be involved in behavior which is not a "crime" per se, but implies instead problems involving adaptation to the home or the school environment.

The lack of a diversion project or a Youth Service Bureau in the Milwaukee area has an impact that is also predictable given this literature. That is, in 57.1% of those cases that were formally diverted the offender was, prior to the diversion, placed in detention facilities. Presumably most of these cases involved runaways for whom no alternatives exist within the community. This is the only one of these groups in which the majority of offenders were, in effect, incarcerated during their exposure to the court system.

In examining the differences between these three groups we are also concerned with the rationale behind the probation officer's decisions. In a sense what we are looking at in this comparison is the nature of the data that the probation officer uses in arriving at the decision to treat the offender in terms of these groups.

Those offenders who were not diverted were, according to the probation officers, handled in this manner because of the nature of the offense (e.g., serious offenses, repeaters), or - and this is the most frequently mentioned reason - because of the policies of the Court and the legal system within which the Court functions (see Table 1). Thus if the offender claimed that he or she was not guilty of the offense the case was automatically referred to the District Attorney; similarly, cases that involved certain types of felonies would necessitate the continuance of the case, and finally; the Court itself may have dictated that certain types of offenses would

automatically require Court action (e.g., in one of these Courts it was required that all truancy cases would be handled directly by the Court).

Among the diverted groups, on the other hand, the rationale differs according to the group involved (see Table 2). In those cases where the diversion involves referrals to community agencies the most frequently mentioned rationale is simply that the offender has been in contact with the community agency prior to his or her referral. Thus the probation officer is, through his or her action, simply confirming a relationship that had in fact existed prior to the referral. Those cases that are closed without any referrals are, finally, rationalized in terms of either the attributes of the offender (e.g., good attitudes, no prior contacts, etc.), or the nature of the offense (e.g., first offense, minor offense, etc.).

What these comparisons suggest is that the decision to divert may be related to three different types of data that is accumulated by the probation staff. These include the characteristics of the offender - his socio-economic background, family life, prior contacts, personal attitudes, etc. - the nature of the offense, and the policies that are dictated by and through the Court. The final analysis involves the attempt to specify, through the use of correlation and regression equations, the relative impact of these areas on the decision to divert.

When we analyze the data on those cases that were diverted at each of the three levels within the Court we find considerable differences in the degree to which we can account for the variance of these decisions. That is, if we analyze the decisions made relative to diversion by the probation staff, the District Attorney, and the Court in terms of the

characteristics of the offender we account for different levels of variation in each case. With the Court decisions, for example, the use of these background variables - plus the prior record of the offender and the type of offense - accounts for some 66.3% of all the variance (see Table 5). Using the same variables we may also account for 46.2% of the diversion decisions made by the District Attorney. In the case of the probation staff, however, these variables account for only 14.9% of the total variation. These differences may indicate that by the time these cases reach the Court they have been successfully narrowed down to the point where it is possible to make a decision in terms of a relatively limited amount of data. On the other hand, they may also indicate that the different levels within the Court utilize different decision routines in making their assessment of the offender. In either case it is clear that the probation officer uses data that is not used by the Court and may not be used by the District Attorney in making the decision to divert the offender.

The data on probation officer's decisions shows that the prior record of the offender and the type of offense account for the greatest variation in these decisions to divert (see Table 3). The coefficient of determination on these two variables is, however, only 10%. Beyond these there is some indication that the age, the educational level of the father, and the sex of the offender all contribute to these decisions. If we take these five variables we have, nevertheless, accounted for only around 13% of the variance in these decisions.

In order to examine the influence of the prior record on this process the data has been analyzed by comparing the first offenders with the repeating offenders (see Table 4). In both instances the offenders have been diverted either through termination, or through termination with

a referral to community agencies. With the first offenders the results indicate that the nature of the offense increases its relative impact on the decision to divert, and the education of the father and mother and the number of children in the family are also increased. In addition, the total amount of variance accounted for by the remaining variables increases to 27.6% of the variation. In the case of the repeaters, however, the impact of the offense itself decreases and the sex, age, and family situation all increase. Again, the proportion of the variance accounted for by all of the variables increases to 22.3% of the total.

What this suggests is that the probation officer utilizes a decision-making routine in which the relative weight of the variables differs in relationship to the prior record of the offender. The decision to divert the first offender is made, in other words, on the basis of his or her offense and on the probation officer's perceptions of his or her home environment. Presumably therefore, those offenders who are referred on misdemeanors and child-only offenses will be diverted if their home situation indicates to the probation officer that the likelihood of committing subsequent offenses is minimal. On the other hand, in those cases involving the repeater the nature of the offense plays a lesser role and certain characteristics associated with the offender himself serve as the basis for the decision to divert.

SUMMARY

This study has attempted to analyze the decision to divert juvenile offenders in a specific juvenile court center. It focuses on the decisions made by the probation staff, in part because the logic of the situation, and in part because the evidence of the study indicates that most diversion decisions are made at this level.

In the analysis of diversion we have assumed what might be called a general approach to the nature of the process. That is, diversion may be viewed as any action which results in the offender being removed from the ongoing processes associated with the juvenile court system. For the purposes of our analysis, therefore, we have identified two types of diversion; one of them is the diversion which is accompanied by a referral to community-based agencies, while the other is a diversion which simply terminates the case without any referrals.

The data indicates that those who are diverted are different from those who are continued, and that the cases diverted through termination are different from those who are referred to social agencies. The significant differences occur in the prior record of the offender, in the nature of the offense, in the circumstances surrounding the offense, and for certain classes in the sex of the offender.

When we analyze the relative impact of these variables on the decision to divert what we find is that the prior record of the offender and the type of offense have the greatest impact. However, when we control for prior record there is a clear indication that different decision-making routines are followed for first offenders when compared with repeaters.

What we are dealing with at the probation officer level, however, is a relatively limited amount of the variance in these decisions. That is, variables that relate to the offender and his offense account for from 15 to 27.6% of the total variance. Additional work needs to be done, therefore, on the degree to which organizational factors may be involved in these decisions, and the degree to which the decision to divert is controlled by the characteristics of the environment within which the court functions.

Table 1: Characteristics of Offenders - Diverted Versus Continued Cases

Variable	Diverted		Continued		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Prior Record					
First Offender	69	55.6	86	36.9	**
Previously Referred	55	44.4	147	63.1	
Sex					
Male	86	69.4	192	82.4	**
Female	38	30.6	41	17.6	
Race					
White	78	62.9	130	55.8	
Black	38	30.6	89	38.2	
American Indian	1	.8	4	1.7	
Latin	6	4.8	9	3.9	
Oriental	1	.8	1	.4	
Age					
8-9 years	1	.8	1	.4	
10-11 years	3	2.4	4	1.7	
12-13 years	16	12.9	27	11.9	
14-15 years	47	37.9	99	42.5	
16-17 years	52	41.9	86	36.9	
18 + years	5	4.0	16	6.7	
Family Status					
Parents living together	69	55.6	116	49.8	
Parents separated/divorced	55	44.4	117	50.2	
Number of Children in Family					
1-2	13	10.5	25	10.7	
3-4	49	39.5	74	31.8	
5-6	30	24.2	72	30.9	
7-8	12	9.7	36	15.5	
9-10	9	7.3	14	6.0	
11-12	7	5.6	11	4.7	
13 +	4	3.2	1	.4	
Number of Siblings who have been referred to Center					
None	47	37.9	106	45.5	
One	40	32.3	53	22.7	
Two	21	16.9	33	14.2	
Three	6	4.8	22	9.4	
Four	4	3.2	11	4.7	
Five	0		5	2.1	
Six	1	.8	3	1.3	
Seven	5	4.0	0		

Table 1: Cont'd.

Variable	Diverted		Continued	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grade in School				
K-6	13	10.5	21	9.0
7-8	31	25.0	48	20.6
9-12	60	48.4	118	50.6
Other	20	16.1	45	14.3
Occupation of Father				
Professional/Technical	3	2.4	7	3.0
Manager/Official	3	2.4	12	5.2
Sales	6	4.8	8	3.4
Clerical	6	4.8	10	4.3
Craftsman/Foreman	9	7.3	32	13.7
Farmer	0		1	.4
Operatives-Factory	43	34.7	60	25.8
Laborers	21	16.9	41	17.6
Services	3	2.4	15	6.4
Unemployed	7	5.6	12	5.2
Other/Unknown	13	10.5	35	15.0
Occupation of Mother				
Professional/Technical	2	1.6	3	1.3
Manager/Official	0		2	.9
Sales	4	3.2	7	3.0
Clerical	17	13.7	18	7.8
Craftsman/Foreman	2	1.6	2	.9
Operatives-Factory	12	9.7	22	9.5
Laborer	2	1.6	6	2.6
Service	21	16.9	43	18.5
Housewife	60	48.4	120	51.7
Unemployed	2	1.6	2	.9
Other/Unknown	2	1.6	7	3.0
Education of Father (Highest Grade)				
Grade School Graduate	20	16.1	43	18.5
Some High School	46	37.1	65	28.0
H.S. Graduate	39	31.5	81	34.9
Some College	5	4.0	7	3.0
College Grad	3	2.4	3	1.3
Graduate School	1	.8	4	1.7
Technical Training	0		1	.4
Other/Unknown	11	8.9	28	12.1
Education of Mother				
Grade School	17	13.7	44	18.9
Some High School	41	33.1	74	31.9
H.S. Graduate	45	36.3	79	35.1
Some College	6	4.8	8	3.4
College Grad	3	2.4	2	.9
Technical Training	1	.8	4	1.7
Other/Unknown	11	8.9	21	9.1

Table 1: Cont'd.

Variable	Diverted		Continued	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Does the Family Receive Public Aid				
Yes	35	28.2	83	35.8
No	89	71.8	149	64.2
Nature of the Offense				
Misdemeanor	80	64.5	96	41.4
Violation of Local Ordinance	3	2.4	2	.9
Child-Only Offense	33	26.6	35	15.1
Felony	8	6.5	92	39.7
Other	0		7	3.0
Did the Child Act Alone or with Others				
Alone	57	46.0	65	28.0
With one more	31	25.0	44	19.0
With 2 +	33	26.6	108	46.6
Other	3	2.4	15	6.5
Was the Child Placed in Detention				
Yes	31	25.0	77	33.2
No	93	75.0	155	66.8
Probation Officers' Reasons for Action				
Nature of the Offense	32	25.8	51	21.9
Offenders Attitudes/attributes	48	38.7	7	3.0
Offenders Home Situation	21	16.9	24	10.3
Community Resources available	13	10.5	0	
Court Policy	1	.8	130	55.8
Other	9	7.3	21	9.0

* sig, .001

** sig, .005

Table 2: Characteristics of Diverted Offenders - Referred versus Terminated

Variable	Referred		Terminated	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Prior Record				
First Offender	7	33.3	62	60.2
Previously Referred	14	66.7	41	39.8
Sex				
Male	17	81.0	69	67.0
Female	4	19.0	34	33.0
Race				
White	15	71.4	63	61.2
Black	4	19.0	34	33.0
American Indian	0		1	1.0
Latin	2	9.5	4	3.9
Oriental	0		1	1.0
Age				
8-9 years	0		1	1.0
10-11 years	1	4.8	2	1.9
12-13 years	3	14.3	13	12.6
14-15 years	11	52.4	36	34.9
16-17 years	5	23.8	47	45.6
18 + years	1	4.8	4	3.9
Family Status				
Parents together	11	52.4	58	56.3
Parents separated/divorced	10	47.6	45	43.7
Number of Children in Family				
1-2	0		13	12.6
3-4	9	42.9	40	38.8
5-6	6	28.6	24	23.3
7-8	2	9.5	10	9.7
9-10	2	9.5	7	6.8
11-12	0		7	6.8
13 +	2	9.5	2	1.9
Number of Siblings who have been referred to Center				
None	5	23.8	42	40.8
One	10	47.6	30	29.1
Two	4	19.0	17	16.5
Three	1	4.8	5	4.9
Four	0		4	3.9
Five	0		0	
Six	0		1	1.0
Seven	1	4.8	4	3.9

Table 2: Cont'd.

Referred versus Terminated Offenders

Variable	Referred		Terminated	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grade in School				
K-6	2	9.5	6	5.8
7-8	8	38.1	23	22.3
9-12	5	23.8	55	53.4
Other	6	28.6	19	18.4
Occupation of Father				
Professional/Technical	1	4.8	2	1.9
Manager/Official	0		3	2.9
Sales	0		6	5.8
Clerical	1	4.8	5	4.9
Craftsman/Foreman	1	4.8	8	7.8
Factory Operative	7	33.3	36	34.9
Laborer	5	23.8	16	15.5
Service	0		3	2.9
Unemployed	4	19.0	12	11.7
Unknown	2	9.5	12	11.7
Occupation of Mother				
Professional/Technical	1	4.8	1	1.0
Sales	1	4.8	3	2.9
Clerical	2	9.6	15	14.6
Craftsman/Foreman	0		2	1.9
Factory Operative	2	9.6	10	9.7
Laborer	1	4.8	1	1.0
Service	1	4.8	19	18.4
Housewife	2	9.6	49	47.6
Unemployed	0		2	1.9
Unknown	1	4.8	1	1.0
Education of Father (Highest level attained)				
Grade School Graduate	5	23.8	15	14.7
Some high school	7	33.3	39	36.9
High School Graduate	5	23.8	34	33.0
Some College	1	4.8	4	3.9
College Graduate	1	4.8	2	1.9
Graduate School	0		1	1.0
Other/Unknown	2	9.6	8	7.8
Education of Mother				
Grade School Graduate	4	19.0	13	12.6
Some High School	5	23.8	36	34.9
High School Graduate	10	47.6	35	33.9
Some College	0		6	5.8
College Graduate	1	4.8	2	1.9
Technical School	0		1	1.0
Other/Unknown	1	4.8	10	9.7

Table 2: Cont'd.

Referred versus Terminated Offenders

Variable	Referred		Terminated		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Does the Family receive Public Aid					
Yes	7	33.3	28	27.2	
No	14	66.7	75	72.8	
Nature of the Offense					
Misdemeanor	7	33.3	73	70.9	
Violation of Local Ordinance	0		3	2.9	
Child-Only Offenses	13	61.9	20	19.4	**
Felony	1	4.8	7	6.8	
Did the Offender Act alone or with Others					
Alone	16	76.2	41	39.8	
With one other	1	4.8	30	29.1	**
With two or more	2	9.6	31	30.1	
Other	2	9.6	1	1.0	
Was the Offender placed in Detention					
Yes	12	57.1	19	18.4	
No	9	42.9	84	81.6	***
Probation Officers' Reasons for Action					
Nature of the Offense	2	9.6	30	29.1	
Child's Attitudes and Attributes	1	4.8	47	45.6	
Offenders' Home Situation	4	19.0	17	16.5	***
Community Resources	10	47.6	3	2.9	
Court Policy	1	4.8	0		
Other	3	14.3	6	5.8	

* sig., .025

** sig., .005

*** sig., .001

Table 3: Relationships Between Socio-economic Background Variables, Offense, Related Variables, and Probation Officer's Decision to Divert

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Correlation
1. Prior Record of Offender	.203*	.187
2. Sex	-.136	-.129
3. Race	.066	.062
4. Age	.149	.140
5. Place of Residence	.059	.059
6. Family Intact	.059	.054
7. Number of Siblings	.102	.082
8. Number of Siblings who have been Referred to the Center	.178	.016
9. Occupation of Father	.001	.001
10. Occupation of Mother	.038	.035
11. Education of Father	.140	.109
12. Education of Mother	.115	.108
13. Does the Family Receive Public Aid	.024	.021
14. Nature of the Offense	.226**	.224

All regression coefficients are in Standard Form

* F=3.930, sig., .05

** F=5.757, sig., .025

Table 4: Relationships Between Socio-economic Variables, the Nature of the Offense, and Probation Officers' Decisions to Divert Cases - First Offenders and Repeaters

<u>Variable</u>	<u>First Offender</u>	<u>Repeater</u>
Sex	.035	.236
Race	.069	.035
Age	.076	.278
Place of Residence	.086	.091
Family Intact or Separated	.153	.209
Number of Siblings	.171	.058
Number of Siblings who have been Referred to the Center	-.027	.129
Occupation of Father	.019	.045
Occupation of Mother	.063	.012
Education of Father	.282	.028
Education of Mother	.187	.086
Does the Family receive Public Aid	.067	.053
Offense	.302*	.131

* $F=4.412$, sig., .05

Table 5: Socio-economic Variables, the Nature of the Offense, and Diversion at the Court and the District Attorney's Office

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Court Regression Coefficient</u>	<u>District Attorney Regression</u>
Prior Record of Offender	.580*	.401
Sex	.147	.022
Race	.098	.410
Age	.054	.255
Place of Residence	.105	.203
Family Status	.358	.190
Number of children	.141	.349
Number of siblings referred to Center	.320	.213
Occupation of Father	.012	.459
Occupation of Mother	.054	.013
Education of Father	.096	.070
Education of Mother	.223	.174
Does the Family Receive Public Aid	.072	.299
Nature of the Offense	.015	.290

* sig., .001

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